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Wartime Rescue of Jews by the Polish Catholic Clergy

The Testimony of Survivors and Rescuers

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Rescue activities on behalf of Jews were carried out by priests and nuns in more than one thousand Roman Catholic Church institutions—parishes, convents, children’s homes and boarding schools—throughout occupied Poland during World War II. The number of priests and religious involved in these activities was many times higher.

This effort is all the more remarkable since Poland was the only country under German occupation where any form of assistance to Jews was routinely punishable by death. Several dozen members of the Polish clergy were executed for this reason.

It must also be borne in mind that the Polish Catholic clergy were the only Christian clergy who were systematically surveilled, persecuted, imprisoned and murdered by the thousands as a result of Nazi genocidal policies.

This selection of accounts of rescue is far from comprehensive, as there are several hundred additional documented cases yet to be entered. It was compiled by the Polish Educational Foundation in North America (Toronto) and is posted on the Internet at:

<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>

and

<http://www.glaukopis.pl/images/artykuly-obcojezyczne/CLERGYRESCUEKPK052016.pdf>

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Selected print publications by Mark Paul:

The Story of Two Shtetls, Brańsk and Ejszyszki: An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Northeastern Poland during World War II. A collective work. Toronto; Chicago: Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998: “Anti-Semitic Pogrom in Ejszyszki? An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Wartime Northeastern Poland” (Part 2, pp. 9–172) & “Jewish-Polish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1945” (Part 2, pp. 173–230)

Golden Harvest or Hearts of Gold? Studies on the Fate of Wartime Poles and Jews. Edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, and Paweł Styrna. Washington, D.C.: Leopolis Press, 2012. “Rescue of Jewish Escapees from the Treblinka Death Camp” (pp. 117–137) & “Poles and Jews in Poland’s Eastern Borderlands in September 1939” (pp. 257–293)

Glaukopis, no. 25/26 (2012), no. 27 (2012), no. 28 (2013), no. 30 (2014)

Online publications posted at <http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>:

Neighbours on the Eve of the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941

Patterns of Cooperation, Collaboration and Betrayal: Jews, Germans and Poles in Occupied Poland during World War II

A Tangled Web: Polish-Jewish Relations in Wartime Northeastern Poland and the Aftermath

Traditional Jewish Attitudes Toward Poles

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ARCHDIOCESES AND DIOCESES
OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
OF THE LATIN RITE IN 1939

DIECEZJE KOŚCIOŁA RZYMSKOKATOLICKIEGO
W POLSCE W 1930 R.



**ARCHDIOCESES AND DIOCESES
OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
OF THE LATIN RITE IN 1939**

Province of Gniezno – Poznań

Archdiocese of Gniezno – Poznań

Diocese of Chełmno

Diocese of Włocławek

Province of Warsaw

Archdiocese of Warsaw

Diocese of Łódź

Diocese of Lublin

Diocese of Płock

Diocese of Sandomierz

Diocese of Siedlce (Podlasie)

Province of Kraków (Cracow)

Archdiocese of Kraków (Cracow)

Diocese of Częstochowa

Diocese of Katowice (Silesia)

Diocese of Kielce

Diocese of Tarnów

Province of Lwów

Archdiocese of Lwów

Diocese of Łuck

Diocese of Przemyśl

Province of Wilno

Archdiocese of Wilno

Diocese of Łomża

Diocese of Pińsk



“Nor was the Catholic clergy [in Poland] any help at all.”
Yeduda Bauer, Israeli Holocaust historian¹

“What concerns the Jews, the Poles have been collaborating with the Germans. ... only at most one hundred people have been helping Jews. ... Polish priests did not save even one Jewish life.”
Menachem Begin, former Israeli Prime Minister²

An Overview of Rescue during the German Occupation, 1939–1945

Holocaust historian Philip Friedman was the first to describe the various forms of assistance provided to Jews by the Catholic clergy throughout Poland in his pioneering work on rescue, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), at pages 125–26 and 140.

Emanuel Ringelblum notes in his diaries dated December 31, 1940, that priests in all of Warsaw's churches exhorted their parishioners to bury their prejudice against Jews and beware of the poison of Jew-hatred preached by the common enemy, the Germans. In an entry of June, 1941, Ringelblum tells of a priest in Kampinos [Rev. Stanisław Cieśliński] who called on his flock to aid Jewish inmates of the forced-labor camps in the vicinity. A priest in Grajewo [Rev. Aleksander Peża] similarly enjoined his parishioners to help Jews.

During the early days of the German occupation, in October, 1939, eleven Jews were seized in Szczebrzeszyn. Aid was sought from the local priest, Cieslicki [Józef Cieslicki]. He promptly formed a committee of Christians to plead with the German authorities. ...

Several Jews of Siedlce survived in a bunker in the woods near Miedzyrzec [Międzyrzec Podlaski], thanks to a monk who, having discovered their hiding place by accident, brought them food every day.

In July, 1941, the Germans imposed a staggering fine on the Jews of Zolkiew [Żółkiew]; a Roman Catholic priest contributed a large sum of money to help the Jews.

Andreas [Andrzej] Gdowski, priest of the famous Ostra Brama Church in Vilna [Wilno], saved the lives of several Jews by concealing them in the house of worship. According to Hermann Adler, a Jewish poet who survived the Vilna ghetto, Father Gdowski, in addition to saving the lives of Jews, also took care of their spiritual needs by setting aside a well-camouflaged room in his church to be used by his “guests” as a synagogue.

In Szczucin, on the Day of Atonement [Yom Kippur], [September 23] 1939, the Germans staged a raid on all the synagogues. They harassed and beat worshipers, ridiculed and spat upon them; they tore the garments off young Jewish females and drove them naked through the market place. At noon, the vicar of the local Catholic church appeared in the market place in his sacerdotal vestments and implored the Germans to cease torturing the Jews and permit them to return to their prayers. The SS men, however, were not to be denied their afternoon of fun and frolic; they burned down the synagogues.

A number of priests in the neighborhood of the death camp at Treblinka gave food and shelter to Jews escaping from transports on the way to the camp.

Father [Jan] Urbanowicz of Brzesc-on-Bug [Brześć nad Bugiem] was shot by the Germans in June, 1943, for aiding Jews. For the same crime Canon Roman Archutowski, Rector of the Clerical Academy [archdiocesan seminary] in Warsaw, was sent to the Majdanek concentration camp, where he died of torture in October, 1943. Similarly, the Deacon [Dean] of Grodno parish [Rev. Albin Jaroszewicz³] and the Prior of the Franciscan Order [Fr. Dionizy or Michał Klimczak] were sent to Lomza [Łomża] in the autumn of 1943, and were shot.

In 1942, during the massive German raids on the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, the three remaining rabbis received an offer of asylum from members of the Catholic clergy. The rabbis graciously declined the proffered chance of escape and perished with their congregations. ...

Several priests in Vilna [Wilno] delivered sermons admonishing their parishioners to refrain from taking Jewish property or shedding blood; eventually those clerics disappeared.

A priest who baptized a seventeen-year-old Jewish girl and aided her in other ways was tried in public, flogged by the Gestapo, and sentenced to forced labor for life.

¹ Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 57.

² Begin stated this on Dutch television in 1979.

³ Although arrested by the Germans twice, Rev. Albin Jaroszewicz was not killed by them. His fate is described later on in the text.

Historian Władysław Bartoszewski, a prominent member of Żegota, the wartime Council for Aid to Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom*), provides the following overview in his book *The Blood Shed Unites Us: Pages from the History of Help to the Jews in Occupied Poland* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1970), at pages 189–94.

There was hardly a monastic congregation in Poland during the occupation that did not come in contact with the problem of help to the hiding Jews, chiefly to women and children—despite strong pressure from the Gestapo and constant surveillance of the monasteries, and the forced resettlement of congregations, arrests and deportations to concentration camps, thus rendering underground work more difficult. Some orders carried on work on a particularly large scale: the Congregation of Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary who concealed several hundred Jewish children in their homes throughout Poland; the figure of Mother [Matylda] Getter, Provincial Superior of that Congregation, has already gone down in history. The Ursuline Sisters [of the Roman Union] played a similar role in Warsaw, Lublin, Cracow [Kraków] and Cracow Voivodship, Lvov [Lwów], Stanisławów and Kołomyja; the nuns of the Order of the Immaculate Conception did the same in their convents; the Discalced Carmelites gave shelter to the especially endangered leaders of Jewish underground organizations. In their home at 27 Wolska Street in Warsaw, situated near the ghetto walls, help was given to refugees in various forms; this was one of the places where false documents were delivered to Jews; there, too, liaison men of the Jewish underground on the “Aryan” side—Arie Wilner, Tuwile Szejngut, and others—had their secret premises. In 1942 and 1943, the seventeen sisters lived under permanent danger of [death] but never declined their cooperation even in the most hazardous undertakings. The Benedictine Samaritan Order of the Holy Cross concealed children and adults at Pruszków, Henryków and Samaria [Niegów] in the voivodship of Warsaw; Sisters of the Order of the Resurrection [of Our Lord Jesus Christ] hid Jews in all their convents throughout Poland; the Franciscan Sisters [Servants of the Cross] in Laski near Warsaw many a time gave refuge and help to a great number of these persecuted when all other efforts had failed; the Sacré-Coeur Congregation took care of Jews in Lvov [Lwów] at the time of most intensified Nazi terror there. ...

Equally splendid was the record of many orders of monks, and in particular the St Vincent [de Paul] Congregation of Missionary Fathers, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, the Salesian Society, the Catholic Apostleship Association, the Congregation of Marist Fathers, the Franciscans, the Capuchins and the Dominicans.

Well known is the protective role played towards the Jews by Archbishop Romuald Jalbrzykowski, at the time metropolitan bishop in Vilna [Wilno], and by Dr Ignacy Swirski, professor of moral theology at Stefan Batory University in Vilna, after the war Ordinary of Siedlce Diocese (died in 1968); it was of their will and with their knowledge that a great many refugees from the ghettos were hiding in ecclesiastical institutions and convents. Also well known are the activities of the distinguished writer and preacher, the late Father Jacek Woroniecki of the Dominican Order. In Warsaw, an especially beneficent role was played among others by Father Władysław Kornilowicz,⁴ Father Jan Zieja,⁵ Father Zygmunt Trószczyński, and in the ghetto itself, up to 1942, by Father Marceł Godlewski, rector of the Roman Catholic parish of All Saints, by Father Antoni Czarnecki and Father Tadeusz Nowoiko. In Cracow [Kraków], broad social work was displayed—with the knowledge and of the will of the Archbishop-Metropolitan Adam Sapieha, by Father Ferdynand Machaj, well-known civic leader, writer and preacher. It was also to the priests throughout the country that the dangerous task fell ex officio to issue to people in

⁴ Rev. Władysław Kornilowicz was the chaplain of the Institute for Blind Children in Laski, outside Warsaw, run by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross outside Warsaw. Because of his public pronouncements at the outset of the war, he had to take refuge in Żułów near Krasnystaw, where he served as chaplain at a newly established branch of the Institute for the Blind. Periodically, Rev. Kornilowicz returned to Warsaw, where he assisted Jewish converts and Jews who escaped from the ghetto. See Mateusz Wyrwich, “Obcy we własnym mieście,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 3 (2009): 82 (testimony of Tomasz Prot). Jan Kott, a Jew who was baptized as a child, wrote: “Father Kornilowicz baptized many of the Jews who were part of the long-assimilated Warsaw intelligentsia. I do not know how many of these conversions were truly religious and how many were prompted by the threat of a wave of anti-Semitism. Undoubtedly Father Kornilowicz’s apostolic gift also played a major role.” See Jan Kott, *Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 15.

⁵ Before the war Rev. Jan Zieja was a professor at the clerical seminary in Pińsk, in Polesie (Polesia). He was a well-known preacher and author of works on religious subjects. During the war he provided many Jews with baptismal and birth certificates, temporary shelter, and food, and found hiding places for them. See his account in Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945*, Second revised and expanded edition (Kraków: Znak, 1969), 819–20. Some of his activities are detailed in this study.

hiding birth and baptism certificates necessary for the obtaining of “Aryan” documents.⁶ A number of priests, like Father Julian Chrościcki [Chrościcki] from Warsaw, paid for it with deportation to a concentration camp. ...

In all their efforts aimed at helping Jews, the clergy and the convents collaborated as a rule with Catholic laymen in their region. Thus, for example, rectors would place some of those hiding in the homes of their parishioners, and convents often kept in contact with lay institutions of Polish social welfare; the personnel of the latter included a great many persons dedicated to the idea of bringing help.

⁶ In interwar Poland, baptismal certificates issued by Roman Catholic parishes had the status of official state documents and also served as birth certificates. It was customary to pay a small fee (donation) to the parish for the issuance of such documents. In 1942, the German authorities introduced a requirement for all Poles 15 and older to obtain an identity card known as a *Kennkarte*. To receive a *Kennkarte*, a person had to fill out an application form and provide two photographs and supporting documents such as a birth or baptismal certificate, a certified attestation of permanent residence, a prewar Polish national identity document (if possible), a marriage certificate, etc. The applicant was also obliged to make a formal declaration of their Aryan ethnicity and was fingerprinted. In practice, obtaining a baptismal certificate was the first important step. Since Polish-speaking civil servants were involved in the process, *Kennkarten* were frequently forged, thus allowing members of the underground and Polish Jews to obtain new identities. Illegal printing shops manufacturing fake *Kennkarten* also operated, and such cards were widely available either through underground organizations or on the black market. According to the Gestapo, in Warsaw there were up to 150,000 fake cards in circulation in 1943. On the acquisition and use of false identity documents see Sebastian Piątkowski, “‘Aryan Papers’: On the Help Provided by Poles in Legalising False Identities for Jews in the Territory of the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Regions,” *Polish-Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (2020): 437–63.

The Treatment of the Polish Catholic Clergy

Already in the first months of the occupation, the Catholic Church in Poland, and especially its clergy in the western territories incorporated into the Reich, was subjected to persecution on a scale unheard of in other countries that were or were to be occupied by the Germans. Elsewhere, the Germans did not interfere much in the functioning of Christian religions and the day-to-day affairs of the clergy. Reports from 1939 and 1940 provide vivid descriptions of the cruel treatment meted out to hundreds of members of the Polish clergy including bishops.⁷ These repressions were part of a broader campaign, the so-called *Intelligenzaktion*, which was a genocidal policy that targeted Polish elites or educated classes. Between September 1939 and April 1940, some 50,000 Poles were executed and another 50,000 were deported to concentration camps where most of them perished. No other occupied nation experienced anything of the kind.

Although these atrocities were often perpetrated in the open and witnessed by the population at large, including the Jews, there are no known reports of how Jews reacted to the mistreatment of the Catholic clergy. Until the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, rabbis—although occasionally abused—were not sent to concentration camps or executed publicly the way that Polish Catholic priests were. Yet there is no record of any concern, let alone protest, on the part of rabbis regarding the treatment of the Polish clergy. This is not surprising given that the notion of protesting their treatment by the Germans was simply not a feasible option for either Poles or Jews. Both groups were subjected to a variety of severe persecutory measures from the outset, and these measures only escalated as the war progressed. Under the circumstances, and given the merciless behaviour of the Germans who cared naught for what Poles or Jews thought, protesting would have been not only meaningless but also counterproductive. Nonetheless, even though the Poles did not protest against their own mistreatment, incredibly some Holocaust historians take them to task for not staging protests on behalf of the Jews.

In the archdiocese of Gniezno:

The Archdiocesan Curia was closed by the Gestapo. ... Likewise, the Metropolitan Tribunal of the first and second instance has been closed and taken over by the Gestapo. The keys of the Curia and the Tribunal are in the hands of the Gestapo.

The Metropolitan Chapter has been dispersed. The Vicar-General and Mgr. [Stanisław] Krzeszkiewicz remain in their houses. The others were ejected from their homes, and Canon [Aleksy] Brasse has been deported to Central Poland [the General Government]. ...

The archiepiscopal seminary of philosophy at Gniezno was taken over by the soldiers. A German general has taken the archiepiscopal palace as his quarters. The homes of the expelled Canons, as likewise the dwelling-places of the lower clergy of the Basilica, have been occupied by the Germans. ... The Conventual Fathers of Gniezno were thrust out of their parish and convent, the latter being used as a place of detention for Jews. The principal parish church, that of the Holy Trinity, was profaned, the parish house invaded, and the entire belongings were stolen.

The German authorities, especially the Gestapo, rage against the Catholic clergy, who live under a rule of terror, constantly harassed by provocations, with no possibility of recourse or legitimate defence.

The following priests were shot by the Germans:

Rev. Anthony [Antoni] Lewicki, rural dean and parish priest of Goscieszyn [Gościeszyn].

Rev. Michael [Michał] Rolski, rural dean and parish priest of Szczepanowo.

Rev. Matthew Zablocki [Mateusz Zabłocki], rural dean and parish priest of Gniezno.

Rev. Wenceslaus [Wacław] Janke, parish priest of Jaktorowo.

Rev. Zeno Niziołkiewicz [Zenon Niziołkiewicz], parish priest of Słaboszewo [Słaboszewo].

Rev. John [Jan] Jakubowski, curate of Bydgoszcz.

Rev. Casimir [Kazimierz] Nowicki, curate of Janowiec.

Rev. Ladislaus [Władysław] Nowicki, curate of Szczepanowo.

Rev. Peter [Piotr] Szarek, a Lazarist Father, curate of Bydgoszcz.

Rev. [Stanisław] Wiorek, a Lazarist [Vincentian] Father, curate of Bydgoszcz.

⁷ *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in German-Occupied Poland: Reports Presented by H.E. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland, to Pope Pius XII, Vatican Broadcasts and Other Reliable Evidence* (London: Burns Oates, 1941; New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941).

*With blows of their rifle-butts, German soldiers killed:
Rev. Marian Skrzypczak, curate of Plonkowo [Plonkowo].*

Due to forced labour:

Rev. Joseph [Józef] Domeracki, rural dean and parish priest of Gromadno.

Died in prison:

Rev. Canon Boleslaus [Bolesław] Jaskowski, parish priest of Inowroclaw [Inowrocław].

Rev. Romoald Soltysinski [Romuald Soltysiński], parish priest of Rządwin.

Killed by a German bomb:

Rev. Leo [Leon] Breczewski, parish priest of Sosnica [Sośnica].

Many priests are imprisoned, suffering humiliations, blows, maltreatment. A certain number were deported to Germany, and of those there is no news. Others have been detained in concentration camps. Already there has begun the expulsion of priests into Central Poland, whence it is impossible and forbidden to return. ... It is not rare to see a priest in the midst of labour gangs working in the fields, repairing roads and bridges, drawing wagons of coal, at work in the sugar factories, and even engaged in demolishing the synagogues. Some of them have been shut up for the night in pigsties, barbarously beaten and subjected to other tortures. As illustrations, we cite these facts.

At Bydgoszcz, in September [1939], about 5,000 men were imprisoned in a stable, in which there was not even room to sit on the ground. A corner of the stable had been designated as the place for the necessities of nature. The Canon Casimir Stepczynski [Kazimierz Stepczyński], rural dean and parish priest of the place, was obliged, in company with a Jew, to carry away in his hands the human excrement, a nauseating task, considering the great number of prisoners. The curate, Adam Musiał [Musiał], who wished to take the place of the venerable priest, was brutally beaten with a rifle-butt. ...

From an authoritative source it is stated: "Between Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) and Gniezno the churches have been closed, with very few exceptions." ... This situation (in the total 261 parishes almost half are without any priest) is growing worse ...

Those churches which still have the ministrations of priests are permitted to be open only on Sunday, and then only from nine to eleven o'clock in the morning. ... Sermons are allowed to be preached only in German ... Church hymns in Polish have been forbidden. ...

The crucifixes were removed from the schools. No religious instruction is being imparted. It is forbidden to collect offerings in the churches for the purposes of worship. ...

In such conditions pious and religious associations are not functioning. ...

From the time of the entrance of the German troops into those regions, numerous crucifixes, busts, and statues of Our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints that adorned the streets were battered to the ground. ...

The oppression being exerted against the houses and apostolate of Religious houses has as its purpose and end their total extinction. ... The Minorites were expelled from their new and large college at Jarocin. The same fate fell to the lot of the Congregation at the Holy Ghost in Bydgoszcz, to the novitiate of the Congregation of the Missionaries of the Holy Family at Górka Klasztorna, to the novitiate of the Pallottine Fathers of Suchary, to the novitiate of the Oblates of the Immaculate Conception of Markowice, and to the Mother-House along with the novitiate of the Society of Christ for Emigrants at Potulice.

Much more serious were the losses suffered by the religious institutes of women. The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul lost fourteen houses, among these hospitals, orphanages, asylums. The Congregation of the Sacred Heart witnessed the occupation of its new High School and College and Boarding-School at Polska Wies [Wieś]. The Sisters of St. Elizabeth [Grey Sisters] were expelled from nineteen houses. The Daughters of the Immaculata, whose mother-house is at Pleszew, were forced to close their house for aspirants to the congregation, their novitiate, and in addition lost seventeen other houses. Two houses were taken from the Congregation of St. Dominic of the Third Order, and likewise from the Daughters of the Mother of Sorrows.

*A repugnant scene took place at the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of Bydgoszcz. The Gestapo invaded the papal cloister, and summoned the nuns to the chapel, where the Blessed Sacrament was exposed. One of the police ascended the pulpit and cried that the nuns were wasting their time praying, because "God does not exist, for if there were a God, we would not be here." The nuns, with the exception of the Mother Superior, who was gravely ill, were conducted outside the cloister, and shut up for twenty-four hours in the cellars of the Passtelle (passport office). Meanwhile the Gestapo searched the convent, and one of the policemen carried to the Mother Superior, confined to bed in her cell, the ciborium that had been taken out of the tabernacle. He commanded her to consume the consecrated hosts, crying: *Auffressen!* (Eat them up.) The unfortunate nun carried out the command, but at one point asked for water, which was refused. With an effort the nun managed to consume all the sacred element, and thus save them from further profanation.*

The Church is in the hands of the Gestapo also with regard to its possessions. The funds of the archdiocesan Curia have been sequestered. ... Funds for the maintenance of the churches have begun to fail, and the priests are living

solely on the charity of the faithful. If this state of affairs continues for any length of time, a complete spoliation of the Church will be the consequence ...

In the archdiocese of Poznań:

The Vicar-General, His Excellency Mgr. Valentine [Walenty] Dymek, an able prelate, pious, generous and very active, has been interned in his own house since October 1st [1939]. The Curia and the Metropolitan Court, whether of first or second instance for; Cracow [Kraków], Lwow [Lwów] and Wloclawek [Włocławek] are closed and in the hands of the Gestapo, who are making a study of the records. The archiepiscopal palace was invaded by soldiers who have remained there for weeks ruining its fittings. The records of the Primatial Chancellery have been and still are being carefully examined by the Gestapo, who also raided the important archiepiscopal archives.

Of the Metropolitan Chapter the Canons Rucinski [Franciszek Ruciński], [Henryk] Zborowski and [Kazimierz] Szymbrowski have been imprisoned. Mgr. Pradzyński [Józef Prądzyński], who is seriously ill, is under military guard in his home. ...

The Cathedral of Poznan [Poznań], which is at the same time a parish church for 14,000 souls, was closed by the police ... The Vicar Forane and the pastors of the city, with the exception of a few from the suburbs, are in prison. A good number of the assistants, too, were deported, so that just about 25 per cent. Of the parish clergy of twenty-one parishes are at their posts.

The Theological Seminary, which numbered 120 students in the four-year course, was closed by the German authorities in October [1939] and the buildings given over to a school for policemen.

The clergy is subjected to the same treatment as the priests of the archdiocese of Gniezno. They are maltreated, arrested, held in prison or concentration camps, deported to Germany, expelled to Central Poland. At present about fifty are in prison and in concentration camps.

The pastors Rev. John Jadrzyk [Jan Jądrzyk] of Lechlin, Rev. Anthony Kozłowicz [Antoni Kozłowicz], Rev. Adam Schmidt of Roznowo [Różnowo], and Rev. Anthony [Antoni] Rządki, professor of religion at Srem [Śrem], have been shot. ...

The Polish Episcopate had made Poznan the national centre for organization and direction of religious activity and especially of the Catholic Action for the entire Republic. Unfortunately, all these centres of tremendous activity, charitable works, organizations, and publications, have been destroyed by German authorities. ...

Besides these organizations and publications of national scope, all the organizations and publications in Poznan belonging to the archdiocese of Gniezno and Poznan were suppressed. ...

The losses suffered by Religious Institutes are likewise very painful. ... The Jesuits of Poznan are in prison and their church has been closed by the police. ... The Mother-House of the Ursulines [of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus] of the lately deceased Mother Ledochowska [Urszula Ledóchowska] at Pniewy is in the hands of a German Treuhaenderin [Treuhaenderin], who makes the Sisters work like servants. The Vincentian Sisters [Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul] were removed from their large hospital of the Transfiguration in Poznan, lost four other important hospitals and about twenty of their prosperous centres of activity. The Sisters of St. Elisabeth (Grey Sisters) have lost about twenty houses ...

Other Religious Institutes, both those for men as well as those for women, are meeting with the same fate ...

Conditions in the diocese of Chełmno in Pomerania were even worse:

The episcopal Curia at Pelplin was closed and its archives confiscated; the ecclesiastical court suffered the same fate. All the members of the Curia without exception were deported.

The Cathedral Canons, with the exception of H.E. Mgr. [Konstanty] Dominik and Mgr. [Franciszek] Sawicki, were thrown into prison, and some were sent to forced labour. The others likewise had much to suffer. The head of the Chapter, Mgr. [Juliusz] Bartkowski, apostolic protonotary, despite his advanced age and precarious health, was forced to perform hard labour.

The ancient Cathedral, a veritable jewel of Gothic art, was first closed and then made into a garage, and it is now proposed to turn it into a market-hall. ...

The bishop's palace was entered and despoiled of all its treasures, works of art and furniture. The valuable library, containing about twenty thousand volumes, was pillaged. ...

Of the 650 priests devoted to the cure of souls in the schools and in the Catholic Action, only some twenty have been left. The others were imprisoned or deported, or forced to perform exhausting and humiliating labour, at which time some died of fatigue. ...

It is not known where the majority of the clergy are detained, as the German authorities keep it a secret. It seems likely, however, that a large number are imprisoned in the concentration camp at Gorna [Górna] Grupa, and the rest in that of Kazimierz Biskupi, or at Stuthof [Stutthof] near Danzig, if not in other concentration camps in Germany ...

It is stated that a large number of priests have been shot [this was later confirmed to be true—M.P.], but neither

the number nor the details are as yet known, as the occupation authorities maintain an obstinate silence on the subject.

In any case it seems certain that nine priests ... have been executed. ...

Religious institutions have been ruthlessly suppressed. ...

All the crosses and sacred emblems by the roadsides have been destroyed. ...

It goes without saying that the Nazi aim is to dechristianize as rapidly as possible these countries which are attached to the Catholic faith, and the results are as follows: 95 per cent. Of the priests have been imprisoned, expelled, or humiliated before the eyes of the faithful. The Curia no longer exists; the Cathedral has been made into a garage ... Hundreds of churches have been closed. The whole patrimony of the Church has been confiscated, and the most eminent Catholics executed. ...

In the diocese of Katowice in Silesia:

The treatment inflicted on certain priests has been outrageous. For example, Fr. [Franciszek] Kupilas, parish priest of Ledziny [Łędziny], was shut up for three days in the confessional at the church in Bierun [Bieruń], where 300 men and women were imprisoned at the same time without anything to eat and without being allowed to go out to satisfy their natural needs. Fr. Wycislik [Franciszek Wyciślik], vicar of Zyglin [Żyglin], was arrested and beaten in the streets of Tarnowskie Gory [Góry] until the blood ran, and kicked and even trampled until he lost consciousness. Curate Budny had his sides pierced by numerous bayonet stabs, because the German authorities had ordered him to hold his hands up, and after a certain time he was unable through fatigue to do so any longer.

The terrorism to which the clergy and the 500 civilians interned in the concentration camp at Opava (Troppau) in the Sudeten were exposed during September and October, 1939, was particularly frightful. On their arrival they were received with a hail of blows from sticks. Priests were deliberately confined together with Jews in wooden huts, without chairs or tables. Their bedding consisted of rotten and verminous straw. The Germans forced the priests to take off their cassocks, and their breviaries and rosaries were taken from them. They were set to the most degrading labours. For any infraction of the regulations, even involuntary, the prisoners were beaten; sometimes, merely in order to terrorize them or perhaps from caprice, they were beaten until the blood ran. Many died, among them Fr. [Stanisław] Kukla [the pastor of Kończyce Wielkie] ... and it seems, also, Fr. Galuszka [Józef Galuszka], curate of Jablonkow [Jabłonków or Jablunkov in Cieszyn Silesia], of whom no news has been received since it was learned that he was suffering harsh treatment in the camp in question. [Rev. Galuszka was later transferred to Auschwitz but survived the war.]

In the diocese of Włocławek:

H.E. Mgr. [Michał] Kozal, suffragan bishop and Vicar-General, devoted himself most zealously to the service of the people of Włocławek [Włocławek] during the hostilities. On the arrival of the Gestapo he was arrested and subject to painful examinations; and after two months passed in the prison at Włocławek he was interned in the concentration camp at Lad [Łąd] ...

Of the forty-two clergy resident at Włocławek, either as members of the Chapter, or attached to the Curia or the Catholic Action, or engaged in the cure of souls, only one sick canon and one young priest were left; the rest were imprisoned and sent to concentration camps. ...

The clergy are suffering the same fate as those of the other dioceses incorporated in the Reich. Both secular and regular priests are maltreated, injured, and beaten. Half of the clergy have been arrested. After weeks in various prisons where they suffered as has been described, these priests were collected, together with those of the contiguous dioceses, in three concentration camps: at Gorna [Górna] Grupa, at Kazimierz Biskupi, and at Lad. In the last camp Mgr. Kozal and about eighty priests are detained ...

At Kalisz Fr. Pawlowski [Roman Pawłowski], vicar [pastor] of Chocz, was publicly shot [on October 18, 1939]. He was led to the place of execution barefoot and without his cassock. The police compelled the Jews to fasten him to the execution post, to unbind him after he had been shot, to kiss his feet, and to bury him in their ritual cemetery.

In the diocese of Lublin, in the so-called General Government (Generalgouvernement in German), the central part of Poland under German occupation and administration,

In the middle of October [actually November 17, 1939—M.P.], on the anniversary of the consecration of Bishop [Marian] Fulman, when the local clergy was gathered in the bishop's residence to give their pastor their good wishes, agents of the Gestapo made their way in and arrested the bishop, his suffragan, Bishop [Władysław] Goral, and all the assembled clergy ... After some weeks' detention in Lublin, Bishop Fulman and his companions were in November [27, 1939] brought before a court-martial (Sondergericht), and at a secret hearing at which they had no defending lawyer were sentenced to death. The Governor-General [Hans Frank] exercised his prerogative of mercy by commuting the death sentence to one of imprisonment for life.

After sentence Bishops Fulman and Goral and a number of other clerics were taken to Berlin, and thence to the [Sachsenhausen concentration] camp situated near Oranienburg ... After their arrival their clerical dress was taken from them, their heads were shaved, and they were led under a shower-bath, where streams of cold, almost icy water were discharged upon them, after which, shivering with cold, they were filmed from all sides before the eyes of the warders and of Hitler youth. ...

Since October [1939] about 150 priests have been held in prison in the diocese of Lublin—that is to say, more than half the clergy—and many others have to live in hiding, among them Fr. Surdecki [Zygmunt Surdacki], the administrator of the diocese.⁸

The chronicle continues:

Besides Bishops Fulman, Goral and Wetmanski [Leon Wetmański], the suffragan bishop [Kazimierz] Tomczak was arrested at Lodz [Łódź], beaten with reeds upon his arms until the blood ran, and then made to clean the streets. The local director of the Catholic Action, Fr. Stanislas [Stanisław] Nowicki, had his head so severely injured in the course of his interrogation by the Gestapo that his skull had to be trepanned.

At Radom four priests were severely knocked about during their examination by the Gestapo, their teeth being broken and their jaws dislocated. The following question, among others, was put to them ...: “Do you believe in God? If you do you are an idiot, and if you don’t you’re an impostor.” When the person questioned pointed out that the question itself was insulting, he was struck in the face.

In Częstochowa,

On ... September 4th, [1939], the Germans drove into the space round the Cathedral of the Most Holy Family from seven to eight hundred men and women, Polish and Jewish. They were all made to stand with their hands up for two hours; and those who fainted or lowered their hands were beaten and kicked by the soldiers. Towards evening they were all driven into the Cathedral and shut up without food for two days and two nights. Dozens fainted. The Cathedral was shockingly befouled. Appeals to the German authorities were fruitless. ...

In the evening about 600 persons, including three priests, were arrested in their houses, taken in front of the municipal building, and threatened with death.

By March 1941, it was reported that:

some seven hundred Polish priests have been shot or have died in concentration camps, throughout the German-occupied area. Some 3,000 Polish priests are held in concentration camps ...

According to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), “Poland—The Church in Poland, 1939–1945,” volume 11, at pages 481–83:

In all, 13 Polish bishops were exiled or arrested and put in concentration camps. Of these the following died: Auxiliary Bishop Leon Wetmański of Płock on May 10, 1941, and Archbishop Antoni Nowowiejski of Płock on June 20, 1941, in Soldau (Działdowo); Auxiliary Bishop Michał Kozal of Włocławek on Jan. 26, 1943, in Dachau; Auxiliary Bishop Władysław Goral of Lublin at the beginning of 1945 in a hospital bunker in Berlin. There were 3,647 priests, 389 clerics, 341 brothers, and 1,117 sisters put in concentration camps, in which 1,996 priests, 113 clerics, and 238 sisters perished ... The diocesan clergy of the Polish Church, who at the beginning of World War II numbered 10,017, lost 25 per cent (2,647). The Dioceses of Włocławek (220, or 49.2 per cent), Gniezno (Gnesen,

⁸ Rev. Marian Leon Fulman, bishop of Lublin, and Rev. Władysław Goral, the auxiliary bishop, were arrested on November 17, 1939 and sentenced to death for their “anti-German” activities, among them trumped up charges of gathering arms, at a show trial held on November 27, 1939. As a result of an intervention by the Vatican, their sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. The two bishops were sent to the Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg concentration camp near Berlin. In February 1940, Bishop Fulman was transferred to Nowy Sącz, where he was held under house arrest for the duration of the war. Bishop Goral remained in Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg and perished there shortly before the liberation of the camp in April 1945. In total, some 200 of 459 priests of the diocese of Lublin fell victim to German repressions. Fifty-six priests were sent to concentration camps, of whom 26 perished. See Anna Lewandowska, “Represje wobec duchowieństwa katolickiego z diecezji lubelskiej w okresie okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945,” *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio F, Historia*, vol. 67, no. 1 (2012): 73–85, at pp. 81–82, 84, 85; Jarosław R. Marczewski, “Pięć lat internowania: Biskup lubelski Marian Leon Fulman na plebanii kościoła kolegiackiego pw. św. Małgorzaty w Nowym Sączu (1940–1945),” *Tarnowskie Studia Teologiczne*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2015): 5–46, at pp. 13–19; Albert Warso, “I vescovi perseguitati nel periodo dell’occupazione nazista in Polonia,” in Jan Mikrut, ed., *Perseguitati per la fede: Le vittime del Nazionalsocialismo in Europa centro-orientale* (San Pietro in Cariano (Verona): Gabrielli, 2019), 557–82, at pp. 566–68.

137, or 48.8 per cent), and Chełmno (Kulm, 344, or 47.8 per cent) suffered a loss of almost half their clergy. The losses for the Dioceses of Łódź (132, or 36.8 per cent) and Poznań (Posen, 212, or 31.1 per cent) were also very heavy.

Zenon Fijałkowski, *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1983), provides the following synopsis at page 375:

During the Nazi occupation, the Catholic Church in Poland experienced enormous clerical and material losses. According to the latest research by W. Jacewicz and J. Woś, in the years 1939–1945, 2,801 members of the clergy lost their lives; they were either murdered during the occupation or killed in military manoeuvres. Among them were 6 bishops, 1,926 diocesan priests and clerics, 375 priests and clerics from monastic orders, 205 brothers, and 289 sisters. 599 diocesan priests and clerics were killed in executions, as well as 281 members of the monastic clergy (priests, brothers and sisters). Of the 1,345 members of the clergy murdered in death camps, 798 perished in Dachau, 167 in Auschwitz, 90 in Działdowo [Soldau], 85 in Sachsenhausen, 71 in Gusen, 40 in Stutthof, and the rest in camps such as Buchenwald, Gross-Rosen, Mauthausen, Majdanek, Bojanowo, and others.

According more recent research, almost 2,800 out of approximately 18,000 Polish priests and male religious perished, which represents almost 16 per cent of their total number. Some 4,000 clergymen (and an additional 400 clerics) were imprisoned in concentration camps; thousands more suffered other forms of internment and repression. Of the 20,000 Polish nuns, more than 1,100 were imprisoned in camps and 289 were killed. Of the 38 bishops and archbishops in Poland at the outbreak of the war, thirteen were exiled or arrested and sent to concentration camps (six of them were killed). In addition, some 240 Catholic priests and 30 clerics lost their lives at the hands of the Soviets, who occupied Eastern Poland from September 1939 until June 1941. The toll among the diocesan clergy and male religious orders in the so-called Wartheland (comprising Greater Poland and the adjacent areas) were staggering. Of the approximately 2,100 priests in 1939, 133 were murdered inside that district, 1,523 were arrested, 1,092 were sent to concentration camps, 682 were murdered in concentration camps, and around 400 were deported to the General Government. In all, 72 percent of the clergy were imprisoned in Nazi camps and prisons, and 39 percent perished.⁹ Thus, losses among the Catholic clergy and religious, especially the diocesan clergy, under German occupation were proportionately higher than among the Christian population as a whole.

A detailed, comprehensive listing of losses among the Polish Catholic clergy is found in Wiktor Jacewicz and Jan Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, 5 volumes (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1977–1981) [afterwards Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*]. For more recent overviews of the fate of the Roman Catholic clergy in occupied Poland see Czesław Łuczak, *Polska i Polacy w Drugiej wojnie światowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1993), at pages 489–506; and Jerzy Kłoczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), at pages 297–308.

Conditions for the Catholic Church in occupied Poland differed enormously from those in other countries occupied by the Germans, especially in Western Europe where church institutions were rarely touched. Poles constituted the vast majority of the Christian clergy persecuted by the Nazis. Nowhere else in

⁹ Marcin Libicki and Ryszard Wryk, eds., *Zbrodnie niemieckie w Wielkopolsce w latach 1939–1945* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004), 140. See also Łukasz Jastrząb, *Archidiecezja Poznańska w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej 1939–1945* (Poznań: Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, Wydział Teologiczny, 2012).

German-occupied Europe was the Church hierarchy under direct assault.¹⁰ Dachau was the principal camp employed to imprison clergy from all of Europe. Poles constituted 65 percent of the camp's total clergy prisoners, and about 90 percent of the clergymen put to death.¹¹ According to the latter source, 4,618 Christian clergymen were imprisoned in Nazi concentration camps, 2,796 of them in Dachau. Almost 95 percent of the clergymen in Dachau were Roman Catholics, and almost 65 percent were Poles. The 1,807 Polish clergymen interned in Dachau were comprised of 1,413 diocesan priests and 360 monks belonging to the Catholic faith, and 34 clergymen of other Christian faiths. Of the 947 clergymen put to death in Dachau, 866 were Poles (over 91 percent of those killed there). These consisted of 747 diocesan priests, 110 monks, and 9 clergymen of other faiths. Of all the Christian clergy in Dachau, Polish priests were undoubtedly the worst treated and were used as guinea pigs for medical experimentation such as hypothermia and infecting them with malaria.¹²

The treatment of the Catholic Church varied significantly throughout occupied Poland. According to a recent overview by American historian Jonathan Huener ("Nazi *Kirchenpolitik* and Polish Catholicism in the Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939–1941," *Central European History*, vol. 47 (2014): 105–37), the apex of German violence against the Catholic Church in the so-called Wartheland occurred in October 1941.¹³

... unknown to most, treatment of the Catholic Church was more brutal in the Warthegau than anywhere else in German-occupied Poland, or in German-occupied Europe. ...

Beginning on October 5, [1941] German authorities initiated the so-called Action for the Destruction of the Polish Church, described by [German historian Martin] Broszat as the "decisive blow" against the Polish Roman Catholic

¹⁰ The massacre of thousands of Roman Catholic clergy by the Nazi Germans was not the largest massacre of Catholic clergy in the Twentieth Century. The Spanish Left, especially Communists and Socialists, managed to butcher 13 bishops, 4,184 diocesan priests, 2,365 members of religious orders of men, and 283 nuns in a shorter span, just before and during the Civil War in Spain (July 1936 to April 1939). The vast majority of the victims were killed in 1936. The highest concentration of killings took place in Catalonia; virtually every Catholic church was set on fire in Barcelona. The cruelty and barbarity with which the Catholic clergy of Spain was put to death often exceeded the methods used by the Nazis and the Soviets. See William James Callahan, *The Catholic Church in Spain, 1875–1998* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000); Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics, from the Great War to the War on Religion* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 127–35. For some examples of the horrific fate of the Spanish clergy see <<http://www.catholicism.org/good-martyred.html>> and <<http://www.holycross.edu/departments/history/vlapomar/persecut/spain.html>>. The anti-clerical bloodbath perpetrated by the Spanish Left was exceeded only by the Soviet strike against the Russian Orthodox Church over a much longer period (between 1918 and 1938), when, according to the calculations of Canadian historian Dimitry Pospelovsky, about 600 bishops and 40,000 Orthodox priests were physically eliminated, that is between 80 and 85 percent of the clergy existing at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

¹¹ Franciszek J. Proch, *Poland's Way of the Cross 1939–1945* (New York: Polish Association of Former Political Prisoners of Nazi and Soviet Concentration Camps, 1987), 32–36; "Dachau", *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 3 (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1979), columns 965–67.

¹² For a detailed account of the fate of the Catholic clergy in Dachau see Bedřich Hoffmann, *And Who Will Kill You: The Chronicle of the Life and Suffering of Priests in the Concentration Camps* (Poznań: Pallottinum, 1994); Guillaume Zeller, *The Priest Barracks: Dachau, 1938–1945* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2017). See also the following memoirs by Polish priest prisoners of Dachau: Stanisław Grabowski, *Follow Me: The Memoirs of a Polish Priest* (Roseville, Minnesota: White Rose Press, 1997); *Memoir of Fr. Czesli W. (Chester) Kozal, O.M.I.* ([United States]: Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 2004); Kazimierz Majdański, *You Shall Be My Witnesses: Lessons Beyond Dachau* (Garden City Park, New York: Square One Publishers, 2008); Henryk Maria Malak, *Shavelings in Death Camps: A Polish Priest's Memoir of Imprisonment by the Nazis, 1939–1945* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2012). The Austrian Jesuit, Rev. Johann Lenz, who was imprisoned in Dachau wrote glowingly of the Polish priests. In the last years of the war, when the camp was hit with epidemics of typhus, at first the infirmary was run by orderlies who would steal the contents of parcels that patients received from families and friends. As the typhus epidemic progressed, some of these died, while other orderlies fled for their lives, along with the SS guards, so that eventually the care of the dying was left to the priests. Meanwhile, the dauntless Polish priests "had achieved the seemingly impossible and obtained permission from the SS authorities to work among the dying in the typhus isolation block." See John M. Lenz, *Christ in Dachau, or Christ Victorious: Experiences in a Concentration Camp* (Vienna: n.p., 1960). For information on the resistance activities of priests in Dachau and other camps, see Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz, *Resistance in the Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933–1945* (Warsaw: PWN–Polish Scientific Publishers, 1982), chapter 13 ("Religious life in the concentration camps"), 348–65.

¹³ See also Jonathan Huener, *The Polish Catholic Church under German Occupation: The Reichsgau Wartheland, 1939–1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2021), forthcoming.

clergy. A wave of arrests began that day, resulting in the deportation of some 500 remaining Warthegau priests to prisons and camps and the closure of nearly all Polish churches that had thus far remained open. In the Litzmannstadt [Łódź] diocese, for example, as of October 6, 1941, all Catholic churches were closed except six for Poles and four for Germans, while all Polish priests in the diocese, save twelve, were deported to the Konstantinów [Konstantynów] internment camp. Statistics compiled for the Posen [Poznań] archdiocese in the aftermath of the "Aktion" paint a particularly grim picture. While at the outbreak of war there were 681 secular clergy and 147 male members of religious orders, as of October 10, 1941, there remained only thirty-four priests to minister to Polish Catholics. Seventy-four priests had been shot or had died in concentration camps, 120 had been deported to the General Government, and 451 were currently interned in prisons and concentration camps. Within the Posen city limits, of the thirty churches and forty-seven chapels open in September 1939, only two churches and one chapel remained available for Polish Catholics as of October 10, 1941—this for a population of approximately 180,000 Poles remaining in the city. In the Posen archdiocese as a whole, of the 441 churches open at the outbreak of the war, only thirty remained open for Poles in October 1941, the remaining churches having either been simply locked down or put to alternative use as warehouses, riding schools, painting studios, and the like.

The Germans made it clear from the outset that they had no regard for Poland's civilian population. Tens of thousands of Poles were executed in the fall of 1939 in the Western territories annexed to the Reich. In Warsaw alone, which held out until September 28, 1939, the casualties of terror bombings ran to the tens of thousands. Eighteen thousand residents of Warsaw perished, roughly the same as the in the Allied bombing of Dresden in February 1945. More than ten percent of the city's buildings were reduced to ruins and another 40 percent suffered significant damage. When Joseph Goebbels, the Reich Minister of Propaganda, visited the city, he had observed that "this is Hell." Although its treatment was certainly less harsh than in Western Poland, conditions for the Catholic Church in the *Generalgouvernement* were awful as well. A confidential report filed by the American States Vice Consul Thaddeus Chylinski in November 1941 describes the dire situation he witnessed in Warsaw. (T. H. Chylinski, *Poland under Nazi Rule*, November 13, 1941, p. 57.)

