

Translated extract from

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Thomas Medicus
Melitta von Stauffenberg:
A German life

Translated by David Brenner

[from Prologue: “Crash-Test, Flight, War”]

Dr. George Pasewaldt was astounded. The colonel in the General Staff and chief of development at the Technical Office of the *Reichs* Aviation Ministry had never come across such a daring woman. He was on an inspection visit to Rechlin, 150 kilometers northwest of Berlin, situated between forests and meadows, fields and lakes in Mecklenburg. Rechlin was the most important flight test center of the *Reichs* Air Force (or *Luftwaffe*). Here the deployment capacity of a variety of aircraft weapons was being tested, in addition to different kinds of planes, aircraft instruments, and bombs. A year after the Nazi seizure of power, inhabitants of several villages near Rechlin were relocated as part of the (still) secret rearmament of the *Luftwaffe*. Farms, stables, and churches were dismantled, and whatever was left was taken away. In this way, space was created on the south bank of the Muritz for an almost circular flight field (nearly a mile in diameter) as well as for modern airport buildings and housing estates. In this restricted area, one could fly planes day and night, shooting at or blowing up targets and making measurements – all in the service of a German “final victory.”

When Pasewaldt looked out at the sky above Rechlin in early 1942, he could hardly believe his eyes. Was that Ju 88 twin-engine bomber with a full-view cabin, designed by the [now 8] Junkers Factory in Dessau, about to be crash-landed? The colonel demanded to know the reason for such a daring nose dive that must have produced huge vibrations. Could the dive still be interrupted and the aircraft maneuvered back to normal? And who was that pilot flying at the “limits of the permissible,” apparently able to withstand enormous acceleration forces?¹

As he learned from onlookers, it was just “Melitta making a crash-test.” After World War II, Pasewaldt -- an educated jurist and battle-tested fighter pilot -- recalled that taking a plane into a moderate nose dive like that would have been considered a “heroic act by many a male pilot.”² Yet for Melitta von Stauffenberg, taking the most extreme risks had been an everyday occurrence for several years.

Nor did she need a guardian angel. On this occasion, confident as always, she straightened out the Ju 88, taxied it across the runway to the hangar and jumped out safe and sound. Even though she was petite, she was an experienced and talented flier. She spent at least two years in Rechlin as an engineer-pilot, testing “dive sights,” i.e., optical targeting devices for precision bombing from dive aircraft. While there she had performed nearly a thousand “steep dives at an average of 5,000 to 1,000 meters altitude” with different sorts of combat aircraft, many of them measured or filmed.³ By the time she had become a staff member of the German Air War College [*Luftkriegsakademie*] in Berlin-Gatow, in the spring of 1944, the number of her test flights had reached circa 2,200 – a record level of twelve, at times even fifteen, dives per day. She was as proud of that as of her physical condition, which (by her own account) was capable to withstanding severe conditions. Unlike other pilots, she only experienced [now 9] the “haze,” a visual impairment associated with brain ischemia, at the highest of speeds.

No one previously, man or woman, had exposed themselves to such dangers. Over a period of four years, she regularly raced across the sky, engines howling, with her plane perpendicular to the ground, for thirty seconds at a time. At the last instant, she would pull up, at the closest possible target range.

Then she would land her plane and complete her calculations. Her outstanding accomplishments in aeronautics and science were formally recognized by none other than Hermann Göring. In January 1943, the *Reichsmarschall* of Germany and Commander of the *Luftwaffe* awarded Melitta personally with the Iron Cross Second Class. Later that year, the engineer-aviatrix – equal if not superior to her male counterparts – was awarded a golden aircraft insignia decorated with diamonds and rubies.

Pasewaldt was himself a highly experienced fighter pilot. Nonetheless, he was captivated on this visit to Rechlin by von Stauffenberg's "almost unique view of life" and "deadly serious way of working."⁴ Concealed behind a facade of aloofness – something confirmed by everyone who met her -- was the nervous restlessness of an intense personality. The aim of her existence was nothing less than approaching the limits of what was possible with both passion and coolness. Comfort, security, and caution meant little to her. Melitta von Stauffenberg loved technology, flight, and speed. "We want to extol the love of danger," Filippo Tommaso Marinetti proclaimed in the first sentence of his *Futurist Manifesto*, the "habit of energy and boldness." In her own way, von Stauffenberg pursued this path [now 10] most of her life. She was only six years old in 1909 when Marinetti penned these words (in the Paris daily *Le Figaro*) glorifying violence, destruction and the power of the machine. A few years later, World War I intervened and completely changed her life.