There is not a church in Warsaw that has not been damaged. Many of them, like the Holy Cross, were strafed from the air by Nazi machine gunners. The holes in the roofs have been patched but it will take a long time before the wrecked altars and interiors are repaired. Several churches received direct hits from bombs and shells, others were badly burned. Services in all churches are conducted regularly; sermons are restricted to the Gospel and short comments with no allusions to the political situation. A great many of the leading priests have been sent to concentration camps. Practically all priests have been arrested at one time or another and put through an intensive "neutralizing" process and released. Raids on church property are frequent. Shortly before my departure the premises of the Capucine [Capuchin] cloister in Warsaw were raided, property was confiscated and the monks were arrested.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Germans neither needed nor wanted Polish approval for German policies in German-conquered Poland. This was equally true with respect to the Holocaust. As Yisrael Gutman, the former director of historical research at the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, pointed out:

Poland was a completely occupied country. There was a difference in the kind of 'occupation' countries underwent in Europe. Each country experienced a different occupation and almost all had a certain amount of autonomy, limited and defined in various ways. This autonomy did not exist in Poland. No one asked the Poles how one should treat the Jews.¹⁴

Moreover, the Polish Catholic clergy suffered significant losses at the hands of the Soviet Union, which invaded and occupied Eastern Poland from September 1939 until June 1941, and re-occupied and incorporated prewar eastern Polish territories in 1944. Approximately 250 priests and seminarians were murdered, deported to the Gulag, or arrested during the first period of occupation, and several hundred

¹⁴ Cited in Polin: *A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies), vol. 2 (1987): 341.

were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in Soviet camps between 1945 and 1951.¹⁵ Unlike the Latin-rite Catholic clergy, the Eastern-rite Catholic or Uniate clergy in occupied Polish territories, although subject to repressions by the Soviets invaders, was virtually unhampered by the Germans.¹⁶

It should be noted that the number of Roman Catholic clergy (of the Latin rite) in Poland was not large. On the eve of the Second World War, they counted some 18,600 priests, monks, and male religious. There were more than 20,000 female religious (nuns). Thus their numbers were considerably smaller than the ranks of the Catholic clergy in Belgium, which had a much smaller Catholic population than Poland, and many times smaller than that of the Catholic clergy in France and Italy.¹⁷ Similarly, the network of parishes in Poland was far less extensive than in Western Europe. Village churches tended to be small and had no cellars; they were thus not suitable hideouts. Rectories were often visited by the German authorities, who suspected Polish priests of being natural opponents of Nazi rule. The singing of patriotic hymns in church and the preaching of sermons making reference to politics were strictly forbidden.¹⁸ Therefore, priests had to tread very carefully. Polish nuns lived in poverty and their convents were often humble lodgings, especially in the countryside. Orphanages became overcrowded with Polish war orphans and, because of very limited social assistance, increasingly destitute. Moreover, the Catholic Church in Poland had to contend with hardships not faced in Western Europe such as the closure of churches and convents in Western Poland. Unlike in Poland, the German authorities rarely interfered with the day-to-day activities of Christian churches in other occupied countries and, with few exceptions, the clergy did not suffer mistreatment in those countries. This makes the wartime fate of the Polish Catholic clergy, as well as their rescue efforts, all the more striking.

The rescue efforts on behalf of Jews carried out by the Polish Catholic clergy, especially by nuns, was widely known during and after the war, yet the Catholic clergy did not suffer scorn or disrepute by Polish Catholics on this account. The March of the Living Study Guide (http://motl.org/Study_Guides.pdf), however, instructs young Jews to see things in a different light:

When Germany invaded Poland in 1939, Polish Jewry was caught in the Nazi web. How did the Church in Poland respond? Throughout our visit in Poland we will see Catholic churches everywhere. Even the smallest town has a huge church. You will wonder how the Church could stand by idly when people (Jews) were being discriminated

¹⁵ Roman Dzwonkowski, "Represje wobec polskiego duchowieństwa katolickiego na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II RP 1939–1941," in Michał Gnatowski and Daniel Boćkowski, eds., *Sowietyzacja i rusyfikacja północno-wschodnich ziem II Rzeczypospolitej (1939–1941): Studia i materiały* (Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2003), 75–93; Roman Dzwonkowski, "Represje wobec polskiego duchowieństwa katolickiego pod okupacją sowiecką 1939–1941," in Piotr Chmielowiec, ed., *Okupacja sowiecka ziem polskich (1939–1941)* (Rzeszów and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2005), 139–49.

¹⁶ Andrew Turchyn, "The Ukrainian Catholic Church During WWII," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. XLI, no. 1–2 (Summer/Spring 1985), 57–67. Out of some 2,800 priests and male religious, 25 were arrested and several were sent to concentration camps, where all but one survived. Rev. Omelian Kovch, of Przemyślany, who was arrested for providing false baptismal certificates to Jews, perished in the Majdanek concentration camp.

¹⁷ By way of comparison, in Belgium, a country with a much smaller Catholic population than Poland, at the outbreak of the war, there were 9,700 priests, with a further 12,000 seminarians, 12,700 monks, and 49,600 nuns. See Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169. In 1929, France had some 46,500 diocesan priests (almost 50,000 in 1939), 7,000 priests who were members of religious orders, and 117,000 nuns. The number of clergy in Italy was even greater, with 129,000 nuns in 1936.

¹⁸ Priests were reticent in speaking out on political matters during sermons. This was entirely understandable as criticizing German crimes from the pulpit would have incurred ghastly reprisals and was, therefore, counterproductive. Zenon Neumark, who frequently went to mass as part of his disguise as a fugitive Jew in Warsaw, expresses his own negative—and unfair—opinion of the Church, albeit one that transcends the usual Judeocentric complaints about the Church ignoring the unfolding Holocaust. He comments, "The continued oppression of the entire population of Poland, marked almost daily by the summary executions of hundreds of Polish patriots, was ignored; indeed, the Church's pulpits were never used to defend the victims, Jewish or Polish, or to condemn the Nazi perpetrators and their crimes. Perhaps even more importantly, not once did he [Father Sztuka] appeal to the population for help and sympathy for the victims." See Zenon Neumark, *Hiding in the Open: A Young Fugitive in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2006), 136.

against, and ultimately killed?

Attitudes in contemporary Germany are also troubling given that country's horrific track record.¹⁹

¹⁹ Surprisingly, but perhaps very tellingly (given that country's reluctant and rather superficial postwar denazification), in a survey conducted in the early part of 2007 by the Mannheimer Forschungsgruppe Wahlen institute for Germany's ZDF public television program, Germans—who consider themselves to be a tolerant and “liberal” nation, but are all-too-often contemptuous of the “nationalistic” and “anti-Semitic” Poles—declared that Poland was, by far, the country in the European Union that they disliked the most. Almost one quarter (23 percent) of Germans polled openly declared their animosity toward Poland. (The next most loathed country, Romania, came in only at 11 percent.) Not surprisingly, German remembrance of World War II omits Poles, focusing instead on the Holocaust of Jews and German suffering in the aftermath of the war, even though Poland was the country that Germany most directed its fury and destruction at and where half the six million people killed were Christian Poles. Since it is politically incorrect to voice anti-Semitic views, contemporary Germans continue to channel their contempt at Poland. Feeding into this bias, the “liberal” North American mainstream media also try to implicate Poland and the Poles in Nazi Germany's vilest deeds. On the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, leftist journalist Doug Saunders attempted to shift the blame for Auschwitz (and the Holocaust) onto the Poles, by implying that knowledge of the existence of this camp, where tens of thousands of Christian Poles were also imprisoned, was tantamount to complicity in the Final Solution. Writing in the *Globe and Mail*, Canada's national newspaper, on January 25, 2005, Saunders said, “For other nations, the anniversary has entailed moral gymnastics. In Poland, where the Auschwitz camp near Krakow [Kraków] will be the site of a major international commemoration on Thursday, the government press agency has been aggressively encouraging international reporters to tell the stories of the handful [sic] of Poles who attempted to rescue victims from the camps. But the far larger number of Poles who knew about the camps or acquiesced or engaged in overt anti-Semitism at the time, have received not a mention from the country's leaders.” One can also see an obscene resurgence of antipathy toward Poland, often peppered with anti-Catholic rhetoric, in Left-wing constituencies in Western Europe. Pilar Rahola, a Catalan member of the Spanish extreme Left and self-styled human rights activist, wrote in *El País*, a leading Spanish daily, on March 17, 2007: “Without any doubt, Poland is the key to the wickedness that culminated in the extermination of two thirds of the Jewish population of Europe.” Unfortunately, such remarks are rather typical of the Left. On November 25, 2020, Inmaculada Martínez, an author, popular speaker and advisor to Spain's Socialist government, tweeted: “Oh Poland. You allowed the Nazis put Jewish people in ghettos and construct and run extermination camps.” The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance has identified, and condemned, as Holocaust distortion “attempts to blur the responsibility for the establishment of concentration and death camps devised and operated by Nazi Germany by putting blame on other nations or ethnic groups.”

The First Years of the German Occupation, 1939–1941

The Germans perpetrated atrocities against both Poles and Jews from the very first days of the subjugation of Poland. On September 4, 1939, the Germans killed several hundred Jews in Częstochowa. Hundreds more Jews and Poles were rounded up and driven into the Cathedral of the Holy Family where they were shut up without food for two days and two nights. Appeals to the German authorities were fruitless. Priests tried to comfort and help the captives as much as they could. Avraham Bomba, one of the interned Jews, recalled, in particular, the assistance provided by Rev. Bolesław Wróblewski, the pastor of the cathedral parish. Rev. Wróblewski is mentioned in later accounts regarding the rescue of Jewish children. (Interview with Avraham Bomba, September 18, 1990, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

You come into the house. Imagine yourself. ... Somebody comes in without anything, without any reason. Out from the house. Not allowed to take water, not allowed to take bread ... bread, not allowed to take anything. And in the street. In the street with guns, they start running after you until ... until you got to the place. ... they took me into a church. The church ... was the Holy Family Church. ... the people they couldn't get so fast in the back of the church. They got killed in the front going in through the door. And they killed a lot of people that way. We were there. There was no food. There was no water. There was no places, you know, for the human being ... We were over there, a priest. ... His name was Wróblewski. He was one of the finest gentlemen of the Catholic priest I have ever met. He said to us, "Children, never mind you're without any church. You do whatever you can. ..." He tried to bring in water for us. And really, I admired him as a gentleman. He knew that we are Jews ... We're there for three days ...

In Będzin, not far from the German border, the Germans started to harass Jews as soon as they entered the city on September 4, 1939. In a public display, they forced rabbis to cut off each other's beards. According to Jakub Sender, a witness to those events, the Catholic priests were appalled by this spectacle and expressed their sympathy to the rabbis who were subjected to this ordeal. The Germans falsely accused the Jews of firing at German soldiers. In retaliation, on the evening of September 8, they set fire to the synagogue and Jewish houses on Plebańska and nearby streets. Jews fleeing from their burning homes were fired at by the Germans. They converged on the nearby parish church of the Blessed Trinity. Their screams alarmed the pastor, Rev. Wincenty Mieczysław Zawadzki (usually referred to as Mieczysław Zawadzki), who immediately ran to open the gate to the churchyard in spite of the protests of German sentries. He led scores of terrified Jews to safety on Castle Hill. A dozen or more Jews were sheltered in the garden of the rectory overnight, and then also taken to Castle Hill. With the help of nuns, Rev. Zawadzki tended to the wounded.²⁰ Jews were also hidden in a nearby shelter run by the Passionist Sisters.²¹ The Germans subsequently blamed the Poles for setting fire to the synagogue and Jewish houses. The Germans arrested 42 Poles, extracted false confessions from them, and executed them summarily that same night.²² Later during the war, Rev. Zawadzki also sheltered a Jewish family.²³ A Polish rescuer, identified as Jadwiga, who told a Będzin priest, perhaps Rev. Zawadzki, in confession that

²⁰ Rev. Mieczysław Zawadzki penned his exploits in the parish chronicle, *Kronika parafialna rzymskokatolickiej parafii św. Trójcy w Będzinie*, which is reproduced in part in Bolesław Ciepiela and Małgorzata Sromek, eds., *Śladami Żydów Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego: Wspomnienia* (Będzin: Stowarzyszenie Autorów Polskich Oddział Będziński, 2009), 162–64. See also the account and Rev. Zawadzki's testimony in Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006), 770, 814; and the testimony of Mieczysław Zawadzki, August 22, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4294.

²¹ Testimony of Jakub Sender, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1225.

²² Jan Przemsza-Zieliński, *Zagłębie Dąbrowskie w II wojnie światowej: Wrzesień 1939 – okupacja – ruch oporu – wyzwolenie 1945* (Sosnowiec: Sosnowiecka Oficyna Wydawniczo-Autorska "Sowa-Press," 1995), 38–39; Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 814; Testimony of Mieczysław Zawadzki, August 22, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4294.

²³ Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 321.

she was sheltering a Jew, Edward Retman, was commended by the priest.²⁴

In 1960, a delegation of Jews presented Rev. Zawadzki with the memorial book of the Jewish community of Będzin with the following inscription:

To the Most Reverend and Distinguished Dean Mieczysław Zawadzki. We present you with this book which embodies the soul of the Jewish community in Będzin, in gratitude and full appreciation for your humanitarian and courageous dedication in rescuing human lives from sure annihilation. The Jewish community of Będzin, living in Israel, will never forget your remarkable person, who risked his own life to tear away many of our brothers from the hands of the Nazi assassins.

In 2007, Rev. Mieczysław Zawadzki was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. Icchak Turner, who lived near the synagogue, submitted the following account to Yad Vashem (The Righteous Among The Nations, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6966675>>):

In 1939, the Nazi army invaded Będzin and settled there. On the eve of September 9, the soldiers broke down the gates of the houses surrounding the synagogue, threw hand grenades and fired shots in every direction. They ordered everyone to come out, claiming that the Jews had shot at them from the synagogue windows. Once the Jews were lined up against a wall, the soldiers told them to run away. Those who did not run were shot immediately, and those who did flee were followed by haphazard shooting as well. Then the soldiers set fire to the synagogue, condemning the Jews that had taken shelter inside to a horrible death.

Several Jews, including Icchak Turner, ran desperately for the church on the hill. The soldiers sprayed machine gunfire after them, and many were wounded. A bullet went through Icchak's arm; a friend running next to him was killed. Some of the Jews, however, managed to reach the church. The priest, Mieczysław Zawadzki, threw open the gate and told them to come inside quickly. When they were inside, he ordered several nuns to dress their wounds and administer them first aid.

Once everyone's immediate needs had been addressed, Zawadzki spoke to the Jews and explained that if the Nazi soldiers reached the church and found out what had happened, both he and his nuns would be executed. He therefore opened the back gate of the church and led the Jews out into the graveyard, where they could spend the night without being discovered.

The next day, Icchak Turner rose at dawn, left the graveyard and went to the hospital to seek medical help. He survived the war, aided by local Poles who worked in the area, including Michał Jagiellowicz. Several other Jews who had found shelter in the cemetery that night survived as well.

The survivors from the region established an association after the war. The association erected a plaque on the wall of the church in Będzin to commemorate the brave and noble wartime act of Mieczysław Zawadzki.

The Polish medical staff at the hospital in Będzin, among them Sister Rufina (Tekla) Świrska, the superior of a group of Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) employed at the hospital as nurses, came to assistance of wounded and sick Jews. Upon discovery by the Germans, they faced harsh consequences for their selfless acts of mercy. (Kosibowicz Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5721481>>.)

Tadeusz Kosibowicz was ... director at the regional hospital in Będzin. During the first days of September 1939, the hospital was flooded with wounded people, including a Jewish man named Skrzypek who needed a long time to recover. However, on September 4 Będzin was occupied by the Germans, and any help offered to Jewish soldiers immediately became a capital offense. Kosibowicz decided to change the patient's name to Krawczyk and give him a fictitious job at the hospital in order to keep him there longer. Together with other wounded people, several doctors flocked to the hospital, including Ryszard Nyc and Sister Rufina Świrska, who became Kosibowicz's confidantes in his illicit attempts to save as many "outlawed" patients as possible. Two days later, the Germans set the local synagogue on fire when it was full of Jews. Anyone who tried to escape was met with a hail of machine gunfire. Still, some managed to flee with their lives. Among them was Icchak Turner, who spent the night outside, but in the morning decided to seek help at the hospital for his wounds. The doors were blocked by the Germans, but Kosibowicz, aided by a local priest called Zawadzki [Rev. Mieczysław Zawadzki], managed to smuggle in some of

²⁴ Testimony of Edward Retman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32600.

the wounded Jews, among them Turner and another man named Huberfeld, whose sister Sala later testified from Israel about Kosibowicz's brave display of human kindness. In late April 1940, a young [German²⁵] patient was admitted to the hospital, with vague complaints. She became friends with "Krawczyk" and spent much time talking to him. Later she was heard transmitting an ambiguous message via the hospital's telephone, revealing her true identity as a spy. That same night, "Krawczyk" was taken away and killed. The next day, May 8, three Gestapo men came to arrest Tadeusz Kosibowicz. They also took his friends and helpers, Ryszard Nyc and Rufina Świrska. The three were sentenced to death for "aiding enemies of the Third Reich and Jews." However, as they stood in front of a firing squad, the sentence was commuted to deportation. Between 1941 and 1945, Kosibowicz endured five years of various concentration and death camps: Dachau, Sachsenhausen, Majdanek and Gross-Rosen. He suffered immense personal humiliation and pain, and witnessed the deaths and suffering of countless others. However, he never abandoned his humanity, tending to sufferers officially or unofficially throughout the war. In Gross-Rosen, a wounded Jewish patient from Będzin named Zvi Landau was brought in to see Kosibowicz. He told the doctor that he had heard that a year after Kosibowicz's deportation, a parcel of ashes was sent to his wife with claim that they were the remains of her husband. At this, Landau testified, Kosibowicz broke down in tears and said that while he couldn't find a job for Landau at the clinic, he would send him food. He kept his promise until Landau was sent to a different camp. In 1945, after liberation, Tadeusz Kosibowicz returned to Będzin physically and psychologically exhausted.

Sister Rufina (Tekla) Świrska was arrested by the Gestapo on May 7, 1940, held in a prison in Sosnowiec for two weeks, and then sent to the Ravensbrück concentration camp where she was imprisoned for six months. After her release on November 11, 1940, she had to flee to the *Generalgouvernement* where she stayed at various homes of the congregation under an assumed identity.²⁶

Another eyewitness from Będzin, Helen Stone recalled (Lyn Smith, ed., *Forgotten Voices of the Holocaust* [London: Ebury Press/Random House, 2005], p. 76):

They burned our synagogue with the people inside. Opposite the synagogue was a church, and about two o'clock in the morning the priest heard that the synagogue was burning and he ran to the church, opened the door in case somebody ran out of the inferno, and quite a few people did; he saved their lives. I was moved about nine or ten times in Bedzin [Będzin] as they were making streets Judenrein—cleansed of Jews.

This was a pattern that was repeated throughout Poland. As the German army rolled through, Jews were systematically rounded up, abused and executed. Scores of synagogues were torched. The synagogue in Katowice was torched on September 5, 1939. The synagogue on Dekert Street in Sosnowiec was burned down on September 9, 1939, as were synagogues in Tarnów. Shortly after occupying the town of Przeworsk, 35 kilometres east of Rzeszów, the Germans searched the synagogue and claimed to have found ammunition there. In retaliation, they razed the building on September 12, 1939. The Gestapo arrived from Jarosław and executed 30 Jews. Soon after, the Germans ordered the Jews to be gathered in a church. According to Harry Kuper, "After an elderly rabbi failed to report, the Germans selected every tenth man from among the assembled, took them away, and pretended to torture them to find out the rabbi's whereabouts. After a man disclosed his hiding place, the rabbi was arrested and thrown into a hole for execution. Observing the scene from his window, a priest was shot for intervening. The prisoners, including the rabbi, were released."²⁷ According to Polish sources, the Jews had been gathered in the courtyard of the Bernardine (Franciscan) monastery, where they were searched and beaten. Polish sources do not confirm the shooting of a priest. The Jews were then expelled into the Soviet occupation zone. On October 3, 1939, the German authorities arrested 24 Poles, members of town's elite, including five

²⁵ Tadeusz Kosibowicz, September 2014, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-kosibowicz-tadeusz>>.

²⁶ Krystyna Dębowska, et al., eds., *Siostry zakonne w Polsce: Słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Niepokalanów: Wydawnictwo Ojców Franciszkanów, 1994), 280.

²⁷ Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012), vol. II, Part A, 558.

Bernardines. The monastery was searched periodically during the war.²⁸

The synagogue in Cieszyn was torched on September 13, 1939, as were the synagogues in Bielsko and Żelechów. In Mielec, on September 13, 1939, set fire to the synagogue and burned dozens of Jews alive in the slaughter house. On September 14, 1939, the synagogue in Biała was set on fire and then dynamited. After staging a pogrom in Dynów in which some 200 Jews were killed, the Germans burned the synagogue to the ground on September 15, 1939, incinerating about 50 Jews. The Great Synagogue in Jasło was set on fire by the Germans on September 15, 1939, but was saved by Polish firefighters, who came and extinguished the flames. Five days later, the Germans responded by gathering the local Jews, along with the firefighters, and forcing them at gunpoint to set the building ablaze again, destroying it once and for all.²⁹

The following eyewitness report, published in *The Inter-Allied Review*, no. 3 (March 1941), describes the daring but futile intervention of a priest in Szczucin, a small town near Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where the Germans burned down the synagogue on Yom Kippur, September 23, 1939.

It happened in Szczucin on the day of the Great Pardon [Day of Atonement, September 23, 1939], the most solemn of Jewish religious holidays. In spite of the German occupation, all Jews, old men, women and children, had assembled in the four or five houses of prayer. At 11 A.M., four lorries stopped before the synagogue near the Market Place and about a hundred SS. Men alighted armed with revolvers and machine guns.

Half of the surrounded the synagogue while the other half entered it and evicted the faithful. They tore their prayer vestments from their bodies, and stripped them naked to the belt. Then they threw out the sacred scrolls, the prayer books and the embroidered vestments which they tossed upon a pile of straw. Silver and gold vessels were placed in the lorries.

Whipped and hit with butt-ends, the Jews were compelled to dance around the pile, and the oldest among them were ordered to set fire to the straw. When the victims would not consent, they were beaten, kicked, slapped, and spat upon. The Germans pulled their beards and peyses [payes—a long beard], tore the wigs off the women, and jeered at their shaved heads. They pulled the hair of the young girls, tore off their dresses, and forced them to run naked around the Market Place. Now and then, the Nazis fired volleys into the air to scare the already panicky crowd.

At noon time, the vicar of the local Roman Catholic Church appeared on the scene in his sacerdotal vestments and implored the German officers to release the Jews and to permit them to continue their prayers. The SS. Men laughed at him and the officer told the priest that his turn would come. A few minutes later the Germans set fire to the straw pile and the synagogue which was totally destroyed within one hour ...

Conditions in Gorlice, which was captured by the Germans on September 7, 1939, are described in the following accounts which note the assistance rendered by Catholic priests. (Entry for “Gorlice” in Abraham Wein and Aharon Weiss, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin [Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland]*, volume 3 [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1984], pp. 93–97; Yoel Rappoport, “This Is How We Were Taken Captive Before the Enemy,” in M. Y. Bar-On, *Gorlice: The Building and Destruction of the Community*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/gorlice/gorlice.html>>, translated from *Sefer Gorlice: Ha-kehila be-vinyana u-ve-hurbana* [Israel: Association of Former Residents of Gorlice and Vicinity in Israel, 1962], pp. 227 ff.; Testimony of Sabina Honigwachs Bruk in Michał Kalisz and Elżbieta Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945* [Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięi Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2015], pp. 109–10.)

When they entered the city, the Germans took several hostages, both Poles and Jews. The Wehrmacht soldiers began taking Jews for forced labor, stealing their property and abusing them (cutting off their beards). The Jews received permission from the [new] administration to hold prayers in the synagogue on the Jewish New Year, but the local priest warned them that the Germans were planning a trap for them in the synagogue, so they didn't go there to pray. A group of Germans did arrive at the synagogue on the holiday, but they found no Jews praying there they

²⁸ Sławomir Brzozecki, “Klasztor oo. Bernardynów w Przeworsku w czasie II wojny światowej,” in Marcei Ryszard Gęśła and Aleksander Krzysztof Sitnik, eds., *550 lat obecności oo. bernardynów w Przeworsku (1465–2015)* (Kalwaria Zebrzydowska: Calvarianum, 2015), 135–44, at pp. 137, 138, 141.

²⁹ Sheri Shefa, “Forest Hill Shul Gets Ready to Move to New Building,” *The Canadian Jewish News*, August 10, 2015.

settled for destroying the interior of the synagogue. Around that time the Wehrmacht soldiers caught several Jews (5 or 7). Took them out of the city and murdered them.

Rabbi Moshe'ly Miller applied to the German commander of the city to permit the Jews to gather for prayers in the synagogue on the Day of Atonement. The permit was given, but the priest Swinkowski [Rev. Bronisław Świejkowski] secretly notified the Jews that they shouldn't dare gather in the synagogue on the eve of the Day of Atonement, as he had heard from a reliable source that a trap was being prepared. In the afternoon of the eve of the Day of Atonement the first groups of the Gestapo entered Gorlice. Until then we had only dealt with the Wehrmacht (the regular army). On the night of "Kol Nidre" [the prayer beginning the evening service on the Day of Atonement] they [the Gestapo] attacked the synagogue, which was empty of Jews, according to the advice of the priest, [who was] one of the righteous gentiles. [The Gestapo] took out their anger on the wood and the stones: they broke up all the furniture, smashed the light fixtures, dirtied the walls, etc. This wasn't enough for them, until they caught several Jews on the night of "Kol Nidre", took them to their office in the railroad station building, and beat them murderously as their wickedness dictated, but then released them. I too was among them. An entire book would not be long enough to describe the sights of those hours.

Apart from the pastor [Rev. Kazimierz Litwin], who was favourably disposed towards Jews, there was also a prelate in Gorlice, an old man who was 83 years old at that time. The prelate's name was [Bronisław] Świejkowski. He too tried to help Jews in those critical days. His help entailed creating an appropriate atmosphere among Polish society. He preached the principles of love of one's neighbours and thus encouraged people to be favourably disposed towards Jews.

In the town of Rawa Mazowiecka, east of Łódź, both Protestant and Catholic clergymen showed their solidarity and support for a rabbi that was cruelly mistreated by the Germans. (Entry for "Rawa Mazowiecka" in Danuta Dabrowska and Abraham Wein, eds., *Pinkas hakehillot Polin [Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland (Łódź and Its Region)]*, volume 1 [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976], pp. 257–60.)

During the first days of WWII, Rawa was heavily bombed, and its population was severely affected. The Germans entered the town on September 8th 1939, at which time all the Jewish males were gathered in the market square, where the Germans indulged in a sadistic game. Among other things, Rabbi Rappoport [Rappaport] and the Rabbi of Oiyazed, who was staying in Rawa at that time, and many of the Jewish dignitaries, mostly aged, were made to run several kilometres in the direction of Tomaszow [Tomaszów Mazowiecki]. In a nearby wood the Germans threatened to kill them. Rabbi Rappoport asked for permission to return home to arrange for the burial of his son, who had been killed in the bombardment. The Nazis mocked him, abused him and dealt roughly with his daughter who had run after her father. She returned to the town to bury her brother. The two rabbis were held in the forest until late in the evening, flogged and only then released. On another occasion the Germans accused the Jews of killing a German soldier. They ordered all of the Jews to gather in the market square. The women were locked up in the church and abused by the Nazis. The men were ordered to lie face down and were threatened that whoever makes one move will be shot. They lay like that until evening, when they were made to stand against a wall; a number of them were shot. On that day the Germans searched the Jewish homes; some witnesses say that Polish homes were also searched. The total number of people killed on this day was estimated at 40, 23 of them Jews.

One day all the Jewish men were ordered to gather in the market square to have their beards shaved. Rabbi Rappoport, who was still in mourning for his son, was also brought. The rabbi's daughter asked the local Protestant priest to plead with the German authorities to let her father keep his beard. The rabbi was allowed to keep his beard but was sentenced to 100 lashes and the priest was threatened with severe punishment for speaking on behalf of the rabbi. After 30 lashes the aged rabbi fainted and was taken to hospital. What is noteworthy is that the Catholic priests, and the Protestant priest who spoke up for the rabbi, came to visit him. Later the Germans searched the rabbi's home and stole his property, including money and jewellery that Jews had given him for safekeeping. The rabbi fell ill as a result of these events and died shortly afterwards.

Often, as in the small town of Poddębice near Łódź, priests were treated on par with rabbis, so there was no question of priests being in a position to come to the defence rabbis. (Entry for "Poddebice," in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol1_00184a.htm>, translated from *Pinkas hakehillot Polin*, volume 1, pp. 184–86.)

Shortly after the Nazi armies conquered the town, (on September 14, 1939, the Jewish New Year), the Germans arranged a "show." They ordered the people to organize two procession—a group of Jews with Rabbi Rothfield in front, and Poles with the local Priest. Later, they imprisoned all those who marched for three days. Finally, they

forced the Rabbi and Priest to collect with their hands the excrement which had accumulated.

Sometimes Jews were forced by the Germans to take part in repressive measures directed against Catholic priests. In Kozienice, for example, Jews were employed to expel a priest from his rectory.³⁰ (Gershon Bornshtein, “Memories of My Birthplace,” in Baruch Kaplinski, et al., eds., *Sefer Zikaron le-Kehilat Kosznitz* (Tel Aviv and New York: The Kozienice Organization, 1985), 546, translated as *The Book of Kozienice: The Birth and the Destruction of a Jewish Community*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kozienice/Kozienice.html>>.)

The second group of Jews were taken by the Germans to the priest. They drove the priest out of his house, threw his things out and told the Jews to prepare his dwelling for them as quarters. In doing this they beat the Jews mercilessly. Leib Bayer's son, Yisroel Shlomo, they harnessed to a plowshare and told him to pull it. As he was doing this they beat him murderously. There were also a few elderly Jews with beards, which the Germans sheared off, and in doing this they cut up their faces till they bled.

During the seige and bombing of Warsaw by the German forces in September 1939, injured Jews were brought to a make-shift hospital set up in a school at the corner of Żelazna and Leszno Streets, near the Jewish quarter. The Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross, who had a convent nearby on Wolność Street, tended to the injured as best they could under the harsh conditions. Given the proximity of the Jewish quarter, Jewish children would come around begging and the nuns would provide them with food. Later on, nuns would deliver food to Jews inside the walled ghetto.³¹

Large numbers of Jews as well as Poles fled eastward before the advancing German army. Refugees, regardless of their origin, met with widespread sympathy and support on the part of Poles. As we shall see, they were well received at convents and monasteries too. A Jewish refuge from Aleksandrów wrote in 1940 (Yad Vashem Archives, file M.10/AR.1–789):

I want to raise here one more issue how the [local] population through which we passed treated us, the refugees. One must admit that regardless of our Jewishness they did whatever they could—and sometimes even more—to ease our distress. ... People we didn't even know literally dragged us to their home [saying] that they could not allow Jews to be left in the streets in those days.

Jews often fled from their homes in search of safety and refuge in surrounding towns, as was the case for a teenage girl from Różan nad Narwią, a small town near Pułtusk, northeast of Warsaw. Many Poles, among them priests—like the one in Maków Mazowiecki, came to their assistance. (Rachel Weiser-Nahel, “I Was Just Thirteen,” in Benjamin Halevy, ed., *Sefer zikaron le-kehilat Rozan (al ha-Narew)* [Tel Aviv: Rozhan Societies in Israel and the USA, 1977], p. 40 (English section); translated as *Rozhan Memorial Book*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/rozan/Rozan.html>>.)

When the war broke out we fled to the village of Bagatella [Bagatele] where we had many friends—the village-head among the rest. A few days later he told us to leave explaining that such were the orders he had received from the Germans, who had threatened to [take] revenge on anybody would contravene—and that included his family, too. It was on Sabbath-Eve. Everything was ready to receive the holy day and the table was laid. We had to leave all this behind and went back to Rozhan [Różan], where we stayed for another few weeks. Those were dark days. Jews were walking about sullenly and downcast. Everyday the men had to go out to forced labor and you could never be sure of coming home safely. ...

At the same time another group was made to build fortifications. The murderers killed Shmuel from the oil-mill while he was working. We were bewildered and felt helpless. One of the “good” Germans advised us to try to get away: “There'll be no life for you here.” So we moved to Makov [Maków Mazowiecki], but couldn't stay there either. The priest, one of the honest Gentiles, bribed the Nazis in order to make them let the Jews alone. They agreed on the condition that strangers who had arrived as refugees leave the town. So we had to clear out in all haste and come

³⁰ A photograph of Rev. Jan Klimkiewicz, the pastor, which was made by a Jewish photographer before the war, can be found on the Internet: <http://www.foto.karta.org.pl/nasze-zbiory/kolekcje/ok_0782_berneman_chaim_kozienice,11922,zdjecie.html>.

³¹ Testimony of Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow in Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudół, eds., *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykłe* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 184–85, 188. The convent on Wolność Street was expelled to Sienna Street when the former area was incorporated into the walled ghetto.

back to Rozhan. We stayed overnight with a Gentile woman, called Brengoshova ... where we also found the Greenwalds and my aunt Rebecca and her children.

At the behest of the Jews, in September 1939, Rev. Jan Kanty Lorek, the bishop of Sandomierz, dispatched Rev. Adam Szymański, the rector of the diocesan seminary, and Rev. Jan Stępień to help secure the release of some 1,200 Jews held in an open-air camp in Zochcinek near Opatów together with some Poles. Initially, the German authorities demanded one million złoty for the release of the prisoners. The Jewish community was able to collect only 63,000 złoty. After further negotiations, the German authorities agreed to accept 100,000 złoty. Bishop Lorek paid the difference, the large sum of 27,000 złoty, from diocesan funds. Bishop Lorek condemned those who took part in looting Jewish property. Jews were sheltered in the bell tower of the Sandomierz cathedral and in the catacombs of the seminary. After the war Bishop Lorek received letters of gratitude from Jews who survived with his assistance.³² The rabbi of Ostrowiec, Yechezkel Halstock, turned down Bishop Lorek's offer of shelter, insisting that he could not abandon his community to save himself.³³ In his memoirs, Rev. Jan Stępień, a professor at the diocesan seminary, recalls Bishop Lorek's and his own role in the dealings with the Germans in September 1939. (Julian Humeński, ed., *Udział kapelanów wojskowych w Drugiej wojnie światowej* [Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1984], p. 282.)

All the men of military age, including Jews, numbering around 2,000, were taken from Sandomierz and interned in an open-air camp in Zochcinek near Opatów. With the authorization of Bishop Jan Kanty Lorek, I attended there and pleaded with the commander of the camp to release them. After lengthy negotiations he agreed to their release on the payment of 20 zlotys per person. I collected contributions with Mr. Goldberg, a shoemaker from Sandomierz. After collecting half the sum we went to Zochcinek. The commander refused to release the Jews. I stated that the Jews too were citizens of the town and that I had come in the name of the town council and would not leave without our Jewish citizens. We were successful. I remember that autumn evening when long columns of men passed by me. Although it was dark, the eyes of those men glowed with sincere appreciation. Prayers in my intention and that of Bishop Lorek took place in the Sandomierz synagogue for a week.

Jewish sources confirm the assistance extended by the Sandomierz clergy in these rescue efforts. (Eva Feldenkreis-Grinbal, ed., *Eth Ezkera—Whenever I Remember: Memorial Book of the Jewish Community in Tzoymir (Sandomierz)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Tsoizmir be-Yisra'el: Moreshet, bet iedut 'a. sh. Mordekhai Anilevits', 1993), pp. 565–66.)

After our release, we heard that Nuske Kleinman and Leibl Goldberg, who had miraculously evaded the march to Zochcin, asked the Polish priest, professor Szymanski [Rev. Adam Szymański, the rector of the diocesan seminary], who was known as a friend of Jews, to intervene with the Germans on our behalf. He immediately got in touch with the German authorities in town. We also heard that the Sandomierz Bishop, Jan Lorek, intervened with the authorities on our behalf.

Rev. Jan Stępień's later efforts on behalf of Jews—he did everything in his power to persuade the Germans to exclude from labour duties Jews who were old and disabled—are described in Marian S. Mazgaj, *In the Polish Secret War: Memoir of a World War II Freedom Fighter* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2009), at pages 36–37.

In organizing Jewish work brigades in Sandomierz, the Nazis requested that Father Jan Stepien [Stępień] serve as an intermediary between themselves and the Jewish community. As a professor of biblical studies in the diocesan seminary of Sandomierz, Father Stepien knew the Hebrew language and spoke German. He did all in his power to persuade the Nazis to exclude from the work brigades Jews who were old and disabled. At times, he was successful in his persuasions. The Jews of Sandomierz respected him.

One time, Father Stepien went to a watchmaker in the city who happened to be an elderly Jewish man and asked

³² Eva Feldenkreis-Grinbal, ed., *Eth Ezkera—Whenever I Remember: Memorial Book of the Jewish Community in Tzoymir (Sandomierz)* (Tel Aviv: Association of Tzoyzmir Jews and Moreshet Publishing, 1993), 565–66; Testimony of Izrael Kaiser, February 3, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2350; Zygmunt Zieliński, ed., *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1982), 444.

³³ Feldenkreis-Grinbal, *Eth Ezkera—Whenever I Remember*, 553.

him to repair his watch. The watchmaker took the watch and asked the priest to pick it up the following day. When the priest came back the next day, the watch was repaired. The priest asked the watchmaker how much he owed him. "One singly zloty [zloty]," was the answer. The priest looked at the Jewish man with disbelief because one zloty represented very little monetary value. The watchmaker noticed his customer's surprise and said, in a way of explanation, something to this effect.

A long time ago there was a very famous monarch. One of his ministers was a Jew. On the occasion of the king's birthday, he invited his friends to his palace for a banquet. A Jewish minister was one of the invited friends. When the dinner was over, the king went around the tables and offered each guest a cigar. Men lit their cigars and began to smoke but the Jew did not. He held his cigar respectfully in his hand and waited. The king noticed this and asked as to why he did not smoke the cigar. The minister replied, "This cigar, which came from your majesty, is too valuable for me to smoke. When I return home, I will frame this cigar and inscribe underneath, This cigar was given to me by His Majesty, the King. My children and grandchildren will read it with a great respect and admiration." You understand what I am trying to tell you, Father? I will not spend this single zloty I asked of you. I will frame it and write under it that it came from a priest who knows our sacred language and who saved me and many other Jews from the Nazi forced labor and possible death. My children and grandchildren will view it with a great reverence.

Because of his involvement in the Polish underground, Rev. Stępień had to flee Sandomierz in March 1942 when the Germans started to carry out mass arrests of the Polish intelligentsia. He moved to Warsaw where he became the chaplain for the Discalced Carmelite Sisters. The Carmelite convent in the Wola district served as a meeting place outside the ghetto for liaison officers of the Jewish Fighting Organization, about which there is more later.³⁴

In Biłgoraj, Dawid Brener brought to the local hospital a German soldier who had been wounded in a skirmish with Polish soldiers in September 1939. In the meantime, the Germans retreated and the Soviets entered the city. After their return to Biłgoraj in October 1939, the Germans accused Brener of shooting the German soldier. Despite the pleas of the Jewish community and the intervention of Rev. Czesław Koziołkiewicz, the local pastor, Brener was executed in October 1939.³⁵

The remarkable recovery of a Torah scroll salvaged by a Polish priest from a synagogue set on fire by the German invaders in September 1939 came to light at a moving ceremony at Boston College. (Ben Birnbaum, "Journey's End: Torah Scroll Rescued by Priest Finds Home among BC's Jews," *Boston College Magazine*, Fall 2002.)

In 1939 in Poland, shortly after Nazi troops had invaded, a Catholic priest saved a Torah scroll from a burning synagogue. The name of the priest is not known, nor the location of the synagogue. What is known is that in 1960, the priest told another Pole that he would like to entrust the Torah to an American Jew. And so he was led to the U.S. embassy in Warsaw, where he handed the Torah in its green velvet slipcover to Yale Richmond '43, a career foreign service officer who was the embassy's cultural attache.

Richmond held the Torah for 42 years, not quite knowing what to do with it, until the day recently when he was surfing the Web from his home in Washington, D.C., and discovered that his alma mater hosted a small but vital

³⁴ After the Soviet "liberation" of Poland and installation of a puppet regime, Rev. Jan Stępień was wanted by the Communist Security Police. He had to assume false identities while moving from place to place. He was arrested on July 5, 1947, underwent a show trial for spying, subversion, and cooperating with Jesuit plotters in the Soviet Union, and sentenced to death on November 29, 1947. On the intervention of Adam Cardinal Sapieha and Bishop Jan Kanty Lorek, his death sentence was commuted to 15 years imprisonment. He was released in April 1955, after the death of Stalin. He was interrogated by Józef Różański (Goldberg), the head of the Investigation Department of the Ministry of Public Security and notorious sadist who persecuted members of the anti-Communist underground with zeal. (Józef Różański is buried in Warsaw's Jewish cemetery.) In his memoirs, Rev. Stępień recalled that only two of his interrogators, out of more than a dozen, were non-Jews. See Leszek Żebrowski, "Księża niezłomni: Godnie przeżył swój czas," *Nasz Dziennik*, March 31–April 1, 2007. During the years 1944–1954, 167 of the 450 top positions in the Ministry of Public Security, or 37.1 percent, were occupied by people of Jewish origin. Ethnic Poles accounted for 49.1 percent, and the balance were filled for the most part by Soviet officers (Russians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians), who accounted for 10.2 percent of the cadre. Of the 107 voivodship Security Office heads and their deputies, 22 were Jews. See Krzysztof Szwagrzyk, "Żydzi w kierownictwie UB: Stereotyp czy rzeczywistość," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 11 (November 2005): 37–42; Krzysztof Szwagrzyk, ed., *Aparat bezpieczeństwa w Polsce: Kadra kierownicza*, vol. 1: 1944–1956 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2005).

³⁵ Abraham Kronenberg, ed., *Khurbn Biłgoraj* (Tel Aviv: n.p., 1956); Polish translation: *Zagłada Biłgoraja: Księga pamięci* (Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz.terytoria, 2009), 179, 182.

Jewish student group and had founded the Center for Christian-Jewish Learning to advance understanding between the two faiths. One of the center's directors was Rabbi Ruth Langer, also a member of BC's theology department. "I sent [Langer] an e-mail asking, 'Would you like a Torah?'" he recalled.

And so on October 11, Boston College was the site of an ancient and traditional "Greeting of the Torah" ceremony, as about 80 people—members of BC's Jewish community, representatives of its other religious communities, and guests and friends—gathered on a Friday afternoon to mark the completion of the scroll's long journey. ...

Richmond, 79, a bearded Boston native who also served in Germany, Austria, Laos, and the Soviet Union before retiring from the foreign service, was one of four Jews in his BC graduating class. He explained his gift of the scroll to the University by saying, "Catholic Poland sheltered its Jews for more than 500 years, a Catholic priest rescued the Torah from a synagogue torched by the Nazis in 1939 and sheltered it for 21 years, and Boston College sheltered me for four years and awarded me the degree that enabled me to make a start on a 30-year career." ...

While the provenance of the Torah—its synagogue and town—are not known, an expert's evaluation in September determined from various stylistic touches and dedicatory inscriptions that the Torah was of Polish origin, that its creator was Rabbi Shmuel Shveber, a highly regarded scribe of his time, and that it was completed in 1919.

Yale Richmond's sentiments about Poland are shared by historians who are well aware that Poland welcomed Jews from the 14th century onward, when they began to arrive in large numbers fleeing

expulsions and pogroms in Western Europe.³⁶ The next few centuries were a period when Jews enjoyed their Golden Age. Not only did Jewish religion, culture and communal life flourish in pre-partition Poland, but as historian Barnet Litvinoff compellingly argues, “Conceivably, Poland saved Jewry from extinction.”³⁷

In September 1939, the Germans forced Jewish and Polish prisoners to march from Łomża to the town of Kolno. Upon their arrival in Kolno, the inhabitants came out into the street and threw food to the prisoners. Yehuda Chmiel, one of the Jewish prisoners, remembered “a Catholic priest, who pushed himself into the rows of captives and distributed bread and fruit among them, without discriminating

³⁶ Jews first came to Poland in the 10th century as traders in—among other commodities, but primarily—Christian slaves, which certainly did not augur well for mutual relations between Poles and Jews. In the early medieval ages, the international slave trade was monopolized by Iberian Jews known as Radhanites, who transferred slaves (Slavs) from Central Europe through Western Europe centres such as Mainz, Verdun and Lyons, where they were often castrated, to Islamic buyers in Muslim Spain and North Africa. According to *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, “The first information about Jewish merchants in Eastern Europe dates from about the tenth century. In this period, Jews took part in the slave trade between Central Asia, Khazaria, Byzantium, and Western Europe (in particular the Iberian Peninsula). Important stopping points on the trade routes included Prague, Kraków, and Kiev, towns in which Jewish colonies developed.” See Adam Teller, “Trade,” *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, Internet: <<http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Trade>>. See According to historian Zofia Kowalska:

In the early Middle Ages the Jews kept a high profile in various branches of long-distance and overseas trade, in which slaves were, for at least three hundred years, the chief commodity. ... The accounts of travellers (Ibn Kordabeh, Ibrahim ibn Yacub), passages in the works of other Arab and Jewish authors (Ibn Haukal, Ibrahim al Quarawi, Yehuda ben Meir ha-Kohen), documents issued by ecclesiastical and secular authorities, charters of municipal privileges and customs tariffs build up a massive body of evidence corroborating the involvement of the Jews in the slave trade. Their “goods” came mostly from the Slav nations; their trade routes led to and crossed in Eastern and Central Europe. Slaves of Slav origin would be taken westwards across the Frankish lands to Arab Spain and from there to other countries in the Mediterranean. The main centres of the slave trade were Prague (from the 10th century onwards); Magdeburg, Merseburg, Mainz and Koblenz in Germany; Verdun in northern France and a number of towns in southern France. In spite of the vociferous debates that the slave trade provoked in both secular and church circles, the Jews were undismayed and went on with their business.