Melitta von Stauffenberg was clearly an exceptional person. To this day, women are rarely found in the cockpit; the first female captain in the history of Lufthansa was not hired until 2000. In 1937 Melitta was granted the title of "Flight Captain" [*Flugkapitän*]. Even after she marrying Alexander von

Stauffenberg (and thereby becoming a countess), she still preferred being called by her maiden name “Schiller.” “Flight Captain” too was an appropriate designation inasmuch as she had already earned licenses at every skill-level. She was thus able to fly all existing types of aircraft, from the smallest recreational plane to the heavy four-engine combat fighter – a phenomenal achievement in the world of the 1930s and 1940s. She was also one of the few women in the late Weimar Republic and the Third Reich who studied engineering sciences and was able to make a career as an aeronautic research engineer. Next to Hanna Reitsch, her lifelong rival, she was the most important test pilot in the Nazi military-industrial complex. But unlike Reitsch, Melitta was also an engineer. As such, she possessed the ability to evaluate the technical data of her test flights, as well as to submit design proposals and apply for patents.

Yet von Stauffenberg was extraordinary beyond her skills as an aviator and aeronautics engineer. As a pilot, after all, she stood in the shadow of her more renowned (and record-breaking) sisters, such as Reitsch, Elly Beinhorn, Thea Rasche [now 11] or Marga von Etzdorf. While Melitta was among the pioneers of flight, a darling of the media in the twenties and early thirties, she was no flying celebrity. Her exploits didn’t find their way into the annals of aviation history, in contrast to her German (but also English and American) colleagues. At the same time, she stood out in particular way. On account of all the contradictions and ruptures in her life, she is a virtual symbol of her politically and ideologically extreme era.

From the beginning of her university education until her violent death in April 1945 (just four weeks before the war’s end), Melitta Schiller lived primarily in an environment shaped by men.

As a female student of engineering sciences at the Technical University of Munich, she was more than unusual in the 1920s: she was actually the *only* female student in the discipline. At the end of the decade, though, she had already left her mark on aviation research and the defense industry, regarded as an expert in aerodynamics. And once World War II commenced, she worked almost exclusively in the restricted military areas of Rechlin and Berlin-Gatow. In these top-secret precincts, she lived among soldiers and officers both in the barracks and on the airfield. Alone among warriors in a totalitarian system that gave pride of place to the breeding of “racially pure” supermen and “steel-hard” fighters – how was that at all possible?

In 1931 Melitta Schiller met her future husband, Alexander von Stauffenberg, the twin brother of Berthold and the older brother of Claus von Stauffenberg, the would-be assassin of Hitler. Along with them, Alexander had been a disciple of Stefan George in the 1920s. Though by profession a historian, he regarded himself mainly as a poet. One might reasonably ask how compatible such a couple was. Wasn't an engineer [now 12] married to a poet an (errant) attempt to reconcile technological modernity with the aestheticism of the George Circle and its ancient Greek ideals? It isn't easy to imagine an engineer-aviatrix in the *Luftwaffe*, in an almost exclusively male profession, together with a member of a homoerotic group of artists and scholars. Although Melitta spent most of her time in Berlin, Alexander drifted about in the early 1930s as an unpaid lecturer from university to university before finally receiving an appointment as a professor at Würzburg in 1936. How could that be a (conventionally) happy marriage?

As the Battle of Stalingrad was turning catastrophic for Germany, Göring awarded Melitta Schiller the Iron Cross in his Berlin residence. On that occasion, the numerous guests made toasts and drank champagne. Melitta had received this honor despite her father being a Jew, which rendered *her* a “Jewish half-breed of the first degree” (in the terminology of the Nazis). How was she able to rise successfully into the ranks of the (functionary) military elite of National Socialism, both as a woman and a “half-Jew”? Hers was confusing life, full of improbabilities, where much was compatible that might at first have seemed otherwise.

After World War II, there were claims that she had been involved in the logistical planning for assassination attempt of 20 July 1944. Others maintain that she had been personally briefed by Claus von Stauffenberg on the military resistance.⁵ In addition, the countess is alleged to have flown her brother-in-law back to Berlin in a Fieseler Storch after his attempt on the *Führer*'s life (in the East Prussian “Wolf's Lair”), so that he could then implement the Valkyrie Plan. Did Melitta von Stauffenberg thus participate in some way in the preparations for the 20th of July? If so, she would have been the [now 13] only woman who played an active role in the armed resistance, something thought to have been carried out exclusively by men. Is it possible that the extensive, decades-long research on the Hitler assassination has omitted this up to now?