See Zofia Kowalska, “Handel niewolnikami prowadzony przez Żydów w IX-XI wieku w Europie,” in Danuta Quirini-Popławskiej, ed., *Niewolnictwo i niewolnicy w Europie od starożytności po czasy nowożytne* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1998), 81–92. So many Slavs were enslaved for so many centuries that the very name “slave” derived from their name, not only in English and other European languages. The slave trade was strongly opposed by the Catholic Church, which prohibited the export of Christian slaves to non-Christian lands. English language literature on this topic includes: See Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski, *Jews in Poland: A Documentary History: The Rise of Jews as a Nation from Congressus Judaicus in Poland to the Knesset in Israel* (New York: Hippocrene, 1993; Revised edition—1998), 257–66; M.M. Postan and Edward Miller, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 416–18, 485–87; Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings*, vol. 6: *Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads, Part 2: Medieval Slavic Studies* (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam: Mouton, 1985), 864; Timothy Reuter, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3: *c.900–c.1024* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69–70; H.H. Ben-Sasson, ed., *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 394–98, Plate 31; Joseph Adler, “The Origins of Polish Jewry,” *Midstream*, October 1994, 26–28; Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 8. Additional literature on this topic published in Polish and Poland includes: Tadeusz Lewicki, “Osadnictwo słowiańskie i niewolnicy słowiańscy w krajach muzułmańskich według średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich,” *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 43, nos. 3–4 (1952): 473–91; Tadeusz Lewicki, “Handel niewolnikami słowiańskich w krajach arabskich,” in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich: Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, vol. 2 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1964), 190–92; Iza Biezuńska-Malowist and Marian Malowist, *Niewolnictwo* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1987), 267–77; Zofia Borzymińska, *Studia z dziejów Żydów w Polsce* (Warsaw: DiG, 1995), 14–26; Ahmed Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slaves (9th-11th Centuries)* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Dialog, 1998), 114–83; Hanna Zaremska, “Aspekty porównawcze w badaniach nad historią Żydów w średniowiecznej Polsce,” *Rocznik Mazowiecki*, vol. 13 (2001): 177–91, at p. 178; Robert Szuchta, *1000 lat historii polskich Żydów: Podróż przez wieki* (Warsaw: POLIN Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich, 2015), 17–19. POLIN The Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw devotes a panel to the slave trade in its exhibit on early Jewish presence in Poland.

³⁷ Barnet Litvinoff, *The Burning Bush: Antisemitism and World History* (London: Collins, 1988), 92.

between religions and races. ... After a time, we heard that the Germans had tortured and executed him.”³⁸

The public mistreatment of Jews by German soldiers raised consternation among the Polish population and caused priests to intervene. Professor Karol Estreicher, of the Jagiellonian University, witnessed the following scenes in Drohobycz, in southeastern Poland, in September 1939. In order to protect his family in Poland from retaliation by the Germans, Professor Estreicher published his memoir in 1940 under the pseudonym of Dominik Węgierski. (Dominik Wegierski, *September 1939* [London: Minerva, 1940], p. 151.)

The first scene which struck me as I came to the Market Square was the sight of a group of Jews loading manure on a cart with their hands. The work was supervised by a Storm Trooper with a whip in his hand. He was whistling a gay tune and now and then striking some of the Jews, or pulling their beards. Sometimes he gave one of them a well-aimed kick.

The Polish population looked on with indignation on such treatment of human beings, and many peasants or workmen expressed their disapproval. In the afternoon the Germans began a looting of the Jewish shops. ... The Jews stayed at home, afraid to go out. But the Germans, using revolvers and riding-crops, forced the younger Jews to help in the loading of the robbed goods.

The Germans took a particular delight in forcing the Jews to perform revolting or filthy tasks. The Jews were told to clear away manure, dead animals and men, and every kind of dirt, without using any implements which might help them not to soil their hands. The population of Drohobycz was definitely against such methods. The local parson—who before the war did much to help the Polish co-operatives to take business out of Jewish hands³⁹—called on the commander of the garrison and protested against such public indignities. The commander made a gesture of helplessness—a well-known trick of the Germans—and listened sympathetically to the complaint, but said that the Gestapo alone were responsible for the whole business. He advised bribery.

In some areas sandwiched between the Nazi invaders from the East and Soviet invaders from the West, local Polish authorities fled or ceased functioning during the turmoil. The ensuing breakdown in law and order was seized upon by criminal elements and riff-raff to loot property often belonging to Jews. Priests spoke out to curb these abuses. Rev. Michał Jabłoński, pastor of Tarnogóra near Izbica, condemned the looters and demanded that they cease their activities.⁴⁰ The Soviet invaders were welcomed by the Jewish population of Grabowiec, and pro-Communist factions, for the most part Jews, formed a Red militia. Forty-two wounded Polish soldiers were executed by the Soviets on September 25, 1939, during their brief occupation of that town. The following account likely pertains to Rev. Józef Czarnecki, the local pastor. (Sh. Kanc, ed., *Memorial Book of Grabowitz* [Tel Aviv: Grabowiec Society in Israel, 1975], p. 17.)

I must mention here a courageous priest, who warned the faithful, from the pulpit, not to plunder the Jews or attack them. Such acts were against Christianity and Humanity, the priest admonished.

There is a similar account from Dąbrowa Białostocka. At the behest of the rabbi and Jewish town elders, a priest dissuaded a group of villagers from looting Jewish property after the Germans had retreated and before the Soviets took control of the area in mid-September 1939.⁴¹

³⁸ Yehuda Chamiel, “On the Brink of the Holocaust,” in Yitzchak Ivri, ed., *Book of Kehilat Ostrolenka: Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community of Ostrolenka* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotzei Ostrolenka in Israel, 2009), 343.

³⁹ The promotion of business initiatives (such as cooperatives) for ethnic Poles, who were grossly underrepresented in Polish commerce, was unfairly labeled by many Jews as being anti-Semitic.

⁴⁰ Ryszard Adamczyk, *Izbicy dni powszednie: Wojna i okupacja: Pamiętnik pisany po latach* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 2007), 64. The events in question occurred after the departure of the Red Army on October 6, 1939. When the Red Army entered Izbica on September 27, 1939, according to Jewish sources, they were given a friendly welcome by the Jews. Some young Jews joined the Red militia and wore red armbands. Together with Soviet soldiers, they immediately set off to capture and disarm Polish soldiers still in the area. See Henryk Grynberg, *Children of Zion* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 52; Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 11–12.

⁴¹ Michael A. Nevins, *Dubrowa–Dabrowa Bialostocka: Memorial to a Shtetl*, 2nd edition (River Vale, New Jersey: n.p., 2000), 19.

In Garbatka near Radom, the Germans incited local Christians to start up a petition calling for the removal of the Jewish population. The Germans turned to the local priest to endorse the petition, but he refused to put his signature on it thus torpedoing the project.⁴² This was part of a strategy to make it appear as if the Germans were acting at the behest, or to placate the wishes, of the conquered people, for whom they otherwise displayed nothing but contempt. Another form of incitement, equally unsuccessful, was to compel the local rabbi to go to the church in the town of Dąbie on the Ner River, mount the pulpit, and yell out that the Jews were responsible for the war.⁴³

In his wartime diary, Dr. Zygmunt Klukowski recorded the following on October 22, 1939 concerning Rev. Józef Cieśllicki, the pastor of Szczepieszyn, in Lublin voivodship. (Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, Second revised and expanded edition [Kraków: Znak, 1969], p. 645.)

Eleven Jews were arrested, taken to court martial and prepared for further measures. A group of Jews went to see the canon, Rev. [Józef] Cieśllicki, pleading with him to intervene with the Germans. A committee [of Poles] promptly approached the German authorities ...

According to the town's memorial book, a number of Poles came to the assistance of the Jews, including Rev. Cieśllicki and an unnamed vicar, likely Rev. Franciszek Kapalski. (Dov Shuval, ed., *The Szczepieszyn Memorial Book* [Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2005], pp. 149–151, 155):

26 September 1939,—In such a hiding place in an attic, Abraham Reichstein's son-in-law, going up into the attic, wanted to take up the ladder. However, seeing an SS trooper below, out of fear, he let the ladder down on the German's hand, and injured him.

After this incident, an order was issued immediately, that Jews were not permitted to leave their homes. All of the Jews, men and women, were pursued like animals across the town, to the city hall, heavily guarded on all sides.

The lawyer, Popracki [Henryk Paprocki, a member of the National Party] learned of this. He went off to the priest, Cieslicki [Józef Cieśllicki] and both went to the burgomaster [mayor] Franczek [Jan Franczak]. All three made their way to the German commandant, and declared to him, that the incident with the ladder was just an accident, and represented that such an incident will not happen again. The commandant went out to the people with a long speech, and warned, that if this ever happened again, or there was a similar incident, that every tenth Jew would be shot. Until the commandant appeared, the Rabbi, Yekhiel Blankaman and Shlomo Maimon had been beaten, among others. ...

I wish to add, that there were Christians, who sympathized with the Jews, and gave them help, and many times suffered themselves because of it.

Such a person was the Milliner Brylowski [Bryłowski], whose garden bordered on the hospital garden. He showed us a way. Where we could flee if an automobile full of Germans arrived to take us away: behind the stable he set aside the obstacles, and freed up the way for us, down to the river.

I also wish to mention Dr. [Józef Kazimierz] Spoz, the Canon Cieslicki, the Vicar, the organist [Bolesław] Stec and his daughter, the Komornik, and the Pharmacist [Jan Szczygłowski], who helped Jews. At a number of these, hidden Jewish articles were found, and because of this they suffered greatly.

Rev. Cieśllicki was arrested by the Germans in June 1940, and after his release, hid from them in the Tarnów area. With time, as German acts of terror became commonplace, interventions proved to be less and less effective, and were soon futile. The vicar, Rev. Franciszek Kapalski, headed the Welfare Committee (*Komitet Opiekuńczy*) in Szczepieszyn, which extended assistance to both Poles and Jews.⁴⁴

Sometimes priests could do no more than console the victims of German executions as in Konin, in the

⁴² Magdalena Siek, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, vol. 8: *Tereny wcielone do Rzeszy: Okręg Rzeszy Gdańsk-Prusy Zachodnie, rejencja ciechanowska, Górny Śląsk* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2012), 321.

⁴³ Magdalena Siek, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, vol. 9: *Tereny wcielone do Rzeszy: Kraj Warty* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2012), 71.

⁴⁴ Regina Smoter Grzeszkiewicz, "Kaplani Zamojszczyzny prześladowani i zamordowani podczas II wojny światowej," Internet: <<http://horajec.republika.pl/okup45.html>>.

so-called Wartheland, as related by Issy Hahn in his memoir, *A Life Sentence of Memories: Konin, Auschwitz, London* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), at pages 11–12.

The next day, Thursday 21 September [1939], the Germans began arresting influential people from the town as hostages; the reason given was that two German soldiers had been found shot dead. Another poster went up on the tower: ‘Tomorrow morning at 11 o’clock the execution of two hostages will take place.’

The next morning just before 11 o’clock Liberty Square was crowded; there were 300 or 400 people there. I pushed my way through the crowd to get to one of the two public water pumps in the square and climbed on top to have a good view of the spectacle. Over the heads of the crowd I saw the two condemned men being marched by six soldiers and one officer of the German army from the town prison to the square. The hostages came to a stop, facing the blank white wall of the old gymnasium. The crowd was silent. The men were told to turn and face the crowd.

One of the hostages, Mordechai Slodki, was a religious Jewish man of 70 who owned a fabric shop; I knew him well. The other was Aleksander Kurowski, a Polish Catholic who owned a posh restaurant near the main coach station. ...

A Catholic priest wearing a long mauve robe and a scarf around his neck approached the prisoners. He spoke first to the Jewish man. Then, with his Bible raised, he said a prayer with the Catholic man and made the sign of the cross. Then he turned and walked away. One of the Germans blindfolded the hostages.

The officer in charge ordered the firing squad to retreat 20 metres from the two men and take up their firing position. ... The officer in charge gave the order and the soldiers lifted their guns. ...

Some of the crowd moved towards the dead men. When I got close enough to see the bodies I couldn’t believe my eyes: the men’s arms and legs were still moving. Everyone was wiping tears from their faces as they passed the blindfolded corpses to show their last respects. Some made the sign of the cross.

The accounts attesting to widespread sympathy on the part of Poles toward persecuted Jews are borne out by a report filed by Wehrmacht General Johannes Blaskowitz. On February 6, 1940, he wrote to General Walther von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-Chief of the German Army:

The acts of violence carried out in public against Jews are arousing in religious Poles [literally, “in the Polish population, which is fundamentally pious (or God-fearing)”] not only the deepest disgust but also a great sense of pity for the Jewish population.⁴⁵

The opposite situation was not unthinkable, as the following highly unusual case shows. On September 1, 1939, Leon Schönker, the wartime leader of the Jewish community in Oświęcim, hid and cared for a wounded German pilot, who had parachuted from a crashing plane, without informing the Polish authorities of his presence. When the German army entered the town several days later, the Jews led them to the wounded man who, it turned out, was an important Nazi officer. This officer reciprocated by intervening with the local German military commander to alleviate conditions for the Jews, at least for a time. When some old, defective rifles which had been used for mandatory military drills before the war were found in a school run by the Salesian Society, the Germans arrested a dozen priests and threatened to execute them. Leon Schönker intervened on their behalfs with the local commander and persuaded him that the rifles were useless as weapons. The priests were released from jail. Word of this deed spread through the town and Leon Schönker became a local hero.⁴⁶

Felix Kaminsky, who served in the Polish army in September 1939, recalled that after their defeat, the captain told everyone to go on their own. Kaminsky set off with a Polish friend, and “a priest gave us two old priests’ uniforms [i.e., cassocks] to disguise.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *Those Were the Days’: The Holocaust through the Eyes of the Perpetrators and Bystanders* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991), 4; Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism 1919–1945: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*, vol. II: *Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination* (New York: Schocken, 1988), 939.

⁴⁶ Moshe Weiss, “To Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation from Auschwitz,” *The Jewish Press* (Brooklyn), January 27, 1995; Henryk Schönker, *Dotknięcie aniola* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2005), 28–30. Leon’s son, Henryk, also became a local hero of sorts when a story spread that he had smashed a bicycle belonging to a German soldier. Although this rumour proved to be untrue, no one betrayed him.

⁴⁷ Rhoda G. Lewin, ed., *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 139.

Sympathy for downtrodden prisoners-of-war, both Poles and Jews, taken during the September 1939 campaign and guarded by the Germans in a school courtyard in Rzeszów, was openly expressed by Polish nuns. (Testimony of Chaim Bank in *A Memorial to the Brzozow Community*, Abraham Levite, ed. [Israel: The Survivors of Brzozow, 1984], pp. 95–96.)

Twice we received nourishment in the form of a bowl of soup from the German military kitchen. The Catholic nuns brought kettles of food for the Polish prisoners. The Jewish hostages from Kolbuszowa refused to eat non-kosher food and literally starved. I owned a few “zloty” [zloty] (Polish currency) and asked the nuns if they could possibly buy me some chocolate in town. They fulfilled my request and that chocolate was the only food the Jewish hostages would eat. The nuns let me know of the horrible misfortune befalling the Jews of Rzeszow caused by the German army right after the beginning of the invasion.

Sydney W. from Pułtusk near Warsaw, who was interned by the Germans after the September 1939 campaign at a prisoner-of-war camp for Polish soldiers in Radom, recalled the assistance he received from a Polish priest. (Joachim Schoenfeld, ed., *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwów Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* [Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House, 1985], pp. 293–95.)

The Germans took us to a POW camp in Radom. It was November [1939] and already cold. My leg was terribly swollen and the wound festered; I could barely walk.

... In the car with me was a Pole, an officer from my unit who was also wounded, and looking at me one day, he said, “If the Germans find out that you are Jewish, it will be your end. I advise you not to reveal that you are Jewish; our service books don’t show our nationality. ...”

In the camp at Radom, I met a good friend, a former neighbor, a classmate of mine at school. In the Polish army he was a medic, the Germans too used him as such in the camp. He promised to help me in any way possible. First of all, he would see to it that I would be admitted to the hospital; to do this he intended to engage the help of another fellow from our town, who was a nurse at the camp hospital. When he told me who the other fellow was, I became frightened, because I remembered him from before the war, when he was an Endek who organized and took part in anti-Jewish brawls in our town. My friend, however, assured me that I had no reason to be afraid of him, because he’d changed and now hated the Germans more than the Jews. He would help me.

In fact, the next morning, when all the prisoners seeking admittance to the hospital had lined up in front of the entrance gate, the line was so long that joining it seemed to me to be a hopeless undertaking. I realized I would not be able to stand there for hours on my wounded, aching leg, and left the line in despair. My landsman, the Endek, saw me hopping back to the barracks. He came up to me and told me not to worry. He led me through a back door into the hospital and to the admitting desk, where he persuaded a Polish doctor, himself a prisoner, to admit me as an emergency case.

The next day I was on the operating table. A big chunk of steel was taken out of my leg. The doctor told me that a few more days of neglect would have led to gangrene, which would have resulted in the loss of my leg.

My classmate told me that he had spoken to a Polish priest, who visited sick prisoners in the hospital every day, and the priest promised him that he would do everything possible to help me.

Two Gestapo men came into the ward and took away a friend of mine by the name of Kraemer, and all other prisoners with Jewish names. I was spared because my name doesn’t sound Jewish.

The next day, when the priest came into my ward, he approached my bed and asked me if I wanted to confess. I understood that by pretending that it was a confession, we wouldn’t have any witnesses to our talk. When we were alone I told him that, as he knew from my friend, I was a Jew and therefore in great danger, and begged him to help me. He was a kind man and told me that all is in God’s hand and that I should not lose hope. He gave me a small cross to wear, and having learned from my friend that I was in the military orchestra, he also gave me a little hymn book. “Tomorrow,” he said, “I will be saying mass in the hospital, as I do every Sunday. Before the services I will ask if there are among the worshippers some with good voices, or from the music band. You should step forward and I will ask you to join the choir.” He said I should behave like all the others, cross myself and kneel when the others did, and with God’s help he hoped that there would be no suspicion of my being Jewish. Since then I became known in the hospital as the choir boy. ...

However, after about six week in the hospital, an ordinance was received to dissolve the camp and to release the Polish prisoners, allowing them to return home.

William (Wolf) Ungar, a soldier in the Polish army who was injured during the September 1939 campaign, recalled waking up in a make-shift hospital in Gostynin and being comforted by a Catholic priest. (William Ungar with David Chanoff, *Destined to Live* [Lanham, Maryland, New York, Oxford: University Press of America, 2000], pp. 63–64.)

I came out of the dream with the strange feeling that someone was hovering over me. I opened my eyes. A priest was kneeling down, speaking to me in Latin. In nomine domine et filio et spiritu sanctu...words linked themselves together in a singsong drone. For a moment I thought I was hallucinating. Then I realized the priest was flesh and blood and he wasn't speaking to me, but was giving me last rites. When he saw my eyes were opened he looked at me sorrowfully and made the sign of the cross.

A priest making a cross in the air over me was the last thing I expected. I was drowning in my own misery and sorrow, in pain, and a priest wasn't someone I wanted to see at that moment. I wondered if I was really so near death that I needed the last rites? I raised my hand and motioned for him to stop. The priest looked at me, his eyes widening slightly, surprised that I would interrupt him in the process of saving my eternal soul.

"What's the matter, my son?" he asked, putting his ear down near my mouth. "Are you in great pain?"

"No, Father."

"Then what's wrong, my child?"

"I'm Jewish, Father."

He looked into my blue eyes. "You're Jewish, my son?"

"Yes, Father."

"I'm truly sorry, my son."

"I understand, Father."

Then he stood up and walked away.

Mendel (Martin) Helicher, a Jew from Tarnopol who served as an officer in the 54th battalion of the Polish army, was taken captive by the Germans in September 1939 and sent to a prisoner-of-war camp in Gorlice. After a medical examination, Helicher was identified as a Jew and imprisoned. He was protected by his division commander, Zygmunt Bryszewski, and other Poles including a priest, Rev. Józef Czach, the battalion's chaplain. The chaplain maintained that Helicher was a Catholic who had been circumcised as a result of an operation, and they were thus able to secure his release. An article by Y. Shmuelovich about Helicher's experiences published in *Forward* on January 17, 1966 is reproduced in the Mikulińce memorial book, *Mikulince: Sefer yizkor*, edited by Haim Preshel (Israel: Organization of Mikulincean Survivors in Israel and in the United States of America, 1985), at pages 104–113.

The Hitlerists never stopped looking for Jews among the prisoners. ... One night in September 1939, at midnight, a gang of Hitlerists stormed into the hut and demanded a medical examination of every prisoner. They were looking for Jews. Everyone who passed the examination and was found to be Gentile received a tag entitling him to receive food. "I, too, stood, in the long line," Helicher said, "completely naked. My heart trembled. In a matter of minutes, the German murderers would know that I was a Jew." At that point, a miracle happened. A man named Bigada, formerly a judge in Tarnopol, came over to the Jew. He had already passed the physical. The judge, a lieutenant, held out his tag to the Jew. Slowly, the Jew moved out of the line. The Polish judge, who passed the exam a second time and got a new tag, was a close friend of Zigmund Brishevski [Zygmunt Bryszewski]. If the Nazis had ever found out, Bigada would have been shot.

Danger was not over for Martin—Mendel Helicher and waited for him anew around every bend. Once, when Helicher was standing in line for food, a Ukrainian named Olenik recognized him. They had served together in the Polish army and Olenik knew Helicher was Jewish. The Ukrainian went to the Nazis and informed on Helicher. The Nazis examined him and when they found that he had been circumcised they branded a Jewish star on his left hand so that everyone would know that he was Jewish. They incarcerated him in the Garliz [Gorlice] prison. But his good and kind-hearted friend did not desert him. He made sure his Jewish friend got out of danger.

Among the Polish officers at Garliz was the judge from Tarnopol Pisterer. He was a "volksdeutsche" (literally a son of the German people) and served as an interpreter for the Nazis who liked him very much. He even wore a German uniform. "Judge Pisterer went to the judge I mentioned previously, Bogada," Helicher explained, "together with the clergyman Tsach [Rev. Józef Czach] who had been the chaplain of the 54th battalion in Tarnopol. The three of them went to see the Nazis in charge of the camp. The chaplain said that I had been a Catholic all my life and belonged to his church. My circumcision, he explained, was the result of an operation. I was released on the strength of his testimony." To this day, he bears the Jewish star on his left hand and survived the Nazis as a devout Catholic.

When he was released from prison, he was returned to the P.O.W. camp where he lived as a Catholic among the officers and men. The Nazis no longer hurt him as a Jew.

Karol Kewes, a 15-year-old Jewish boy from Łódź, was attending a course for baccalaureate candidates in a military training camp when the war broke out. Manoeuvring between the German and Soviet invaders, Kewes's eye was injured by German fire just before his detachment was captured by the Germans on October 5 and taken to a prisoner-of-war camp in Dęblin Fortress. Kewes was sent to a hospital in Radom

where he was attentively cared for by Polish nuns, who kept silent about the Jewish origin of their charges. His experiences are described in K.S. Karol, *Between Two Worlds: The Life of a Young Pole in Russia, 1939–46* (New York: A New Republic Book/Henry Holt and Company, 1986), at pages 19–23.

At St. Casimir Hospital in Radom, where I was finally sent to have my eye attended to, the groans of the wounded seemed restful to my ears after the screams of Demblin [Dęblin]. The atmosphere of this hospital was tense and a little surrealistic: The Germans had taken charge of everything, from surgery to administration, but they had left the religious at their posts. The nuns were excellent nurses and especially strong Polish patriots, conspirators even. The sister who looked after me had a German-sounding first name, Kunegunda [actually this would have been an assumed religious name, that of Blessed Kinga or Kunegunda, the Hungarian-born wife of King Boleslaus V the Shy of Poland], but she would rather have had her tongue torn out than pronounce a word in that language. As with all the other religious, the occupiers had to speak to her through an interpreter. The German military doctors didn't believe in talking to the wounded. I only learned the details of my operation from Sister Kunegunda. ...

Sister Kunegunda was very kind to me, perhaps in the hope of bringing me to religion, or more simply because of my relative youth. She sometimes brought me sweets and promised to contact my family with the help of another sister who happened to be traveling to Lodz [Łódź]. I wrote my parents a long letter, which ended by declaring my irrevocable decision to move to the provinces incorporated in the USSR, beyond the River Bug. ... Then one morning the doctor announced the arrival of "eine Dame," my mother. ... He left us alone for a moment, then he returned to announce to my mother that she could take me home ...

At the home of some friends of Sister Kunegunda in Radom, my mother gave me a suitcase with all my things carefully arranged, and directions on the best way to cross the Bug. ...

Sister Kunegunda's last piece of advice still resounded in my ears: "Badz Polakiem" ["Bądź Polakiem"] ("Be Polish"), with its unspoken implication: "Fight for Poland." ...

[In Lwów] I managed to find a modest job in a chemist laboratory where I washed test tubes, and even more modest lodgings (a kitchen commode on which I stretched out at night, my feet dangling in the air) at the home of a retired Polish lady who was poor but very obliging; if I remember, correctly, she was an acquaintance of Sister Kunegunda.

In Polish Pomerania (the so-called Polish corridor), in the fall of 1939, thousands of Poles, as well as some Jews, were rounded up and killed in mass executions in the forests near Piaśnica. One group of 300 prisoners, transported there in November from the jail in the nearby town of Wejherowo, included Jewish children. Sister Alicja, born Maria Jadwiga Kotowska, the superior of the convent of the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) in Wejherowo and school principal, took them under her wing. She led them by their hands like Janusz Korczak would later lead his Jewish orphans from the Warsaw ghetto onto a train headed for Treblinka. (Lucyna Mistecka, *Zmartwychwstanki w okupowanej Polsce* [Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1983], pp. 94–96.)

On the entry of the Wehrmacht into Wejherowo (September 9), the extermination action began. The jails were overcrowded, and prisoners occupied not only the cells but also the corridors and the chapel. There were over 3,000 of them ...including members of the clergy ...

The Sisters were also blacklisted. They were placed in isolation in their convent which was occupied by the German army. ... At 3:30 in the afternoon [of October 23]... during prayer the Gestapo burst into the convent, causing an uproar, with the aim of terrorizing the Sisters. They demanded that Sister Alicja leave. Upon leaving, they arrested her and took her to the courthouse. ... The next day the Sisters ... learned that Sister Alicja was in the local jail [where she remained despite numerous interventions] ...

Commencing November 5, every day six or more automobiles left the jail for Piaśnica ... On November 11 a large transport counting 300 prisoners left for Piaśnica. Among them was Sister Alicja Kotowska. Before entering the automobiles they had to empty their pockets ... Sister Alicja was the last member of the group to enter the courtyard of the building. She approached a group of Jewish children, took them by their hands and led them into the automobile.

In Piaśnica forest the prisoners, stripped to their undergarments, were lined up in front of the graves that had been prepared. They were forced to kneel [before being shot] ... Their bodies were covered over with a thick layer of lime and soil over which sod was placed.

The Germans started to abuse the Jewish population as soon as they arrived in Żelechów near Garwolin. After a brief respite, matters came to a head again in November 1939, when hundreds of Jews were rounded up and were on the verge of being killed. A priest intervened with the Germans on behalf of the endangered Jews. ("Żelechow," in *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Communities in Poland*, volume 7, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Pinkas_poland/pol7_00199b.html>; translation from *Pinkas*

hakehillot Polin, volume 7 [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1999], pp. 199 ff.)

The Germans entered Zelechów [Żelechów] on 12 September 1939. Immediately upon their arrival, they seized Jews on the street, subjected them to harsh abuse, plundered their property, and set several of their houses on fire. The next day, the synagogue was set afire, and the blaze claimed the life of Hayyim Palhendler, who before the war had been a member of the municipal council. At the same time, the Germans seized Jewish and Polish public figures as hostages and imprisoned them for twenty-four hours. After a few days, the Germans gathered a group of Jews and sent them to Ostrow-Mazowiecka [Ostrów Mazowiecka]; on the way, they shot many of them to death. ...

In November 1939 ... That month also saw a serious incident that jeopardized the lives of hundred of Jews in Zelechów. On a market day in town, a former Polish soldier shot at a German. The Germans immediately gathered hundreds of Jews and prepared to kill them, but through the lobbying of the priest, and after the actual culprit was captured, the Jews were set free.

Rev. Stefan Wilk, pastor of Chełmicka Duża near Włocławek, issued false baptismal certificates to three Jewish families from Włocławek: Paljard, Dyszel and Milner. They lived under their assumed identities in Łochocin, north of Włocławek, before fleeing to Eastern Poland in 1941. From there, they made their way to Palestine. Rev. Wilk was arrested by the Germans on October 23, 1939. He was imprisoned in Fort VII in Poznań, Stutthof, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau, where he perished on February 9, 1943.⁴⁸

In early November 1939, the Gestapo in Łódź carried out mass arrests of the intelligentsia, Catholic clergymen (some 50 Catholic priests were arrested including Bishop Kazimierz Tomczak) and political and social activists, and interned them in a concentration camp created in nearby Radogoszcz. Józef (Josef) Saks, a Jewish prisoner who arrived at the camp on December 23, 1939, recalled the atmosphere of solidarity that prevailed among the prisoners (Testimony of Józef Saks, October 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1023):

On December 23, 1939, I arrived with a group of 39 Jews and 40 Poles from the [Gestapo] prison on Sterling Street (also some people from the prison [police detention for arrests] on Kopernik Street). There were a few dozen women in the camp, including a few Jewish ones. ... In the camp there were 4 big rooms. The Jews were in two rooms, but there were no special ghettos.

The Poles' attitude to the Jews, with the exception of particular individuals, was generally good. It should be pointed out that there were a few dozen priests in the camp. Most of the Poles were from the intelligentsia. The prisoners' honesty toward each other is a characteristic feature worth emphasizing. I know of only one instance of something being misappropriated. During this period, the gendarmerie and auxiliary police treated the prisoners well. The Jewish prisoners and the Poles made an agreement that on Christmas Day, the Jews would do all the work in the camp. The next two days, however, the Jews were not called on to do any work at all. ... The Polish prisoners, knowing that we wouldn't get any meals, had left us their bread and had hidden coffee for us.

During the evacuation of Jews from Lubartów and Firlej in December 1939, driving them to Kock, the Germans made them undress to check whether they heeded the harsh orders regarding what possessions they could take with them. Those Jews who were found to have more than allowed were beaten mercilessly. Incensed by the treatment of the Jews, Poles turned to their priest to intervene with the Landrat (the chief German administrator of the area) on behalf of the Jews. Surprisingly, this intervention had some effect as the Germans no longer forced the Jews to strip naked.⁴⁹

In December 1939, 2,000 Jewish men from Chełm were forced on a death march to the town of Hrubieszów some 50 kilometres away; many of them were shot by the SS and German police (Selbstschutz) allong the way. In Hrubieszów, another 2,000 Jewish men were rounded up and forced to join the Chełm Jews. They were then ordered to cross the Bug River by the Germans, but shot at by the Soviets from the other side of the river. Most of the Jews turned back. Those who made it to Bełz, under

⁴⁸ Gabriel Michalik, "Lwy pana hrabiego," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, November 29, 2005.

⁴⁹ Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2013. The Germans "stripped women and men naked. Whenever they found more than 150 zlotys on someone, they beat and butchered [them]. This conduct sparked protest among the Poles, who intervened at the Landrat Office through their priest. This proved successful and people were no longer stripped bare in the road. Personal searches were conducted on people wearing clothes."

Soviet occupation, were cared for by a women's committee with the encouragement of a priest.⁵⁰

Tens of thousands of Poles and Jews were expelled to the General Government from western Polish territories incorporated directly into the German Reich. Many of these refugees passed through the Franciscan friaries in Limanowa near Nowy Sącz and Niepokalanów near Warsaw. On January 2, 1940, Emanuel Ringelblum wrote in his diary (*Kronika getta warszawskiego: Wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943* [Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983], p. 68):

In Limanowa, the behaviour of the Franciscans toward 1,300 Jewish refugees (500 from Kalisz, 500 from Lublin, and some 300 from Poznań) was very favourable. They gave them accommodations in their buildings and helped them [in various ways]... even giving them a calf to kill.

Some 2,000 refugees from the Poznań area, among them hundreds of Jews, arrived at the Franciscan monastery in Niepokalanów in the early months of 1940. After they were resettled, some 1,500 refugees, mostly from Pomerania, arrived in April 1940.⁵¹ Some thirty Franciscan friars who remained (at what was Poland's largest monastery) tended to their care, under the direction of their guardian, Father Maximilian Kolbe. In a biography entitled *A Man for Others: Maximilian Kolbe, Saint of Auschwitz* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982; reissued by Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division of Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., Huntington, Indiana, 1982), at pages 91–93, Patricia Treece writes about the extensive assistance provided to Jewish refugees in Niepokalanów.

Truckloads (Brother Juwentyn [Juwentyn] estimates as many as 1,500 Jews and 2,000 gentiles at one time) were dumped at the friary by the Nazis, displaced persons who had been forced from their homes as "undesirables" in territory annexed by the Reich. The first group (Jews and gentiles from the Poznań area), many times outnumbering the Franciscans, was practically waiting on the doorstep when Kolbe and his malnourished friars returned from imprisonment. ... Kolbe and the Brothers somehow managed to feed their bedraggled guests until the Germans began allotting food for them. To do so, the friars begged in the neighborhood. ... Kolbe not only provided housing (the guests were given about three-fourths of the friary) and food, but clothing and every other kind of assistance as well.

Kolbe himself mentions in a letter the following services to refugees sheltered at Niepokalanow in May 1940: the infirmary was caring for sixty to seventy daily, the pharmacy was dispensing medicine to twenty daily, the little hospital for lay people was housing thirty daily, and the friary kitchen was feeding 1,500. ...

Even after the Germans began allotting rations to the displaced persons from the Poznan area, Kolbe, knowing firsthand the inadequacy of these official amounts, added to them. ...

At Father Kolbe's request, a second, non-Christian celebration was put on for the touched and grateful Jewish families on New Year's Day.

Brother Mansuetus Marczewski had noticed that Father Maximilian had an especially tender love for the Jews. This love was reciprocated. Early in the new year (1940), the Poznan deportees were resettled away from the monastery. Before leaving, the Jewish leaders sought out Father Maximilian. According to Brother Juwentyn, a

⁵⁰ David Silberklang, "Refleksje na temat losu Żydów w okupowanej Polsce 1939–1945," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2008): 113–26, at p. 117 ("za przyczyną księdza").

⁵¹ According to a report of the order's provincial superior from October 1940 found in the Niepokalanów archives:

During the course of the year 1940, Niepokalanów housed and fed many refugees. Among the first group of 3,500 refugees were 2,000 Jews. After the departure of the first group of refugees in the spring of 1940, a second group of exiles from Pomerania was housed in the friary. This group now also has departed. At the writing of this report, the monastery awaits the arrival of another 2,000 displaced persons. Individual Jews and families were also hidden at the friary. Saul [Szymon] Wiesel, a Jewish convert, and his Polish wife lived in the monastery for eleven months. After his arrest by the Gestapo, together with seven Franciscan brothers, Brother Longin Chałciński visited Wiesel regularly at the prison in Łowicz for about half a year (until his death), and brought him food. Father Kolbe personally encouraged local residents to extend help to Jews. One such Jew was an injured fugitive from the Warsaw ghetto who had been brought to the monastery by Brother Hieronim Wierzbka. After he was nursed back to health, he was taken in by a local resident.

See Claude R. Foster, *Mary's Knight: The Mission and Martyrdom of Saint Maksymilian Maria Kolbe* (West Chester, Pennsylvania: West Chester University Press, 2002), 630, 632–33. (This book was republished by Marytown in Libertyville, Illinois in 2013 under the same title.) Four Jews were engaged by the monastery as workers in 1944. See Zdzisław Gogola, "Franciszkanie pomagali ludności żydowskiej," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 162–71, at p. 167.

spokesperson (Mrs. Zajac [Zajac]) said:

“Tomorrow we leave Niepokalanow. We’ve been treated here with much loving concern. ... We’ve always felt someone close to us was sympathetic with us. For the blessing of this all-around kindness, in the name of all the Jews present here, we want to express our warm and sincere thanks to you, Father Maximilian, and to all the Brothers. But words are inadequate for what our hearts desire to say. ...”

In a loving gesture to Kolbe and his Franciscans, she concluded by asking that a Mass of thanksgiving be celebrated to thank God for his protection of the Jews and the friary. Another Polish Jew added, “If God permits us to live through this war, we will repay Niepokalanow a hundredfold. And, as for the benevolence shown here to the Jewish refugees from Poznan, we shall never forget it. We will praise it everywhere in the foreign press.”

It is interesting to note that the Jews of Poznań, Poland’s first historic capital, had largely favoured Germany over Poland, the region’s occupying power, when Poland regained its independence after World War I. Father Kolbe continued his support of the Jews until he was arrested again in February 1941, among other reasons, for the extensive and open assistance he gave to Jews at the monastery.

A woman living in the neighborhood of Niepokalanow has also left her testimony of Father Maximilian in this period [i.e., 1940–1941]. She reports how she came to the friary to ask him ... whether it was “all right” to give handouts to war-impooverished Jews who were begging at her door. Patiently Father Maximilian Kolbe urged her, she reports, to help the Jews. She quotes the reason he gave her: “We must do it because every man is our brother.” (Ibid., p. 104.)

Father Kolbe is nonetheless often vilified in Jewish literature as an avowed anti-Semite.⁵² Among the hundreds of testimonials of gratitude for the assistance he generously extended to everyone in Niepokalanów, several were written by members of the Polish Jewish community.⁵³

Father Kolbe was eventually deported to Auschwitz in May 1941. Auschwitz was established as a concentration camp for Polish political prisoners. The majority of prisoners in the early years of the

⁵² Father Kolbe's beatification and subsequent canonization gave rise to an ugly campaign of vilification by uninformed sources, who hold themselves out as "experts" on Polish-Jewish relations. The pernicious charges against Father Kolbe were thoroughly discredited at the time, but have been revived in recent years. In fact, Father Kolbe rarely touched on the topic of Jews in his writings, and only on a few occasions expressed restrained criticism about their influence on Polish society. In 1982, two historians—Daniel L. Schafly, Jr., a Catholic, and Warren Green, a Jew—undertook extensive research on Father Kolbe's prewar activities. In their report, "The Charges and the Truth," published in the *St. Louis Jewish Light* (June 30, 1982), they stated that, in all of Father Kolbe's published works, there were only 14 references to Jews, some very positive, five negative, and none racist. Another charge levelled at Father Kolbe had to do with *Maly Dziennik*, the popular daily newspaper produced at his friary, which was accused of promoting anti-Semitism. Father Kolbe was away in Japan for much of the 1930's and issued instructions not to publish articles that could be construed as being anti-Semitic. See Michael Schwartz, "The Deputy Myth," *The Persistent Prejudice: Anti-Catholicism in America* (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 1984), 235–38. The tone for the hatred spewed on Father Kolbe was set by Rabbi Lev K. Nelson, who wrote in the *Boston Jewish Advocate* (November 4, 1982): "...the sainted Kolbe was a notorious anti-Semite during the Hitler regime in Poland ... How can we possibly say that Kolbe is Kosher when his whole life has been unclean—seared by the disease of anti-Semitism and sullied by the spewing of hatred towards human beings of a different faith? Is it irony or poetic justice that the man who was indirectly responsible for crowding Auschwitz with its victims, was in turn compelled to share their bitter lot and witness the result of the preaching of hatred!" Anne Roiphe, a literary editor of the liberal Jewish-American periodical *Tikkun*, who appears not to appreciate that the Nazis also built camps for and engaged in the systematic destruction of Christian Poles, especially the clergy, made the following remarks in *A Season For Healing: Reflections on the Holocaust* (New York: Summit Books, 1988), at p.130: "Father Kolbe was a nationalist of great fervor. His objection to the Nazis was nationalistic not moral ... A known anti-Semite, even one caught in the machinery to kill the Jews, hardly seem a candidate for sainthood, at least to Jews. In making a pilgrimage to the camp and marking the death of Father Kolbe, [Pope John Paul II] seems once again to diminish the death of all Jews who died there." Joseph Polak, director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Boston University, called a modest shrine erected in the Auschwitz cell where Father Kolbe was put to death "a landmark etched only in thoughtlessness and cruelty". See Joseph Polak, "Auschwitz Revisited: Icons, Memories, Elegies", *Midstream*, June/July 1990, 17–18. In his best seller, *Chutzpah* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1991), Alan M. Dershowitz wrote, at p.143, that Father Kolbe was "a notorious anti-Semite who almost certainly would never have sacrificed his life for a condemned Jewish inmate. (In fact, it is unlikely that Kolbe ever even met a Jew at Auschwitz, since the Polish prisoners were kept entirely separate from the Jews.)" On August 1, 1994, *The New York Times* ran a letter from Alfred Lipson, Senior Researcher, Holocaust Resource Center and Archives, City University of New York, in which Lipson stated: "The Polish priest's canonization caused a controversy because of past anti-Semitism, especially his attacks on Jews in his popular publications and preachings." David M. Crowe, an American historian and former member of the Education Committee of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, wrote in his study *The Holocaust: Roots, History, and Aftermath* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2008), at p.371: "Kolbe was a Franciscan priest from Łódź who operated a religious center near Warsaw. He was arrested on several occasions by the Germans for helping refugees. [Crowe neglects to point out that many, if not most, of the refugees were Jews. M.P.] But most of Father Kolbe's fame came from his willingness to die in place of another prisoner in Auschwitz. In 1971, questions were raised about his beatification after it was discovered that Kolbe was an anti-Semite who accepted the fictitious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as authentic. [Many people did at the time, including Winston Churchill. M.P.]. He wrote about the 'perverse Jewish-Masonic press' and claimed that the *Talmud* 'breathes hatred against Christ and Christians.' [It is unlikely that these were Father Kolbe's word. In any event, reputable scholars acknowledge that that description of the *Talmud* is accurate. See, for example, Peter Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud* (Princeton, New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007). M.P.] He also thought that the Holocaust was God's punishment for Jewish sins. [This is a totally preposterous charge which goes contrary to all the evidence. Moreover, the Holocaust did not get underway until after Kolbe's death. M.P.] In 1982, Pope John Paul II canonized him as a 'martyr of charity.'" This topic came to the fore again when Pope Francis visited Auschwitz, in reverent silence, on July 29, 2016. The leftist-liberal Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* used this as another occasion not only to lash out at Father Kolbe, but also to decry Pope Francis for remaining silent in Auschwitz not about Germany's role in the Holocaust, but about—unbelievably—to castigate Poland for its alleged role: "If the pope had spoken at the Nazi death camp last Friday, the world might have also heard about anti-Semitism stoked by his church in Poland. ... It's too bad that Francis kept his silence. If he'd spoken out while touring the very camp in which a million Jews were murdered ... perhaps the world would have heard about the hostile anti-Semitic legacy that was nurtured by the church in Poland for centuries, and which paved the way for the persecution and murder of Jews before, during and after the Holocaust. ... The Catholic Church canonized [Father Kolbe], turning him into a martyr nearly 35 years ago. It ignored the fact that he was actually an anti-Semite ... What message was Francis trying to send to the Catholic world through the respect he paid to Friar Kolbe? To the outsider, it looked like the pope was coming to Auschwitz as the representative of a persecuted religion, not a persecuting one that has yet to come to terms with its own contribution to the murder of the Jewish people during the Holocaust." See Ofer Aderet, "Why Pope Francis Needed to Speak Out at Auschwitz," *Haaretz*, August 1, 2016.

⁵³ Antonio Ricciardi, *St. Maximilian Kolbe, Apostle of Our Difficult Age* (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1982), 248.

camp's existence were Christian Poles. The first group of Polish prisoners arrived in June 1940. By year's end, as a result of the constant arrival of new transports, nearly 8,000 prisoners were registered in the camp. Almost all of them were Poles. In 1941, the camp held more than 26,000 prisoners, including 15,000 Poles, 10,000 Soviet prisoners-of-war, and about 1,000 Jews.⁵⁴ The prisoners included 500 members of the Catholic clergy, mostly Polish priests. At the end of July 1941, three prisoners disappeared from the camp, prompting SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Fritzsche, the deputy camp commander, to pick ten men to be starved to death in an underground bunker to deter further escape attempts. When one of the selected men, Franciszek Gajowniczek, cried out, "My wife! My children!" Father Kolbe volunteered to take his place. Father Kolbe died on August 14, 1941, by lethal injection, after a prolonged period of starvation. While imprisoned in Auschwitz, Father Kolbe befriended Sigmund Gorson (Zygmunt Gruszkowski), a Jewish teenager.⁵⁵ Many years later, Sigmund Gorson recalled their relationship. (Treece, *A Man for Others*, pp. 152–53.)

I was from a beautiful home where love was the key word. My parents were well-off and well-educated. But my three beautiful sisters, my mother—an attorney educated at the University of Paris—my father, grandparents—all perished. I am the sole survivor. To be a child from such a wonderful home and then suddenly find oneself utterly alone, as I did at age thirteen, in this hell, Auschwitz, has an effect on one others can hardly comprehend. Many of us youngsters lost hope, especially when the Nazis showed us pictures of what they said was the bombing of New York City. Without hope, there was no chance to survive, and many boys my age ran onto the electric fences. I was always looking for some link with my murdered parents, trying to find a friend of my father's, a neighbor—someone in that mass of humanity who had known them so I would not feel so alone.

And this is how Kolbe found me wandering around, so to speak, looking for someone to connect with. He was like an angel to me. Like a mother hen, he took me in his arms. He used to wipe away my tears. I believe in God more since that time. Because of the deaths of my parents I had been asking, "Where is God?" and had lost faith. Kolbe gave me that faith back.

He knew I was a Jewish boy. That made no difference. His heart was bigger than persons—that is, whether they were Jewish, Catholic, or whatever. He loved everyone. He dispensed love and nothing but love. For one thing, he gave away so much of his meager rations that to me it was a miracle he could live. Now it is easy to be nice, to be charitable, to be humble, when times are good and peace prevails. For someone to be as Father Kolbe was in that time and place—I can only say the way he was is beyond words.

I am a Jew by my heritage as the son of a Jewish mother, and I am of the Jewish faith and very proud of it. And not only did I love Maximilian Kolbe very, very much in Auschwitz, where he befriended me, but I will love him until the last moments of my life.

Another Jewish survivor, Eddie Gastfriend, confirmed this same impression of Polish priests in Auschwitz, who were targeted by the Germans for particularly brutal and degrading treatment. (Ibid., p. 138.)

There were many priests in Auschwitz. They wore no collars, but you knew they were priests by their manner and their attitude, especially toward Jews. They were so gentle, so loving.

Those of us Jews who came into contact with priests, such as Father Kolbe (I didn't know him personally, but I heard stories about him), felt it was a moving time—a time when a covenant in blood was written between Christians and Jews. ...

Both Jews and priests were singled out for particularly brutal and humiliating treatment in concentration camps. A Polish inmate recalls (Ibid., p. 137.):

Right after my arrival at Auschwitz, a young priest was murdered. His body, in a cassock, was laid out on a wheelbarrow. A mock funeral was staged by the SS men, who forced several priests and a few Jews to sing funeral hymns as they followed another cassock-dressed priest. He wore a hat turned upside down, a straw rope was tied about his neck, and they made him carry a broom as his cross. We were forced to stand there looking at this mockery while the SS men jeered at us hoping to arouse fear, to subjugate us: "Your god and your ruler; that's us, the SS and

⁵⁴ "The Number of Victims," Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, Internet: <<http://auschwitz.org/en/history/the-number-of-victims/>>.

⁵⁵ Sigmund Gorson was actually born on February 4, 1925, so he would have been actually 16 during the period of Father Kolbe's incarceration in Auschwitz from May to August 1941. He died in October 1994.

the capos and the camp commander. There is no other god!”

To some extent, Catholic priests and Jews were lumped together in the Nazi mind. A Polish inmate recalls (Ibid., p. 137.):

In May 1941 we were working in a torn-down house when one of the prisoners found a crucifix. SS Storch got ahold of it and he called Father Nieweglewski.

“What is this?” he asks the priest. Father remains silent, but the guard insists until he says, “Christ on the cross.”

Then Storch jeers: “Why you fool, that’s the Jew who, thanks to the silly ideals which he preached and you fell for, got you into this camp. Don’t you understand? He’s one of the Jewish ringleaders! A Jew is a Jew and will always be a Jew! How can you believe in such an enemy?”

Father Nieweglewski is silent.

Then Storch says, “You know, if you’ll trample this Jew”—and he throws the crucifix on the sand—“I’ll get you transferred to a better job.”

When the priest refused, the SS man and the capo threw him a couple of times on the crucifix; then they beat him so badly that, shortly after, he died.

Father Józef Kowalski was doomed because he would not step on a rosary crucifix. Father Piotr Dankowski, from Zakopane, was tortured and killed on Good Friday by a kapo who sneered, “Jesus Christ was killed today and you also will perish this day.” (Ibid., pp. 137–38.) Wilhelm Brasse, who arrived in Auschwitz in August 1940, recalls that the Germans selected Jews and Catholic priests and told them to chant religious songs and hymns. They would beat the priests and then the Jews, and would yell at them that they were lazy because they didn’t chant loud enough.⁵⁶

The clergy was repulsed by the violence directed at Jews, as were most Poles. When, for some unknown reason, probably because of a German provocation, an anti-Jewish disturbance broke out in Głowno near Łódź in January 1940, the local priest together with some other Poles interceded and condemned the violence.⁵⁷ At the Montelupich prison in Kraków, incarcerated priests looked sternly as the Jews were physically abused, deliberately in their presence, by the German guards.⁵⁸

The Germans played a large part in encouraging and exploiting friction between the conquered peoples. Theodor Oberländer, a principal Nazi strategist, advocated a “divide and conquer” strategy for Poland by pitting the country’s national groups against one another. For example, in November 1939, the Germans conscripted some Jews to help destroy the Kościuszko monument in Wolności Square in the city of Łódź. The Germans then set fire to two synagogues and blamed the Poles for burning them down in retaliation for the destruction of the Kościuszko monument.⁵⁹ In the spring of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to demolish the Catholic church in Sanniki near Kutno. They took photographs and used the incident to foment anger among the Poles against the Jews.⁶⁰ Jews were also employed to demolish the Catholic church in Gąbin.⁶¹ After being “fingered” by Polish Jews in the service of the German militia, Jan Dudziński and two of his friends were picked up by the Gestapo in Sanok and sent to Auschwitz where

⁵⁶ Laurence Rees, *The Holocaust: A New History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2017), 173.

⁵⁷ Entry for “Głowno,” in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, Internet: <http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol1_00081.html>, translated from *Pinkas hakehillot Polin*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1976), 81–84.

⁵⁸ Alicja Jarkowska-Natkaniec, *Wymuszona współpraca czy zdrada?: Wokół przypadków kolaracji Żydów w okupowanym Krakowie* (Kraków: Universitas, 2018), 254.

⁵⁹ Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, and Yeshiva University Press, 1987), 323; Janina Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Słownik* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 87 n.191.

⁶⁰ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 101.

⁶¹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 415 n.24.

only Dudziński survived.⁶²

The Germans instigated or organized anti-Jewish violence and riots throughout occupied Europe.⁶³ In the spring of 1940, the Germans assembled gangs of unemployed young ruffians to attack Jews, and sometimes Poles, in the streets of Warsaw. These hoodlums, who were intoxicated, were paid by the Germans in what, by all descriptions, was an orchestrated and closely watched event. One Jew described the scene he witnessed during the so-called Passover pogrom. (Based on Jacob Apenszlak, ed., *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* [New York: Roy Publishers, 1943], pp. 30–31.)

The Passover pogrom continued about eight days. It began suddenly and stopped as suddenly. The pogrom was carried out by a crowd of youths, about 1,000 of them, who arrived suddenly in the Warsaw streets. Such types have never before been seen in the Warsaw streets. Clearly these were young ruffians specially brought in from the suburbs. From the characteristic scenes of the pogrom I mention here a few: On the second day of Passover, at the corner of Wspólna and Marszałkowska Streets, about 30 or 40 broke into and looted Jewish hat shops. German soldiers stood in the streets and filmed the scenes. ...

The Polish youngsters acted alone, but there have been instances when such bands attacked the Jews with the assistance of German military. The attitude of the Polish intellectuals toward the Jews was clearly a friendly one, and against the pogrom. It is a known fact that at the corner of Nowogrodzka and Marszałkowska a Catholic priest attacked the youngsters participating in the pogrom, beat them and disappeared. These youngsters received two złotys daily from the Germans.

Archbishop Stanisław Gall, the Apostolic Administrator of the Warsaw archdiocese who died in September 1942, was greatly troubled by these events and urged the clergy to join in condemning these outrages.⁶⁴ In December 1940, after the creation of the Warsaw ghetto, appeals were made in Warsaw churches for the faithful to put aside their misunderstandings with the Jews and not allow themselves to be incited by the enemies who want to sow discord among nations (*“żeby puszczano w niepamięć nieporozumienia z Żydami ... Nie należy pozwolić się podszczuwać przez wrogów, którzy chcą siać nienawiść między narodami”*⁶⁵). (Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers*, p. 125.)

Emanuel Ringelblum notes in his diaries dated December 31, 1940, that priests in all of Warsaw's churches exhorted their parishioners to bury their prejudice against Jews and beware of the poison of Jew-hatred preached by the common enemy, the Germans.

Public interventions by the clergy on behalf of Jews, although invariably futile and potentially suicidal, were known to occur from time to time. The following example is recalled by Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, co-founder of the wartime Council for Aid to Jews. (Teresa Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy*

⁶² Patricia Treece, *A Man For Others: Maximilian Kolbe Saint of Auschwitz (In the Words of Those Who Knew Him)* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982; reissued by Our Sunday Visitor, Huntington, Indiana), 128; Testimony of Jan Dudziński, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43153.

⁶³ In the early part of the war, many of Europe's major cities witnessed anti-Jewish riots and pogroms carried out by the local population. Such occurrences were instigated or orchestrated by the Germans in Prague, Paris, the Hague, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Oslo, and Kaunas. After the outbreak of the violence, the Germans assumed the role of “protectors” of the Jewish population. See Tomasz Szarota, “Anti Jewish Pogroms and Incidents in the Occupied Europe,” Daniel Grinberg, ed., *The Holocaust Fifty Years After: 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Papers from the Conference Organized by the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw, March 29–31, 1993* (Warsaw: Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw, n.d.), 108–23; Tomasz Szarota, *On the Threshold of the Holocaust: Anti-Jewish Riots and Pogroms in Occupied Europe: Warsaw–Paris–The Hague–Amsterdam–Antwerp–Kaunas* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2015).

⁶⁴ According to some reports, Archbishop Gall raised this matter with the German authorities and also intervened on behalf of Jewish converts confined in the Warsaw ghetto. See Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 554, 641; Damian Bednarski, “I vescovi polacchi e la salvaguardia degli ebrei,” in Jan Mikrut, ed., *La Chiesa cattolica in Europa centro-orientale di fronte al Nazionalsocialismo 1939–1945* (San Pietro in Cariano (Verona): Gabrielli, 2019), 741–62, at p. 750.

⁶⁵ Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego: Wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1988), 227. A Jewish woman noted that a priest in Białystok appealed to the faithful to show compassion and extend help to Jews. See Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, vol. 3: *Relacje z Kresów* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny IN-B, 2000), 129, 131.

Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945 [Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982], p. 200.)

On Nowy Świat Street a German officer grabbed an emaciated Jewish boy, no more than six years old. Holding him by the scruff of the neck like a pup, he raised the cover of a sewer with his other hand and pushed the child in. The passers-by looked with horror. A priest who had witnessed this started to beg for mercy for the child. The officer glared at him in wonder and stated officiously, "Jude." He slammed down the hatch and calmly walked away.

In the summer of 1940, the Main Welfare Council (*Rada Główna Opiekuńcza—RGO*), a legally functioning social welfare agency for Poles, together with Adam Sapieha, the archbishop of Kraków (Cracow), appealed to Hans Frank, the Governor-General of the *Generalgouvernement*, to suspend the mass resettlement of Jews from Kraków. Not only did this intervention not bring about the desired effect, but also the three rabbis who had requested that it be made, namely, Smelkes Kornitzer, the chief rabbi of Kraków, Szabse Rappaport and Majer Friedrich, were arrested and deported to Auschwitz, where they perished. The Jewish community leaders did not approach the Catholic Church for further interventions on their behalf with the German authorities as this was counterproductive. Archbishop Sapieha's courageous, but ultimately disastrous intervention is described by Aleksander Bieberstein, a Jewish community leader, in his chronicle of the wartime fate of the Jews of Kraków.⁶⁶ In March and December 1941, Archbishop Sapieha wrote two letters to the German authorities to protest the treatment of Jewish converts. In November 1942, Archbishop Sapieha sent a letter to Governor-General Hans Frank protesting the use by the Germans of young Polish men, who were conscripted into the *Baudienst* labour battalion and plied with alcohol, in the liquidation of the Tarnów ghetto and the mistreatment of Jews. Archbishop Sapieha also informed the Vatican on two occasions of the German policies of extermination of the Jews in occupied Poland. Archbishop Sapieha made a number of interventions on behalf of Jewish converts to Catholicism.⁶⁷

Despite the lack of success of these interventions, Archbishop Sapieha continued his relief work on behalf of Jews clandestinely. In his homilies and pastoral letters, he appealed to his flock to help everyone, regardless of their religion. Through the intermediary of Rev. Ferdynand Machay, the pastor of the Most Holy Redeemer (Najświętszego Salwatora) parish and coordinator of the archdiocese's rescue activities, Archbishop Sapieha furnished false baptismal certificates to Jews. Among the recipients were eleven members of the Kleinmann family, who were sheltered in the suburb of Prądnik Czerwony. Archbishop Sapieha allowed priests to baptize Jews secretly and to forge baptismal certificates. He steadfastly refused to hand over to the Germans the relevant church records that they had demanded in order to monitor such activities, which were widespread: 220 such petitions involving 351 Jews were approved between 1939 and 1942. The following priests submitted the most petitions: Rev. Władysław Kulczycki, the pastor of St. Michael's parish in Kraków; Rev. Brunon Boguszewski of St. Michael's parish in Kraków (who was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile); Rev. Józef Niemczyński, the pastor of St. Joseph's parish in Kraków; Fr. Jan Bieda, a Jesuit, who served in Kraków and Nowy Targ; Fr. Wojciech Trubak, a Jesuit; Rev. Julian Grzegorz Łaniewski of the Nowa Wieś district of Kraków; Fr. Eugeniusz Grzegorz Świsstek, a Capuchin; Rev. Szczepan Samerek of St. Mary's parish in Kraków; Rev. Roman Stawinoga of Rakowice; Rev. Czesław Skarbek of St. Stephen's parish in Kraków; Rev. Jan Masny of St. Anne's parish in Kraków; Fr. Brunon Jagła, a Reformed Franciscan, of Bronowice Wielkie; Rev. Franciszek Grabiszewski of Corpus Christi parish in Kraków; Rev. Jan Szymeczko; Rev. Władysław Mól of Prądnik Czerwony; Fr. Ernest Łanucha, a Capuchin; Rev. Władysław Miś, the pastor of All Saints parish in Kraków; Rev. Władysław Mączyński of Borek Fałęcki; Fr. Joachim Bar, a Franciscan; Rev. Stanisław Proszak of Biały Kościół; Rev. Jan Mayer; Fr. Zygmunt Nestorowski, a Capuchin; Rev. Stanisław Czartoryski, pastor of Maków Podhalański; Fr. Alfred Eugeniusz Bury, a Reformed Franciscan; Rev. Stanisław Mizia of Niepołomice; Rev. Wojciech Bartosik of Wawrzeńczyce; Rev. Wincenty Piątkiewicz, the pastor of Luborzyca; Rev. Stanisław Dunikowski of Rabka; as well as 40 other priests. Even after the Germans strictly forbade this practice on October 12, 1942, clandestine baptisms continued. Rev. Władysław Miś was arrested for that reason in September 1942 and sent to Auschwitz. Similarly, Rev.

⁶⁶ Aleksander Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), 38–39, 223.

⁶⁷ Damian Bednarski, "I vescovi polacchi e la salvaguardia delgi ebrei," in Mikrut, *La Chiesa cattolica in Europa centro-orientale di fronte al Nazionalsocialismo 1939–1945*, at pp. 749–50.

Feliks Zachuta was arrested towards the end of 1943 and was executed in the Płaszów concentration camp in May 1944. Some of these priests, as well as Rev. Edmund Nowak, the chaplain of St. Lazarus Hospital in Kraków, Rev. Eugeniusz Śmietana, and Rev. Władysław Bajer, the prefect of schools, also provided Jews with false documents, found shelters for Jews, and assisted them in other ways. When most of St. Joseph's parish, located in the Podgórze district, was incorporated into the ghetto, its pastor, Rev. Józef Niemczyński, with the support of the bishop's curia, protested the appalling living conditions of the Jews.⁶⁸

Jewish sources also attest to the widespread practice of Catholic institutions providing Jews with false documents. For example, many false baptismal certificates were produced at the Carmelite monastery in Kraków for the benefit of Jews and other endangered persons. The "factory" was eventually discovered.⁶⁹ It must be borne in mind, however, that while conversion (which also posed a risk for the persons acting as witnesses) or obtaining a false baptismal certificate may have assisted some Jews in passing as Christians, in occupied Poland they did not shield anyone from the impact of German genocidal policies, which extended to *all* persons considered to be Jews under German decrees. This was not the case in many other countries, like the Netherlands and France and even the Reich itself, where there were various exempt or protected categories of Jews (e.g., those married to non-Jews, persons of mixed Jewish and non-Jewish origin). In Slovakia, 8,000 Jews were able to avoid deportation in 1942 by simply converting (most often they were sham conversions) or obtaining baptismal certificates, which enabled them to live openly and out of danger.⁷⁰

Together with Rev. Julian Groblicki, the postwar auxiliary bishop Kraków, on Christmas Eve in 1942, Rev. Władysław Bajer was sent by Archbishop Sapieha to say mass and hear the confessions of Poles interned in the Liban camp in the Podgórze suburb of Kraków. Among the Polish prisoners were Jews passing as Poles who came to confession not to betray that they were Jews. Afterwards, the Gestapo interrogated the priests to divulge the Jewish prisoners, but the priests refused to cooperate.⁷¹

Early in the war, Archbishop Sapieha, who headed the Catholic Church within Poland after the Primate's departure, asked Pope Pius XII for a forceful statement in support of Poland against the Nazis. However, the futility of making a public statement in Poland along those lines soon became all too apparent. When, in 1942, the Pope had such a letter smuggled into Poland to be read from the pulpits, Archbishop Sapieha burned it, fearing it would have no lasting positive impact and bring about severe repercussions. The Pope's messenger, Monsignor Quirino Paganuzzi reported the following about his mission (Rychlak, *Righteous Gentiles*, p. 153):

As always, Msgr. Sapieha's welcome was most affectionate. ... However, he didn't waste much time in conventionalities. He opened the packets [from Pius XII, with statements condemning Nazi German], read them, and commented on them in his pleasant voice. Then he opened the door or the large stove against the wall, started a fire, and threw the papers on to it. All the rest of the material shared the same fate. On seeing my astonished face, he said

⁶⁸ Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1963), 40; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 824; Tomasz Pawlikowski, *Adam Stefan Kardynał Sapieha* (Lublin: Test and Towarzystwo im. Stanisława ze Skarbimierza, 2004), 82–86; Andrzej Chwalba, *Okupacyjny Kraków w latach 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2011), 157; Jarosław Sellin, "Arcybiskup Adam Stefan Sapieha a Holokaust," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2014): 774–85; Łukasz Klimek, ed., *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945* (Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 2014), 148. See also Martyna Gładzka-Rejak, "'Od dłuższego czasu straciłem wszelki kontakt z żydami i żydostwem': Neofici w okupowanym Krakowie w świetle materiałów Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 13 (2017): 342–71.

⁶⁹ Zvi Szner, ed., *Extermination and Resistance: Historical Records and Source Material*, vol. 1 (Haifa: Ghetto Fighters' House in Memory of Yitzhak Katznelson and Kibbutz Lohamei Haghettaot, 1958), 83.

⁷⁰ Peter Borza, "Righteous Among Nations from Slovakia and the Czech Republic," in Waclaw Wierzbieniec and Elżbieta Rączy, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: The Scope and Forms of Help to Jews in East Central Europe During Occupation by the Third Reich* (Jarosław: The Bronisław Markiewicz State Higher School of Technology and Economics, 2014), 97, 100–101.

⁷¹ Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earls Court Publications, 1969), 342–43.

in explanation: "I'm most grateful to the Holy Father ... no one is more grateful than we Poles for the Pope's interest in us ... but we have no need of any outward show of the Pope's loving concern for our misfortunes, when it only serves to augment them. ... But he doesn't know that if I give publicity to these things, and if they are found in my house, the head of every Pole wouldn't be enough for the reprisals Gauleiter Frank will order.

In July 1940, the Germans expelled the Jews from the town of Konin, in western Poland, an area incorporated into the Reich, to the surrounding villages. The following year, they were deported to the General Government. A wartime report by an anonymous Jewish author describes the expulsion of the Jewish population and their reception by Polish villagers, among them a priest. (Magdalena Siek, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, volume 9: *Tereny wcielone do Rzeszy: Kraj Warty* [Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2012], p. 78.)

From there, after marching all night, they were all taken to three villages: Grodziec, Zagórow and Rzgów ... One must admit that the attitude of the Polish inhabitants of these villages toward us was more than sincere ... they provided the expellees with bread and potatoes, and refused to take payment. The priest from Grodziec, who told [his parishioners] to bring bread and milk to the expellees and later called out from the pulpit to "help our Jewish brothers," was put in the concentration camp in Dachau.

Another wartime account states (Ibid., p. 85):

The attitude of the peasants [in Zagórow] toward the expelled Jews was on the whole very favourable. They allowed them use of empty rooms and barns, and they provided unused tables and commodes. The expelles began to come to terms with their fate. The charges for the dwellings and food products were relatively low. ... The expellees spent more than half a year in this village entirely peacefully. One day, [German] gendarme units appeared in the village.

Francesca Bram (née Grochowska) provides the following testimony regarding the activities of Rev. Franciszek Jaworski, the pastor of Grodziec, in the Konin Memorial Book, published in Israel in 1968, and reproduced in Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), at page 163.

One ought to emphasize the help we received from the priest of Grodziec, who occupied himself with handing out coffee and tea to us, and distributing milk to the children. Until late into the night there were warm kettles in the square. Bread was also given out. Besides that, the priest went around appealing to the peasants to give accommodation to the deportees, and help to the homeless. ... The Germans sought an opportunity to arrest him and this happened after he helped the Jews in Grodziec. Soon afterwards came news of his death.

Rev. Jaworski was arrested by the Germans on August 26, 1940 and deported to Sachsenhausen. Afterwards he was transferred to Dachau. Fortunately, he managed to survive the war.⁷²

In the spring of 1940 the Germans set fire to the synagogue in Bodzanów, and then ordered local Poles to demolish what remained standing. In his sermon, Rev. Adam Goszczyński, the pastor, reproached those who were forced to take part. "The Germans ordered you to dismantle the synagogue, but why did you do it? The place where people pray is sacred." Rev. Goszczyński was arrested by the Germans for a short period in October 1939, and again in March 1941. He was imprisoned in the Soldau concentration camp in Działdowo, where he perished on August 11, 1941.⁷³

On "Bloody Wednesday," July 31, 1940, the Germans staged a massive assault on the civilian population of Olkusz, in retaliation for the shooting of a German police officer earlier that month. (Twenty Poles were executed immediately after that incident.) Hundreds of men between the ages of 15 and 55, both Poles and Jews, were forced to assemble in public places and were abused and mistreated. When Rev. Piotr Mączka, the pastor of the Church of St. Andrew the Apostle, tried to intervene, he was beaten

⁷² Wiktor Jacewicz and Jan Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, 5 volumes (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1977–1981), here in vol. 4 (1978), 460.

⁷³ Testimony of Dyna Perelmuter Reichental in Myrna Goldenberg, ed., *Before All Memory Is Lost: Women's Voices from the Holocaust* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017), 175; "Bodzanów: Synagogue," Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/b/550-bodzanow/112-synagogues-houses-of-prayer-and-others>>; Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*.

savagely, and died ten days later. Jacob Schwarzfitter, a Jew from Olkusz, recalled those events which he had lived through, in an interview given in 1946. (Voices of the Holocaust, A Documentary Project by Illinois Institute of Technology, Internet: <<http://voices.iit.edu/portal2.html>>.)

I had come to my (little) town Olkusz. That's my place of birth. There I remained until the evacuation (depopulation) of the town. Before speaking about the depopulation, I shall narrate, report one incident. On the 31st of July 1940, there took place a punitive expedition against my town. On an early morning at four o'clock, at daybreak, on a Wednesday, the whole town was aroused from sleep and put on its feet. And all men without distinction, Jews, from sixteen to fifty years of age, were taken out to various squares. They were taken out by the Gestapo. A few thousand Gestapo men arrived, in a town which had a population of only about fifteen thousand, and they started punitive expedition.

The punitive expedition took place because sixty kilometers from the city were murdered by bandits two gendarmes. But they felt it useful to make of it a political incident. And it was ordered to make responsible for it the peaceful (civilian) population. We were led out at daybreak, with our hands up, they jabbed us with bayonets and we were compelled to run. When we arrived at the square, we had to pass a cordon. On both sides stood SS men, with (metal) rods, belts, rubber truncheons, clubs, and they beat us. Every one had to go through. People went through the cordon, and emerged covered with blood. ...

Women were not taken, that time, only men. Then afterwards each had to show his fingerprint. After giving his fingerprint (it is possible that they had to surrender their identification cards which bore a single fingerprint) each one was tripped from the front over a leg and thrown down to the ground. We were made to lie on the stomach, the face deeply pressed to the earth, with the hands on the back. So we remained lying until twelve o'clock. And the SS men were passing back and fro, and when it pleased him he tramped (the person). I personally was hit several times with the boot on the head. At twelve o'clock they came ...

Twelve o'clock noon, after lying for eight hours we were ordered to get up. Everyone was pale and black. We all looked like dead men. So there spoke to us a Gestapo man, while another explained (interpreted) in the Polish language. That we are being treated most humanely, because they are still able to prove who is against God and against humanity. I and those others present, could of course, not understand that people could be treated still, worse, but that we have learned in the future.

Afterwards he explained to us the reason for the event. It was because two gendarmes were murdered. Among those present was a Polish 'prister' (the word was not clear, and caused a question).

No 'Prister' is a priest, a clergyman.

Yes. He explained among other things, that those here present are not criminals, that they are simply peaceful citizens. For that he was murderously beaten ...

Throughout German-occupied Poland the Jews were being confined in ghettos, located in cities and towns, which were walled or fenced off from the remainder of the population. (In villages, the Jews were generally not enclosed.) The creation of the largest ghetto, in Warsaw, was described by British historian Martin Gilbert in *The Holocaust: A Jewish Tragedy* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1986), at pages 127–28:

Of the 400,000 Jews of Warsaw, more than 250,000 lived in the predominantly Jewish district. The remaining 150,000 lived throughout the city, some Jews in almost every street and suburb. On 3 October 1940, at the start of the Jewish New Year, the German Governor of Warsaw, Ludwig Fischer, announced that all Jews living outside the predominant Jewish district would have to leave their homes and to move to the Jewish area. ...

Warsaw was to be divided into three 'quarters': one for Germans, one for Poles, and one for Jews. ... More than a hundred thousand Poles, living in the area designated for the Jews, were likewise ordered to move, to the 'Polish quarter'. They too would lose their houses and their livelihoods. On October 12, the second Day of Atonement of the war, a day of fasting and of prayer, German loudspeakers announced that the move of Poles and Jews into their special quarters must be completed by the end of the month.

A traditional Jewish upbringing could give rise to insurmountable psychological obstacles on the part of Jews who sought refuge in Catholic institutions, as was the case of a young yeshiva student from Zduńska Wola who was welcomed into a local monastery. (Isaac Neuman with Michael Palencia-Roth, *The Narrow Bridge: Beyond the Holocaust* [Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000], pp. 56–64.)

On my way home that cold December morning [of 1940]... I wandered into a relatively unfamiliar neighborhood. When I realized where I was, the yellow star on my jacket began to feel very large. ... Then I saw something I had not noticed before: a small monastery, its courtyard slightly ajar. I had never been inside either a church or a monastery; as a yeshiva student, I did not enter churches and didn't know much about Christian rituals. Yet the half-

open gate beckoned. "Just for a minute," I said to myself, "until I thaw out. And then I can continue home."

I slipped through the gate, crossed the courtyard, and entered a dimly lit chapel. It was empty. ... On the altar stood a triptych of scenes that, I concluded, depicted the life of Jesus. The woman with the infant at her breast must be Mary, I thought. I also noticed a picture of the Crucifixion. After wondering how Reb Mendel would describe these representations, I sat down in a forward pew and took off my jacket so that the yellow star was hidden. Long before, I had cut off my earlocks, hoping thereby to look more like a Pole or at least to draw less attention to myself. I must have sat there, alone and in silence, for twenty minutes. ... Gradually my limbs thawed.

I was about to stand up when I felt a hand descend on my left shoulder. I had heard nothing, no footsteps, no breathing, nothing. He was just there. He kept his hand on my shoulder as I turned to look at him. I knew that I shouldn't move, get up, or try to flee. "And now the Gestapo," I said to myself, "for being in a forbidden place." But the monk's face was kind. "My son," he asked softly, "are you hungry?" I nodded. He gestured for me to follow him. I walked behind his billowing, thick, dark robe, out of the chapel and down a long, bare corridor.

The silence seemed to intensify as we went further into the monastery. We crossed a small courtyard and came to a low pig shed. He led me inside and asked me to sit and wait for him. I sat and looked at the pigs in the shed with me. They appeared content and well fed. They were obviously indifferent to the German soldiers occupying Zdunska Wola. For a moment, just for a moment, I wanted to be one of those pigs. ...

The monk returned with a bowl of potato soup. "I am brother John," he said, handing me the bowl and a spoon. "Eat in peace." He watched as I squatted on the floor and ate until my spoon scraped bottom. Then, from somewhere in the vastness of his robe he took out a piece of bread and gave it to me. I wiped the bowl with that bread until the entire surface shone. Watching my eyes and moving slowly, Brother John reached for my jacket, which still was inside-out on the floor beside me. His finger traced the outline of the yellow star. It was barely visible to the eye, although its six points were unmistakable to the touch. ...

"I see you are a Jew," Brother John said.

I nodded, not trusting my voice. At any moment I expected either to be tied up and handed over to the Gestapo or booted down the corridor through the chapel and out the courtyard gate. At least, I thought to myself, I had eaten a meal.

Then, only half intending to say what I said, I blurted out, "Perhaps these pigs need looking after. I could also help around the monastery. I could sweep and clean and light the stoves in the mornings. I am used to getting up early."

"Oh?" said Brother John, "and why does a young boy like you get up so early?"

I told him about my duties at the stiebel, about lighting the stove every morning at five, and about Reb Mendel and my months of study with him. After recounting how Reb Mendel had died, I fell silent again, thinking that I had said too much. The silence between us grew.

Finally Brother John said, "We could use a boy like you, but you must promise me two things. First, while you work for us you must not leave the monastery. Second, you must tell no one else here that you are a Jew. And, of course, you must not mind sleeping out here with the pigs."

I told him that I would agree to those conditions after I had spoken with my mother and father, for I did not want them to worry about my sudden disappearance. Brother John asked me not to tell my parents where I would be or even that I would be working in a monastery, any monastery. I agreed to that, too, and with some relief, for I was sure that my father would have been upset to know that I was working in a Christian house of worship.

That very afternoon, after assuring my parents I would be safe, I came back to the monastery. Before entering through the same half-open gate, I carefully looked around to make sure no one had seen me. In a small satchel I had packed a toothbrush and one change of clothing as well as my phylacteries and a prayer book. As dangerous as it was to bring the very things that would betray my origins, I did not consider leaving them behind. Brother John was waiting for me in the chapel. Together we walked down the same long corridor as that morning. The silence now felt inviting and safe.

In the pig shed, I noticed that Brother John had brought in some new straw and heaped it in a corner, along with two thick blankets. After bringing me another bowl of soup, this time with some kind of meat in it, and a piece of bread and cheese, he said goodnight and left me alone. Despite the cold, the blankets were sufficient protection, because I slept buried in the straw rather than on top of it. In the morning I hid my satchel under the straw and began my duties. I scrubbed floor, cleaned the kitchen, and lit the stoves every morning at five. I fed the pigs and cleaned the shed once a day. Every morning also, as soon as it was light enough for me to see my hand and I knew that I was alone, I would say my morning prayers.

None of the other ten or twelve monks spoke to me. I don't know what Brother John told them, but it must have satisfied them, for none paid attention to me—none, that is, except Brother Peter. His dark and sad eyes, set close in a thin face, narrowed when he saw me, and soon I began to fear that he would report me to the Gestapo. But aside from staring at me at odd moments during the day, Brother Peter said and did nothing, and within three days I felt relatively secure in the monastery. Although I missed my family, I was glad to live without daily fear and grateful to have enough to eat. Every day the soup had meat in it, and some of it tasted unfamiliar, I decided not to worry about that. I felt increasingly at ease until I remembered that in two evenings it would be Hanukkah.

The burden of that thought coincided with a request that the monks made, and the confluence of the two disturbed me. One morning, Brother John asked me to take the place of a regular altar boy who was ill. Of course, I could not refuse, and I trembled as I put on the clothes of the absent altar boy, wondering what I would be asked to do. Immediately I regretted not having paid more attention to the boys. Although they were my size, they were somewhat younger, and I had not spoken to them since entering the monastery. I had not even watched them as they went about their duties. They regarded me, I hoped, as some sort of peasant boy brought in to do the heavy work of the monastery. At any rate, they paid me as little attention as I paid them.

Now I also began to regret having entered the monastery in the first place. Here I was, a yeshiva student, about to participate in church worship. I felt doubly hypocritical, first because I was pretending to be a Christian in the company of people who were believers and second because I was a Jew. I wondered what the law said about my actions. I racked my brain but had difficulty finding something that discussed my situation. So I did as I was asked. Yet when I carried a portrait of the Madonna, I hoped Reb Mendel was not watching. I also sought to ease my conscience by talking to the figure in the painting, "You're a Jewish mother. You understand, don't you?"

My silent comments to an image on canvas somehow eased my mind, but I soon experienced other moments of unanticipated theological delicacy. As I stood at the altar with the other boys and heard the mass being conducted, I tried to counteract that influence by whispering Hebrew prayers under my breath. By far my greatest fear was that I would be asked to carry the crucifix. That action, I was convinced, could not be balanced by Hebrew prayers on my part. Fortunately, I did not have to face the prospect of such apostasy, for after three days the ill boy returned to the monastery and I returned to scrubbing floors, lighting stoves, and feeding pigs.

At the same time I was carrying the Madonna, I was wondering how I could celebrate Hanukkah in the monastery. Hanukkah had wonderful memories for me. ... Although Hanukkah was not a major holiday in my community, it was celebrated with joy. ...

Again, I began to miss my family and resolved to take advantage of my special circumstances. Carefully, I began gathering wax from the drippings of the votive candles. After I had enough, I made one candle, using for a wick one of the fringes from my tallis-kattan (prayer shawl), which I had worn under my shirt since entering the monastery. Jewish custom requires that the tzitzis (fringes) have eight ends, but seven are also acceptable, so I felt it was kosher to use one as a candlewick. I also was concerned about taking wax meant for the Virgin Mary and St. Teresa and transforming it into a Hanukkah candle. Here I found justification in a talmudic law that states that when something is thrown away it is no longer owned by anyone, so the drippings from the votive candles were no longer the property of the monastery, the Virgin, or another saint. The wax, that is, no longer belonged to anyone, and thus making a Hanukkah candle from it was permissible.

Once I had made the candle, I wondered where I could celebrate the ritual of Hanukkah. A light, even from a candle, would surely be noticed, and my singing might be heard. I began to look around the monastery. Every place I considered seemed to be too public. Then I discovered that one of the smaller buildings used as a dormitory for the monks had a trap door leading to a small attic. ... Entering the attic, I felt my way in the darkness along the woodwork until I reached an open space next to the chimney, a crawl space large enough for me to stand. ... Lighting a match, I surveyed my domain. For the first time since beginning to live in the monastery I felt at home. No one would bother me here. Taking my candle from my pocket, I lit a match to its bottom. As soon as the wax melted, I placed the candle on the ledge, pressing it into the brick. The light from my Hanukkah candle cast a gentle glow.

Almost delirious with joy, I began to chant the Maoz Tzur. For just a moment I was back home and younger in age. ... The monastery vanished. My struggles with the Madonna and the crucifix faded.

So concentrated was I on the traditional Hanukkah song that I heard neither the creak of the trap door nor the shuffling of feet. But suddenly I saw my shadow cast on the chimney in front of me and turned to see the intense, narrow stare of Brother Peter. I knew he had heard me singing the Maoz Tzur. I wasn't frightened as I turned to face him, although I don't know why I wasn't. Perhaps I had become accustomed to the intensity of Brother Peter's dark eyes, or perhaps I sensed a bond between us. We stood and looked at each other for a long, long minute.

Just as I was about to blurt out some improbable explanation, Brother Peter said: "Let us sing together; let us sing the Maoz Tzur." And so we did. Brother Peter knew the Hebrew words and the melody. We sang about wanting to reestablish the Temple and to rededicate the altar. ... As we sang, I watched our shadows on the wall. For a moment, just a moment, they seemed to merge into one.

I did not ask Brother Peter why he knew the melody, and he did not volunteer a reason. The next morning, I did not tell Brother John about Brother Peter and the singing, but I knew I had to leave the monastery. I told Brother John that my family needed me at home and that I felt I had to return. He thanked me for my work and told me that I could return whenever I liked. I thanked him and said that my father would call him one of the righteous men. Brother John blushed and said nothing.

I left the monastery that morning through the same half-open courtyard gate through which I had entered. As I left, I was very much aware that I had received one of the rarest gifts of life in the ghetto: kindness from a gentile stranger. In December 1940 any acts of kindness toward Jews would be punished in some way; by 1941 the punishment would be much more severe and specific. By then, anyone in Poland caught aiding a Jew outside the ghetto, either by offering food or lodging or transportation, would be subject to the death penalty. ...

I was home for the final night of Hanukkah. As we sang the melodies, I thought of Brother John and Brother Peter and of my weeks of peace under the shadow of war and occupation. The festival now seemed deeper somehow, denser, and richer. I did not imagine that it would be the last Hanukkah I would celebrate with my family.

Many parish priest in many parishes in the General Government spontaneously provided assistance to Jews. Rev. Stanisław Cieśliński, the pastor in the village of Kampinos outside Warsaw, came to the assistance of Jews brought to the labour camp in Narty, which was in operation 1940–1941, urging his parishioners to help the unfortunate. Rabbi Shimon Huberband, who was an inmate of the camp in April and May 1941, wrote in *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), at pages 95 and 101:

We received through some Christians the encouraging news that the priest of Kampinos had been giving fiery sermons about us in church every Sunday. He forcefully called upon the Christian population to assist us in all possible ways. And he also attacked the guards and the Christian camp administrators, referring to them as Antichrists. He harshly condemned the guards who beat and murdered the unfortunate Jewish inmates so mercilessly.

As a result, the peasants began to bring various food items to the labor sites. Any inmate who could manage to steal himself over to a peasant while at work received all sorts of delicious foods from him, and several dozen Jews owed their survival to the humane acts of the priest. ...

We marched through the village. We were given a warm farewell by the entire Christian population. Dr. Kon told us that when we passed the home of the Christian priest, he would greet us, and that we, in turn, should tip our hats. And that is what occurred. The honorable priest came out of his house with a bouquet of white roses in his hand. He did not say a word, because there were Germans in his home. As we passed by his house we tipped our hats. He answered by nodding his head.

We owed him, the priest of Kampinos, a great deal. Many of us owed our lives to the warm and fiery sermons of this saintly person. His unknown name will remain forever in our memory.

Rev. Marian Stefanowski, the pastor of the nearby village of Leszno, also helped the local boyscout organization to gather food and medicine for Jews in the work camp near Kampinos forest.⁷⁴

Such open displays of solidarity by Poles were not isolated even in mid-1941, when the Germans were on the verge of implementing a mandatory death sentence for helping Jews since Poles continued to defy repeated warnings not to assist Jews in any way. In July 1941, the Germans created a transit camp in Pomiechówek, just north of Warsaw, where Jews were collected from neighbouring towns before being shipped to the Warsaw ghetto. Approximately 4,000 Jews lived in extremely harsh and cramped conditions, with no access to either drinking water or food. The situation was further exacerbated by the cruel treatment of “storm troopers,” mostly local ethnic Germans and Jewish order policemen. In a report prepared by the Jewish underground in August 1941, Jewish witnesses to those events attested to the widespread and spontaneous assistance of Christian Poles who were moved by the plight of the Jews. (Ewa Wiatr, Barbara Engelking, and Alina Skibińska, eds., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, volume 13: *Ostatnim etapem przesiedlenia jest śmierć: Pomiechówek, Chełmno nad Nerem, Treblinka* [Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2013], pp. 61–62.)

The local population showed great concern for the Jews locked up in the camp. Both Jews, as well as Poles. Already the day after the arrival [of the Jews] at the camp people were throwing loaves of bread over the fence, states Abram Blaszk. Szajndla Gutkowitz describes how the Polish population gathered near the fence bringing bread and cherries, but the authorities did not allow the Jews to approach them. Those [Jews] who were sent to get water [outside the camp] were given gifts of bread, milk and whatever else the farmers could give. Farmers who were ordered to transport Jews to Ludwisin gave them all the bread that they had with them.

⁷⁴ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 242–43.

Such displays of solidarity and assistance would have been unthinkable in Germany or Austria at the time, not because it was against the law (which it was not), but because it would have run contrary to societal norms (public opinion) in those countries.

Michael Kossower, an eyewitness and chronicler of the Jewish community of Radzymin near Warsaw, wrote about the assistance provided by Rev. Maksymilian Kościakiewicz, the local pastor, and various other Poles when a typhus epidemic struck the ghetto in April 1941, in that community's memorial book: Guerchon Hel, ed., *Le livre du souvenir de la communauté juive de Radzymin* (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv: Encyclopédie de la Diaspora, 1975), at pages 48–49:

Apart from the president [of the regional court] Gasinski [Jerzy Gasiński], the commander of the Polish police lent his support to this safety operation [i.e., smuggling into the ghetto Dr. Henryk Janowski, a Jewish specialist from Warsaw]. It is also necessary to recall the boundless devotion of the pastor of Radzymin parish, Rev. Kaszczalkiewicz [sic, Kościakiewicz], who distributed hot meals to Jewish children in the church courtyard. After receiving threats from the Germans, he had to stop providing the service of his kitchen, but nevertheless continued to distribute dry food and also gave sums of money to the Jewish self-help committee. ...

In the fight against the typhus epidemic, the Jewish doctor Abraham Deutscher of Skerniewice [Skierniewice] distinguished himself. He also managed to prepare medication from materials that he came by illegally from a pharmacy located in the "Aryan" quarter. ... He was also aided by several Polish doctors, such as Dr. Władysław Zaslowski [Władysław Zaslowski], and Doctors Tucharzewski, Szymkiewicz, Truchaszewicz and Karpinski [Karpiński] of Warsaw, who entered the ghetto secretly at night bringing medicine and administering care to the most needy of its residents.

In the early months of 1940, Eta Chajt Wrobel, who was part of the nascent underground movement in Łuków, undertook a mission to Łódź, where she had lived previously and, with the help of a Pole, managed to steal some guns from German officers. On the way back she had an encounter with an unknown Polish nun—a chance meeting that saved her life. (Eta Wrobel with Jeanette Friedman, *My Life My Way: The Extraordinary Memoir of a Jewish Partisan in WWII Poland* [New Milford, New Jersey: The Wordsmithy; New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2006], pp. 53–54.)

In the meantime I decided that it would be prudent to go back to Lodz [Łódź] and get the guns that Janek was still hiding for me. And this time I didn't wear any yellow stars; I wore instead the crucifix [her Polish girlfriend] Lola's mother had given me. ...

At Janek's house, I knocked, and he answered the door. When he saw me, he pulled me into his apartment. I told him I'd come for the guns. He gave me two guns wrapped in women's clothing and put them in my handbag. We decided it would be best for me to make several trips to pick up the rest ... taking only two guns at a time.

On my way back to Lukow [Łuków], as we pulled into one station, I noticed Gestapo agents surrounding the train. I was terrified. I had no papers and if they searched my bag, I would have been shot on the spot. Though I tried to keep my demeanor cool and calm, something must have shown in my face. A nun sitting across the aisle noticed me and looked into my eyes. I still remember how beautiful her young face was underneath the cowl of her habit. Suddenly, she got up and ordered me to take her suitcase. I obeyed without saying a word. She pushed her way past the Germans as I followed behind her like a maidservant. The Gestapo agents had no time to react to her leaving the train so quickly and never asked her or me for our papers—after all, she was obviously not Jewish, and I was wearing a crucifix.

I walked with her for at least two blocks before she stopped, turned, and looked straight at me. "What are you up to?" she asked. "I can see death in your eyes." She also saw the cross I was wearing, blessed me, and sent me on my way. She knew exactly what I was up to, and must have guessed I was a Jew, but yet didn't give me up. That woman, whoever she was, saved my life.

The second trip I took for guns was uneventful; the third trip was something else again.

Later, when the ghetto in Łuków was being liquidated in 1943, Eta Wrobel declined an offer of assistance extended to her by Balbina Synalewicz, a Polish acquaintance (Ibid., 75).

A few days later, one of the women who sometimes let me stay at her house brought me a birth certificate from a Polish girl who had died. She asked me to leave and live with her as a Christian, and that her priest would help me. Again, I had to say no—I didn't want to leave my Tateh [i.e., dad] and brothers.

Seven Jews seized from a care facility in Płock run by the Passionist Sisters were among the 36 sick and disabled Jews executed by the Germans in Lasy Brwilskie outside Płock on January 7, 1941.⁷⁵

The assistance provided to a number of Jews by the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (of Pleszew), who worked as nurses at the Holy Trinity Hospital (*Szpital Świętej Trójcy*) located near the ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski, is described by Charles Kotkowsky, a survivor from that town, in his book, *Remnants: Memoirs of a Survivor* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, 2000).

Five women escaped from the synagogue and succeeded to climb the fence into the nearby hospital Świętej Trójcy [Szpital Świętej Trójcy]. The nuns of that hospital, seeing the distraught five women, had pity on them and let them in.

According to the German “laws”, they were not allowed to harbor or aid Jews, but the nuns risked their lives and hid them. They provided them with food, clothing and shelter for a few days. When the escapees recovered sufficiently from their harrowing experience, one nun from eastern Poland, Franciszka Narloch, helped them in their further escape. At night she led them past the Ukrainian guards to a safer place.

When the Germans kept their Jewish prisoners a whole day waiting for their execution, the nuns clandestinely provided them with food and water. Franciszka Narloch, with other nuns, also helped a Mr. Kimmelman [Leon Kimmelman] get out of the ghetto when his stay became too dangerous. They placed his two children, who were outside the ghetto, in a more secure hiding place.