In the trajectory of Melitta's life, nothing seems to have been impossible. There are neither sharp breaks nor clear divisions to speak of. Rather, it stands in fundamental opposition to the conventional interpretations of other lives under the Nazis. Melitta von Stauffenberg – whom one is always inclined to call Melitta *Schiller* -- was both a remarkable and enigmatic woman. A “half-Jew” in the service of the Nazi regime, a woman whose profession

was war, weaponry and destruction -- such contradictions raise a number of questions.

In researching historical figures, one only knows as much as the archives reveal, and finding source material on Melitta von Stauffenberg is very difficult. Almost none of her personal effects survived the Second World War. When the British Royal Air Force fire-bombed Würzburg on 16 March 1945, five-thousand civilians were killed. The historic old city was left in ruins, and the family home of Melitta and Alexander von Stauffenberg also suffered a direct hit. No one searched through the rubble to save something. And whatever wasn't burned or destroyed, was stolen. Not a single personal item or document is preserved. In August 1945, Melitta's youngest sister Clara Schiller wrote Marie-Luise Lübbert, her oldest sister living in Neumünster, that "*everything* in Würzburg" had been "reduced to ashes; not even a pin or a needle is left"⁶ The author of this biography has been able to evaluate previously unknown source material in private and in public collections. The extensive archives of the three sisters, Clara, Jutta, and especially Marie-Luise Lübbert, were particularly helpful. Nonetheless, testimony from Melitta von Stauffenberg herself is as good as nonexistent for the 1920s and 1930s. Investigative finesse and deductive skill have been required to illuminate some of the obscurity (or demons) of this peculiar (or haunted) German life. So let us now dispense with the darkness and accompany the mysterious Melitta von Stauffenberg on the convoluted passages of her life.

[from Chapter 4: “*Dipl. Ing. Flugkapitän Countess Stauffenberg*”: A Career in the Third Reich”]

[. . .]

The Nazi seizure of power wasn't a turning point in Melitta's life. At first her father's Jewish origins posed no obstacles to her career. By the end of the 1920s, the total number of university students was in decline. These circumstances also impinged (indirectly) on the field of aviation science. Hence, the German Institute for Experimental Aviation (henceforth “DVL”) established a “Department for Young Engineers” in August 1933. As a result, Melitta and her fellow students didn't have to worry much about competition for jobs or moving up the career ladder. This remained the case for the years to follow since the shortage of qualified researchers and technicians persisted into World War II. That is why the new regime in 1933 could be fairly certain of support from engineers, who considered themselves apolitical but (for the most part) were national-conservative in orientation.

Melitta continued her scientific work under steadily improving institutional conditions -- and more stringent military requirements. While her research and test reports were initially rather disparate, continuities began to appear after 1930. At the outset, she observed engines and blowers, making general aerodynamic calculations. This can be seen from DVL yearbooks and the surviving reports composed by her and (at times) other colleagues.⁷ In her role as a salaried “Agent for Propellers,”⁸ she evaluated experiments on controllable-pitch propellers (1931) [now 122] and made computations on “various propeller and motor assemblies for the Junkers G 31 aircraft.”⁹ Overall, these were little more than standard tasks for a scientific officer.

Yet matters were somewhat different in Melitta Schiller's "Analysis of Experimental Studies on Propellers with Rotating Blades" (1932), which she co-authored with the eminent researcher Hans Reissner, an expert on propellers. Here we find the beginnings of an innovative theory, one which Melitta appears not to have pursued further. If she had exceptional mathematical and theoretical talents, as claimed by her siblings after her death, it is difficult to discern them in the papers she completed for the DVL.¹⁰ Melitta's genius was actually more practical and experimental, and her subsequent accomplishments indeed pointed in that direction. Between 1934 and 1936 she embarked on a series of studies in wind tunnels, experimenting with slats, flaps, and other lift devices that would bring the newest aircraft (with their more robust engines) more rapidly into higher altitudes. Moreover, in 1934 she made her first test of "propellers in a nose dive"-- a reference to the military significance of her experiments. A further test report from 1936 demonstrates that Melitta Schiller was already working as a test pilot. Hermann Blenk, director of the Aerodynamics Division of DVL from 1934 to 1936, encapsulated her professional life thus: "She not only wanted to know something but also to apply that knowledge – to do something with it. That was in keeping with her passionate desire to become a pilot."¹¹ While her activities were already exceptional, they became even more due to her status as a scientist, further refined by her aura as a pilot. [now 123]