Sister Franciszka Narloch described her role in the rescue effort in similar terms.⁷⁶ Dr. Leon Kimmelman, a member of the Bund, had to leave the ghetto in Piotrków Trybunalski when the Germans started to arrest underground activists in the summer of 1941. He and his wife made their way to Warsaw. However, they were rounded up during the Great Deportation the following summer and perished in Treblinka.⁷⁷ In the diabolical conditions that the Germans created in occupied Poland, one escape from their clutches was often not enough to ensure survival.

Marta Bik-Wander (born in 1919) was directed by her former high school principal, Gustaw Leśniódorski, to Rev. Jan Kanty Szymeczko, his friend and a catechist at a high school in Kraków, from whom she obtained a false baptismal certificate. She then moved with her parents to Prokocim, a suburb of Kraków, where they were sheltered by Father Ludwik, an Augustinian priest. Because they were recognized as Jews, they returned to Kraków before she and her mother decided to move on to Lwów. After arriving in Lwów, two Ukrainian officials questioned her identity card (*Kennkarte*) when Marta went to register with the municipality and demanded a bribe. She turned to Father Benjamin, a Bernardine priest whom she knew, who went with her to the criminal police (Kripo) where she filed a complaint against the Ukrainian officials. A Polish police officer urged her to leave Lwów because she would continue to face extortion from these officials, and escorted her to the train station. Marta returned to Kraków. She survived the war passing as a Christian Pole.⁷⁸

The Augustinian monastery in Prokocim was raided by the Gestapo on September 20, 1941. Seven priests and one brother were arrested, thus putting a stop to the monastery's activities. After interrogating them in the notorious Montelupich prison in Kraków, the clergymen were deported to Auschwitz and Dachau. Five of them perished as prisoners of German camps: Fathers Wilhelm Gaczek, Józef Gociek, Krzysztof Olszewski, and Edmund Wilucki, and Brother Wojciech Lipka. Fathers Jacek Tylżanowski, Jan Pamuła, and Bonifacy Woźny eventually returned to Prokocim.

⁷⁵ “Płock: Historia Społeczności,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <www.sztetl.org.pl>.

⁷⁶ Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945*, First edition (Kraków: Znak, 1966), 166.

⁷⁷ Mira Ryczke Kimmelman, *Echoes from the Holocaust: A Memoir* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 145.

⁷⁸ Testimony of Marta Bik-Wander, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1333.

Edith Lowy (born in 1928), her parents, and her younger brother, Erik, refugees from Czechoslovakia, hid in the cellar of a warehouse in Prokocim near Kraków in 1942. The family's former Polish neighbours and two unidentified priests from Prokocim, likely Augustinians, were aware of their hideout and provided them with food. The priests offered to provide false birth and baptismal certificates, but Edith's parents decided to take the family to a labour camp in Prokocim, thinking it would be easier to survive there than in hiding. They did not consider returning to their hometown near Ostrava, in Czechoslovakia, where they had left their house in the care of neighbours. (Oral History Interview with Edith Lowy, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C., September 13, 2010.)

The cellar, all that was in the cellar were crates, huge crates like from some machines. And the entrance to this was from the front of the building. No windows. No windows that—down to the cellar. So, we didn't know what weather was outside, we didn't know anything. The only people that knew that we are there, were our Polish neighbors, former Polish neighbor and I'm also forgot-got to tell you that my parents were so desperate to get [my brother] Erik and me out when there was so much fear that we'll be deported, or whatever, that the Polish neighbors send once their son, in the early 20s to bring Erik and me to their house to hide. It was before we were hiding in the other places. ... he came, and we were sitting on the train, Erik and I already, with this Polish guy, when I decided I'm not going anywhere ... without my parents. So I ran out of the train, of course, Erik—behind me, and the guy behind me, and my parents were very, very distraught that here—again we are here in danger, that we didn't go into hiding. So, the only people that knew that we are hiding there were the Polish family, and two priests from a nearby church. And once in awhile they used to bring something and hide in the shrubs, soups, coffee, you know, in the shrubs. So, my father or uncle took it out from under the shrubs at night. ... The priests were wonderful, and they offered to do Aryan paper for us. And we decided maybe that would be another possibility to save ourself.

In Lithuanian-occupied Wilno, as early as October 1939, the Polish underground set up a document falsification cell (*komórka legalizacyjna*), known by the code name “Kuźnia,” which produced thousands of false documents for endangered Poles and Jews. Jews used these documents to leave Lithuania between July 1940 and March 1941, especially to travel to Japan. Rev. Kazimierz Kucharski, the pastor St. Casimir's church, played a key role in this undertaking. Rev. Kucharski entrusted its organization to Stanisław Kiałka, a cleric at the Jesuit College. Also involved in this undertaking were the Jesuit clerics Stefan Dzierżek and Edward Kuczyński, as well as lay Poles such as Jerzy Hoppen and the brothers Michał and Romuald Warakomski. After the war, Romuald Warakomski entered the Carmelite Order.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Stanisława Lewandowska, *Losy wilnian: Zapis rzeczywistości okupacyjnej: Ludzie, fakty, wydarzenia 1939–1945*, 3rd edition (Warsaw: Neriton and Instytut Historii PAN), 234–35; Stanisław Cieślak, “Jezuici ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji”, *Życie Konsekwane*, 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at pp. 147–48; Wojciech Cieśla, “Ojciec od spraw beznadziejnych,” *Gazeta Wyborcza*, December 29, 2000.

Germany Attacks the Soviet Union, June 1941

The eastern half of Poland had been invaded and seized by the Soviet Union in mid-September 1939, as a consequence of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact between Hitler and Stalin.⁸⁰ Germany turned on its erstwhile ally and attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. Jews fleeing from the advancing German armies found succour and refuge with a Catholic priest in the small town of Porozowo (Porozów) near Wołkowysk. More than a score of Jews were sheltered by a local priest, probably Rev. Michał Twarowski. The priest also arranged travel permits for the refugees, who he claimed were Polish workers, thus enabling them to return to Białystok. (Account of Kalman Barakin, in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, comp. and eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* [Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003], p. 386.)

The Germans entered Parasowo [Porozowo] only in the evening [of June 24, 1941]. Immediately they ordered all the men from the town to assemble in the main square. There they separated the Jews from the Catholics. The Jews were lined up in rows and counted, and every tenth one was told to leave the ranks and line up on one side. About twenty men were assembled in this way. The Germans immediately put them against a wall and shot them. My friend and I were in the square standing among the Jews, we were counted but were fortunate not to have been among the ten and thanks to that we remained alive. Then all of the men, both Jews and non-Jews, were locked up in the church. It was very tight there, and there was simply no air to breathe. We were kept in the church the entire day, and then released. The inhabitants of the town returned to their homes. We and other Jews, refugees from Białystok and other localities, about 24 persons all together, went to search out local Jews, but they did not allow us into their homes for fear of the Germans. We therefore went to the priest of Parasowo—Grabowski [Michał Twarowski], who took us in and received us very cordially. There were already about 25 Poles, who worked in the airfields, in his home. A group of Germans came to Grabowski and wanted to take us away, but the priest rescued us. He told them that we were workers who worked in the airfields and the Germans left us alone. Rev. Grabowski kept us at his house for all of seven days. He gave us food and drink free of charge. He constantly excused himself that he did not receive us the way he should ... He then obtained from the Wehrmacht [military authorities] a certificate allowing us to return to Białystok without obstacles. We returned to Białystok as a group of 24 persons on the first or second of July.

With the rapid flight of the Soviets, the ensuing breakdown in law and order in the latter part of June and the early part of July 1941 was seized on by criminal elements to rob and some others to settle scores with those believed to have supported the former Soviet occupiers. Jewish accounts record that priests spoke out against and intervened to curb abuses of the rabble directed at Jews in several localities to the east of Łomża. Among the most outspoken priests were Rev. Cyprian Łozowski of Jasionówka, Rev. Józef Kębliński of Jedwabne, Rev. Franciszek Bryx (sometimes spelled Bryks) of Knyszyn, Rev. Franciszek

⁸⁰ Thousands of ethnic Poles were killed by their non-Polish neighbours in Eastern Poland in the latter part of September and the first part of October 1939, often with the encouragement of the Soviet invaders. The legendary Polish courier Jan Karski, who was honoured by Israel for his efforts to inform an unresponsive West about the realities of the Holocaust, paints a stark and alarming picture of what he witnessed under the Soviet occupation in a report filed in February 1940, before the Holocaust got underway: “The Jews have taken over the majority of the political and administrative positions. But what is worse, they are denouncing Poles, especially students and politicians (to the secret police), are directing the work of the (communist) militia from behind the scenes, are unjustly denigrating conditions in Poland before the war. Unfortunately, one must say that these incidents are very frequent, and more common than incidents which demonstrate loyalty toward Poles or sentiment toward Poland.” The full report, in its two versions, can be found in Norman Davies and Antony Polonsky, eds., *Jews in Eastern Poland and the USSR, 1939–46* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991), 260–71. The conduct of many Jews in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland in 1939–1941 inhibited Polish sympathy for the Jews subsequently. For more on this little known chapter of wartime history see Mark Paul, *Neighbours on the Eve of the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941*, Internet: <<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>>.

Łapiński of Rutki,⁸¹ Rev. Hipolit Chruściel of Worniany,⁸² Rev. Kazimierz Baniewicz of Hoduciszki,⁸³ and Rev. Henryk Wojniusz of Kiemieliński (described below). Another account mentions the intervention of an unidentified priest from Naliboki who attempted to the instigators.⁸⁴

Regarding Rev. Wojniusz, a Jewish survivor wrote: “In his church sermons he repeatedly spoke about the love for humanity and requested his religious believers to respect their neighbours. At every troublesome moment, the Jews ran to the priest to intervene.”⁸⁵ Another rescue story also mentions the parish priest from Kiemieliński, as well the Dominican Sisters from Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno. (Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5: Poland [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004], Part 1, p. 355.)

Jozef [Józef] and Maria Kmieciński [Kmieciński] lived in Vilna [Wilno], where their daughter, Sabina, studied at the local high school. One day a Jewish student joined her class—a Jewish boy called Ludwik Kupferblum (later Miedzinski [Miedziński]). He had come to Vilna from Warsaw in 1939 with his parents, Josef and Felicia, and his brother, Viktor; after the Germans invaded the city. ... Together with the other young Jews, Ludwik and Viktor worked outside the ghetto, where they lived with their parents. Sabina would meet Ludwik and bring him food and she and her parents formulated a plan for getting his parents out. They obtained papers in the name of Miedzinski, and on the appointed evening at a specific time on their way to work Viktor and Ludwik led their parents outside and took them to the Kmiecińskis. That night, the whole family was taken by cart to Maria’s mother’s estate in the district of Swiecziany [Święciany]. The family hid there until strangers turned up in the vicinity, at which point it was considered too dangerous and they were taken to friends of the Kmiecińskis, Wanda and Waclaw [Wacław] Kanczanin, who had an estate called Malinowka [Malinówka] near Kiemieliński. Josef Kupferblum had cancer and Maria Kmiecińska’s sister, Jadwiga Bydelska, provided him with drugs but his condition worsened and he died. The problem of his burial was solved when the local priest in the parish of Kiemelin [Kiemieliński] agreed to bury him in the Catholic cemetery at Kiemieliński. The Kmiecińskis decided that it was too dangerous for Viktor, Ludwik, and Felicia to stay at Malinowka and took them to Maria’s sister, Helena Frackiewicz [Frąckiewicz], in Vilna. Helena arranged for Viktor to work as a janitor at the Dominican [Sisters’] monastery near Vilna. Ludwik joined the Polish army and managed to meet his brother in Lodz [Łódź].

After their entry into the town of Landwarów in July 1941, when the Germans started to shoot Jews, some Jews turned to the local pastor for help. Rev. Kazimierz Kułak sought to intervene with the German

⁸¹ See Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2002), vol. 1, 58, 119–20, 202–3, 206, 409; vol. 2, 196–98, 238–39, 330, 517. See also Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 898, 900, 909. Rev. Franciszek Bryx was also a part of a local Polish delegation that, in the fall of 1941, appealed successfully to the German authorities to suspend the order to create a closed ghetto in Knyszyn. Rev. Cyprian Łozowski assured a German official that all the Communists had escaped with the Soviets, thus protecting the Jewish population. Similar protective attitudes were displayed by priests in Nowy Dwór and Ejsymonty Wielkie. See Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell’arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 647.

⁸² Tadeusz Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej: Studia i szkice* (Białystok: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Oddział w Białymstoku, 2014), 111.

⁸³ Nekhe Volotzki, “Haydutzishok During These Terrible Days,” in Shimon Kanc, ed., *Svinzian Region: Memorial Book of 23 Jewish Communities*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/svencionys/svencionys.html>>, translation of *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezor Svinisian* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sventzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965), column 1606.

⁸⁴ Shalom Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 272.

⁸⁵ M. Kuritzki-Shulzinger, “Destruction and Holocaust,” in Kanc, *Svinzian Region*, 1463. Masza Rudnicka recalled, in her testimony, that Rev. Wojniusz was a balding, chubby old man, who was not too good at theology or at making poignant speeches, but he “spoke right from the heart.” Thanks to that, his words truly reached his parishioners. At the time of the liquidation of the ghetto in Kiemieliński by German and Lithuanian forces, Masza and her sister, Rachela, were hidden in the barn of local farmers. Later they were sent to labour camps. After the liberation, they returned to Kiemieliński. Rev. Wojniusz offered them his assistance and took care of them. See the Testimony of Masza Szulzinger Rudnicka (Masha Shulzinger Rudnitzki), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2333; Testimony of Rachela Rudnik, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1833.

commander and almost paid with his own life as a result.⁸⁶ Rev. Aleksander Pęza of Grajewo was part of a local delegation that appealed to the German military authorities in July 1941 to put a halt to the murders and robberies.⁸⁷ According to the Grajewo memorial book, Rev. Pęza “tirelessly” called on the Christian population, at the daily masses, not to cooperate with the Germans and their anti-Semitic provocations. When word of this reached the Germans, he was shot on July 15, 1943.⁸⁸ Similar reports of clerical interventions on behalf of Jews come from Powursk (Powórsk) near Kowel, in Volhynia,⁸⁹ and Tłuste in Eastern Galicia.⁹⁰

In the interwar years, Alexander Bronowski, a lawyer, was engaged by Bishop Marian Leon Fulman to represent the diocese of Lublin in legal matters despite vociferous protests in the nationalist press. After the war broke out Bronowski settled in Świsłocz, east of Białystok, in the Soviet occupation zone, where he continued to work as a lawyer. He describes his experiences there after the German entry in June 1941, and the assistance he received from several Poles, among them a priest—Rev. Albin Horba, the pastor of Świsłocz. Rev. Horba sheltered several prominent Jews. In May 1942, Rev. Horba was transferred to the nearby parish of Międzyrzecz Podlaski, where he continued to help Jews by providing them with false baptismal and birth certificates. After the war, Rev. Horba was arrested by the Soviet secret police and held in various prisons until April 1948.⁹¹ (Alexander Bronowski, *They Were Few* [New York: Peter Lang, 1991], pp. 7–9.)

At court I appeared in show trials, political trials, criminal cases and the like. When the accused were Poles, the local priest and the pharmacist (a Pole) frequently turned to me to defend them. ...

My work at Swislocz [Świsłocz] was satisfying. I had social connections with both Jews and Poles. I lived comfortably. This situation prevailed until the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. It took everyone in Swislocz by surprise. The evacuation of the court and other Soviet offices to the east was

⁸⁶ Zygmunt Zieliński, ed., *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945: Metropolie wileńska i lwowska, zakony* (Katowice: Unia, 1992), 52; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 111.

⁸⁷ Władysław Świacki, “Pamiętnik przechowany w becze” (Grajewo: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół 9 PSK, 2007), 173–76.

⁸⁸ George Gorin, ed., *Grayever yizker-bukh (Grayevo Memorial Book)* (New York: United Brayeve Relief Committee, 1950), xxxii–xxxiii. Various dates are given for Rev. Pęza’s death. The most authoritative—that on his tombstone—is July 15, 1943. Witold Jemielity gives the date of Rev. Pęza’s execution as July 15, 1941—see Witold Jemielity, “Martyrologia księży diecezji łomżyńskiej 1939–1945,” *Rozporządzenia Urzędowe Łomżyńskiej Kurii Diecezjalnej*, no. 8–9 (1974): 53; whereas Jacewicz and Woś give the date as August 15, 1943—see Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945* vol. 2, 184.

⁸⁹ Asher Tarmon, ed., *Memorial Book: The Jewish Communities of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, and Kolki (Wolyn Region)* (Tel-Aviv: Organization of Survivors of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, Kolki and Surroundings Living in Israel and Overseas, 2004), 418.

⁹⁰ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 841. See also Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland*, 40; Joseph J. Preil, *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 193, 196; Testimony of Berl Glik in Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, comp. and eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003) 369–70; Oral History Interview with Adela Sommer, Kean College of New Jersey Holocaust Resource Center, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

⁹¹ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, vol. II, Part A, 966; Tadeusz Krahel, *Doświadczeni zniewoleniem: Duchowni archidiecezji wileńskiej represjonowani w latach okupacji sowieckiej (1939–1945)* (Białystok: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne—Oddział w Białymstoku, 2005), 45–46; Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell’arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 654, based on Nikolai Bykhovtsev, *Nemetskaia okkupatsiia Volkovyshchiny 1941–1944* (Minsk: Smeltak, 2015), 207; Tadeusz Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, Second revised edition (Białystok: Buk, 2020), 185; Edmund S. Jarmusik, *Katolicheskkii kostel v Belorussii v gody vtoroi mirovoi voiny (1939–1945): Monografiia* (Grodno: Grodnenskii Gosudarsvennyi Universitet imeni Ianki Kupaly, 2002), 106; Edmund Jarmusik, *Kościół Katolicki na Białorusi 1939–1991: Od zniszczenia do odrodzenia* (Kraków: Avalon T. Jankowski, 2013). Rev. Horba was on good terms with the local Jews. In his memoir, he does not confirm Bronowski’s claim of having turned to Bronowski to defend Poles in Soviet courts. Rev. Horba says he did not know Bronowski personally before he came seeking shelter in the company of Dr. Całko Majzel, a local Jewish doctor, and his wife. See Krahel, *Doświadczeni zniewoleniem*, 209.

hurriedly organized. The judge suggested that I leave Swislocz with the court. I declined, saying that my aim was to contact my family who were in the ghetto in Lublin; the judge understood.

On the fourth day of the war, June 26, 1941, Swislocz fell to the Germans, who began executing communists and rounding up Jews for heavy forced labor, looting their property. As I was known in the town not only as a Jewish lawyer but also as a lecturer who spoke out against the Nazi crimes, I realized that I had to find a hiding place. I left my apartment. First I went to my friend the pharmacist, and he, after hiding me for several days in his pharmacy, took me to the priest's apartment [actually they hid in a cellar near Rev. Albin Horba's rectory—M.P.].

A week after the capture of Swislocz a new commander arrived and the persecution of the Jews intensified. I found out that I was being sought as an enemy of the Nazis and as a Jew. I therefore decided to escape to Bialystok [Białystok], where some tens of thousands of Jews lived. Moreover, this move would bring me closer to Lublin. The pharmacist and the priest agreed with my decision.

To facilitate my flight from Swislocz, they contacted a certain Polish woman, the directress of an orphanage situated on the main road to Bialystok, and asked her to allow me to stay there. She agreed without a moment's hesitation. It emerged that I had once defended her against a groundless charge of maltreatment of Soviet orphans. After sleeping one night at the orphanage I departed unseen at dawn, supplied with bread, which was worth its weight in gold. The directress knew that I was a Jew and that I was escaping from Swislocz. I had gone no more than thirty meters when I heard her calling out to me to stop. She ran towards me, took the chain with the cross hanging on it from her neck, and fastened it on mine. I did not remove that cross throughout the journey to Bialystok. I was surprised and moved by her concern to protect me, and could find no words to thank her.

The distance to Bialystok was about eighty kilometers. ... Like me, there were other Jews from small towns walking to the large Jewish center at Bialystok.

When I left Grodek [Gródek] a Jewish lad of about fourteen fell into step with me. He too was making for Bialystok. A few dozen meters behind us were four Jews. Four kilometers outside Grodek I saw a German truck approaching, and when it reached us three German soldiers armed with rifles sprang out. They come up to me. "Jude?" they asked. I sensed danger and grew tense. Then one of them saw the cross around my neck. "Los," he muttered. They left. A few minutes later I heard firing. The Germans had shot the Jews walking behind us.

I was shocked. Despite my blistered feet I continued walking with the boy and even accelerated my pace. By evening we reached Bialystok. I parted company with the lad ...

I could not stop thinking about the Polish woman who had saved my life and the boy's. I do not recall her name, nor do I know her whereabouts. Swislocz is now part of the Soviet Union. I have searched for her address, but to no avail.

But I do know that when she ran towards me and placed the cross on my neck she did so for humanitarian reasons: to save a human life. In my heart I retain a deep sense of gratitude to her, and to the priest and the pharmacist. I learnt subsequently that the priest had died and the pharmacist had left Swislocz.

Dr. Kac-Edelis from Łódź had taken refuge from the Germans in Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland. Fleeing Lithuanian collaborators in the summer of 1941, he made his way back from a camp near Nowa Wilejka to Warsaw. In January 1942, he recorded his testimony which attests to extensive help received from Poles, among them a priest, along the way. (Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, volume 3: *Relacje z Kresów* [Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny IN-B, 2000], pp. 471–74.)

Indeed [Polish] peasants very often helped us at no cost. We entered their cottages where they frequently refused to take anything from us when they offered us milk, bread, etc. Apart from that they showed us compassion and were indignant at everything that was happening to the Jews. ...

It is important to stress that I encountered exceptionally sincere warm-heartedness from Catholic peasants and Polish landlords. I was comforted and helped with money, food, and a place to sleep. My wound was dressed in manor houses. ...

The area I now entered had Polish police who tended to accommodate the Jews. In one of the Belorussian towns [i.e., in a Polish-speaking area incorporated in the so-called Ostland, and earlier Soviet Belorussia], not far from the Lithuanian border, through the efforts of the mayor, priest and head of the Jewish Council, I was placed in the hospital and provided with papers [i.e., an identity document] and money for my further journey.

With the German takeover of Eastern Poland in June 1941, the Germans started to round up and execute Jews. When they entered the village of Pohost Zahorodny (or Pohost Zahorodzki) near Pińsk, in Polesie (Polesia), Jews started to flee and found shelter in the garden of a Catholic priest, likely Rev. Hieronim Limbo, the local pastor. That story is related in *Voices from the Forest: The True Story of Abram and Julia Bobrow*, as told to Stephen Edward Paper (Bloomington, Indiana: 1st Books, 2004), at pages 30–33.

Their numbers had now swelled to over forty and included young men and children as well.

Nearing the mansion of the Polish priest, Drogomish, they heard the galloping of horses.

The mansion, where the priest lived with a housekeeper, was also the church where he held services for all of the Catholics in Pohost Zagorodski.

Drogomish, in his black robes and white collar, saw them from the window and rushed outside. The priest was old and bent, and known throughout the village to be a good-hearted man. ... People would come from miles away to tour his gardens and catch the smell of jasmine and orange blossoms.

He had been sitting alone in his garden alcove sadly contemplating the growing turmoil in his village and apparently trying to think of some way to help. Now the disturbance had come to his front yard. He rushed out to see how he could aid the fugitives.

Urgently, he motioned the Jewish men and boys into his garden. The garden spread over two acres, but was dwarfed by the potato patch, which was a quarter-of-a-mile wide and half-a-mile long, stretching all the way to Bobric [Bobryk] Lake and filled with two-foot-high potato plants.

Quickly, the fugitives left the road, following the priest down the furrows between the plants to the edge farthest from the road. There, in the weeded dirt furrows between rows of potato plants, they lay down to hide. From this position, they could probably hear the passing of the SS riders moving into the shtetl.

Nazis from Borki now entered Pohost Zagorodski from the north, riding past the Polish school on Mieschchanska [Mieszczkańska] Street. Both groups converged on the marketplace and dismounted.

The soldiers started moving house to house, brandishing their machine guns and whips ... Accompanied by the local [Belorussian] police force, they forced all the men they found into the street. ...

In the village hospital, those men who were too sick or infirm to move were shot on the spot.

Almost ninety men and young boys were rounded up and forced to the marketplace. ...

In the center of the village, the Obersturmbannfuhrer called to his sergeant, "Is that all you found?"

"Yes, Herr Obersturmbannfuhrer," the sergeant replied. "That's it."

This was not good enough for him. ...

Twenty SS troopers mounted their horses ... down Dworska Street to the church. When they reached the old mansion that now served as the Catholic Church ...

As the sergeant and his men started into the garden on their horses, Drogomish ran out once more.

"What are you doing in my garden?" he yelled. "You are stomping on the plants. You'll destroy them."

"There are Jews hiding in the garden," the sergeant said.

"There is nothing here except the potato plants. And you're ruining them," the priest said, moving in front of the horses of the sergeant and his men, trying to block their way.

"Get out of the way, Father," the sergeant demanded.

"No," Drogomish said, defiantly. "You have no right. This is a holy place, the grounds of the church."

"Toss him out of the way," the sergeant said to his men. Four soldiers dismounted and threw the frail priest to the ground.

"Jew lover," the sergeant snarled.

The soldiers then searched the field, knocking over the plants, trampling on others and tearing up the dirt and crops. Thus they combed the field while the forty Jews lay trembling in the dirt.

Finding the men, the SS forced them to their feet, whipping and beating them with sticks as they herded them back to the marketplace.

When a hundred and thirty Jewish men and boys were finally assembled in the Rynek [Rynek] marketplace, the SS soldiers mounted their horses and formed a circle around them to prevent any escape attempts. Then they made them run down Dworska Street across the Bobric River bridge out of town. ...

The SS troops took the Jews past the Bobrow lumberyard to an old Jewish cemetery. In the cemetery, the soldiers lined them up in groups of ten. ...

The Jews, in their lines of ten, were marched to a row of tombstones ... There they were made to kneel down with their backs towards the soldiers. The SS shot them with their machine guns.

In Dąbrowica, Volhynia, the mayor and Catholic priest, likely Rev. Wiktor Zabiegło, the local pastor, appealed to the Germans to release the Jews who were seized by the Germans when they entered the town in June 1941. Manya Auster Feldman recalled (Testimony of Manya Auster Feldman, August 11, 1988, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/feldman/>>):

They [the Germans] took, they took 200 Jews—males, middle-aged, not young ones. And they brought them into the center of the city. The cities had always a square where the marketplace was. They brought them and they sat on the ground and they had their machine guns pointed at them, ready to shoot. ... So the women whose husbands were caught started running and to the priest, to the mayor of the city who was appalled. ... There was a Polish priest and

the ministers of the Ukraine churches. And they started begging them, "Do something for us." So the Germans did it as a matter of fact, as a preventive to show that they will not tolerate anything that will be done against them. So they first grabbed the Jews. And then they said that this happens to be a communistic town, these are all communists and they're going to get rid of them, of this group. So my mother and I and the women started running. And the priest and the mayor came to the Germans and said, "Yes, there were communists, but they all escaped into Russia, so these are all good Jews." So towards the evening they released all of them except they held twenty-two. They sort of picked at random twenty-two people. And the rest of them they sent home. And the twenty-two people they kept as hostages in case during the next few days if something will happen to a German soldier, this is what they'll do, they'll kill them. ... And after a day, they took them out into the marketplace and we heard that they are digging like a grave. So everybody was sure that this is what they are going to do, they are going to kill the Jews and that's where they'll bury them. But a different thing happened. ... And they released the twenty-two Jews.

A Polish priest in the village of Hoduciszki, located between Postawy and Święciany, northeast of Wilno, attempted to rescue Jews when the Lithuanian authorities set out to liquidate the Jewish ghetto in September 1941. (Testimony of Michael Potashnik, Yad Vashem Archives, O.71/27/3552432 cited in David Bankier, *Expulsion and Extermination: Holocaust Testimonials from Provincial Lithuania* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011], pp. 100–101.)

That Saturday, September 27, 1941, at 10 a.m. all the Jews were driven out of the ghetto into the marketplace; they were allowed to bring along small packages. Those who didn't leave their houses quickly enough were brutally beaten by the murderers. Five families of 'useful Jews' were left behind. ...

At 11 a.m. that same Saturday, the Jews were lined up and taken away from the marketplace in the direction of Švenčionys [Święciany], herded along by police, partisans and civilian Lithuanians from the town and countryside. The sick, the elderly and the weak were taken on wagons [...]

Five women were hidden in the barn of the Polish priest. On the Saturday morning before the Jews were taken away, they left the barn and tried to go to Postawy. The assistant mayor's son and commandant of the partisans in town, Pijus Rakovsky, spotted them and shot them behind the barn. He buried them there [...] That Saturday morning the Polish priest went to the Lithuanians to beg them to let him take care of 20 children. The murderers refused.

All the Jews from the towns of Old Švenčionys district were assembled in Poligon [i.e., former Polish army barracks] near Švenčionėliai [Švenčionėliai or Nowe Święciany] and were kept there for 12 days under terrible conditions. On Wednesday October 8, 1941, the shootings began. In the course of three days about 8,000 Jews were shot. Their corpses were thrown into a long mass grave in a sandy forest about three kilometers from Švenčionėliai.

Another Jewish testimony bears witness to the kindness of Rev. Kazimierz Baniewicz of Hoduciszki. (Nekhe Volotzki, "Haydutzishok During These Terrible Days," in Shimon Kanc, ed., *Svinzian Region: Memorial Book of 23 Jewish Communities*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/svencionys/svencionys.html>>, translation of *Sefer zikaron le-esrim ve-shalosh kehilot she-nehrevu be-ezoz Svintsian* [Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sventzian in Israel and the U.S., 1965], columns 1606–1607.)

We arrived at Itzhak Potasnik's home to a warm welcome. We stayed with him for 3 weeks. Everyday the men went to Yozek Kracovski's [Józef Krakowski] warehouse, a good Christian who gave them food and promised to help us in whatever manner he was able. If there wasn't any work to be done, he told the men to pretend they were working by bringing the same bundles of flax in and out the warehouse.

The priest Bunevitch [Kazimierz Baniewicz] also helped the Jewish folk. ...

We lived in this ghetto for several weeks, and on a Thursday before its liquidation, a Christian friend of ours came to us to let us in on a secret: all the Jews were going to be killed in a few days. He says: escape as soon as possible! That is how it happened! Friday in the morning we snuck out of the ghetto and ran with Grachovski [sic] to Svir [Świr]. During the day my husband Eliahu saw the roundup of the Jews from Stayatishok [Stojaciszki]. His heart told him that the ghetto would be the worst place to remain. He went to the priest to plead with him to help us.

The priest, like I said, was friendly toward the Jews. He asked that my husband remain in his home, while he went to get news from the streets and about the activities in the ghetto. He came back quickly and confirmed: do not return to the ghetto. He brought him to Gravoski [sic] where we found the entire Smuckler family (that worked in the mill), where they were awaiting Gravoski's return from Svir. When he returned in the evening, Gravoski told us all was quiet in Svir. He asked that we leave immediately, not even to spend the night.

An unidentified priest, probably Rev. Bolesław Łozowski, the local pastor, is credited with saving a Jewish family when the Jews of Molodeczno were being rounded up by the Germans in October 1941 for execution. Chana Szafran (née Pozner), her sister Luba and her father Mordechai, who were outside the

town at the time, were arrested by the local police on their return but released thanks to the intervention of a local priest who knew Mordechai Pozner. From there they reached the ghetto in Wilejka where they remained until April 1943. Chana Szafran describes the circumstances of her rescue in her account published in Moshe Kalchheim, *Be-komah zakufah, 1939–1945: Perakim be-toldot ha-lehimah ha-partizanit be-ya'arot Narots* (Tel Aviv: Irgun ha-patizanim, Iohame ha-mahtarot u-morder ha-geta'ot be-Yi'sra'el, 1991), translated as “At the Onset of the War in Molodecno,” Internet: <http://www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/maladzyechna/mal_pages/m_stories_onset.html>.

On Saturday, the 25th of October 1941, very early in the morning, our wish neighbor came in panic to the house and said that, once again, the Germans had surrounded the town. She suggested to my mother that we should all flee together. My mother said that first my little sister Liuba, who was eleven years old and I, should run to our father and tell him to hide. She assumed that just as before, the Nazis were only looking for men. So both of us ran as fast as we could and told Father about what had occurred in town. I never saw my mother again. Later on, when I was in the police station, I found out from that neighbor that Mother was killed while she tried to escape from the house. The Germans had shot at her as she tried to flee. ...

All the Jews who were found that day were collected and put in the local police building. We met about fifty men, women, and children. Amongst them was also our neighbor—Paula Drutz. She was the one to tell me about the fate of my mother. While we waited in the police station, my father saw an army buddy of his who was now one of the policemen. He was sitting there nonchalantly playing his guitar. My father [Mordechai Pozner] begged him as a man who was to be shortly executed, to give note to the local priest. At first, he ignored Father's request, but when my father pleaded, he agreed to bring the note to the priest. At midnight, the priest arrived with two policemen to the station. They took my father to one of the private rooms, and, after some time, he was returned. He explained to us the plan: one of the policemen would soon come, and take him to the bathroom. After some time, my sister Liuba and I should ask also to go to the bathroom. We would all then escape. While we were waiting for my father to go, they would call Jews one by one and then the Jews would return, beaten-up and confused. The girls were returned with torn clothes and looks of horror in their faces; it wasn't difficult to guess what had been done to them.

In Molodecno [sic], there was at that time a large POW camp that contained Soviet prisoners. Because of this camp, the entire town was lit up by huge projectors to prevent the escape of POWs. When the policemen who escorted us took us outside of the police station, he yelled to us, “Run very quickly, kikes! If you don't run, I'll shoot you!” We ran as fast as we could and hid in the rubble of homes that stood on either side of the street. This was during a curfew hour when nobody was allowed to walk about in town, so we had to wait until morning in order to leave our hiding place. We then walked to the edge of the street—the place where we had originally decided to reunite with Father.

Like this, because of my father's quick thinking, we were saved from the fate that the rest of the Jews in the police building encountered. The reason why this priest cared so much for my father was that my father, before the war, was a political representative of the community and knew the priest well. When the Soviets had invaded the area in September of 1939, they had arrested the old priest, saying that he was engaged in anti-Communist propaganda. Father had collected signatures from the local population and had collected testimony that this priest was only involved in religious matters, and, after a short time, the Soviets listened to the pleas of the town residents and released the priest. At the time when our life was in danger, he saved my father as well as the two of us.

The Jews in Eastern Poland were soon enclosed in ghettos and terrorized. Enormous ransoms (called “contributions”) were extorted from the Jewish communities. The testimony of Moshe Smolar, found in Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), at page 154, captures the response of a Catholic priest and the faithful to that tragedy in the town of Brześć on the River Bug.

The community was pressured into making a “contribution” to the Germans of two million marks (or four million rubbles), and the members of the Judenrat were arrested as hostages to ensure that the sum was paid. One of the Catholic priests organized help for the Jews and collected money for them to help pay the huge sum.

In Braślów, the Germans demanded a contribution in gold from the ghetto. Unable to meet this demand, the Jews turned to Rev. Mieczysław Akrejć, the dean and local pastor. Rev. Akrejć generously contributed

4,000 gold rubles. Nonetheless, a few days later, the Germans liquidated the ghetto.⁹² (Additional information about Rev. Akrejć's rescue efforts can be found later on.) Sources attesting to the assistance of the Catholic clergy in meeting contributions imposed on the Jews of Żółkiew and Słonim are referenced elsewhere.

Jacob Gerstenfeld-Maltiel described conditions in Lwów, and displays of Polish solidarity with the Jews in the early months of the German occupation, in his memoirs, *My Private War: One Man's Struggle to Survive the Soviets and the Nazis* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), at pages 56–57 and 62–63.

The problem of telling Jews from Poles was solved by introducing the requirement for Jews and the people of Jewish descent down to the third generation to wear on the right arm a white armband with a Star of David. ... In the first days after the order was published [July 15, 1941] I saw a priest with a Star of David armband. But after some days, this sort of thing disappeared and only the accursed wore the armbands. The Polish population during the first period of this harassment displayed a certain measure of sympathy for the Jews ...

... the Germans demanded a "contribution" from the Jewish population totalling 20 million rubles to be paid in ten days. Of course the Germans threatened undefined consequences if the entire sum was not delivered in cash on time.

The Judenrat published an appeal to the Jewish population and asked for their cooperation. ...

... I knew personally some members of the Polish intelligentsia, who paid appreciable sums to help with the contribution. Although the sums made little difference, the gesture of good will showed a spirit that counted and had a strong moral meaning. ... These signs of sympathy from Polish society incited the Jews to even greater generosity than they had shown till then.

A number of Jewish testimonies confirm that Poles contributed considerable sums to help pay the ransoms imposed by the Germans on the Jews of Lwów, Wilno, Chełm, Włocławek, Rzeszów, and other towns.⁹³

When Rabbi Isaac Yaakov Kalenkovitch and other Jews arrested in Drohiczyn Poleski, in Polesie (Polesia), for failing to provide the Germans with the contribution imposed on the Jewish community, Jews turned to the local priest for assistance. (Testimony of Chaya Reider in Dov B. Warshawsky, *Drohiczyn: Five Hundred Years of Jewish Life*, Internet <<https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Drohichyn/Drogichin.html>>, translation of *Drohitchin: Finf hundert yor yidish lebn* [Chicago: Book Committee Drohichyn, 1958], pp. 318–19.)

The Germans imposed a second contribution on the town. However, since there was no more money or gold, the murderers took 35 Jews and the rabbi of the town as hostages. If we didn't give them the demanded sum of money, they would kill the rabbi and the 35 Jews. The mayor [a Pole by the name of Czaplinski] of Drohitchin [Drohiczyn] interceded on behalf of the rabbi and the Jews, but it did no good. The wives of the arrested men and rabbi went to beg the priest Palevski [actually, Rev. Antoni Chmielewski, the local pastor] to save their husbands' lives. The priest Palevski quickly went to the SS commander and convinced him to release the rabbi and the 30 hostages. Five Jews were kept as hostages until the contribution was paid.

Priests also came to the assistance of individuals who were required by the Germans to pay large ransoms

⁹² Testimony of Mojżesz Bielak, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3140, reproduced in Jerzy Działowicki, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2009), vol. 1, 290–93, at pp. 291–92.

⁹³ Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 3: *Relacje z Kresów*, 471, 492 (Wilno), 554, 724 (Lwów); Filip Friedman, *Zagłada Żydów lwowskich* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1945), 8 (Lwów); Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History?: Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 275 (when the Germans imposed a heavy levy on the Jewish community in Chełm in late 1939, the local Polish intelligentsia contributed food and money); Siek, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 9, 121 (Włocławek); Daniel Blatman, *En direct du ghetto: La presse clandestine juive dans le ghetto de Varsovie (1940–1943)* (Paris: Cerf, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 470 (Poles contributed 100,000 złoty in Rzeszów); Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 314 (Wilno); Maciej Siekierski and Feliks Tych, eds., *Widziałem anioła śmierci: Losy deportowanych Żydów polskich w ZSRR w latach II wojny światowej: Świadectwa zebrane przez Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Rządu Polskiego na Uchodźstwie w latach 1942–1943* (Warsaw: Rosner i Wspólnicy and Żydowski Instytut Historyczny; Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 2006), 372 (Liski).

for the safety of family members. A resident of Tomaszów Lubelski recalled how her mother turned to a Polish priest, who gave her a large sum of money in exchange for a gold chain, thereby allowing her grateful mother to pay the “indemnification” demanded by the Germans. (Rachel Schwartzbaum (Klarman), “During the Years of Horror,” in Joseph M. Moskop, ed., *Tomaszow-Lubelski Memorial Book* [Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2008], p. 406.)

I, and several other Tomaszow [Tomaszów] families set out to return to Tomaszow [from the Soviet occupation zone]. Arriving to my parents, they fell upon me, and wept sympathetically. ...

Immediately on the morrow, my parents receive a notice that because their daughter had returned from Russia, my parents are required to pay a large sum of money on my behalf as indemnification money. A keening went up in our house, regarding how it would be possible to get such a large sum of money, however there was no answer to this. In the morning, at eight o'clock, the sum must be presented. My mother took a gold chain that we still had in our possession, and went off to sell it to the Polish priest. She told the priest everything, and the priest took the chain, paid her, and told her, 'Go save your child.' My mother thanked him with a full heart, and went away. On the following morning, she paid the sum on my behalf. In this manner, all of the families that returned from Rawa [Ruska] were required to pay extraordinarily large sums as an indemnification.

When the Germans created a ghetto in Lwów in November 1941, some Jews went into hiding in order to avoid being rounded up. A six-year-old Jewish girl recalled hiding temporarily in a church steeple with a group of Jews.⁹⁴ (Celia Kener, “Celia Kener, “I Survived the Holocaust. But I Have Nightmares About Cats,” *The New York Times*, January 24, 2020 & September 6, 2020.)

Friends and family told us that we needed to go into hiding. My aunt and uncle heard about a church steeple where people were hiding during the roundups. We went there in the evening. Mom went up first and grabbed me because I couldn't climb up. Her nail scratched my cheek, and it started to bleed. The steeple was not large, but there were at least 20 or so people already hiding there, including my aunt and two cousins. It was very cold, but we were not allowed to speak or cry, and everyone was shushing one another as we fell asleep to the sound of church bells and gunshots outside.

When the Germans occupied Słonim in June 1941, they took the highly unusual step of appointing Rev. Kazimierz Grochowski, the acting pastor of St. Andrew's church, the mayor of the city. As a native of the Poznań region, he had an excellent command of the German language. He remained in that position for only a few months. During that time, he intervened on behalf of the Jews and provided them with false identity documents. His benevolence was noted by a Jew who briefly stayed in Słonim. (Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, p. 373.)

From Jeziernica, I was off to Slonim [Słonim]. I found a half-demolished city. Half of it had been consumed in flames during the battles. When the Germans took over, they shot a small number of Jews. I came upon a long line of Jews, and was told that they were standing on line to receive work from the Germans at various labor sites. The Germans paid them with bread. The mood in the city was good. The local priest had been appointed as mayor, and he had prevailed upon the Germans not to treat the Jews as badly and as brutally as in other cities.

On the day of my departure from Slonim, July 12, 1941, they instituted the yellow badge for Jews.

Rev. Grochowski was arrested by the Germans in January 1942 and accused of hiding Jews. Since no Jews were found in the rectory at that time, he was released. Rev. Grochowski was arrested again in March 1942, or possibly later that year, at which time a baptized Jewish woman was found in the rectory. He was executed soon after.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Celia Rapp Kener and her mother, Sonia Rapp, were sheltered on the farm of Maria and Tadeusz Eckstein and survived the war. See the testimony of Celia Kener, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 42433.

⁹⁵ On Rev. Kazimierz Grochowski see Tadeusz Krahel, “W Generalnym Okręgu Białoruś (c.d.),” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 12, December 1998; Tadeusz Krahel, “Ksiądz Kazimierz Grochowski,” *W Służbie Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 2, February 2009; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 195; Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at pp. 654–55; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 174–75. See also the testimony of Salomon Szlakman in Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945*, 522–25; Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 3, 356.

The Holocaust Gets Under Way with Full Fury, 1942–1945

In the fall of 1941, the Germans introduced the death penalty for providing any form of help to Jews precisely because so many Poles came to their assistance despite repeated warnings, incessant anti-Semitic propaganda, and threats of sanctions. Poles continued to trade with and shelter Jews, thereby frustrating German attempts to isolate the Jews, a necessary precondition for their annihilation. Hence, the Germans felt compelled to introduce harsher measures to curtail contacts between Poles and Jews, to the fullest extent possible. German law extended the threat of death not only to those who sheltered or assisted Jews in any way, but also to those who knew about a hidden Jew and did not report it to the authorities. *Gazeta Lwowska*, an official German daily published in the Polish language, stated on April 11, 1942 (Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us*, p. 40):

It is unfortunate that the rural population continue—nowadays furtively—to assist Jews, thus doing harm to the community, and hence to themselves, by this disloyal attitude. Villagers take advantage of all illegal ways, applying all their cunning and circumventing regulations in order to supply the local Jewry with all kinds of foodstuffs in every amount. ...

The rural population must be cut off and separated from the Jews, once and for all, must be weaned from the extremely anti-social habit of assisting the Jews.

A circular issued on September 21, 1942, by the SS and Police Chief in Radom District, outlined and justified the new Draconian measures that were to be undertaken to put an end to this “problem” (Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us*, p. 40):

The experience of the last few weeks has shown that Jews, in order to evade evacuation, tend to flee from the small Jewish residential districts [i.e., ghettos] in the communities above all.

These Jews must have been taken in by Poles. I am requesting you to order all mayors and village heads as soon as possible that every Pole who takes in a Jew makes himself guilty under the Third Ordinance on restrictions on residence in the Government General of October 15, 1941 (GG Official Gazette, p.595).

As accomplices are also considered those Poles who feed run-away Jews or sell them foodstuffs, even if they do not offer them shelter. Whatever the case, these Poles are liable to the death penalty.

Priests and nuns throughout Poland responded to the increasingly harsh measures imposed by the Germans by helping Jews who fled from the ghettos in various ways. Given their prominence in rural communities and small towns, priests were very visible. Thus, any activities they engaged could readily come to the notice of others, including the German authorities, who often visited or even requisitioned parish rectories for their own use. Convents also faced surveillance. Jewish children were welcomed above all in orphanages and residential schools under the care of nuns where it was easier for them to blend with appropriate preparation. A successful rescue for an extended period of time was almost never the work of just one priest or a single nun acting alone. It usually required a chain or network of rescuers.

As historian Ewa Kurek points out, “[s]ome nuns did baptize the children, while others did not, and a majority of them accepted without question the false baptismal certificates presented to them.”⁹⁶ Similarly, not all priests were in favour of baptizing Jewish children while their parents might still be alive.⁹⁷ While keeping young Jewish children in convents without their undergoing baptism raised no

⁹⁶ Ewa Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German-Occupied Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1997), 91.

⁹⁷ A young girl who was taken in as a foundling by Poles somewhere near Wilno recalled, “I became a member of the villager family. ... They loved me very much, and dedicated themselves to my care with their heartfelt good attitude. ... I went to church services with the family, and sang in the church choir. The priest would chat with me privately on occasion and teach me Christian doctrine and morality. He comforted me, saying that a day would come when it would still be good for me. He knew I was the daughter of Jews, and he never said anything that might crush me. When I was four years old, my “mother took me to the house of the priest, asking him to baptize me with the holy water. The priest spoke to her softly and nicely, explaining and promising to forgive her for this sin in particular. When he saw that the woman was stubborn, and did not understand his innuendo, he said to her openly: ‘I will not baptize this little girl as long as the war has not ended, and we do not know who her parents are.’” See Arie Anat (son of Zeev Popiski), as told by Dvora Rosenzweig-Vinokur, “My Mother Commanded Me to Live,” in Kanc, *Svinzian Region*, columns 1818–1829.

theological concern, that was not the case with older children who received Communion in order to pass as Catholics and thus blend in with the other children. The sacrament of Holy Communion (Eucharist) is reserved only for baptized Catholics, and to allow non-Catholics to receive Communion constitutes sacrilege. What to do in this case posed a real challenge and dilemma, something that is not fully appreciated by commentators who are not believing and practicing Catholics.

The rescue efforts of the Catholic clergy were not always welcome by the Jews themselves. Some Jews claimed that conversion was the primary or at least a very important factor in the decision of the Catholic clergy to extend assistance to Jews. In fact, this was one of the reasons given by Warsaw's Jewish leaders for refusing the Catholic Church's offer to place several hundred Jewish children in convents and monasteries. Emanuel Ringelblum, the chronicler of the Warsaw ghetto, acknowledges this offer of assistance and records, in most unflattering terms, the motivation attributed to the Catholic clergy by the Jewish community leaders at the time: proselytism ("soul-snatching"), financial greed, and looking out for their own prestige. After meeting with vehement opposition from Orthodox and other Jewish groups, the project was shelved. Jewish parents were, however, given a free hand in placing their children privately in Catholic institutions, though many rabbis remained adamantly opposed to that idea too. Some of the discussion recorded by Ringelblum merits repeating (Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War* [New York: Howard Fertig, 1976], pp. 150–51):

I was present at a discussion of this question by several Jewish intellectuals. One of them categorically opposed the operation. ... The priests' promise not to convert the children would be of no avail [even though a register would be kept of the children, recording their distribution throughout the country, so that they could be taken back after the war]; time and education would take their toll. ... Jewish society has no right to engage in such an enterprise.

Although Ringelblum is anxious to shift the blame for the failure of this project to the Catholic clergy, it is not reasonable to believe that the Church authorities would initiate the undertaking only to welcome its demise, when in fact numerous convents and monasteries were already active in sheltering Jewish children. Moreover, there was reluctance on the part of many Jews to give over their children to Poles for safekeeping. One survivor records the following conversation (Pearl Benisch, *To Vanquish the Dragon* [Jerusalem and New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1991], p. 131):

"I gave my little son to a Polish family and I hope to God he'll survive," a young father said with relief. "Oh no," I heard Mr. Blum exclaim. "I'd never give my children to a Christian family. Who knows if my wife and I will survive to claim them after the war? And if not," he continued in a voice charged with emotion, "they'll grow up to be good Christians, God forbid. Oh no!" he repeated passionately. "It's better that they should die as Jews. Let them go together with their people; let us perish together. I couldn't entrust my children to the gentiles," he concluded with determination.

As Jadwiga Piotrowska, a Warsaw social welfare worker active in rescuing scores of Jewish children points out, it was not the goal of the nuns to convert their Jewish charges. Rather, in order to ensure their seamless integration into orphanages and other institutions where the Jewish charges passed as Polish Catholics, the appearance of religious assimilation was crucial for the success of the rescue effort. (Ewa Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach: Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939–1945* [Lublin: Clio, 2001; Lublin: Gaudium, 2004], p. 209.⁹⁸)

The children who were being rescued not only had to have documents made for them, and an "Aryan past" created for them, and found another place to survive. It was also necessary to instil in them an awareness that they were not worse in any way, that they did not differ from their native Polish brothers, that they were also Poles. The Germans frequently visited the orphanages run by religious orders, checked the children's documents and also their religious knowledge, ordering them to pray or recite the catechism. Any inaccuracy on the children's part could have led to the deaths of many people, including the children. What is more, it could have endangered the entire rescue operation. ... Therefore it was out of necessity that the Jewish children were baptized and taught religion. The nightmarish memories of their past were carefully erased, so that they would not differ in any way from the Polish

⁹⁸ This is part of an extensive interview with Jadwiga Piotrowska. See Ewa Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach: Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Clio, 2001; Lublin: Gaudium, 2004), 205–10.

children. In truth this was no conversion, no augmenting of adherents of Catholicism, but only a fight for life, in which no error could be made.

Recently, however, Holocaust scholar Jean-Charles Szurek has argued that what the rescuers were actually doing in such cases was subjecting the children to “deculturation,” a form of violence. Thus, in this worldview, the rescuers become the victimizers.⁹⁹ (Unfortunately, the desperation for novelty among academics far too often leads to such perverse “insights.”)

Jan Dobraczyński, a prewar member of the nationalist National Democratic Party (“Endecja”), used his offices in the Department of Social Welfare in the Warsaw municipal corporation to place 500 Jewish children in Catholic convents. This was a daunting task. Many of the children had a Semitic appearance, often they spoke Polish poorly or with a Jewish accent, and most of them had little or no knowledge of Catholic prayers and rituals, so it was not easy for them to blend in. (Even when the children learned Catholic rituals, they would overdo them, for example, by making the sign of the cross several times, rather than once, before a meal.) Dobraczyński recalled those times in an interview published shortly before his death. Jan Dobraczyński was part of a large network that involved Żegota, The Council for Aid to Jews, in particular Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, Mother Matylda Getter, the provincial superior of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, Sister Wanda Garczyńska, the superior of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and many other persons dedicated to the rescue operation. (“Traktowałem to jako obowiązek chrześcijański i polski,” *Słowo–Dziennik Katolicki*, Warsaw, no. 67, 1993.)

I was afraid to place [Jewish] children in just any institution; I relied only on convents. I was well known to all of the Sisters and they trusted me. I gathered the Sisters and told them: “Dear Sisters, we will be hiding Jewish children. If a child is sent with my signature, that will be an indication that the child is Jewish, and you will have to know how to act on this.” I also told them that we would not be sending more children to any institution than we agreed to ...

... our social workers searched for [Jewish] children. Sometimes they were found on the street, or in some primitive hiding place. Once we were informed that two boys were hidden in a cubbyhole in [the suburb of] Praga. One of them was running a high fever and it was imperative to move them. A nun took the sick boy on a streetcar and he started to scream out something in Yiddish. The driver was astute enough to sense the danger and yelled out: “This streetcar is going to the depot. Everyone out.” At the same time he signalled to the nun that she and the boy should remain.

Each of the children was taken for a few days to the home of a social worker. There they were taught their new names and prayers, and how to make the sign of the cross. The children were after all being taken to Catholic institutions and couldn't differ outwardly from the Polish orphans residing there.

All but one of the children survived the war. (The one boy who didn't survive was killed by Ukrainians in Turkowice, where he was sheltered in a convent.) ... a few of the children remained Christians, but the rest reverted to the faith of their forefathers.

Żegota activist Irena Sendler (also known as Sendlerowa in Polish, née Krzyżanowska) recalled that sometimes Jews asked her for “guarantees” that their children would survive the war. Sendler explained to them that she could not even assure the children's safe passage out of the ghetto. This too discouraged Jews from seeking placements for their children with Christians.¹⁰⁰ Izajasz Druker, who was charged with task of finding Jewish child survivors after the war, has stated authoritatively, based on his extensive experience during the years 1945 to 1949, that “in the convents the issue of money did not play a role.”¹⁰¹ While it is true that some Poles asked for payment for the upkeep of their Jewish charges, this was to be expected given the risks involved and the material hardships faced by everyone under the German occupation. The highly praised Danish rescue effort was paid for by large sums of money provided

⁹⁹ Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Dalej jest noc: Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018), vol. 1, 598.

¹⁰⁰ *Żegota: Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland (1942–1945)*, Documentaries International Film & Video Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1998.

¹⁰¹ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 208.

primarily by the Jews themselves,¹⁰² and rescue in Belgium and other countries was also subsidized heavily by the Jews themselves.¹⁰³ As a recent study shows, unlike Western Europeans, the overwhelming majority of Poles were simply not in a position to offer long-term material assistance to Jews.¹⁰⁴ Honest survivors, such as Yitzhak Zuckerman, a leader of the Jewish underground in Warsaw, are appreciative of even paid aid to Jews. (Yitzhak Zuckerman “Antek”, *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993], pp. 461, 493.)

Anyone who fosters hatred for the Polish people is committing a sin! We must do the opposite. Against the background of anti-Semitism and general apathy, these people are glorious. There was great danger in helping us, mortal danger, not only for them but also for their families, sometimes for the entire courtyard they lived in. ... I repeat it today: to cause the death of one hundred Jews, all you needed was one Polish denouncer; to save one Jew, it sometimes took the help of ten decent Poles, the help of an entire Polish family; even if they did it for money. Some gave their apartment, and others made identity cards. Even passive help deserves appreciation. The baker who didn't denounce, for instance. It was a problem for a Polish family of four who suddenly had to start buying double quantities of rolls or meat. And what a bother it was to go far away to buy in order to support the family hiding with them. ... And I argue that it doesn't matter if they took money; life wasn't easy for Poles either; and there wasn't any way to make a living. There were widows and officials who earned their few Zlotys by helping. And there were all kinds of people who helped.

If I gauge the phenomenon by one of the finest figures I knew, Irena Adamowicz, who helped Jews deliberately and consciously, as a devout Christian, who assisted as much as she could, I nevertheless cannot ignore the fact that she also saw another mission for herself: to convert Jews, since there is no greater commandment than to convert Jews to Christianity, accompanied by the faith that will save the world. I'm not saying she would have abandoned someone even if she hadn't kept her sights fixed on the Christian purpose; but let's look at this from the other side: for example, if a rabbi chanced to save a gentile. He wouldn't see anything bad if, at this opportunity, he began telling him about the religion of Moses and the various practices of Judaism. Is there anything wrong in that? Irena also filled such “missions.” I know of at least four or five such cases.

¹⁰² During the initial stages of the rescue operation, only well-to-do Danish Jews could afford the short passage to Sweden. Private boatmen set their own price and the costs were prohibitive, ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 kroner per person (\$160 to \$1600 U.S. in the currency of that period). Afterward, when organized Danish rescue groups stepped in to coordinate the flight and to collect funds, the average price per person fell to 2,000 and then 500 kroner. The total cost of the rescue operation was about 12 million kroner, of which the Jews paid about 7 million kroner, including a 750,000 kroner loan which the Jews had to repay after the war. See Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: Collins, 2007), 105–9; Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), 261–65, 269. As Sofie Lene Bak's *Nothing to Speak of: Wartime Experiences of the Danish Jews 1943–1945* (Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2011) makes clear, “it can no longer be ignored that money was the hinge on which the whole escape apparatus turned.” Money was needed to organize the fishermen and their boats and ensure there were enough of them. The price was based on supply and demand. Some fishermen earned a fortune at the Jews' expense. The average price was 1,000 kroner per person. There were some payments of 50,000 kroner, but an average of 10,000 kroner for a family of four people. The monthly wage for a skilled worker in 1943 was 414 kroner. However, in the case of Denmark, charging these exorbitant amounts has been justified. We are told that the demands for payment must be viewed in relation to the danger of the crossing, the risks of losing their boats, which would bring a loss of earnings, and the ability to support their families, as well as the possibilities of arrest. However, there were no Germans policing the strait between Denmark and Sweden during October 1943, and not a single boat with Jewish refugees was captured at sea by the Germans.

¹⁰³ The Belgian Comité de Défense des Juifs, which represented a broad cross-range of the Jewish community, was involved in propaganda, finance, false papers, and material aid. It is believed to have helped 12,000 adults and 3,000 children, of whom 2,443 were supported financially, and instrumental in indirectly assisting perhaps another 15,000 people. The Comité used at least 138 separate secular or religious institutions and at least 700 individual families to hide the children. These operations required huge amounts of resources and money, especially for monthly subventions to families and institutions to feed and clothe the children. It began fundraising by appealing to rich Jews and by making richer Jews pay double for services in order to subsidize the rescue of poorer Jews. The committee was able to get a loan for the sum of BFr 3 million from the Banque de Bruxelles, and monthly subventions from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, initially for SFr 20,000 and raised progressively to SFr 100,000, which were smuggled from Switzerland into Belgium. Additional funding came from other individuals and organizations. The committee's total expenditure during the occupation was estimated to have reached BFr 48 million. See Bob Moore, “Integrating Self-Help into the History of Jewish Survival in Western Europe,” in Norman J.W. Goda, ed., *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 193–208, at pp. 196–97.

¹⁰⁴ Grzegorz Berendt, “The Price of Life: Economic Determinants of Jews' Existence on the “Aryan” Side,” in Sebastian Rejak and Elzbieta Frister, eds., *Inferno of Choices: Poles and the Holocaust*, Second edition (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 2012), 115–65.

American sociologist Jan Tomasz Gross has referred to the practice of baptizing Jewish children without the consent of their parents as “ritual murder.” “I have in mind the ‘ritual murder’ of Jewish children by Catholic clergy,” he writes, “which took place, in a manner of speaking, every time a Jewish child was baptized without a specific request or authorization by his or her parents.”¹⁰⁵ This charge is eerily reminiscent of the obscene accusations levelled at Jan Dobraczyński and Jadwiga Piotrowska after the war, when they went to present lists of rescued Jewish children to the Jewish Committee. They were accused of having condemned the children to damnation. When asked what she thought she had gained from those years, Piotrowska answered (Ewa Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German Occupied Poland, 1939–1945* [New York: Hippocrene Books, 1997], p. 87):

The awareness that I behaved in a decent manner and with dignity. And also, a deep wound in my heart which is there even today. ... When Poland was liberated in 1945 a Jewish Committee was established, and Janek Dobraczynski [Jan Dobraczyński] and I went over to it to give them the lists of the saved children. They were not even full lists but the best we were able to reconstruct. We did not count on any gratitude, but we did not even think that someone would accuse us. ...

During the conversation we were told that we had committed a crime by stealing hundreds of children from the Jewish community, baptizing them, and tearing them away from Jewish culture. We were also told that we were worse than the Germans. The Germans only took the body; we took the soul, condemning the children to damnation. Our arguments that we were fighting for their lives were put off right away: “It would have been better if those children had died...”

We left completely broken. ... Over forty years have passed, and I am still grappling with this in my conscience. Would it really have been better if we had sent those children to their deaths?

Tellingly, the kidnapping of children who had Polish Catholic fathers, based on the precept that a child born to a Jewish woman is a Jew, was not viewed as repugnant to the Jewish Committee at the time, nor has it been condemned by Jews since. As Izajasz Druker candidly admitted (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 210–11),

Another one of my post-war duties was taking back women who during the wartime were compelled [?] to marry the men who saved them and with whom they had children. There were several incidents where, without the knowledge of their husbands, I took the women and their children. The involved the issue of abduction and tricking the husbands, who later went mad, running about and searching for their wives and children.

Presumably, the belief that someone born to a Jewish mother is automatically a Jew justified this violation. The practice around baptism was not so rigorous.

Rev. Stanisław Szczepański of Wilga near Garwolin, together with his sister, Marianna Różańska, sheltered two Jewish sisters, Luba and Lea Berliner, in the parish rectory for several months, and provided them with false documents that enabled the sisters to survive the war passing as Poles. The efforts of Marianna Różańska were recognized by Yad Vashem, but not those of Rev. Szczepański. (Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5: *Poland* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004], Part 2, p. 679.)

One day in September 1941, German policemen surrounded a labor camp for Jews in the forest near Wilga, Garwolin county, Warsaw district, and prepared to make a Selektion among the inmates. Several prisoners, fearing for their fate, fled from the camp. They included the sisters Luba and Lea Berliner, who knocked on the door of the village priest [Rev. Stanisław Szczepański¹⁰⁶] and asked for assistance. Marianna Rozanska [Różańska], the priest's sister, quickly placed the two fugitives in hiding and when the Germans came to search for them she carefully shielded them. The Berliners stayed in their hideout until Rozanska equipped them with forged papers, with which they survived by enlisting for forced labor in Germany. After the war, one of the Berliner sisters stayed in Germany, and the other resettled in Israel.

¹⁰⁵ Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz* (New York: Random House, 2006), 162 (footnote).

¹⁰⁶ Michał Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993), 459–60.

On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto in Żelechów near Garwolin, which took place on September 30, 1942, the Jewish leaders placed their confidence in the local Catholic parish. The story is related in Jonathan Kaufman, *A Hole in the Heart of the World: Being Jewish in Eastern Europe* (New York: Viking/Penguin, 1997), at page 102.

The night before the Germans came, with rumors of the deportations sweeping the terrified ghetto, several Jewish leaders hurried across the dark market square and knocked on the door of the rectory across the street from the church. When the priest answered, they asked him to hold the documents of their community—the birth and death records and the most important papers—in safekeeping. They would be back to retrieve them when they could. The priest agreed, and he hid them in the rafters of the rectory for safekeeping. The next day, the deportations to Treblinka began.

An unidentified priest from Garwolin, as well as other Poles, were entrusted with the possessions of six Jews, among them Meir Herc, who were hidden by a farmer named Markiewicz in the village of Jagodne. They provided the Jewish fugitives with money and valuables, as needed, for their upkeep. The entire group of six Jews survived this way for 23 months. Meir Herc writes: “I only survived thanks to more than a dozen Poles who sold our goods and would send the money to me. They even knew the village in which I was hiding but did not betray me.”¹⁰⁷

About a score of Jews, both children and adults, were taken in by the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) (*Siostry Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa*, commonly known as *Siostry Zmartwychwstanki*) at their convent and boarding school in the Warsaw suburb of Żoliborz. After being deported from the Warsaw ghetto, Ruth Altbeker Cyprys managed to jump from the train headed to the Treblinka death camp. Injured as a result of her fall, she was helped by railway guards, villagers, passers-by, passengers, and even a gang of robbers. After making her way back to Warsaw, she was assisted by numerous Poles while passing as a Christian. She describes her stay with the Resurrectionist Sisters in Żoliborz in the early part of 1943 in her memoir, *A Jump For Life: A Survivor's Journal from Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Continuum, 1997), at pages 129–30, 134, 163, 222.

At my friend's house, the advocate Mrs. L., I met her husband's sister, Sister Maria-Janina, a nun of the Sisters of Resurrection Order from the Convent in Żoliborz [Żoliborz] Street. Apart from her duties in the convent she directed a small carpenter's workshop in a shed near the cloister. Sister Maria-Janina, upon learning of my troubles, offered me accommodation on the workshop premises, which I gladly accepted. The room was small but comfortable. Although it was very cold and lacked conveniences, I felt at home there at last. I could spend my whole time there doing whatever I liked except for a few hours during which the room served as an office. Slowly I grew acquainted with my new surroundings. Next to my room, in the kitchen, there lived a maidservant who ran the house and cooked for the boys in the shop. She had an illegitimate son ... On top of this she was very inquisitive and talkative. It was apparent that the shed was inhabited by other people as well: I heard voices through the partitions although I never saw anybody. In great secrecy Sister Maria-Janina confided in me that in the next room there lived two Jewesses. The older one, who had typically Semitic features, never went out, not having been registered anywhere. The younger one on the contrary was out all day, and was even employed somewhere.

Sister Maria-Janina advised me not to communicate with them. Actually I preferred sitting alone in my little room, during the long evening hours, not making any new friends. I noticed the same trait in the behaviour of Jews in hiding: a tendency to keep away from other Jews. One could only tell the other sad stories, terrible experiences, the loss of nearest and dearest ones—there would be no end of unhappy memories. In order to live on we had somehow to forget the past and strive to become accustomed to the present.

Sister Maria-Janina, who was sixty years old, had an exceptionally beautiful character. The widow of an advocate, for the past fifteen years she had been devoting her strength and energy to the convent and public welfare. The toy workshops were designated for the poorest boys, the street urchins. The Sister admitted anybody who applied. ...

As I had no job at the time I tried to help out as much as I could. Whenever there was anything to sort out in the city I went readily. Often I was sent to cash money in some welfare institution, or to collect provisions for the boys. ...

One day in our house in Żoliborz a skirmish broke out which could have had very serious repercussions for all of us. The boys were coached in grammar school subjects by a teacher popularly nicknamed 'Student'. This 'Student',

¹⁰⁷ Meir Herc, “My Experience in September,” in Moshe Zaltsman and Baruch Shein, eds., *Garwolin yisker-bukh* (Tel Aviv, New York and Paris: Garwolin Societies, 1972), 187–93; Testimony of Jankiel Grynblat, July 28, 1950, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4801.

as it turned out, was a Jew—a fact of which Sister Maria-Janina was well aware. Quite by accident a young man came to the workshop and recognized the teacher as a fellow student from university, a communist, with whom he had constantly quarrelled. These two had a very sharp altercation after which the visitor reviled the Sister for sheltering a Jew. It was quite obvious that the unexpected visitor was bound to turn the teacher over to the Gestapo, and the trembling inhabitants of our slum implored the teacher to leave, for a short time at least. He was courageous, however, and insisted on staying; he admitted that in any event he had nowhere else to go. Sister Maria-Janina's behaviour was remarkable. She did not give him notice nor did she tell him to quit. 'God will help us,' she said, and nobody denounced us. Yet I considered it unsafe to stay in the small house in Żoliborz and as soon as I had received another offer of a job I took the opportunity and left the hospitable shelter, but I stayed in touch with Sister Maria-Janina until the end of the war.

Afterwards, Sister Maria-Janina signed a deposition attesting that she was Ruth Albeker's relative. As the latter explained,

A genuine Aryan relative was priceless to a Jew at that time. The best documents could prove worthless if a crafty Gestapo man asked: 'It's all right with your papers; they are in order and I believe you to be an Aryan. But give me some names of your friends or relatives who have known you for a long time.' Such a Jewish Gentile, a human creature with no relatives and acquaintances would then be lost.

Ruth describes a familiar scene she witnessed after the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in May 1943. She personally observed Jewish Gestapo agents—"catchers"—in the streets of Warsaw shouting Jewish slogans or singing Jewish songs in order to provoke a telltale reaction in fugitive Jews among the pedestrians. (Ibid., 165–66.)

The Jewish Gestapo men who remained alive were very dangerous. Their eyes were penetrating and Jews pointed out by them were lost without hope. A little car often seen passing slowly along Marszałkowska [Marszałkowska] Street, always keeping close to the pavement, became notorious. Once I was walking along this street when suddenly I heard the shout 'Szma Israel' [Shema Yisrael – Hear, O Israel, the words of a section of the Torah that is the centrepiece of morning and evening prayers], followed by the sight of a man dragged struggling into the car. It transpired that the cry had come from the slowly driven vehicle, causing an elderly gentleman passing by to stop and look back instinctively. It was final proof for the manhunters. They must have been observing their prey for some time and, having reckoned that only a Jew would react to these words, had successfully used their subterfuge. A friend told me that the most unexpected shouts could be heard from this car.

Another time, while walking in the street, I heard behind me a low humming of the Hatikva [Hatikva—"The Hope," a Zionist anthem]. For a moment I wanted to look back but I overcame this desire. The singing individual overtook me. He was a young fellow in a little round hat with a feather. This hat meant the same as a Gestapo uniform as we learned at the end of the war. Unfortunately under this hat was the cheeky, carefree face of one of my university colleagues—a Jew. The degradation of some people had plumbed such depths.

After the failed Warsaw Uprising of 1944, Ruth was evacuated to the Kraków area. There she encountered Mrs. Maria, who had also been evacuated from Warsaw. Mrs. Maria, who worked closely with a Polish organization that rescued Jewish children, had sheltered Ruth's daughter, Eva, and several other Jewish children. During the evacuation Mrs. Maria had become separated from two of her Jewish charges, but they were found living in a small town under the guardianship of a local vicar and soon rejoined Mrs. Maria. Although she attended mass regularly in many churches during the occupation, Ruth did not encounter any hostility toward Jews on the part of the Catholic clergy.

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Joanna Ritt (born in 1932) was placed in the convent of the Resurrectionist Sisters in the Warsaw suburb of Żoliborz by friends of her mother.¹⁰⁸ Irena Bernstein received assistance in Warsaw from the Resurrectionist Sisters and the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, as well as from a future nun. (Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* [London: Earls Court Publications, 1969], pp. 306–7.)

Two persons played a considerable role in delivering me and my parents from death and suffering. The first—

¹⁰⁸ Testimony of Joanna Ritt, July 30, 1959, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5658. Joanna Ritt stayed at the convent from 1943 until March 1944. Afterwards, she stayed at various places.

Bożena Stanisławska, a classical philologist, my school-mate: at present Sister M. Piotra, a Franciscan Servant of the Cross in Łaski. Bożena met me in 1940 on Nowogródzka [Nowogrodzka] St—I was then lugging home bedspreads to be sold [in the market] on Kazimierz Square. As she told me after the war, she was immediately aware that I was hungry. Then she began to earnestly persuade me [to] come to Szczekocińska St to a shelter for academic students, victims of the war, conducted by Sister Emanuela Roman, a Resurrectionist—that food could be had there cheaply and even a place to live. I lived at the Resurrectionist shelter home to the middle of 1942; when too much interest began to be shown in me. I was ordered to move to the country. From then on, I began to go ‘as a tutor’ to the mansions of the country gentry, directed there by the nuns of the Immaculate Conception and the Nazareth Order.

The shelter on Szczekocińska St was an asylum for several other Jewesses and persons of Jewish extraction besides me. When my parents were ‘stolen’ out of the ghetto, the Resurrectionist nuns procured a room for them nearby, on Ursynowska St, and provided them with dinners.

The aforementioned Bożena Stanisławska also placed Ludwika Łaska and a girl named Tempelhoff with the Resurrectionist Sisters at their residence on Szczekocińska Street. She was also instrumental in rescuing Helena Posner together with her mother and brother, as well as Iza Bieżuńska (later Małowist).¹⁰⁹

Occasionally, Jews decided to undergo conversion not out of genuine religious conviction but simply to increase their chances of survival. Chaja Sara Wronberg, also known as Zofia, a widow, and her daughter Halina Wronberg (later Masri), born in Warsaw in 1934, were saved by their Polish friends, Renia Boćkowska (later Czaczkes) and her husband Stefan, who arranged for them to leave the Warsaw ghetto via the courthouse. They obtained false papers for Zofia and Halina and arranged for them to receive religious instruction at the parish church of the Holy Saviour (Najświętszego Zbawiciela) in Warsaw, where they were later baptized. Halina became Jolanta Chmielewska, and her mother went by the name of Jadwiga Stanisława Chmielewska. Halina and her mother stayed in an apartment rented by Renia. In the fall of 1941, Halina was enrolled at a Catholic convent boarding school on Mokotowska Street run by the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters). The director of the school, Sister Maria Teresa Czerwińska, was nominated by Warsaw’s Jewish Historical Institute for recognition by Yad Vashem, but for some reason was not awarded. The school was later relocated to the summer palace of Prince Franciszek Radziwiłł in Stara Wieś (near Węgrów), some 30 miles east of Warsaw. At the time Zofia was residing with another prewar friend, Rita Bauman Hasslauer and her husband. With her help, Zofia visited Halina a few times at the convent. Both mother and daughter survived the war, and soon after they abandoned their Catholic faith.¹¹⁰ (Henryk Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories: True Tales from the Holocaust and Life After* [New York: Penguin Books, 2002], pp. 206–11.)

Mother bought honey-cakes in a honey shop on the corner of Marszałkowska Street and the Square of the Redeemer [Saviour], and often talked with Pani Renia who worked there. Her husband, Pan Stefan, was an engineer with the gas-works. One day Mother said to her, “I have a problem. I have to move into the ghetto.” “Why?” Pani Renia asked. “Because I am a Jew.” “Ah, don’t go there.” “But I have to.” “No, you can’t go there.” ...

Pani Renia also put us in touch with a priest and we went to him at the Church of the Redeemer through the sacristy. He was a prelate who demanded that we know the catechism very well. ...

Our baptism took place in the evening, by candlelight. Long shadows played on the walls, and the echo carried each word high. Pan Stanisław, Rita’s first husband and Yola’s father [Rita Bauman Hasslauer, a divorcée, was the lover of Halina’s uncle, Hipolit—M.P.], was my godfather. We didn’t go back to the Jewish side. Pan Stefan, Pani Renia’s husband, went there in the gasworks’ van and brought out suitcases with our things to an apartment which Pani Renia had found for us at 7 Miodowa Street. ...

Men in black leather coats stopped us on the street by our house and came with us into the apartment. I no longer know whether they ordered me to, or whether I knelt down myself and started to pray out loud. And I don’t know which was more effective—my prayer, or the money which they got from Mother. Immediately after that, Pani Renia found me a place with the Sisters of the Resurrection, and Mother moved in with Rita who had married an Austrian and was living in a German quarter on Aleja Szucha. ...

The boarding school of the Sisters of Resurrection was at 15 Mokotowska Street. I always remembered the

¹⁰⁹ Testimony of Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 197–98.

¹¹⁰ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1154154>>.

numbers and names, but nothing other than that interested me. A new name is a new name, I didn't ask about anything. I knew that despite my baptism I was still a Jew, which was very bad. That was enough, I didn't want to know any more. When it became too dangerous on Mokotowska Street, they moved us to Stara Wieś, to a white mansion with a turret and little towers belonging to a prince. ... the mansion which stands to this day in Stara Wieś, Węgrów district, belonged to Prince Radziwiłł. German officers occupied part of the mansion. They had a separate entrance on the other side, but they used to come to our chapel. Sister Alma once said to my mother, "Ah, Halusia is so smart, when she sees a German, she immediately runs away."

We carried water from the well and peeled potatoes—two buckets of water and forty potatoes a day. In the summer, we picked mushrooms, strawberries and blueberries in the woods. The nuns made tasty dishes out of them. We prayed in the morning, evening, before and after eating. We confessed every week, and for one day a month we spoke to no one except the cross on the wall. I prayed very sincerely. On these words, which I often did not understand, depended my life not only on heaven, but also here on earth. We went to church for Sunday Mass and Communion, but Confession, Novenas and Vespers were held in the chapel at the mansion. The priest who heard our confessions had escaped from Germany and hidden with the Sisters of the Resurrection because—which we didn't know—he had been born a Jew. Germans also confessed to him because he spoke good German and even had a German last name. How were they to know that a Jew was hearing their confessions? [This information is incorrect. The priest in question, Rev. Tadeusz Pecolt, was a Pole of German ancestry, who had to flee his native city of Łódź because of his underground activity. He served as chaplain and instructor at the boarding school in Stara Wieś under an assumed name, Tadeusz Perzyński.¹¹¹M.P.]

We went to the village school, but the nuns gave us extra lessons in Latin and German. They also taught us embroidery and to make play things out of paper and straw. They arranged games and theatricals for us. They darned our stockings and repaired our clogs. They cared for us and treated our flu, hepatitis, and scarlet fever. They went into the countryside to ask for milk and potatoes and flour for us. We didn't have enough to eat, but I never felt it. I only felt fear in my stomach. My face grew thin, my nose longer, and fear showed in my eyes, and I looked nothing like Shirley Temple any more.

I went to my mother to Warsaw for holidays. Yola [Jola was Rita's daughter—M.P.] took me to the circus where the antics of the acrobats filled me with dread, and to the cinema where I sat even more anxiously because everything was in German and I only saw Germans around me. Once they sent me to fetch milk from Meinel's, a shop for Germans and Volksdeutsche. A moment later, the telephone: "Frau Haslauer, who is that Jewish child?" Walter immediately took me back to Stara Wieś and I never went there any more. My mother came to see me, but I was afraid of her visits. Krysia Janas's grandmother came once and took her back for Easter. They were discovered in the train. The Sisters tried to save Krysia, but one of the Germans told them to desist because it could end up badly for the whole boarding school. I don't remember her face. She was nine years old, the same as me.

We were not taught hatred—only love, above all for the Lord Jesus. But hatred was stronger. Especially when coupled with love. Because how could you love the tormented Jesus, and not hate those who betrayed Him? And how strong must the hatred have been if even little Krysia Janas was betrayed? That's why I made a pact with the Christian God that I would never be a Jew and that, in exchange, no one would hate me. That was Easter 1944.

Another Jewish girl who was accepted by the Resurrectionist Sisters in Warsaw and taken to Stara Wieś near Węgrów was Irena Bialer, born in 1928. She survived the war and was reclaimed by her uncle. She too recalled her stay there favourably.¹¹²

Other Jews who were taken in or assisted in other ways by the Resurrectionist Sisters included were Elżbieta Sobelman, Ewa Grosfeld, Eva Schutz and her son Jan, and the sisters Hanka and Mirka

¹¹¹ Testimony of Tadeusz Pecold (sic), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45859; "Tadeusz Pecolt," Wikipedia, Internet: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tadeusz_Pecolt>. Rev. Pecolt identified two other Jewish girls (of nine) residing at the boarding school: Irka Bilska (possibly Irena Bialer) and Alina Danilewicz, as well as two nuns: Sister Alma and Sister Helena.

¹¹² Testimony of Irena Bialer, August 10, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4109.

Rosenblatt.¹¹³ The following examples are found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, at pages 349, 459–60, and Part 2, at pages 753, 855–56.

[1] *Elzbieta [Elżbieta] Sobelman was 11 years old when both her parents died in late 1942. Before his death, her father had asked Krystyna Klarzuk, a former acquaintance of his, to take care of his daughter. Klarzuk, a young married woman with a baby who lived in central Warsaw, welcomed the young orphan and looked after her devotedly without expecting anything in return. Although the neighbors soon became suspicious, Klarzuk refused to be intimidated by their threats and blackmail. After obtaining Aryan papers for Elzbieta, she enrolled her at an institution run by the Resurrectionist (Zmartwychwstanki) nuns, where she continued to look after her and watch out for her safety. Elzbieta was transferred to a transit camp for Poles who were evacuated from the Zamosc [Zamość] region and sent to the orphanage belonging to the RGO [Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, a social welfare agency]. Elzbieta remained in the orphanage until the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944, when she was deported to Pruszkow [Pruszków] with the rest of Warsaw's population. After wandering from one hiding place to another, she finally reached the village of Chorowice in the county of Skawina, Cracow [Kraków] district. Although Elzbieta lost contact with Klarzuk, the ties between them were renewed immediately after the liberation in January 1945 and continued for many more years.*

[2] *Aldona Lipszyc, a widow who had been married to a Jew and lived with her seven children in Warsaw, owned a farm and house in Ostrowek [Ostrówek], in the county of Radzymin. Before the war, Lipszyc had been active in the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and was known for her progressive views. During the war, Lipszyc, guided by humanitarian principles, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship, helped her Jewish friends by offering them shelter in her home. The first to stay in her apartment in Warsaw was Helena Fiszhaut, an old school friend who had escaped from the ghetto during the large-scale Aktion in August 1942. Thanks to her ties with the Polish underground, Lipszyc was able to provide Fiszhaut with Aryan papers and find her a job with a Polish family as a maid. In the fall of 1942, a woman introducing herself as Olga Grosfeld knocked on Lipszyc's door, telling her that she had come from Przemysl [Przemysł] with her 13-year-old daughter, Eva, following the advice of a mutual acquaintance. Lipszyc gave Grosfeld a warm welcome, and looked after her until she was driven out of the city with the rest of Warsaw's population following the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. Lipszyc also arranged for little Eva to be admitted to an institution for war orphans run by the Zmartwychwstanki [Resurrectionist] Sisters, where she stayed under an assumed identity until the liberation.¹¹⁴ [Aldona Lipszyc also sheltered a number of other Jews.]*

[3] *During the war, Irena Stelmachowska lived in Warsaw with her two daughters, Wanda and Aleksandra. In winter 1942, Irena offered Eva Schutz and her 11-year-old son, Jan, shelter in her apartment. Eva and Jan, who had false papers in the names of Ewa and Jan Sarnecki, had escaped from the Lwow [Lwów] ghetto and reached the Nunnery of Resurrection in Żoliborz [Żoliborz] with the help of an acquaintance. At the nunnery, the mother and son were handed Irena's address [the contact was established by Sister Laurenta¹¹⁵]. Eva and Jan [Stelmachowski] stayed with the Stelmachowskas [sic] until the end of the Warsaw Uprising in October 1944, when they were deported to Pruszkow [Pruszków] and separated. After the war, Eva and Jan left Poland.*

¹¹³ Nahum Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers: The Rescue of Jewish Children with Assumed Identities in Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 175, based on the testimony of Hana Shchori (Ania Rosenblat or Hanka Rosenblatt), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/4751. See also the testimony of Hanah Shchori, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 47353. Hanka Rosenblatt (born in 1934) was evacuated to a convent in Zakopane after the failed Warsaw Uprising of 1944. Janina Jankowska, a Catholic girl who attended the Resurrectionist Sisters' school in Żoliborz, recalls the protective attitude of the nuns towards their Jewish charges. The Jewish girls, most of whom resided in the dormitory, often had to be hidden in times of danger. When, during an inspection, a German fingered a Jewish girl, Sister Bogusława, who taught German, denied that there were any Jews at the school. See the testimony of Janina Jankowska, Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Internet: <<http://www.1944.pl/archiwum-historii-mowionej/janina-jankowska,1881.html>>.

¹¹⁴ According to Olga Grosfeld, her daughter Ewa was placed with the Resurrectionist Sisters in Żoliborz by Kazimierz Szelągowski, who headed the Main Welfare Council in Warsaw and has also awarded by Yad Vashem. See the testimony of Olga Grosfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5940.

¹¹⁵ The Stelmachowski Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-stelmachowski-family>>. See also the testimony of Eva Schutz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 21731, which mentions the rescue of other relatives of hers.

[4] During the war, Dr. Kazimierz Weckowski [Węcowski], a widower, worked as a physician in Warsaw. As soon as the Nazis began persecuting the Jews he “actively entered the fight, rendering help, by advice and deed, to numerous sections of the Jewish population,” wrote Ela Rosenblatt in her testimony to Yad Vashem. In order to avoid their expropriation by the Germans, Weckowski took over the clinics of his friend Dr. Jan Rosenblatt. It was at these clinics that he was able to help and shelter his Jewish acquaintances. “Many a time, he used to put the patch on his arm and enter the ghetto to visit his acquaintances and friends.” There he got in touch with the young members of the Betar organization. The latter made use of his private apartment, staying there overnight. Others were able to earn money, since Weckowski, as head physician of the social insurance service in the Praga neighbourhood in eastern Warsaw, could arrange jobs for them. Because of his position, Weckowski was able to hospitalize an incurable Jewish boy whose stay in a hideout was no longer possible since he might have exposed the people who were sheltering him. Ela Rosenblatt remained alone with two daughters, Hanka and Mirka, because her husband was drafted in 1939 into the Polish army. Weckowski helped them leave the ghetto just before it was sealed and settled them in the countryside near Warsaw. Some time afterwards, he escorted them to Grochow [Grochów], where they lived with Weckowski’s brother’s family. Later in the war, Weckowski put the girls in a convent in Żoliborz [Żoliborz] and rented a little room for their mother. Ela Rosenblatt moved to Israel, but died in 1951 at the age of 45. The sisters left for Israel, too, from where they maintained contact with Weckowski.

Hania Ajzner (born in 1934), an only child, lived with her parents in the Warsaw ghetto. Jan Zakościelny, a former employee of her father’s, obtained for them birth and baptismal certificates of deceased family members and then arranged for *Kennkarten*. After escaping from the ghetto with her mother in late January 1943, they first stayed with Mrs. Maciejewska and then with the Jankowskis, prewar school teachers. Afterwards, Hania was placed in a boarding school in the suburb of Żoliborz run by the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, under her new identity of Anna Zakościelna. Her true identity was known to the nuns and the chaplain, but she was never questioned as to whether she had been baptized. She recalls an episode that occurred when a revolt broke out in the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943. (Hania Ajzner, *Hania’s War* [Caulfield South, Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2000], p. 143.)

One night, Sister Wawrzyna came into the dormitory after the girls had already settled down. “Get up, girls, come up to the windows,” and she drew aside the black-out curtains. They could all see a red glow over the fields to the South. “That is the Ghetto, burning,” she said. “There was an uprising in the Ghetto. You must all pray, girls, for there are heroes fighting and dying there.”

Ania stood there in silence. ... It was a long time before they went back to their beds. It was the 19th April, 1943.

After an illness which required hospitalization in December 1943, through the efforts of a Jesuit priest, Fr. Alojzy Chrobak (misidentified as Father Rodak), Hania was taken to a hostel for teenagers on Kiliński Street in the Old Town run by the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There, she met another Jewish girl, seven-year-old Yona Schieber (born in 1936, later Altshuler), who was passing as Joanna (Joasia) Rawicz. The girls’ mothers, who were living in Warsaw openly but under assumed identities, would visit their daughters from time to time. In addition, according to the order’s records, there were two teenage Jewish girls at the hostel. One of them was Jakoba (Kubusia) Błidsztein (born in 1925), passing as Danuta Dąbrowska.¹¹⁶ The director of the hostel, Sister Eugenia (Krystyna) Marcinowska, and the other three nuns were aware that these girls were Jewish and treated them well. After the failed Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, the residents of Warsaw were evacuated to a transit camp in Pruszków, from where the nuns and their charges were deported to Germany to perform forced labour. Hania and Joasia accompanied Sister Jadwiga Wyszomirska, who pretended to be their aunt, to a labour camp located on an estate near Eberswalde. In December 1944, they were allowed to return to the *Generalgouvernement* and they made their way to Częstochowa. Sister Jadwiga took the girls to the Pauline monastery of Jasna Góra, where, with the permission of the prior, they were fed and then lodged temporarily in a hospice for pilgrims. Afterwards, the prior of the monastery arranged for the girls to stay in a boarding school in Częstochowa run by the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. There were many girls evacuated from Warsaw there at the time, about a dozen of whom were Jewish. The rescue was

¹¹⁶ Jakoba Błidsztein (Danuta Dąbrowska), Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/jakoba-blidsztein-danuta-dabrowska>>; *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, vol. 6 (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1991), 226–27; Testimony of Danuta Dąbrowska (Jakoba Błidsztein), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5719.

fraught with danger as part of the nuns' building was occupied by the German military. After the war, Hania and Joasia were both reunited with their mothers, with whom they had lost contact since the uprising. Hania and her mother settled in Australia, whereas Joasia and her mother went to Palestine.¹¹⁷ Hania's cousin, Halina Ajzner (born in 1938), who obtained a birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Halina Węgiełek, also survived. Fr. Chrobak placed her in an orphanage in Chotomów run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś).¹¹⁸ (There is more about Fr. Chrobak's rescue activities later on.) Hania also mentions that her friend, Halina Kszypoff, also survived in an unspecified convent and was reunited with her parents after the war.¹¹⁹ The nuns Krystyna Marcinowska (Sister Eugenia) and Jadwiga Wyszomirska were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2017.

The Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Córki Najczystsze Serca Najświętszej Maryi Panny*) rescued Jews in the following places: at least twelve children in three institutions in Warsaw, sixteen children (girls and boys) in Otwock, four children in Świder near Warsaw, two children in Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, two girls in Skórzec near Siedlce, several children in Sińnik near Biała Podlaska, as well as in Janów Podlaski, Kolno, Pińsk, and Wilno.¹²⁰

Several Jewish children were sheltered at the children's home of the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Warsaw's Nowe Miasto, under the direction of Sister Wiktoria Wrześniowska, the superior. The charges included Ewa Zaniecka, Maria Rydzewska, and Lucyna Rychlicka (assumed names), as well as three Jewish women, who occasionally stayed in the convent in suburban Świder. A 12-year-old Jewish girl named Jasia, who arrived in early 1944, was transferred to Konstancin. After the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, the home was evacuated to the monastery of the Franciscan Fathers in Niepokalanów. Five Jewish boys were sheltered at the children's institution on Czerniakowska Street in Warsaw, under the direction of Sister Kazimiera Kłodecka, the superior.¹²¹

Five Jewish boys, among them Włodzimierz Berg (later William Donat), whose rescue is described later on, were sheltered at an educational institution for boys in Otwock near Warsaw run by the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A Jew who expressed his thanks to the director "for her Christian and humanitarian care of the children," noted that the institution was "poverty stricken" and had to rely on outside donations to make ends meet. Additional Jewish children were brought to that home after the liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto, making sixteen in total.¹²² Celina Borensztajn (born in 1941, passing as Borniewicz) was sheltered by the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or possibly, by the Sisters of St. Elizabeth, having been placed there by her Catholic protector, Magdalena

¹¹⁷ Hania Ajzner, *Hania's War* (Caulfield South, Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2000), especially 138–204; Correspondence of Joanna Schieber, Yad Vashem Archives, Item 11085537.

¹¹⁸ Ajzner, *Hania's War*, 37, 126, 151, 190–91, 198–99; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 806–7.

¹¹⁹ Ajzner, *Hania's War*, 65.

¹²⁰ *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, vol. 6, 226–27; Agata Mirek, Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 155–56. Halina Rotensztein (born in 1933) and her sister Krystyna were sheltered at the convent in Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą under the assumed surname of Nowicka. See the testimony of Halina Rotensztein, Ghetto Fighters House archives (Israel), catalog no. 4802, registry no. 18845collection.

¹²¹ *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, vol. 6, 226–27.

¹²² The children were not required to undergo baptism despite the claim levelled by Włodzimierz Berg (born in 1938), later William Donat, who declared his desire to be baptized only *after* the Germans had left the area. See *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, vol. 6, 226–27; Sylwia Szymańska, *Ludność żydowska w Otwocku podczas Drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2002), 85; Alexander Donat, *The Holocaust Kingdom: A Memoir* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1965), 341–54; Emily Taitz, ed., *Holocaust Survivors: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 2007), vol. 1, 96–97.