In the course of the 1920s, as aviation became a symbol for national rebirth, pilots became something of a harbinger for Germany's future. To mark the tenth anniversary of the war's end in 1928, the national-revolutionary writer Ernst Jünger (then just 34 years old) published a book entitled *The Necessity of Aviation*.

This opulent volume, in large-folio format and illustrated abundantly with photographs, was issued “under the patronage of the German Air Transport Association [DVL].” In thirty-seven individual contributions making up 400 pages, it revealed the scope of German aviation, its (military) history and technical development.¹² During the Great War, Jünger had attempted in vain to be reassigned from the infantry to the “aviation troops” (*Fliegertruppe*). In 1926 he showed up in Berlin-Staaken in an attempt to compensate for this failed dream. But after just a few hours of flying lessons from a former fighter pilot, he gave up once more, noting his lack of skill. Nonetheless, Jünger’s failure didn’t diminish his fervent admiration for pilots.

For him, the “aviator” represented the superlative type, the most important anthropological legacy of World War I. Initially he deemed the shock troop fighter [*Stosstruppkämpfer*] to be the model modern, owing to his cold-blooded intelligence, strong nerves and physical strength. In 1929, Jünger’s new exemplar was embodied by the pilot. “Human aviation” he postulated (implicitly including women), “is perhaps the most pointed manifestation of a new masculinity, a type that was already hinted at by the war.”¹³ The interaction between human and machine in the engineered form of air combat made steely aviators the prototype of a national elite that would grasp the technological civilization of the present as its natural [now 124] habitat. The pilot wasn’t just a military hero or redeemer of the nation, but a New Human -- especially when fused with the modern world of machines.

In another (in)famous text of 1932, Jünger referred to such a figure as “the worker.” His trademark was not only his “close and unquestioned merging . . . with the tools available to him”¹⁴ and his formation beyond the traditional polarity of the sexes.

Jünger was an attentive observer of his epoch. Jünger thus distilled the physiognomy of the worker from the Weimar “ornament of the masses,” from photos, movies, newspapers and magazines, not to speak of the urban lifestyle of Berlin, which Jünger then called home. A type of human being unknown before the war was thought to have emerged by dint of “hygiene, sun cults, sports, and physical culture.”¹⁵ This New Human was distinguished in having adapted and leveled out gender physiognomies and sex roles. A conspicuous “mask-like rigidity of the face” gave “men a metallic impression, women a cosmetic one.”¹⁶ If the reduction of physical gender differences was the result of athletic training, then the physiognomic approximation of the sexes was something that derived from the expanding mechanical world of work. According to Jünger, a number of modern athletic and professional activities were no longer possible without masks. The general uniformity of modern mass society led him to link the worker with the discovery of a “third sex.”¹⁷ Just as the polarity of the sexes was being overcome in the figure of the worker, the domination of man over machine had been transformed into an organic (even integrated) relationship. In Berlin-Adlershof the “flying Amazon” Melitta Schiller [now 125] -- athletic, sun-tanned, androgynous-looking -- was quite close to Jünger’s worker. The DVL wasn’t just a place “for developing fast aircraft” but also for cultivating a New Human compatible with technology.¹⁸

One needs only glance at mass-market publications, such as the best-selling *Berlin Illustrated News* (or *BIZ*), to be convinced of the growing fascination for pilots during the Weimar years. In countless features, reports and articles on the topic of aviation, photography had become the visual medium *par excellence*. Further, if one examines still photos (whether in the *BIZ* or in

similar periodicals) from thematically-related movies, one can only second Jünger's assessment of a "third sex." Everywhere the reader encountered faces obscured by masks, hoods, or goggles. One couldn't be certain whether the photos were of men or women. The only clear thing was that a new species of pilot had coming into being. In these portraits, a flying ace like Ernst Udet was almost indistinguishable from Marga Etdorf, Etdorf from Thea Rasche, and Rasche from a veteran pilot of World War I.

Like all the other aviators of her day, Melitta Schiller conformed to the orchestrated media stereotype of the pilot – outfitted with cap, goggles, short hair, jump suit, and cigarette. By contrast, Thea Rasche, Liesel Bach, Vera von Bissing, Marga von Etdorf, Georgia Lind, Antonie Strassmann, and Elly Beinhorn were freelance air entrepreneurs who marketed their risky adventures to Weimar-era Germans as great individual feats. Like most other female flyers, Melitta Schiller cultivated the cool gestures of the dandy, which had originated in the anti-bourgeois counterculture of the turn of the century. In 1933, this type of pilot was still alive, ideologically and technologically speaking. From now on, however, gender-bending aviation entrepreneurs [now 126], realizing their adventures were no longer more than useful accessories. Flying women only had a future if they presented themselves in the interest of the Nazi state. Among those who became ripe for propaganda were Liesel Bach, Vera Bissing, Thea Rasche, and – first and foremost -- the internationally renowned Elly Beinhorn. [now 127]

Less prominent pilots benefited from the militarization of aviation in the wake of the general rearmament, in accordance with their respective professional positions. Beate Uhse, the legendary post-1945 sex entrepreneur (known before the war as *Beate*

Kostlin) was one such example. She served as a test pilot for various airlines, and was even captain of a ferry squadron in Berlin Tempelhof as the war came to an end.¹⁹ But those best prepared for the New Era were Jünger's "workers" such as Melitta Schiller. "It really isn't important that people write something about me," she declared at the beginning of her professional training.²⁰ This was less coquetry than a reaction to the fact that the adventure-seeking aviator type was gradually falling prey to technological progress. In the early 1930s, there was a demand for other, newer types of pilots, and no longer for dandies who performed flying feats in front of a sensation-seeking audience. Civilian and military pilots were called for who would depend on the safety and technology of their planes and abstain from adventures.

Marga von Etzdorf, a good friend of Melitta Schiller,²¹ was a victim of the changing times. After failing in her efforts to become a commercial airline pilot, von Etzdorf focused on making spectacular long-distance flights as a stunt flier, willing to endure any peril. On her first long-distance flight to the Canary Islands, she had to make an unscheduled stop. After finally being permitted to enter the territory, she had to make a crash landing on her return flight. Yet the mannish-looking aviatrix caused a stir in 1932 when making a solo flight from Berlin to Tokyo in twelve days. On the way back, however, she had an accident, totaling her Junkers Junior and badly injuring herself. As of May 1933, she had saved enough money for her next long-distance flight to Australia [now 128]. She took off from Berlin-Staaken, but only got as far as Aleppo, Syria. On the approach, with strong gusts behind her, she damaged the plane upon landing. Then, after arriving at "the guesthouse at the airport," the 24-year old shot herself dead.²² Despairing over her future, fearing her sponsors would withdraw

their support, the unfortunate pilot panicked, believing she would be exposed as a secret weapons trader. For on her plane, the French authorities found leaflets for the Schmeisser Company as well as a machine-gun model to show to potential customers. Such an illegally imported weapon was in violation of international regulations, arms trading being deemed a breach of the Treaty of Versailles. Thinking she would be thoroughly discredited, von Etdorf took the Schmeisser machine gun and turned it on herself. Her death on 28 May 1933 sent a clear signal that the era of the adventurous dandy pilot was over. Without a doubt, Etdorf and those like her understood well how aircraft engines and technology operated. Yet such know-how was no longer enough. With the increasing mechanization of flying, an escalating division of labor was required on board. Flying had now become so specialized that an array of technical experts was necessary. Aviation had become too complex for all the relevant processes to be mastered by the pilots herself.

Notes

¹ Georg Pasewaldt, *Erfahrungen und Erkenntnisse einer Fliegerlaufbahn*. Excerpt from the chapter "Tapfere Frauen," p. 4. Photocopied typescript; Archiv Reinhart Rudershausen.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1 f.