Walter. Celina was reclaimed by her father after the war.¹²³

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, two young sisters—Batya Faktor (Barbara, known as Basia, later Piechotka) and Esther Faktor (known as Jadwiga or Jadzia, later Rosman)—wandered in the Siedlce area begging for food and shelter. Villagers cared for the girls but became frightened, as they were widely suspected of being Jewish. Sister Stanisława Józwickowska learned of Batya's plight and asked her superior, Sister Beata (Bronisława Hryniewicz), for permission to admit her into the orphanage run by the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the village of Skórzec. This was a risky proposition because the Gestapo had installed itself in the same building. In her testimony (Yad Vashem file 6166), Batya recalled: "The nuns welcomed me warmly, cleaned off the dirt which clung to me during the many months of wandering, tended my wounds, and fed me." Batya fell ill for several months, during which time she was tenderly cared for. Batya's sister, Esther, came to the orphanage later, at the behest of Sister Beata. Earlier she had stayed with the Świątek family, who treated her well. After the war, the two girls, who were living in the orphanage under the assumed surname of Górska, were reunited with their elder sister, Halina, who was employed on a local farm. Two nuns—Bronisława Hryniewicz and Stanisława Józwickowska—were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. Other nuns at the orphanage—such as Sister Benedykta (Apolonia Kret), who nursed Batya back to health after her arrival at the convent covered with scabies, abscesses, and lice¹²⁴—took care of the children. (Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* [Toronto: Key Porter, 2003], pp. 107–8.)

In the village of Czerniejew, in the Siedlce district east of Warsaw, it was another poor peasant woman, Stanisława [Stanisława] Cabaj, a widow, who gave shelter to two Jewish girls, Batja and Ester, sisters who had escaped from the Warsaw ghetto and wandered for several months through the Polish countryside. ...

Fearing betrayals, Stanisława Cabaj took Ester, aged eleven, and Batja, a mere five-year-old, for sanctuary to Sister Stanisława Jozwickowska [Stanisława Józwickowska], in the Heart of Jesus convent near the village of Skorzec [Skórzec]. 'I was dirty, ill, weak, full of lice,' Batja later recalled. 'The nuns washed me thoroughly, put me into soft pyjamas, and put me in a clean bed.' The Mother Superior, Beata Bronisława [Bronisława] Hryniewicz, nursed her back to health. 'She fed me, she strengthened me.' After she recovered, the young girl attended the local school, as did her sister: 'Once the headmaster checked my file and did not find my baptism confirmation. He asked my sister about it. My sister claimed that the church we had been baptized in, Bielany, a northern suburb of Warsaw, had been bombed, and hoped her answer would be acceptable. But the headmaster was a Polish nationalist, he did not give up,' He informed the local Polish police chief, and also the Mother Superior, 'who summoned my sister to the monastery and questioned her. Finally my sister confessed that we are Jewish. Ester knew that Mother Superior Beata Bronisława Hryniewicz loved me a lot and she also would do everything not to harm us.'

At the time, half the convent was occupied by German soldiers. The Mother Superior, determined to strengthen the young girl's self-confidence, sent Ester on 'various tasks in the afternoon—precisely when the Germans were active around—as to deliver something to other nuns, to feed chickens, to watch bees, etc.'

Nobody knew the two girls were Jewish except for the Mother Superior and Sister Stanisława Jozwickowska, who had brought them in. [This is inaccurate. Sister Benedykta was also aware of their circumstances, and afterwards a priest in the nearby village of Kotuń baptized the girls. Given the children's state on arrival and their lack of familiarity with Christian prayers and rituals, their true origin would have been apparent to the other nuns as well. —M.P.] After the war, the Jewish organization which found the girls wanted to pay the convent for having looked after them, but Beata refused to take the money, saying: 'I did my duty as a Christian, and not for money.' Sixty years after having been given shelter, Batja reflected: 'Mother Superior Beata Bronisława Hryniewicz healed me; she recovered my soul by great love; she pampered me as her own child; she dressed me nice and neat; she combed my hair and tied ribbons in my plaits; she taught me manners (she was from an aristocratic noble family). She was strict, but fair with my duties; to pray, to study, to work on my character, to obey, etc., but every step was with love, love!' On liberation, Batja refused to leave the Mother Superior Beata, 'but I was forced to. In autumn when I was

¹²³ Testimony of Stanisław Borensztajn, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, record group 301, number 5690; Testimony of Testimony of Rachela Hönigman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4239.

¹²⁴ Sister Benedykta recalled: "When Basia was brought in, her appearance brought us to tears. She looked horrible. She had lice everywhere and her body was covered in scabies. She had sores on her back, chest and legs. The first thing to do with the poor nine year old child was to give her a bath and then cut her hair. I bathed her every day, applied ointment and changed her sheets. Yet there were still lice. It took three weeks for her to recover. ... During Basia's long stay in Skórzec, she mentioned her older sister, Jadzia. Mother Superior ordered her to be brought to the convent, so that they would be together. We also knew about another sister Regina, who probably was in Gołębek, but nobody saw her." See "The Righteous from the Treblinka Area: Apolonia Kret," May 2009, Internet: <<https://muzeumtreblinka.eu/en/informacje/apolonia-kret/>>.

nine—in 1945—I left the monastery.’ At that moment, separated from her rescuer, ‘I lost my childhood forever and pure human love.’ From 1946 until the Mother Superior died in 1969, they were in correspondence. ‘I always longed for Mother Superior and even wanted to go back to her ... Years after her death I told my story, and she got the medal of Righteous Among the Nations, in Warsaw. Sister Stanisława Jozwikowska died on 7 December 1984, she also got the medal. Mother Superior Beata Bronisława Hryniewicz is always in my heart, and I still miss her very much.’

Another account, based on the Yad Vashem archives, provides somewhat different circumstances surrounding the rescue of the Faktor sisters and an indication of the community’s awareness of the children’s Jewish origin. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 317–18.)

In the summer of 1942, 11-year-old Eстера Faktor and her five-year-old sister, Batia, escaped from the Warsaw ghetto and wandered through fields and villages until they arrived at the Kaluszyn [Kaluszyn] ghetto, where they were reunited with their brother, Janek, and their sisters, Halina and Regina. A few days before the liquidation of the ghetto and the deportation of its inhabitants to Treblinka, all five Faktor children escaped from the ghetto. Two of them—Janek and Regina—never made it to the Aryan side of the city. Halina, who did not look Jewish, was employed on a local farm, while Eстера and little Batia reached the village of Skorzec [Skórzec]. After introducing themselves as Christian orphans, they were sent by the village mayor to the home of an elderly, childless couple who lived in abject poverty. Despite their willingness to help, the elderly couple was unable to provide for the two girls. Ester and Batia, therefore, turned to the nun Stanisława Jozwikowska for help. Stanisława consulted with the Mother Superior, Beata-Bronisława Hryniewicz, who next day arranged for the sisters to be transferred to the Dom Serca Jezusowego (Sacred Heart) convent in Skorzec, without knowing they were Jewish. When the headmistress of their school asked them for their birth and baptism certificates, the girls had no choice but to inform the nuns of their true identity. The nuns, far from abandoning them, were more concerned than ever for their well-being, particularly Mother Beata-Bronisława and Sister Stanisława, who perceived helping Jews as a sacred duty. After the war, the convent transferred the Faktor sisters to the care of the Jewish community in the nearby city of Siedlce. When members of the Jewish Committee heard their story, they raised money to buy a present for the two nuns, but Mother Beata refused, saying: “I simply did my Christian duty, without any thought of reward.”

Gitta Rosenzweig, who was born in Biała Podlaska in 1938, was entrusted by her father to a school teacher by the name of Czekański who lived in the countryside. He in turn placed the child, now known as Marysia Czekańska, in an orphanage in the village of Sitnik run by the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The superior there was Sister Aniela Szołdzińska. The nuns wore ordinary clothes, rather than habits. There were several Jewish children among the approximately 40 children under their care. Part of the convent was occupied by German police, which made the rescue even more precarious. After the liberation, Gitta joined her uncle’s family in the United States, as her immediate family had all perished at the hands of the Germans. Conditions in the orphanage, as described in the diary of Sister Jadwiga Gozdek, were extremely harsh. This account also underscores the fact that it was generally common knowledge among the nuns in a convent or institution that Jews were being sheltered there.¹²⁵ (“Double Life of Gitta,” Genealogy Research Stories, Polin Travel, Internet: <<http://www.jewish-guide.pl/genealogy/genealogy-research-stories>>.)

On the 25th of June, 1943 I took my first convent vows and I was immediately directed to orphanage in Sitnik village near Biała Podlaska ... I finally reached Siedlce but on the way I lost my luggage. On the way to Biała Podlaska, every few kilometres there were derailed and burned trains and twisted railway lines. This was the result of the activity of the local partisans, who were exploding the German trains. We were all constantly unsure if we would get there as those were the last months of the occupation and the fighting was getting more and more severe.

In Sitnik the sisters welcomed me warmly, but they were also full of anxiety as the night before there had been a

¹²⁵ An online entry in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum database claims that a Jewish committee had to pay a “redemption fee” for Gitta Rosenzweig’s release from the convent. See “Life in the Shadows: Hidden Children and the Holocaust — Photograph,” Internet: <<https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/traveling-exhibitions/retired-exhibitions/life-in-shadows>>. This is an unwarranted smear on the nuns’ rescue effort. Gitta was taken in without any expectation of payment and cared for her in dire circumstances, putting the nuns’ lives at risk, when food was scarce, thus depriving Christian children of food. It is not surprising, therefore, that the head of the convent may have suggested that the Jewish organization that took her, which was well funded by American Jews, make a financial contribution to the orphanage for the benefit of other children who remained there in impoverished state after the war. What is noteworthy, however, is the apparent lack of any effort on the part of the rescued person to have Yad Vashem confer recognition on her selfless benefactors.

Ukrainian raid on the orphanage. They were looking for young nuns to have fun with. The head sister was threatened that she would be shot. She was saved by the children, who refused to leave her side and were begging for her life.

The orphanage was located in two old houses without electricity or hygiene facilities. The sisters and girls lived in the larger house with a veranda. The larger room was changed into canteen and day room for children. The place was very packed; several sisters had to share one room. ...

Our head sister was Sister Aniela Szołdzińska. There were seven sisters in total and around 40 children aged from 3 to 19, both boys and girls. ...

There were 15 hectares [37 acres] of land, with a garden, orchard and bee hives. We had a few cows, horses, pigs, sheep and chickens. The work was extremely hard, as there were no tools and we did all the work manually with the help of the older children. ...

The children were mostly orphans and half-orphans due to the war. They were coming to us terribly dirty and insect-ridden. Often we had to burn all of the child's belongings on arrival. They were often brought to us naked and barefoot. Thank God we had enough food. ... The worst situation we had was with clothing and shoes. We were stitching new patches onto the old ones. ... It was the worst with shoes. Father Edward Kowalik, an incredibly good man, devoted priest and a former teacher, a man with golden hands and heart, spent all of his spare time with the children. He was able to resolve any problem. He acquired some military tarpaulin, arranged for a shoemaker, and was personally producing wooden soles. ... In this way we made shoes for all the children.

The winters of 1944/45/46 were the hardest. Then we started to get some donations. Often we had to match two shoes which were different in order for every child to get a pair of shoes. Among our Polish children there were also Jewish children. Some of them had very characteristic Jewish features. We had a lot of anxiety and troubles related to that, especially since right after my arrival part of our house was occupied by the German police commando station. We had to constantly hide the children and do our best not to be betrayed, because we were all aware that in such a case we would all be killed on the spot. One girl in particular was very beautiful and she stood out from all the rest of our children. She had a very pale and delicate complexion, blond, curly hair, and blue eyes, and for a long time it was difficult for her to learn to speak Polish clearly. The Germans were constantly asking who this child was and why she was she so different from the others. All the time we said that this is the child of Polish nobility and, for this reason, she is so different and delicate. After the war, a Jewish organization traced her and, in spite of her resistance and great despair, because she had gotten very attached to the sisters, she was taken away with force and taken abroad where she probably had some rich family. All of those children had Polish papers. That girl was named Marysia Czekańska. The boys were Henryk Gołubiak, Andrzej Sitnicki, who was deaf and dumb, and there were others whose names I don't remember.

In summer 1944, after the Germans retreated, we were located in the middle of the front line. We spent a few difficult days with the children in bomb shelters dug in the garden, as the Germans and the Soviets took turns starting their offensive. An incendiary bomb exploded next to our house, but the trees sheltered the house from fire and sparks. ... The nearby village was completely bombed and devastated. ... God saved us and our children, and after the war, as a thanksgiving, we placed a statue of Our Lady in front of the house.

Michał Hefer, then Żurakowska, was born in Warsaw in 1933. Her grandfather was the president of the Rabbinical Court. After her mother and brother were seized by the Germans in the Warsaw ghetto, her father entrusted her to a Polish woman, a family friend, who kept her for about a year. When this woman sensed that it was becoming more dangerous, she placed the child with the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, who had a convent in the New Town Market Square. Michał remembers the nuns with great fondness, "For me they were saints. So much compassion."¹²⁶ During the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, the convent was bombed by the Germans on August 31 killing 36 nuns, four priests, and about one thousand civilians, among them Jews, who had taken refuge there.

Maria Winnicka was part of a network of Poles in Warsaw who found hiding places for Jews. One of the many Jews she helped was Zygmunt Szczawiński, a high school teacher and author of mathematics textbooks. He eventually found shelter with nuns in the Wola district, but perished during the 1944 Warsaw Uprising.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 151–53.

¹²⁷ Maria Winnicka, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/i-wanted-show-my-solidarity-it-was-question-my-conscience-i-could-not-have-acted-differently-story>>.

Aviva Unger was an 11-year-old Warsaw school girl when the war broke out. Growing up, she was exposed to Catholic practices by the family's Catholic servant, whom she would sometimes accompany to church services. Aviva states that "her knowledge of it [the Catholic faith] was to be very useful later." Aviva and her mother, a widow, moved to the ghetto in 1940. Shortly after, her mother had a stroke that left her partially paralyzed. Aviva had to steal food in order to survive. After her mother was shot by the Germans, with the help of a family friend, Aviva obtained false papers and escaped from the ghetto in 1942 by crawling through the sewers. She was taken to a Catholic convent, where she lived with nuns identified as the Sacré Coeur Sisters (*Siostry Sacré-Coeur*). The following year, Aviva was recognized by a Jewish police informer while riding a streetcar and was turned over to the Gestapo. She was beaten to extract information, but she admitted to nothing. Risking his life, a priest from the convent saved Aviva by vouching for her Catholic background. After her release, it was no longer safe for her to remain at the convent. Arrangements were made for Aviva to be sent to Germany as a Polish farm worker. She returned to Poland after the war, and later left for Israel.¹²⁸ (Anton Gill, *The Journey Back From Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* [London: Grafton Books, 1988], 277–78.)

'When the war broke out I was an 11-year-old Warsaw schoolgirl. I was already an orphan, since my father died just before I was born. We were moved to the ghetto a year after Poland's defeat. My mother had given up spiritually: if this was the conclusion of all the culture and education that had made Germany such a country to admire, then what were her own life's beliefs worth? When we came to the ghetto, matters got worse for her, and she had a stroke which left her half-paralysed. She had lost the will to fight. As for me, I continued to go to school in the ghetto, and to the Gymnasium there.

'Then one day they shot my mother.

'In 1942 I was able to escape, through the kind action of a Gentile friend of my mother's who had heard what had happened. She smuggled in 100 zlotys [zloty] with which I was able to pay a guide to take me out through the sewers. I was taken to a teaching order of nuns in Warsaw, at the Sacré Coeur convent. I became a pupil of the convent school, and stayed there until Easter 1943—about the time of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Then, coincidentally, I was recognized on a tram by a Jew who was a police spy, and betrayed to the Gestapo. I then spent four days in the Gestapo HQ where they hit and kicked me ceaselessly to get information out of me about the Jewish resistance. I wasn't yet quite 15. They weren't human, those Gestapo. And don't make the mistake of differentiating between the Germans and the Nazis: all Germans were Nazis.

'I was saved by the Polish priest attached to the convent who came to the HQ and swore that he had personally baptized me as a baby, that he had known my parents, that I came from a long line of Catholics; that I was now an orphan in the convent's care. All this he swore on the Cross, and eventually the Gestapo let me go. But I knew it would be too hot for me to remain in Poland, so I arranged to have myself transported for war work to Germany. However, that was another problem, because a lot of Jews tried to save themselves in that way [i.e., posing as Polish Catholics and hoping not to be recognized by anyone]. On the way I was saved by a Polish prostitute who was on the same transport. We were travelling by ordinary passenger train, and two men—German sailors, I think—started looking at me. I knew they suspected I was a Jewess: two minutes earlier a couple of Jewish girls had been picked off the train and shot. This prostitute said to the sailors, "What are you gawping at my cousin like that for?" "She's your cousin?" "Sure, and she's a virgin. She's no good for you; but if it's a fuck you want, I'm your girl." The sailors left it at that. The prostitute didn't say a word to me directly. Only I could tell by her eyes that she knew.

Another Jewish girl sheltered by the Sacré Coeur Sisters in Warsaw was Celina Bernstein.¹²⁹

Another case notorious case of denunciation involved Stefania Brandstätter, a Gestapo informer who was very active in Kraków and is believed to have turned in hundreds of Jews who tried to pass as Christians. Erna Hilfstein's chances of hiding among the Poles were higher than average: she had false documents, spoke flawless Polish, and because she happened to attend a Catholic school, knew religious rituals and prayers. Furthermore, the chaplain at the school she attended was the secretary of Adam Sapieha, the archbishop of Kraków, and had the connections and the willingness to hide Erna in a convent. The only thing that stood between Erna and successful evasion was Stefania Brandstätter, who combed the convents searching for hidden Jews. Eventually, Erna had to abandon the idea, after two children of her

¹²⁸ See also the testimony of Aviva Unger, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33C/3/4297 and Aviva U. [Unger] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-1077), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

¹²⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 472.

mother's cousin's were fingered by Stefania Brandstätter and seized by the Germans from the convent where they resided. Luckily, their father, Kwiatkowski, a Polish Christian who was married to a Jewish woman, was able to rescue his children because he was a renowned surgeon who was called on to operate on German military personnel.¹³⁰

Three sisters—Wanda (born in 1919, later Lomazow), Helena (Hala, later Helen Fagin, born in 1922) and Teresa (Tobcia, later Terry Dolgov, born in 1930) Neimark (Neumark)—managed to hide during the raid on the ghetto in Radomsko in October 1942, in which their parents were taken away by the Germans. Henryk Wróblewski, a friend of their father's, sent a messenger from the underground to tell them that they would be taken out of the ghetto and brought to a safe house in Warsaw. Wanda was taken to Warsaw first, by a young man by train. The remaining sisters were sheltered by the Loszek family, who were friends of the Neimark family, for several weeks. Henryk Wróblewski came for Helena and Teresa and took them by truck to his apartment in Warsaw. The sisters were provided with false identity documents. Wanda (passing as Natalia Drozdowska) and Helena (passing as Zofia Wróblewska) found jobs and rented a room together. Since Teresa had dark, Semitic features, she did not venture outside. Helena approached the superior of an unidentified convent and requested her to take Teresa in. She put forward a highly improbable account, namely, that her "niece" had suffered memory loss after contracting meningitis and could not remember her catechism and prayers. Although, in all likelihood, the superior saw through this feeble guise, she accepted Teresa. Teresa remained in the convent until the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944. Helena removed her from the convent and the three sisters relocated to Busko-Zdrój, where they worked in a German military field hospital. At the convent Teresa became acquainted with another Jewish girl, Krysia Panczanka, who also survived the war.¹³¹

Often parents were not informed of the whereabouts of their children who were sheltered in convents in order to protect the security of everyone participating in these perilous undertakings. Bernard Goldstein, a Bundist leader from Warsaw, describes the following cases. (Bernard Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness*

¹³⁰ Erna H. [Hilfstein née Kluger] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-2914), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library; Testimony of Erna Hilfstein, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9995. Jewish agents and informers for the Gestapo and Kripo were active both inside and outside the ghettos. Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer has acknowledged that they caused "tremendous damage." See Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 148. On their activities see Mark Paul, *Patterns of Cooperation, Collaboration and Betrayal: Jews, Germans and Poles in Occupied Poland during World War II*, Internet: <<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>>. In some cases, Poles have been wrongly accused of denunciations actually made by Jews against fellow Jews. In his memoir, Alexander Bronowski recounts his arrest in Warsaw by the *Sicherheitspolizei* (security police) after one of their informers, a Jew from his native Lublin, recognized him. Ironically, the Polish "Blue" police, to whom Bronowski was handed over by the Sipo for temporary safekeeping, proved to be his saviours. Staff sergeant Waclaw Nowinski not only rescued Bronowski, but Nowinski and his family also selflessly assisted and sheltered other Jews. See Alexander Bronowski, *They Were Few* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 30–33. See also Bronowski's account in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 142–44. Yet Mordecai Paldiel, a historian at the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, repeatedly covers up the fact that it was a Jew who betrayed Alexander Bronowski, even though Paldiel spares no effort to describe Bronowski's fate in various publications. Paldiel is so preoccupied with railing against Christian Poles that, in connection with Bronowski's betrayal, he lays the blame on "local anti-Semites" and for good measure adds: "Spotting a Jew on the street had become a sort of sport in Warsaw." See Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations*, 289–90; Mordecai Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 53, 153 (twice). Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski (then Ryszard Abrahamer), whose family passed as Christians in Warsaw, states that his father was fingered in a streetcar by a Jewish Gestapo agent. "Jews in the service of the Gestapo," he writes, "were best at recognizing other Jews." See Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski, "W skorodowanym zwierciadle pamięci: Szkic autobiograficzny," *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2005): 7–202; Katarzyna Meloch and Halina Szostkiewicz, eds., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 4 (Warsaw: Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2012), 195. Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski is the father of historian Jan Grabowski. Christian Poles also fell victim to Jewish Gestapo agents. Józef Garliński, a prominent member of the underground (head of the security department of the Home Army headquarters in Warsaw), was arrested after being betrayed by his former schoolmate, a Jew in the service of the Gestapo. See Józef Garliński, *Niezapomniane lata: Dzieje Wywiadu Więziennego i Wywiadu Bezpieczeństwa Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej* (London: Odnova, 1987), 109.

¹³¹ Testimony of Helen Fagin, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 11964; Testimony of Terry Dolgov, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 12290. Henryk Wróblewski was recognized by Yad Vashem for his role in saving at least 18 Jews. See See Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), Part 2, 902.

[London: Victor Gollancz, 1950], pp. 157, 164–67, 239.)

In the same tenement lived Comrade Chaimovitch, formerly an official of our cooperative movement. Now he was liaison man between the Judenrat and the Transferstelle, which supplied the ghetto food allotment. He had the right to visit the Aryan side, wearing a uniform cap with a blue ribbon and a Star of David.

I went up to visit Chaimovitch and found him and his wife greatly agitated. He had just returned from smuggling their ten-year-old daughter out of the ghetto. A Christian friend had arranged for her admission to a children's home run by a convent somewhere in Poland—where, he was not permitted to know for fear that he might disclose the dangerous secret.

"The child did not want to go to the Christians," Chaimovitch told us, weeping. "She cried and pleaded to be allowed to stay with us. If our fate is to die, she wanted to die with us. It was only with great difficulty and against her will that we were able to get her across." He wrung his hands. "Where is my child? Will I ever see her again?"

...

My guide took me to a small three-room apartment on the first floor: Mr. and Mrs. Chumatovsky, with whom I was to stay, worked in the [armament] factory. ...

In a tiny room in the apartment I found Zille, [Zalman] Friedrich's wife, and their five-year-old daughter, Elsa. Friedrich himself lived elsewhere....

Five-year-old Elsa was a pretty, active blond child who blue eyes radiated life and spirit. She could not understand why we had to remain constantly cooped up in our small room, not even going for a walk in the courtyard. In other ways, however, she was sometimes frightened by her awareness of the dangerous situation.

Sometimes I would forgetfully lapse into Yiddish. The child would become almost hysterical. "Stop speaking that language. Don't you realize it means our lives?" she would hiss sharply in Polish.

Elsa would sit at the window, watching other children at play in the yard. Often she would cry. Fearful of attracting attention, her mother would try to quiet the girl. Sometimes the only way was to stuff a handkerchief into the little mouth. The child's crying made our landlady very nervous. The neighbors knew that she had no children. She was afraid that we would be discovered. She had heard terrible tales of how the Germans stamped out the lives of little Jewish children with their boots, and then shot the mothers and their Gentile hosts as well. ...

The nervous anxiety soon began to tell on our hosts. Our landlady was often in tears. Her hysteria multiplied our own fears. Together with our hosts we began to cast about for a way in which little Elsa might be removed to safety. Our landlord had a sister who was Mother Superior in a convent near Cracow [Kraków]. We decided to send the child to her.

Mrs. Chumatovsky went there first to discuss the project and to make the necessary arrangements. When she returned with a favourable answer, we prepared the girl for the trip. She was told that she was going to an aunt's where there were other children with whom she could play outdoors and have lots of fun. For several days our landlady taught the child how to say prayers in preparation for her new life and new name under the crucifix. The child slowly accustomed herself to the new role. Her intuitive understanding of the danger which hung over her and her mother drove her to do her best. She seemed to know instinctively that all this was necessary to avert a terrible catastrophe.

With a heavy heart, her lips pressed tightly together to restrain her sobs, Zille packed Elsa's things and sent her away.

Mrs. Chumatovsky stayed with the child at the convent for several days. Elsa would not let her leave. She wept and pleaded not to be left alone. When the child was somewhat calmer Mrs. Chumatovsky was able to return.

Exactly where the convent was, the Chumatovsky, of course, refused to say. In case of arrest the parents might not be able to endure the torture and might give the information to the Germans, bringing tragedy to the convent and all its inmates. Besides, the parents, in their anxiety, might attempt to communicate with the child and unwittingly betray the secret. The Chumatovskys obtained a Catholic birth certificate in the girl's new name and assumed legal guardianship over her.

Just before the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944:

We also managed to take little Elsa Friedrich out of the convent near Cracow [Kraków] where she had been hidden. The child of our heroic Zalman Friedrich was now completely alone; her father had perished in a gun fight with the Gestapo, her mother had been killed in Maidanek [Majdanek]. She was later brought to the United States and adopted by American comrades.

In actual fact, Zygmunt Friedrich's daughter, who used the name Elżunia, was sheltered at the orphanage of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary in Zamość, whose activities are described later on. Marek

Edelman, one of the leaders of the ghetto revolt, is said to have collected the child after the liberation.¹³²

Whether or not a Jewish child should be christened also proved to be a contentious matter that was not always easy to resolve. In order to blend in, a Jewish child in a Catholic institution or passing as a Christian in a Catholic milieu needed to receive the sacraments together with the other children. To do so without incurring sacrilege required that the child be baptized. This often posed a dilemma for nuns and priests, as well as for the parents of the Jewish child. (Goldstein, *The Stars Bear Witness*, pp. 224–25.)

I am reminded of an incident—one of hundreds—which occurred in the family of Shierachek, the former Jewish policeman, my fellow tenant on Grzibovska [Grzybowska Street in Warsaw]. His sister was a servant in a Christian home in Waver [Wawer, a suburb of Warsaw]. Naturally she had to act the part of a Catholic. Regularly each Sunday she attended church and participated in the religious ceremonies with her neighbors. Her thirteen-year-old daughter lived with her, under the protection of her employers' daughter, a schoolteacher. Supposedly, the little girl's parents had been arrested by the Nazis, and she had been placed in the custody of the teacher. The girl was raised as a Christian.

The mother, although not at all religious, was deeply concerned about the child. She feared that in time the little girl would forget that she was a Jew and begin to feel truly like a Christian. She would thus be lost to the Jewish people.

Before her school examination, the little girl had to go to the priest for communion with all the other students. The teacher, a deeply religious woman, refused stubbornly to be a party to this deception. Her convictions would not permit her to send a Jewish child who had not been converted to such a holy ceremony. It would be a betrayal of her own religious faith.

The teacher consulted two other priests—the priest at the school was permitted to know nothing about it. One of them told her that his convictions would not permit him to baptize the girl under compulsion. The second, considering the desperate situation of the child, agreed to perform the ceremony.

Now the mother was assailed by doubts. She was afraid that the impressiveness of the ritual would give her child the final push toward Catholicism. In her anxiety she came to Grzibovska to consult with her brother, Marek Edelman, and myself. Hard and bitter, Marek was inclined to oppose the whole idea on the ground that it was tantamount to capitulation. Child or adult, he was damned if he would recommend knuckling under to those Nazi bastards. To hell with them! But the more conservative counsel of Shierachek and myself prevailed. To save her life, the child must be baptized.

Decisions to shelter Jews were often made unilaterally by the superior general or provincial of the order or by the head of a particular convent. Sister Maria Zenona od Zbawiciela (Sister Mary Zenona of the Redeemer, or Ludwika Dobrowolska), the superior general of the Order the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Siostry Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny*, commonly known as *Siostry Niepokalanki*), was well informed of the order's rescue activity and encouraged it wholeheartedly. In the order's Warsaw convent on Kazimierzowska Street, the decision to shelter Jews was made collegially. The superior, Sister Wanda Garczyńska, wanting a unanimous agreement, summoned all the nuns to a meeting which began with a reading of the Gospel of St. John, chapter 15, verses 13 to 17, that begins, "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for a friend ..." and ends "These things I command you, that you love one another." Ewa Kurek-Lesik records the event, as movingly related to her by Sister Maria Ena (Paciorek) who took part, in "The Conditions of Admittance and the Social Background of Jewish Children Saved by Women's Religious Orders in Poland from 1939–1945," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1988), volume 3, at page 247.

It was 1942–43. The school on Kazimierzowska had been closed. The SS was based in a huge block opposite our house, where the RGO [Central Relief Council] kitchen was open and functioning almost without a break. The people, too, came in a constant stream—children, young people, adults with canisters for soup. Only for soup? For everything. Kazimierzowska pulsed with life—from the nursery to the university. Amongst the hive of activity there were also Jewesses. Real ones. With red, curly hair, freckled, with prominent ears and unusual eyes. Thoroughbreds. There could be no mistake. It was well-known that concealing a Jew meant the death sentence.

The sister knew that other orders had already been warned and searched. So she hid nothing, withheld nothing. She called us together. She began the conference by reading a fragment of the Gospel of St John. ... She explained that she did not wish to jeopardise the house, the sisters, the community. She knew what could be awaiting us. There

¹³² Adam Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2005), 194.

was no thought of self. She knew: you should love one another as I have loved you. How? So that He gave His Life.

I lowered my head. I did not dare look at the other sisters. We had to decide. If we said one word, openly, honestly admitted to fear for our own skins, our own lives, the lives of so many sisters, the community. ... Was it prudent to risk it for a few Jewesses? It was our decision whether or not they would have to leave.

Silence.

No one stirred. Not a single breath. We were ready. We would not give up the Jewish children. We would rather die, all of us. The silence was overwhelming—we did not look at each other. The sister was sitting with closed eyes, her hands folded over the Gospel. We were ready.

We got up. We did not even pray together as we normally do. We went to Chapel. We felt light and joyful, though very grave. We were ready.

About 25 Jewish girls found refuge at the boarding schools of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary located in Warsaw, Szymanów, Pruszków-Żbików, and Wrzosów. A number of those girls had Semitic features and had to be hidden when Germans carried out their inspections. The superior of the convent on Kazimierzowska Street in Warsaw was Sister Wanda Garczyńska.¹³³ Rev. Bronisław Ussas was the chaplain. Among their charges was Joanna Olczak (later Ronikier), born in 1934 to a Polish father and a Jewish mother, Hanna Olczak (née Mortkowicz, 1905–1968), who had converted and married in the Evangelical (Augsburg) faith. Like her mother, Joanna was considered to be a Jew under German racial laws. Joanna was brought to the school on Kazimierzowska Street in the spring of 1942. Other students at the school became aware of Joanna Olczak's Jewish background. Joanna's mother, Hanna Olczak (1905–1968), and her grandmother, Janina Mortkowicz (1875–1960), who changed their hiding places, were sheltered by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in their convent in Pruszków-Żbików near Warsaw for more than a year.¹³⁴ (Joanna Olczak-Ronikier, *In the Garden of Memory: A Family Memoir* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004], 253–63.)

I remember Nena [i.e., Irena Grabowska, a member of the Home Army] well. It was she who took me, on the advice of the Sisters of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, from Piastów to the boarding school they ran on Kazimierzowska Street in Warsaw.

I can clearly see my first encounter with that place. I am standing on the threshold of a huge gymnasium, holding Irena's hand tightly. The shining floor smells of fresh polish. By the wall a large group of girls are sitting cross-legged, all staring curiously at the new girl. I am dying of embarrassment and fear. For the first time in my life I must remain alone in a new place, with strange people. I want to tear away from Irena and run home crying, but I know it is not possible. There is no home, and if I 'make a scene' here—my grandmother's most abusive definition of hysterical behaviour—I shall compromise myself in the eyes of these girls for ever, and that will not help me at all. So I take the first conscious decision of my entire life: I let go of Irena's hand and, on that shining floor, in defiance of fate, I do a somersault, then a second, and a third, and keep on rolling until I end up at the other end of the room. The girls clap and the nuns laugh. I know I have won their hearts, I feel accepted, and thus safe.

That was when I found a way of coping with life by hiding my true emotions behind a jester's mask. I put a lot of effort into pretending to be a resourceful, cheerful child and into amusing everyone around me. It was the special skill of many occupation-era children. None of the dozen or so Jewish girls hidden at the convent, some of whom already had terrible experiences behind them, ever despaired or showed their sadness or fear about the fate of their

¹³³ On Sister Wanda Garczyńska see Maria Ena (Paciorek), comp. and ed., *Gdzie miłość dojrzewała do bohaterstwa: Wspomnienia o siostrze Wandzie Garczyńskiej, niepokalance* (Warsaw: Koleżeńskie Zjednoczenie Jazłowieckie, 1999); Benedykta Magdalena Filipek, "Wróbel w dłoni Ojca," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 113–30; Stories of Rescue: Wanda Garczyńska, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/she-took-my-hand-tightly-hers-and-thus-we-went-story-sister-wanda-garczynska>>. According to the order's incomplete records, the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary rescued at least 17 children and 20 adults who have been identified by name. According to Yad Vashem Righteous database, Sister Wanda Garczyńska was instrumental in the rescue of at least 32 Jews: Lilian (Lili) Lampert (Baczewska), Józef Pytowski, Róża Pytowska, Hanna Dymecka, Miriam Fishman (Maria Felińska), Maryla Gajewska, Józefa Jabłońska, Teofila (Tosia) Jabłońska, Irenka Jamicka, Janina Kon Atkins (Jasia Kaniewska), Rachela Szyfka (Teresa Kurek, later Rochelle Dreeban), Maria Ogonowska, Joanna Olczak Ronikier, Aleksandra Olejniczak, Krystyna Siemińska, Ester Syrkis Blum, Ala (Malka) Syrkis Pylowsky, Ida (Yehudit) Syrkis Lewy, Maryla Solecka, Halina Lampert (Baczewska), Emil Kaliski (Józef Domagałski), Rachela (Anna) Kaliska, (first name unknown) Kaliska, Henryk Mioduszewski, Hanna Mortkowicz Olczak, Janina Mortkowicz (Żaneta Horwitz), Józefa Nowicka, Seva (Sheva) Lewy, Seva (Sheva) Blum, Chawa (Chana) Szydłowska (later Anna Clarke), Maria Trzcńska, and Seva (Sheva) Pylowsky.

¹³⁴ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 210–2.

loved ones. The crying was done at night. The day went by as normally as could be, like before the war, criss-crossed with all sorts of activities. The nuns were gentle and smiling. Nowadays I cannot understand how on earth such extraordinary calm and cheerfulness prevailed in that ark sailing on the oceans of the occupation nightmare, when absolutely everything going on inside the convent carried the risk of death. They were not just hiding Jewish children, but also teaching subjects banned by the Nazis. There were secret study groups for secondary-school pupils, secret university lectures, a priesthood [chaplaincy] for Home Army soldiers, contacts with the underground, help for prisoners and people deprived of a living, and food for malnourished Jews who had escaped from the Ghetto. Courageous and composed, the nuns were only people, after all, and must sometimes have been terrified at the thought of what would happen if the Germans discovered just one of those crimes. Everyone knows how easily adults' worries are passed on to children. How did they manage to protect us from fear? They did not hide the danger from us. Frequent alarm practices prepared the schoolchildren for surprise raids by the Germans. When an internal bell rang during lessons, we gathered the pre-war books for Polish and history from our desks double-quick and shoved them into a special storage space—a sort of cloakroom—among our shoe bags and gym kits, where we always put them away after school anyway. Sometimes the alarm was real—then the nuns hid the endangered children in the enclosure. I am told that I once sat inside the altar for a few hours during one such search, but I cannot remember. By then I was already thoroughly versed in conspiracy. I knew by heart all the new facts in each successive fake identity card. This time my mother was called Maria Olczak, née Maliszewska, and my grandmother had become her own daughter's mother-in-law, borrowing the name Julia Olczak, née Wagner, from my father's late mother. My grandmother's sister Flora, alias Emilia Babicka, née Płońska, daughter of a carpenter born in Łunińsk in Byelorussia, was no longer her sister, but just a chance acquaintance. Flora's husband Samuel was called Stanisław. Luckily he was still her husband, which made his life much easier, because his daughters, Karolina and Stefania, who had two different surnames and were not apparently related to each other or to their parents, were always making blunders and were incapable of hiding their family connections. It was all very complicated.

What did I tell my schoolmates at the boarding school about myself? I do not think anyone ever asked me any questions, which is amazing, because everyone knows how full of curiosity little girls can be. Evidently the nuns issued a strict ban on talking about personal matters. That must be why I had no idea about the situation and origin of the other pupils. How many secrets those little heads must have been hiding. How many lies they must have contained. How much information as seemingly basic as one's first name, surname and family address they had to bury as deep as possible in their memories to avoid revealing them accidentally and causing a disaster. The challenge to 'be yourself!'—that basic condition for mental sanity—had been replaced with the categorical order: 'Forget who you are and become someone else!'—which was a life-saver, but later on, after the war, made life immensely complicated, because it was hard to recover one's lost identity.

Once every two weeks I visited my family, who were still living in Piastów. Irene used to collect me from the convent and take me home. ...

The convent refectory smelled of ersatz coffee and slightly burned porridge, while little girls chased up and down the corridors laughing. The whole boarding school was absorbed in preparing a Nativity play for Shrovetide. The play was entirely written and composed by Miss Zosia Orłowska—nowadays Zofia Rostworowska, wife of Poland's first Minister of Culture after independence was regained in 1989—who rehearsed our roles with us. The show was to be performed before an audience from the city: relatives and friends of the pupils. The little girls of Jewish origin were also eager to take part, so the good Miss Zosia came up with the idea that they would appear as couriers of the exotic Three Kings. Coloured turbans and make-up would disguise their Semitic looks. I was a Negro page and, all backed-up, I could freely show off my gymnastic skills. Nowadays the first-hand accounts that Sister Ena has collected in her book [Where Love Matured into Heroism] remind me of other, less amusing adventures. Anna Kaliska writes:

One day three Volksdeutsch appeared in the parlour with a demand to hand over the little Olczak girl, whose mother was a Jew. They demanded an inspection of all the children, and had come with precise instructions. Sister Wanda [Garczyńska] locked the little girl and a few others whose origin can easily be guessed behind the enclosure on the second floor, and the rest had to file into the parlour. Then they began to inspect the house, first the ground floor, then the first floor. Sister Wanda showed them round. Her explanation that the enclosure was on the second floor and that access there was forbidden by the rules of the Order was passed over in silence, and the three Germans started to go up the stairs. We remained on the first floor. I can still hear their heavy footsteps today—I can remember the appalling fear—we knew all too well what would happen to her and the children. Some sisters were praying in the chapel as the footsteps approached the door of the enclosure. Then there was a moment's silence, and we heard Sister Wanda calmly say: 'I shall once again remind you that this is the enclosure.' And again there was a silence, in which it was felt as if everything around us and inside us had died and gone still. And then footsteps coming down the stairs, as they were gone.

At that point, at the nuns' request Irena Grabowska took me away from the convent to live with Maria Jahns in Pruszków. ...

According to the list, my mother and grandmother spent that terrible Easter at Tworki, where they lived from

March to June 1943. ... The nuns had taken me back again. The girls in my class were getting ready for their First Communion, including those of Jewish origin, with their parents' consent, if they were still alive, or that of their guardians if they had any. My secular family approved of the Catholic education that was instilled into me at the convent, besides which I had been christened before the war.

Yet the nuns did not force any of the girls in their charge to change their religion. Dr. Zofia Szymańska-Rosenblum, who in September 1942 saved her little niece from the Ghetto and brought her to Kazimierzowska Street, writes in her memoirs: "With the greatest subtlety Sister Wanda asked me if I would agree to Jasia being christened and taking Holy Communion, assuring me that it was the child's ardent wish and would be desirable in terms of safety. 'But if you have any objections, please rest assured that my attitude to Jasia will not be changed and that I shall save the person.'"

Jasia's mother had been deported from the Ghetto earlier, probably to Treblinka, her father fought in the Ghetto to the last moment and must have been killed there. I had no idea about my schoolfriend's experiences. She did not talk about them, and if she cried, it was only when no one could see. We were both very excited about our First Communion. We wrote down our sins on cards, so that, God forbid, we would not forget them during confession. We spent hours at our prayers in the chapel, and now and then we ran to one of the nuns with the happy news that we felt a 'vocation'. Two jolly, lively little girls, enjoying life, as if they hadn't a care.

On 3 June 1943 the day of our First Communion came. Some photographs of the ceremony have survived. In one of them seven little girls in white sacramental vestments are posing for the camera—it is the classic souvenir picture, taken by a professional photographer. Five of the girls in the photograph are Jewish. I am astounded by the courage, and at the same time the sensitivity, of the nuns. They heroically regarded hiding these children as their Christian duty. They treated the inevitable threat of death as a consequence of their decision. But where did they get the motherly sensibility that prompted them, amid the all-surrounding danger, to give us a little joy? Not just spiritual but also secular, the kind little girls should have—somehow they knew we had to look pretty in our white dresses, made to measure and decorated with embroidery, that we had to have little white garlands on our heads, our hair twisted into curls, and that we must have a souvenir of that memorable day. Those photographs, and I have several at home, always move me with their festivity and solemnity, absurd, it would seem, in those awful times. Or maybe the photos had some other, hidden aim? Perhaps they were supposed to save us in the event of danger, to convince the people who came for us that as ardent Catholics we did not deserve to die? If that was what the provident nuns intended, I feel even greater emotion as I gaze at our earnest little faces. We all survived. Thank God.

Two of the Jewish girls rescued at the Warsaw convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary were Felicia Riesel and Nina Rotman, the latter passing as Nowakowska. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. 99, 689.)

In 1941, immediately after the German occupation of Lwow [Lwów], Maria and Bronislaw [Bronisław] Bochenek decided to help their Jewish acquaintances who had studied at the university with Maria before the occupation. After the ghetto was sealed off, the Bocheneks took food to David Riesel, a Jewish doctor, and his family. Maria also gave her birth certificate to a Jewish woman named Susanna Glowiczower, which made it possible for her to move to Warsaw. Bronislaw, who was forced to flee because of his left-wing views, settled in Cracow [actually, Warsaw], where he was later joined by Maria. The Bocheneks continued their good work in Cracow [Warsaw], offering shelter to Riesel, his wife, Lea, and their six-year-old daughter, Felicia, who had escaped from the Lwow ghetto. Since the Bocheneks were on the Gestapo's "Wanted" list, Felicia was transferred to a local convent [of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Kazimierzowska St.¹³⁵], while her parents fled to Warsaw. The Bocheneks themselves also fled to Warsaw, after finding an apartment in Lwow for the three members of the Amcislawski family, who also sought refuge with them. The Bocheneks likewise sheltered Professor Jozef [Józef] Feldman, who was being hounded by the Gestapo, first in their Cracow home and later in their Warsaw home. In Warsaw, the Bocheneks helped Professor Henryk Glowiczower, Susanna's husband, who was already in Warsaw under an assumed identity. Throughout the occupation, the Bocheneks saw to all the needs of their Jewish acquaintances who sought refuge with them. They took special care of Lea Riesel, who was in the throes of a nervous breakdown, and her daughter, Felicia, who had taken ill at the convent and required hospitalization. In undertaking these selfless acts of courage, the Bocheneks were guided by an unwavering sense of loyalty to their friends.

During the occupation, Zygmunt Rytel, a journalist by profession, was active in the Socialist Fighting Organization (Socjalistyczna Organizacja Bojowa – SOB) in Warsaw. Rytel produced forged papers, printed underground publications, and maintained indirect connections with the Jewish National Committee that operated on the Aryan

¹³⁵ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 49.

side of the city. Rytel, as a courier for the Jewish National Committee, helped Jews who escaped from the ghetto and provided them with the financial support, and documents, housing and jobs. Rytel also helped move Jews from place to place—sometimes accommodating Jewish fugitives in his own apartment—and kept them in touch with each other. Three of the Jews whom Rytel assisted were Sonia Wisznia and her two daughters, Rina and Shulamit. After they fled from the ghetto, he concealed them in his home, provided them with money and Aryan papers, and arranged housing for them. Rytel also helped his friend Bruno Rotman [passing as Nowakowski] and his two daughters, who had fled from Lwów [Lwów] to Warsaw. He arranged an apartment and a job for Bruno, placed the elder daughter [Marta] in the residence of a nursing school, and enrolled the younger daughter [Nina] in a convent [of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary]¹³⁶ Rytel also helped a number of Jews who contacted him for assistance in living on the Aryan side and served them as an address in case of trouble.