³ Zeugnis E'Stelle, E 7 III. Undated photocopied typescript, *ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵ Cf. Gerhard Bracke, *Melitta Gräfin Stauffenberg. Das Leben einer Fliegerin* (Munich 1990). Gerhard Bracke deserves high praise for his extensive research on Melitta von Stauffenberg. For his book, he collected important archival documents from her estate that had been in the possession of her youngest sister Clara [now 354] Schiller; in addition, he interviewed the last surviving witnesses. Since Bracke's book was completed before 1989, he had to do without the documents from the East German and Polish archives that were mostly still inaccessible at that point. The focus of his biography is on Melitta von Stauffenberg's professional life; the historical context of Nazism and the Jewish origins of her father Michael Schiller play only a minor role. The few works published since usually borrow from Bracke's work, but they do not re-

examine the evidence, including the issue of her involvement in the assassination attempt of 20 July 1944. Cf. Peter Hoffmann, *Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg und seine Brüder* (Munich 1992) p. 388. For a similar account, see Karl Christ, *Der andere Stauffenberg. Der Historiker und Dichter Alexander von Stauffenberg* (Munich 2008) p. 56.

⁶ Klara Schiller to Marie-Luise Lübbert. Letter of 30 August 1945; emphasis in the original. See as well Marie-Luise Lübbert, *Chronik der Familie Lübbert* (from 22 October 1923 until the end of the 1950s), p. 27; Archiv Wenka-Maria Hagemeister.

⁷ [fn. 5, ch. 4] Archiv Deutsches Museum, ZWB: FB 89 Schiller, M., Windkanaluntersuchungen von Luftschrauben im Sturzflug, 6 April 1934; FB 106 Schiller, M., Auswertung experimenteller Untersuchungen über Verstell-Luftschrauben, 15 September 1934; FB 506 Schiller, M., Windkanaluntersuchungen an einem Flügel mit Rollflügel und Vorflügel, 9 January 1936; FB 663 Ernsthausen, Krüger, Schiller, Willms, Beziehungen zwischen den akustischen und den aerodynamischen Eigenschaften von Luftschrauben, 20 July 1936; PB 366 Schiller, M., Flugleistungen eines Flugzeuges mit vier verschiedenen Luftschrauben, 20 January 1936.

⁸ [fn. 6, ch. 4] *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt* (Berlin-Adlershof 1930), p. X.

⁹ [fn. 7, ch. 4] *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luftfahrt*, Zusammenstellung der im Jahre 1930/1931 durch Berichte abgeschlossenen Arbeiten, p. 3. vol. 59/2: Vergleichende Berechnungen für verschiedene Schrauben- und Motorenanordnungen bei der Junkers G 31. Melitta Schiller. 15 pages of text. 28 June 1930.

¹⁰ [fn. 8, ch. 4] For this information, I wish to express my gratitude to Daniela Helbig, Cambridge, MA.

¹¹ [fn. 9, ch. 4] Hermann Blenk, *Erinnerungen an Melitta Schiller*, 13 September 1974. Gerhard Bracke, *Melitta Gräfin Stauffenberg*, loc. cit., p. 37. See also Archiv Reinhart Rudershausen.

¹² [fn. 10, ch.4] Ernst Jünger, ed. *Luftfahrt ist not!* (Leipzig, Nuremberg 1928).

¹³ [fn. 11, ch. 4] *Ibid.*, p. 11 f.

¹⁴ [fn. 12, ch. 4] *Ibid.*, *Der Arbeiter. Herrschaft und Gestalt*. In: *Werke*. Vol. 6. Stuttgart, no year of publication, p. 197.

¹⁵ [fn. 13, ch. 4] Ernst Jünger, *Der Arbeiter*, p. 113.

¹⁶ [fn. 14, ch. 4] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷ [fn. 15, ch. 4] Cf. Franziska Meier, *Emanzipation als Herausforderung*, loc. cit., p. 195 ff.

¹⁸ [fn. 16, ch. 4] Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Versuchsanstalt für Luft- und Raumfahrt e.V., loc. cit. Tätigkeitsbericht der Jahre 1939 bis 1941, p. 42.

¹⁹ [fn. 17, ch. 4] Cf. Evelyn Zegenhagen, “*Schneidige deutsche Madel*,” loc. cit., p. 465.

²⁰ [fn. 18, ch. 4] Carl Maria Holzapfel, Käte und Rudolf Stocks (eds.), *Frauen fliegen*, loc. cit., p. 77.

²¹ [fn. 19, ch. 4] In her book *Kiek in die Welt. Als deutsche Fliegerin über drei Erdteilen* (Berlin 1931), von Etdorf reports that Melitta Schiller helped her prepare for the certification test and dragged her “through all the departments of the DVL, showing me everything in order to reinforce my learning” (p. 56).

²² [fn. 20, ch. 4] Evelyn Zegenhagen, “*Schneidige deutsche Madel*,” loc. cit., p. 174.