Conditions at the boarding school on Kazimierzowska Street, and the intervention of Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, were described by Zuzanna Sienkiewicz, a frequent visitor, in her account in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, at pages 360–61.

In those horrible times Sister Wanda [Garczyńska] radiated love of her neighbours, be they who they may, and even the enemy was not forgotten in her ardent prayers, in her begging God for forgiveness for the crimes being committed incessantly in those times. One of those 'operations' of which Sister Wanda was in charge at the time was that of hiding little Jewish girls. She took them into the boarding school with false documents. Some were easily passed off as 'Aryans', but others had very prominent Semitic features. These poor little ones would disappear into pre-arranged hiding places whenever there was a visit by the Germans. Some 'Aryan' mothers reproached Sister Wanda, asking how, at a time when it was so difficult to get an education for children, a Catholic school could be filled with non-Catholic children to the detriment of Polish Catholics. Sister Wanda was convinced that she was behaving righteously but, like all people truly great in spirit, she was very humble and she decided to seek the advice of a wise priest on this matter. It was then that Father [Stanisław] Trzeciak came to Kazimierzowska St.; he had been known before the war for his stand, often very firm, against the influence of the Jewish faith on our Polish psyche. For many he was the standard-bearer whose public utterances they used to justify their anti-Semitic actions. Then, when Sister Wanda presented the entire argument and the reproaches which she had suffered for her actions, Father Trzeciak remained silent for a moment and then asked: 'What is the danger to these little Catholic girls if you do not have room for them?'

'They will study in worse conditions or they may even completely lose these years of school.'

'And what danger would there be to the others if you were to send them away?'

'You know, Father, inevitable death.'

'Therefore, Sister, you do not have the right to hesitate and consider. Priority goes to those little ones in danger—to the little Jewesses,' answered the priest.

These are facts which I know from Sister Wanda's own account to me and, in addition, I know that in all the Homes of the Nuns of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, in Szymanów, in Nowy Sącz, in Jarosław and other places, smaller and older Jewish girls were hidden and sheltered and in urgent cases, so were their mothers.

In Kielce Voivodship I know of cases where an entire village knew that a Jew or Jewess were hiding out, disguised in peasant clothes, and no one betrayed them even though they were poor Jews who not only could not pay for their silence but had to be fed, clothed and housed.

The aforementioned Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak, pastor of St. Anthony's Church on Senatorska Street in Warsaw, was reputedly the most outspoken anti-Semitic priest in interwar Poland, yet during the occupation he demonstrated deep concern for the fate of endangered Jews, especially children.¹³⁷ He instructed the staff at the "Caritas" soup kitchen at the church on Senatorska Street to dispense food to Jews.¹³⁸ Henry Frankel reported that he encountered Rev. Trzeciak in the winter of 1941 when he went for food to St. Alexander Church on Three Crosses Square in Warsaw. Although Frankel was recognized as a

¹³⁶ Testimony of Zygmunt Rytel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7213.

¹³⁷ Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, "Trzeciak Stanisław," in *Encyklopedia "Białych Plam"* (Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczna, 2006), vol. 17, 214. On controversial aspects of Rev. Trzeciak, see Tomasz Szarota, *U progu Zagłady: Zajścia antyżydowskie i pogromy w okupowanej Europie* (Warsaw: Sic!, 2000), 48–50, as well as Jan Żaryn and Andrzej Żbikowski's commentary in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 389–90, 438–39. Rev. Trzeciak's writings on the Talmud, condemned by some as calumnious at the time, must be reassessed in light of the current scholarly literature such as Peter Schäfer, *Jesus in the Talmud* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).

¹³⁸ Testimony of Leon Bukowiński, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4424.

Jew, Rev. Trzeciak treated him very well and gave him bread.¹³⁹ According to historian Szymon Datner, Rev. Trzeciak rescued at least one Jewish child.¹⁴⁰ According to a statement submitted to Yad Vashem by Stanisław (Stanley) Kornacki, formerly Tanchum Kupferblum of Sandomierz, later a resident of Montreal, Rev. Trzeciak sheltered two Jews from Kraków who survived the war.¹⁴¹

Sister Wanda Garczyńska is also remembered fondly by other Jews whom she helped. In the summer of 1943, Anna Clarke, then Chana Szydłowska, found herself in Warsaw's Hotel Polski together with her parents. The Germans had concocted a scheme to lure Jews out of hiding by holding out a false promise of passage to safe countries. Around 2,500 people came out of their hiding places and moved to Hotel Polski. In July 1943, some 2,000 Jews were sent to the Vittel and Bergen-Belsen concentration camps, where almost all of them perished. On July 15, 1943, the 300 remaining Jews, without foreign passports, were executed in Warsaw's Pawiak prison located inside the ghetto. (Anna Clarke, "Sister Wanda," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies*, volume 7 (2002): 253–59.)

And in Hotel Polski I saw my cousin Esther Syrkis ... She was here with her sisters Idunia and Mala, Mala's husband, and the three little daughters of the three sisters. They had exchange papers to go to Germany, and were getting ready to leave the next morning. With a pile of children's clothing getting rapidly smaller on her ironing board, she was telling me of Sister Wanda.

Sister Wanda had hidden her, her sisters and a sister-in-law of one of them. Found a job for Mala's husband as a gardener in one of the monastery's gardens. Most important of all, hid the three little girls. When the mothers came to claim them before coming to the Hotel, the children were 'full of lice', Esther took her eyes off the board to look at me—'but alive and in one piece'. 'Don't write anything down, but here is her address. Go to her when in need and she will help you, too,' she was saying next morning, shortly before the whole group left in an orderly fashion. And to their death, as we now know. A few hours later the Gestapo Marias came and took away everyone still in the Hotel.

When the trucks came I was standing in the wide entrance gate of the Hotel. Two girls in a party of workers passing the gate on their way to register at a brick factory in the neighbourhood made room for me between them. ... Outside the Hotel they let me go free ...

My own meeting with Sister Wanda took place late in the fall of that same year when I needed a place to stay. From a dark street up a dark staircase and into a large dimly lit room where Sisters slept all across the floor: Soon I found a mattress, too. 'Why are you risking the lives of so many people because of me?' I asked Sister Wanda. 'For the love of the God we have in common', she answered.

Soon Sister Wanda had a job for me. A country estate had asked for a governess for a high-school boy. Sister Wanda had confidence in my ability to teach the required subjects except one. I was to teach the boy religion.

... Here now in 1943 was a nun in her cell patiently teaching me the arcane of her religion, the catechism, the prayers, the mass, to fool her parishioners. The miracle of the mass was the fact over which I stumbled over and over again, both the fact and the significance of the fact that the transformation of the bread and of the wine was happening in front of my eyes. ...

At the estate, my 14-year-old student showed little enthusiasm for study, secular or religious, thus leaving me plenty of time for the ponds, the woods and air of the countryside. Then on Sunday morning it was time for church.

Sister Wanda had warned me in Warsaw not to try to avoid going and I went. No one made any remarks about my behaviour either at church or later. But many eyebrows must have been raised. ... Never before except for a school excursion had I been inside a church, let alone during a service in a little country church. I couldn't have known where to stand, to sit, to get up, make the sign of the cross or to kneel.

¹³⁹ Testimony of Henry Frankel, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 20142.

¹⁴⁰ Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 389, 418.

¹⁴¹ Anna Poray, comp. and ed., *Polish Righteous: Those Who Risked Their Lives*, Internet: <<http://www.savingjews.org/>> (Cieslakowski, Jan); published as Anna Poray, *Those Who Risked Their Lives* (n.p.: Anna Poray, 2007). See also the Testimony of Stanley Kornacki, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 54762.

Other memoirs also attest to Jews leaving the safety of convents for the doomed Hotel Polski.¹⁴²

After escaping from the ghetto in Lwów in September 1942, Frisch managed to acquire a birth and baptismal under the name of Michalina Kaczyńska from a sympathetic priest she happened to encounter in Chlebowice Świrskie not far from Lwów. She then went to Warsaw where she took up various jobs under her false identity. She secured a position as a governess with the Juchniewicz family in Sękocin near Raszyn, with the assistance of the superior of the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Kazimierzowska Street. In 1957, she left Poland for Israel.¹⁴³

After escaping from the ghetto in Otwock, Izia Jabłońska (born in 1936 as Iska Jabłońska, later Judy Kolt) and her sister, Tosia (Tauba), who was three years older than Izia, survived the war passing from hand to hand and found shelter in several convents. They first stayed with an elderly Polish couple in Warsaw with the same surname, Jabłoński, where they acquired new Christian identities (Izia became Józefa or Józia Jabłońska) and were taught prayers and how to behave in church. The two sisters then moved to Rabka near Zakopane, where they stayed at a boarding school together with another Jewish girl, Teresa (Rachela) Rogozińska. Afterwards, Izia separated from her sister and stayed with her mother, Fela (Felicja or Fajga) Jabłońska, who worked as a servant in Częstochowa. The three girls—Izia, Tosia and Teresa—were then sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary at their convent on Hoża Street in Warsaw. Not long after, Stefan Jabłoński, their father, enrolled Izia and Tosia at the boarding school of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Kazimierzowska Street in Warsaw. It soon became apparent to the nuns, however, that the girls were Jewish, as their hair, which was dyed, started to grow back a darker colour. Nonetheless, the nuns allowed them to remain at the boarding school, which housed about a dozen Jewish girls. Izia writes, “I can also say that we were treated well—in fact, with affection.” The nuns took great precautions to ensure the safety of their charges. They had to be prepared for periodic raids by German soldiers looking for Jews. (Judy Kolt (Jablonska), *Tell It To the Squirrels* [Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009], p. 43.)

When the alarm was real and not a practice run, the nuns would hide some of the children as well. The usual place was in the chapel behind the altar, or sometimes in the nuns' enclosure itself. Sometimes one or more of the girls would be put in the infirmary and have their faces bandaged, and it was rumoured that there was a bumps epidemic. The German soldiers were not too eager to catch mumps or any other childhood disease, so they generally didn't go near the infirmary. Bandaging the faces of children deemed to have Semitic features served to disguise them, and in one case, bandaging the head to hide the suspect red hair of Jasia Kaniewska (Janina Kon). When the nuns tried to dye her hair blonde, it had turned green. ... seven-year-old Jasia had turned up at the front door at the convent one day and said, "I am Jasia and I have nobody." They took her in.

Even though their convent was located across the street from the SS headquarters, the nuns also fed Jewish children who ventured out of the ghetto in search of food. For a period of several weeks, Izia and Tosia stayed at the nuns' residence in Brwinów outside Warsaw. With her father's consent, Tosia prepared to make her First Communion, thus allowing her to blend in with other girls her age. To celebrate this event, on June 3, 1943, their father took his daughters to a restaurant where tragedy struck. He was arrested by two men from the Gestapo. A waitress urged the girls to run away. At the time, their mother was staying at the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary on Hoża Street, in Warsaw, and

¹⁴² David Götzl (Goetzl, later Gilbert) removed his young daughter, Miriam or Micki, passing as Maria Kurkowska, from a convent outside Warsaw, where she had been sheltered for about a year, when he and his wife left their separate hideouts and went to for Hotel Polski in July 1943. Miraculously, all three of them survived after their deportation to Bergen-Belsen. See David Gilbert, as told to Tim Shortridge and Michael D. Frounfelter, *No Place To Run: A True Story* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2002), 111, 113, 142, 159, 167. Three teenaged girls from the Warsaw ghetto, Pnina, Dina and Ariela, who were placed in a convent by Irena Adamowicz, a member of the Polish underground, in early 1943, left the safety of that convent for Hotel Polski. See Hela Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Pożegnanie Milej 18: Wspomnienia łączniczki Żydowskiej Organizacji Bojowej* (Kraków: Beseder, 1996), 126; Hella Rufeisen-Schüpper, *Abschied von Mila 18: Als Ghettokurierin zwischen Krakau und Warschau* (Köln: Scriba Verlag, 1998), 199.

¹⁴³ Testimony of Michalina Lewkowicz-Kaczyńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7113.

her daughters joined her there. Mother Matylda Getter, the provincial superior, sent Sister Stefania Miałkiewicz to Siedlce, where Stefan Jabłoński was imprisoned, to attempt to get him released by offering a bribe to German officials, but by the time she arrived he had been executed. In the meantime, afraid that their father might divulge their whereabouts under torture, Sister Wanda Garczyńska, the superior of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, arranged for the girls to be given temporary shelter by the Resurrectionist Sisters at their boarding school in Warsaw's Żoliborz suburb. Afterwards, they were whisked from place to place: the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Szymanów; a convent in Warsaw that housed a boys' boarding school run by another order; and an orphanage of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wrzosów on the outskirts of Warsaw (mistakenly identified by Izia as the Grey Ursulines). Turmoil set in with the advancing Soviet front and the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. At the end of August 1944, the nuns and children left Wrzosów and took shelter at the Institute for the Blind in Laski, which was run by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross. After a short stay at Laski, Izia and Tosia were subsequently hidden in an old people's home and then on a farm before joining up with their mother, who was staying with farmers who belonged to the underground. Their next lodging, in January 1945, was with Sister Stefania Miałkiewicz's mother, who sheltered a number of Jews on her farm in Piastów near Warsaw. It was there that the girls were liberated by the Soviet army.¹⁴⁴

Lilian Lampert was cared for by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, first in their Warsaw convent on Kazimierzowska Street, and then in their convent in Szymanów outside Warsaw. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 227–28.)

Sister Wanda Garczynska [Garczyńska] was the prioress of the Chaste Sisters [Niepokalanki—Sisters of the Immaculate Conception] Nunnery in Warsaw, which served as a shelter for many Jews, especially children, during the war. One of these children was Lilian Lampert, who was admitted into the nunnery's boarding school with the help of prewar acquaintances of her parents [the Mikre family]¹⁴⁵. "I was treated exactly like the rest of the children, which profoundly influenced the whole of my adolescence. I was still learning to play the piano," Lilian wrote in her testimony to Yad Vashem. Lilian spent vacations in Szymanow [Szymanów], where the sisters ran a boarding school for older girls. At a certain point, the sisters decided to move her there permanently, since Szymanow was a long way from Warsaw and therefore safer. She was then able to see her mother, who had managed to procure Aryan papers. Sister Wanda also helped Roza and Josef Pytowski, who turned up in Warsaw with nowhere to stay after escaping from the Piotrkow [Piotrków] Trybunalski ghetto. Their daughter, Franciszka, asked Sister Wanda for help and she found them a place to stay with two elderly women who were in touch with the nunnery. The frightened women suspected that the Pytowskis were Jewish but Sister Wanda did her best to allay their suspicions. "She took care of my mother as if she was her own mother. She taught her how to behave naturally during services in the nunnery chapel as well as in the courtyard, where joint evening prayers were conducted every day," wrote Rosa [sic] and Josef's daughter Maria. "Sister Wanda never regretted having sheltered a Jewish girl and allowing her to join services."

In her Yad Vashem testimony (File 2396b), Lilian Lampert (born in 1931) wrote:

The nuns knew of my identity and I retained my real name. They showed great courage by providing refuge for a Jewish child with red hair and Semitic features. ... I was treated exactly the same way as any other child at school. ... I even continued my piano lessons. Only my outings outside the compounds were curtailed, understandably, for my own safety.

Summers and holidays were spent at the order's affiliate in Szymanów, a village located west of Warsaw, where the nuns conducted a boarding school for high school girls. Since Szymanów was more isolated, and hence seemed more secure, it was decided to transfer Lilian there permanently. Lilian was not the

¹⁴⁴ Judy Kolt (Jablonska), *Tell It To the Squirrels* (Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009), 26–106. See also Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekwowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 181.

¹⁴⁵ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 75. Liliana Lampert mentions Ryszard Mikre, his sister, Waca Hoszowska-Mikre, and their mother, Maria Mikre, as well as seven nuns and a chaplain at the institution.

only Jewish child there.

I remember, sometime in 1943–44 the arrival of another red-haired girl, and the nuns' efforts to bleach her hair, which attracted my curiosity. Her name was Jasia [Janina Kon]. That's all I knew at that time. She too survived the war.

Later on, the convent in Szymanów was subjected to constant random inspections by the Germans. Part of the convent's building was requisitioned to billet soldiers. In the fall of 1944, Lilian Lampert was sent to rejoin her mother, who was hiding in the village of Zaręby Kościelne, near Grójec. They remained there until the area was liberated in February 1945. Lilian recalled with affection some of the nuns she had contact with: Sisters Irena, Brigida, Wanda, Teresa, Deodata, Blanka, and Bernarda, as well as the chaplain, Rev. Franciszek Skalski. The superior of the convent in Szymanów was Sister Krystyna od Krzyża (Joanna Kossecka) until 1943, and Sister Assumpta od Jezusa (Maria Sapięha) from 1943 to 1945. The congregation's general house was also located in Szymanów, and the Superior General, Sister Zenona od Zbawiciela (Ludwika Dobrowolska), fully endorsed the rescue activities carried out by the order.

In her memoir, *I Was Only a Doctor*,¹⁴⁶ Zofia Szymańska (née Roza Rozenblum or Rosenblum), a renowned neurophysicist, describes how, after escaping from the Warsaw ghetto in August 1942 with her niece, Janina (Jasia) Kon (later Atkins), with the help of Maria Łeszeżanka, a municipal employee, she found shelter with the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Kazimierzowska Street in Warsaw. She was placed there by her protector, Irena Solska, who had taken her in after leaving the ghetto. Dr. Szymańska mentions in particular Sister Wanda Garczyńska. Within a few weeks, she was transferred to a small convent of the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus (Grey Ursulines) in Ołtarzew (Ożarów), outside Warsaw, where she lived until April 1945, with the approval of that congregation's Mother General, Pia (Helena) Leśniewska. Dr. Szymańska mentions in particular Sister Maria Ziemacka (Sister Magdalene of Divine Mercy). In both convents, Dr. Szymańska received material care and an abundance of spiritual comfort from many nuns and priests, among them Rev. Józef Dąbrowski, a Pallottine, who comforted her in difficult moments. No one attempted to convert her. Dressed as a postulant, she would walk around the village. Concerned for her safety, a Blue policeman urged the nuns to keep her hidden away.¹⁴⁷ Although news of her stay at Ołtarzew was widely known, no one betrayed her. Dr. Szymańska's ten-year-old niece, Janina (Jasia) Kon (going by the name of Kaniewska), who had a very Semitic appearance, was also taken in by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Kazimierzowska Street in Warsaw, where more than a dozen Jewish girls were hidden. Afterwards, she stayed in the nuns' boarding schools in Wrzosów and Szymanów, outside of Warsaw. All of the sisters at the boarding school in Szymanów were aware that many of their young charges were Jews, as was the lay staff and employees, the parents of the other students, and many villagers. None of the Christian parents removed their children from the school despite the potential dangers—at one point, a German military unit was at one point quartered in the convent. In fact, many of the parents contributed to the upkeep of the Jewish children. Dr. Szymańska wrote: "The children were under the protection of the entire convent and village. Not one traitor was to be found among them." Throughout this time Dr. Szymańska remained under the watchful eye of Maria Stefania Górńska (Sister Andrzejka), about whom there is more later, who kept in touch with Janina Kon's parents in the Warsaw ghetto until they were deported. Dr. Szymańska's story is also related in Margherita Marchione, *Consensus and Controversy: Defending Pope Pius XII* (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 2002), at pages 101–104.

With the German occupation of Poland in 1939, the people of Warsaw faced a hopeless situation. Dr. Szymanska became involved in the work of helping thousands of Jewish children. While still working for Centos [the Union of Welfare Societies for Jewish Orphans] during the first winter of the war; she understood the future fate of Warsaw Jews and the lack of help from the Jewish organizations outside Poland, especially American Jews. She knew that this was the beginning of the end. With her two sisters, brother-in-law and nine-year-old niece, Jasia, she lived in

¹⁴⁶ Zofia Szymańska, *Byłam tylko lekarzem...* (Warsaw: Pax, 1979), 145–77.

¹⁴⁷ Andrzej W. Kaczorowski, "W szarym domu," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 11 (November 2010): 57–64, at p. 61.

the Warsaw Ghetto from October 1940. The Centos Building was bombed on the first day of the War. In 1942, the Germans closed the Centos and her permit was terminated. The program was liquidated. All two hundred residents were exterminated.

When the reality of the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto became imminent, Sister Golembiowska [Gołębiowska], who was working with the Polish underground network, persuaded Dr. Szymanska to leave the ghetto with Jasia. They were moved by the network to the Institute for Boys at 97 Puławska [Puławska] Street. Another Catholic friend, Irene [Irena] Solska, took Dr. Szymanska to Sister Wanda Garczynska [Garczyńska] of the Immaculate Conception Sisters on Kazimierzowska Street. This convent was a link in the underground network to “help those who were hiding and living in danger and misery.” Within seventeen days she was relocated with the Ursuline Sisters. Jasia, entrusted to a family friend and colleague, spoke about the bombings of the Warsaw Ghetto, accidentally disclosed her Jewish background. Immediately she was transferred to Kazimierzowska Street and instructed to approach the gate alone. She knocked and said: “I’m Jasia and I don’t have anyone.” Sister Wanda responded, “No, my child, you are not alone, you have me.” During these years of hiding, Jasia was moved many times among the villages of Wrzosowo [Wrzosów] and Szymanowo [Szymanów] and Kazimierzowska Street. The Gestapo suspected that the nuns, under the pretext of foster care for Polish orphans, were saving the lives of many Jewish children. In spite of constant danger the girls attended classes regularly in a serene atmosphere. Indeed, the heroic role of the Immaculate Conception Sisters in saving Jewish lives needs to be told.

In her book, Dr. Szymanska writes: “The example of the Sisters allowed me and others not to lose faith in human beings during those years of atrocities and cruelty.” At the end of August 1942, with the approval of the Mother General Pia Lesniewska [Helena Leśniewska], she was moved to the Ursuline Gray Nuns’ convent in the village of Ozarów [Ożarów]. There she remained for two years and eight months in a small room and was visited by Sister Urszula Gorska [Maria Stefania Górka, Sister Andrzejka], a student of classical philology at Warsaw University [before it was closed by the Germans at the beginning of the war]. From her small convent cell, she looked closely at the lives of the nuns but could not understand their obedience to suspend their obvious enjoyable work routine and their readiness to pray and contemplate. Only later was she able to understand the power of contemplative devotion to God—the sole source of their strength—which gave a sense of meaning and purpose to their lives.

She frequently asked herself: Why did God allow this to happen? Why wasn’t Hitler excommunicated? [Hitler had severed his ties with the Catholic Church long before he came to power and considered the Church to be one of his chief enemies.—M.P.] Why didn’t the American Jews organize assistance and intervene with the American Government to help the European Jews perishing in the concentration camps? The Germans began the liquidation of the ghetto in 1942. They transported whole orphanages of children to the concentration camps. After the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, only her younger sister Eliza was still alive and trapped in the Ghetto. Stella and her brother-in-law had been transported to the concentration camp. When she learned the fate of her family, she shared her thoughts of depression and suicide with Sister Gorska. Responding to her needs, one of the sisters moved to her cell to help her. Many were the conversations they had about the need for people to assume responsibility and help save lives. In this crisis, the sisters were influential and encouraged her, but never did they try to persuade her to convert to the Catholic faith.

After the Russian offensive in the Spring of 1945, Dr. Szymanska spent the last Easter with the Ursuline Sisters. From documents and statements of eyewitnesses, she found out that the entire village of Ozarów knew that she and others were hiding in the convent. The sisters were aware of the consequences of hiding Jews; yet, without hesitation, they continued the dangerous task and saved many lives. She states: “No other country but Poland paid such a tremendous bloody tribute to the cause of saving Jewish lives. It is an undisputed fact that it is much easier to demonstrate and march for the cause of Jews, as happened in some Western countries, than to hide one of them for years during the German occupation of Poland.” After the war, she returned to completely devastated Warsaw and worked for the Ministry of Education, Department of Child Welfare. She inspected the care given in orphanages. She learned that under the direction of Mother [Maylda] Getter, who saved the lives of several hundred Jewish Children, the Sisters of the Family of Mary was one of the most active congregations protecting Jews during and after the war.

Elżbieta Szpilfogel was sheltered by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wrzosów (Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010], p. 543).

During the German occupation of Poland, Julia Halna Dąbrowska and her mother, Gabriela Elżanowska, rescued Maria Szpilfogel (née Rozenowicz), her daughter Elżbieta, as well as her parents, Karolina (Kajla) and Eliasz Rozenowicz. Julia Dąbrowska had been friends with Maria Szpilfogel and her sisters Teodora Zysman and Felicja Głowińska at school. As a young girl she would spend time at the Rozenowicz house in Pruszków near Warsaw after school and play with their daughters. Eliasz Rozenowicz, who traded in wood, treated Julia as if she were their fourth daughter. Julia continued to visit them every Saturday after she had her own daughter, Danuta Maria, born in 1933. After the German invasion, the families stayed in touch until the Rozenowicz were forced to move to the

temporary ghetto in Pruszków. At the end of January 1941, when the Germans dismantled that ghetto, they were transferred to the Warsaw ghetto. In the fall of 1942, Maria Szpielfogel [sic], her daughter Elżbieta and cousin Piotr Zysman (later Świątkowski) escaped to the “Aryan” side and hid at Julia Dąbrowska’s apartment at 65 Al. Jerozolimskie, apt. 6. Julia helped the Rozenowicz parents to escape from the ghetto as well and took care of them when they were hiding, first in the village of Wólka Korabiéwička [sic, Korabiewicka] (between Żyrardów and Skierniewice, Warsaw District) and later on in Milanówek near Warsaw. She stayed in contact with them and visited them. When Elżbieta fell ill, Julia organized surgery for her in the Mikołaj Kopernik Hospital in Warsaw. When the stay of Maria, Elżbieta, and Piotr became too dangerous, she arranged another apartment for them. She also arranged for Elżbieta to stay in the convent in Wrzosów and helped to sell family jewels to support her wards. In order to save her friends, Julia and her mother, Elżanowska, hid them, provided them with food and false documents and even paid off blackmailers from the fall of 1942 until the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. Julia’s husband, who belonged to the Polish underground Home Army (AK) died during the uprising. Occasionally, they also helped Teodora and Józef Zysman and Felicja and Henryk Głowiński, and their son Michał Głowiński. ...

Another Jewish girl sheltered by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wrzosów was the daughter of Ignacy Wachnik. Wachnik and his wife, who had a Jewish appearance, survived the war in Warsaw and reclaimed their daughter. Ignacy Wachnik was an assumed name, having obtained false identity documents in that name from the nuns.¹⁴⁸ The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary also sheltered adult Jews, sometimes employing them as staff. Henryk Mioduszewski and Emil Kaliski were sheltered at the convent in Buraków (Łomianki) near Warsaw.¹⁴⁹

With the approval of the order’s superior general, Mother Dominika (Maria) Szymczewska, the Benedictine Samaritan Sisters of the Cross of Christ (*Siostry Benedyktynki Samarytanki Krzyża Chrystusowego*), popularly known as the Samaritan Sisters, sheltered Jews at various convents and institutions: Niegów-Samaria near Wyszaków, Henryków near Warsaw, Pruszków, and Pruszków-Żbików. The siblings Stefania and Bolesław Landau were sheltered at the mother house in Niegów, known as Samaria, for some time despite the fact that a police station was installed on the premises. The nuns also provided food and clothing to Jewish sheltered by others in the area. Fifteen young Jewish women from Warsaw were sheltered at the institution for troubled girls and single mothers located in Henryków, on the outskirts of the city, whose director was Sister Benigna (Stanisława) Umińska. Some of the Jewish charges were directed there by Magdalena Langer, a psychologist and educator with connections to the Boduen Home and the Warsaw Social Welfare Department. Langer herself also stayed at the institution and assisted with the education of the students. Sister Norberta (Władysława) Ziółkowska oversaw the illegal procurement of *Kennkarte* (official identity documents) for the young women with trusted local officials, based on birth and baptismal certificates provided by All Saints parish in Warsaw. Leon Schiller, a renowned theatre director of Jewish origin, was also sheltered at the convent in Henryków. He directed a conspiratorial theatre, whose performances of religious plays attracted outside audiences, among them the poet Czesław Miłosz and other literary figures from Warsaw.¹⁵⁰

Several Jewish girls were sheltered at the Samaritan Sisters’ home for mentally impaired girls in Pruszków-Żbików. Among their charges were two sisters, whose father also stayed there for a short time and who retrieved them after the war. Although the children took religious instruction from the chaplain so as to be able to pass as Catholics, they were not baptized. Eugenia Wawrzycka, a convert, resided there from 1944. At least six Jewish boys and several Jewish girls and adults were sheltered in the home for mentally impaired boys on Szkolna Street in Pruszków, whose director was Sister Zofia (Lucyna) Szadkowska. The boys included Tadeusz Łapiński, who was adopted by a Polish family, Stanisław Wiśniewski, Marian Marzyński (Kuszner), Henryk Wirowski, and a boy named Jan. These were the boys’ assumed names. After the war, the children were taken by family members or Jewish organizations.

¹⁴⁸ Testimony of Ignacy Wachnik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5904.

¹⁴⁹ Kazimierz Medyński, *Wojenne Łomianki: Wspomnienia mieszkańców z lat 1939–1945* (Łomianki: Pommard, 2008), 104–105.

¹⁵⁰ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 334–37; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 129–30, 164–66; Margarita Brzozowska, “Samaratynki nie pytały o narodowość,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 61–77.

Eugenia Szenwic resided there from 1942 under the name of Sowiński, together with her daughter Iwona, who went by the name of Stenia (born in 1929, later Yvonne Grabowski). Iwona Szewnic was transferred to other places, including an Ursuline boarding school and the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Szymanów. Iwona was taken from the latter institution by her father, Dr. Wilhelm Szenwic (Sowiński), at the time of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. (Dr. Szenwic served in the Home Army during the uprising as a doctor.) Afterwards, Dr. Szenwic and his daughter returned to the convent in Pruszków and remained there until the liberation. Another woman sheltered at the convent was Maria Brzeska, a school teacher. Sister Charitas (Eugenia) Soczek was particularly engaged in helping Jews. She also distributed money to Jews provided by Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews. One of the charges, Maria Fiszman, the daughter of a doctor from Łódź, was placed with a family and attended a school run by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. She survived the war and moved to Israel, where she was known as Miriam Sawia.¹⁵¹

Thousands of Jews who had hidden or passed as Catholics in Warsaw were expelled by the Germans during and after the failed uprising of August 1944. They were held in the transit camp in Pruszków, outside Warsaw, pending deportation to concentration camps and as forced labourers. Some were resettled among Poles in the *Generalgouvernement*. Although recognized as Jews, many of these refugees were taken in by local farmers and nearby convents. A number of them were brought to the convent of the Benedictine Samaritan Sisters of the Cross of Christ in Pruszków, ostensibly as family members of the nuns: Józef and Irena Woźnicki (a married couple), Józef Margules, Anna Rechnic (later Janina Baran), and another unidentified five-member family. According to historian Gunnar Paulsson, none of the Jews held in the Pruszków camp appear to have been betrayed by Poles.¹⁵² Nonetheless, fearing denunciation some Jews sought shelter with Poles rather than going to the camp. Aleksander Weissberg, a member of the Polish underground, recalled (Misha Shifman, *Physics in a Mad World: Houtermans, Golfand* [Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2016], p. 376):

Polish nuns hid me in the cellar of a convent. Then I made contact with some Austrian soldiers. They helped me and my family across the barbed-wire lines. We settled in a suburb of Warsaw. ... We were secluded and isolated, and we waited there for the German front to collapse. Then on January 17, 1945, the advancing troops of the Red Army liberated us.

The Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus, commonly known as the Grey Ursulines (*Urszulanki Serca Jezusa Konającego—urszulanki szare*) sheltered more than thirty Jewish children and about a dozen adults in their convents and children's homes throughout Poland: Warsaw (three institutions), Brwinów near Warsaw, Czarna Duża near Wołomin, Czarny Bór near Wilno, Milanówek near Warsaw, Ołtarzew (Ożarów) near Warsaw, Radość near Warsaw, Sieradz, Wilno, and Zakopane. The Jewish children usually had false identity documents and were brought by family members or non-Jewish family friends, as well as by organizations active in the rescue of children. Mother Pia (Helena) Leśniewska, the order's Mother General, maintained close contact with such an organization. The nuns continued to shelter children even when their sponsors could not keep up with payments for their upkeep. Fortunately, none of the Jewish children were discovered by the Germans.

Sister Andrzejka (Maria Stefania Górska), who was recognized as a Righteous Gentile, was particularly active in the rescue operation. In addition to her tasks within the institution, running the soup kitchen and teaching (biology), she fetched children leaving the ghetto and placed them in orphanages run by the nuns. She obtained false identity documents for the nuns' charges with the help of Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 249–50.)

¹⁵¹ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 167, 170; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 335–37; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 129–30; Margarita Brzozowska, "Samaratynki nie pytały o narodowość," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 61–77, at pp. 62–67; Testimony of Stanisława Karsov-Szymaniewska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Museum (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6365.

¹⁵² Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 236.

*During the German occupation, Sister Maria Gorska [Andrzeja Górska], a member of the Ursuline Sisters convent [order], was an active participant in the convent's [order's] effort to save Jewish children. Officially, Gorska ran a soup kitchen for orphaned or abandoned children in central Warsaw. Unofficially, her job was to help Jewish children by arranging for them to be smuggled out of the ghetto and transferred to institutions belonging to the Ursuline Sisters, which had branches throughout occupied Poland. In performing these and other dangerous operations, Gorska was inspired by Christian love and a sense of obligation to save human life. Among Gorska's tasks were obtaining Aryan papers for the Jewish children, protecting those who looked Jewish, and hiding them during German raids. Gorska was in touch with Zegota [Zegota], which supplied her with documents as necessary. Gorska saved the lives of many Jewish children who left Poland after the war. Gorska's activities are the subject of Dr. [Zofia] Rozenblum-Szymanska's book *Byłam tylko lekarzem* ("I Was Only a Doctor").*

When danger lurked, Sister Andrzeja organized the transfer of Jewish children from one location to another. She recalled how she took a girl, whose head had to be bandaged to disguise her marked Jewish features, from Warsaw to the order's children's home in Brwinów. (Testimony of Sister Andrzeja, Yad Vashem Archives, file 7668.)

In most cases we knew very well that the children were Jewish. However, even in cases where we did not know for sure, and only suspected they were Jewish, it was never mentioned and never the subject of discussion, and we took the children as they were. ...

We usually baptized the Jewish children were baptized in those cases where we were told that this was crucial for their survival, especially so as not to arouse suspicion that they were Jews. We wanted all the children to be present every day for confession and prayers. Some of the Jewish children became very attached to the Christian religious rites, but we made them understand that they would not be required to be committed [to accept Christianity when they grew up]. From my contact with tens of Jewish children, I noticed that they needed much empathy and expressions of love, since in the beginning they kept to themselves, which could have aroused suspicion. I decided to break down the wall between them and us and gain their confidence. ... Today [1985] in our convent there are several nuns who have been with us after the Holocaust. No one ever came to ask for these Jewish girls, and when they grew up they asked to remain with us and be inseparable from us. ... Most of the surviving children we returned at the end of the war or several years afterwards to their families or to representatives of the Jewish community who were armed with appropriate documentation testifying a relationship to these children. ... Not one of the Jewish children who were sheltered by us, and especially in the Milanówek house, did not return to his family in a much better condition. ...

This human experience helped me to better understand the human soul and heart, and especially the soul of a child who suffers through an experience as terrible as the Holocaust.

At least 10 Jewish children were sheltered in the orphanage in Milanówek, among them Stenia Jankowska, the daughter of a doctor from Łódź, and the Raniszewska sisters, who moved to France after the war. (This may refer to the twin daughters of Zygmunt Wojdysławski and the daughters of Rywka Goldman mentioned below.) Other charges were Janina Kon (later Atkins), the niece of Zofia Szymańska, Aleksandra (Ola) Mierzecka (born in 1933, later Garlicka), and Piotr Zelwerowicz.¹⁵³ Emanuella (Illa) Kitz (later Sherman), born in Lwów in 1936, was brought to the convent by her grandmother in 1942; she was taken by her mother after the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944.¹⁵⁴ Irena Krzysztowski, born in 1937, was brought to the convent by her mother after they left the Warsaw ghetto.¹⁵⁵ Piotr Ałapin, who was smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto with his parents, was baptized and assumed the name Pietraszkiewicz before he was brought to the convent. After the war, his mother placed in him temporarily

¹⁵³ Testimony of Maria Górska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43319.

¹⁵⁴ "Identification Issued to Lucie Kritz in 1933 and Restamped by the Soviet Government in 1940," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1162036>>.

¹⁵⁵ Helen Gougeon, "Lives Lived: Irena Krzysztowski Abramowicz," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), February 7, 2000.

in another convent outside Łódź when her life was unsettled.¹⁵⁶

A number of Jewish girls sheltered by the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus at their boarding school on Tamka Street in Warsaw. One of the girls was Hanah Mandelberger (later Avrutski or Avrutzky), who went by the name of Hanka Litwińska.¹⁵⁷ Two of the older girls were brought there by Rev. Alfons Męcikowski, a Pallottine priest, shortly before the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944.¹⁵⁸ After the failed uprising, the residents were relocated to the convent in Zakopane. Additional confirmation of the rescue activities of the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus can be found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, at page 872; and Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, at pages 614–15.

[1] *During the war, Mieczysław [Mieczysław] Wionczek lived with his family in Warsaw. He was a student at the underground Warsaw University. In 1941, he met a young Jewish woman who was known during the occupation as Teresa Czarkowska [actually, Idzikowska]. In 1942, Mieczysław and Teresa were married. In order to remove any suspicions regarding Teresa's origins, the wedding was held in the St. Jan [John] Cathedral. All of Mieczysław's family, as well as Teresa's family, who were then in hiding, attended the wedding. After the wedding, Mieczysław's mother held a wedding reception in her home, which removed any possible doubts that the German authorities might have had. One of the people that the newlyweds Mieczysław and Teresa helped during the war was Krystyna Prutkowska [née Flamenbaum], then 19 years old. They offered her work as a maid ... In 1943, when Teresa's niece Antonina Dworakowska [née Percec] fell ill with polio, Mieczysław helped her parents find a room for her in the Sisters of Urszula [Ursuline Sisters] convent in Zakopane, where the girl received the required aid. After the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, Mieczysław and the nuns in this convent also hid his wife, who was by then nine months pregnant, as well as Antonina's parents.*

Some of the components of this rescue have been collapsed in the above entry. Six-year-old Antonina Percec (born in 1936, later Dworakowska) was first sheltered at the Ursuline Sisters' convent at 30 Tamka Street in Warsaw, together with some other Jewish children. Teresa Wionczek and Mieczysław's younger brother, Roman, began to help some of the Jewish children at that convent by providing them with packages of food and clothing. When the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, Teresa Wionczek, as well as her parents, Gustaw and Romualda Percec, found shelter in the Ursuline convent. After the uprising, the Jewish charges accompanied the nuns to Oltarzew (Ożarów), and then to their convent in Zakopane.¹⁵⁹

[2] *Kazimiera Sikora [Bąkowska] became acquainted with the Jewish Wojdyłowski family from Łódź at the very start of the war; when they arrived as refugees in Warsaw and rented an apartment near her. From that time a*

¹⁵⁶ Heather Laskey, *Night Voices: Heard in the Shadow of Hitler and Stalin* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 66, 89–90, 95. Piotr Ałapin's mother, Dr. Stanisława Rubiłowicz-Ałapin, and his grandmother, the actress Irena Grywińska-Adwentowicz, were sheltered by Jan Pikulski in Albinów near Opatów together with three other Jewish women. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 610.

¹⁵⁷ *Przywracanie pamięci: Polakom ratującym Żydów w czasie Zagłady / Recalling Forgotten Memory: Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, The Teatr Wielki–Polish National Opera, and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2007), 43; Andrzej W. Kaczorowski, "W szarym domu," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 11 (November 2010), 57–64, at p. 64; Testimony of Hanah Avrutski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 5675; Testimony of Hana Avrutzky, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5737. Hana Avrutsky published a diary in Hebrew in 1995 under the title *Kokhav ben tselavim* (Star Between Crosses), and was featured in a 2006 documentary film titled *Hanuszka*. Hana escaped from the Warsaw ghetto alone, leaving behind her family. After the war, she was reunited with her mother and younger sister (her father perished in Treblinka) and settled in Israel.

¹⁵⁸ Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 139–40.

¹⁵⁹ *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2013), 119; Mieczysław Wionczek, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-wionczek-mieczyslaw>>; Testimony of Antonina Dworakowska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 15801.

friendship grew between them that continued even after the Wojdyławskis were moved to the ghetto and for a long time afterwards. In April 1943, when the ghetto was liquidated and the Jews were being sent to their deaths, Kazimiera came to the rescue of her friends. By this time, Zygmunt Wojdyławski was already on the “Aryan” side of the city, but the rest of his family—his wife [Maria], his 13-year-old twin daughters [Hanna or Franciszka (later Perrin), and Ludwika], and his sister-in-law [Rywka Goldman] with her two small girls, aged seven and four [Pauline (later Stanislas) and Larisa (later Meilen)]—were still in the ghetto. Kazimiera planned how to bring them out of the ghetto down to the smallest details. The first thing she did was to ready an apartment in which to hide them. She also took care of having forged “Aryan” documents waiting for them. Not only did she help to successfully take them out of the ghetto, but she continued to help them by instructing them on how to behave on the “Aryan” side: she taught the girls all the details of Christian customs, the prayers, conduct in church, confession before the priest, and so on. She was also their address for solving various problems that arose in living on the “Aryan” side. When the need arose to move to other apartments she would be there to help them. Kazimiera also arranged to transfer the girls, using assumed Christian identities, to a convent in Milanówek, where they remained until the end of the war. All the members of the Wojdyławski family, who were looked after by Kazimiera, survived the war, and to a great extent thanks to her resourcefulness and devotion; they remained grateful to her for all she had done for them. At the end of the war when they left Warsaw, which was in ruins, to return to their own Łódź, she joined them and went to live with them. They stayed in touch with her for years and even long after they had emigrated from Poland.

A number of Jewish adults were also taken in by the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus. None of them were denounced, nor did they pay for their upkeep. Professor Helena Radlińska (née Rajchman), professor of social pedagogy at Warsaw’s Free University (Wolna Wszechnica Oświatowa), and the elderly Kurtz sisters from Poznań were hidden in the order’s mother house on Gęsta Street (now Wiślana Street) in Warsaw. Because of their marked Semitic features, they did not venture out of the convent. When the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, they were transferred to Milanówek.¹⁶⁰

The Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Bazylika Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego), located on Kawęczyńska Street in the Warsaw suburb of Praga (on the right bank of the Vistula River), was under the care of the Salesian Society. During the occupation, the basilica became a beacon of hope for endangered Jews. Rev. Michał Kubacki, the first vicar, was in charge of the parish while its pastor himself was in hiding. He was also the director of Caritas, a Catholic relief organization established on the premises of the church to help the needy. Rev. Kubacki gave shelter to Halina Engelhard (later Aszkenazy, born in 1925). Halina, then a teenager, had jumped out of a transport taking Jews from the Umschlagplatz to the Majdanek concentration camp in the summer of 1942 and made her way back to Warsaw.¹⁶¹ Her mother, who was also on the train with her, told Halina to get in touch with Rev. Kubacki. Rev. Kubacki agreed to let her stay at the parish. She lived in the Caritas building, located directly behind the church, for several months. She helped prepare meals at the soup kitchen for poor people and children who attended religion classes at the church. Rev. Kubacki taught Halina prayers and religious practices, which were essential to pass as a Catholic, and provided her with a birth and baptismal certificate in another name. From that

¹⁶⁰ Testimony of Maria Górska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43319. Some of the nuns were former students of Professor Helena Radlińska. Although she herself was destitute and depended entirely on the goodwill of benefactors, Radlińska continued to teach in underground institutions and assisted other Jews in finding shelter with Poles. See Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 306; Irena Lepalczyk, *Helena Radlińska życie i twórczość* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2001), 122; Andrzej W. Kaczorowski, “W szarym domu,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 11 (November 2010): 57–64, at pp. 60–61; Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 139.

¹⁶¹ One often hears stories of Poles gathering near trains carrying Jews to death camps in order to sell them water for large sums of money or jewellery. Such transactions were strictly prohibited and Germans and Ukrainians guarding the trains had orders to shoot any Pole who disobeyed. As Halina Aszkenazy-Engelhard explains, Jews had to entice people with extravagant rewards as, understandably, most Poles were afraid to take on that risk at any cost: “A man had a diamond ring and wanted to trade it with the Poles for a bottle of water. They were afraid, nobody wanted to take the ring. Eventually, one—apparently more courageous than the others—brought a big bottle and got the ring.” After jumping from the train, Halina met Celina and two other girls who had also jumped. Local people gave them money so they could get to Warsaw. On the way, Germans searched through the train and pulled out the Jewish girls. They did not take Halina. See Halina Aszkenazy-Engelhardt’s, “Death Cars,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/death-cars-halina-aszkenazy-engelhardts-account>>.

moment on she became Halina Ogonowska, an orphan from Płock. Halina recalled, “Living in that community without getting to know the principles and practices of the religion would have been impossible. Every day I sat with the priest who taught me religion, the key principles of the faith, and prayers. He was a noble and honest man who respected my roots and didn’t force me to do anything.” Rev. Kubacki’s housekeeper also showed her hospitality. Rev. Jan Stanek, another priest attached to this church as well as another parish in the city, cared for a Jewish girl named Zosia (Zofia), who was eight or nine years and had a Semitic appearance. Her tasks included adorning the church altar with flowers and other light household chores. Both Jewish girls were later transferred to other places, but continued to receive material assistance from the priests. Zosia was moved to a private home, whereas Halina was taken in by the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, popularly known as the Magdalene Sisters, who ran a correctional shelter for young women on Żytnia Street. Sister Bernarda (Julia Wilczek) of the Magdalene Sisters told Halina, “Remember, my girl, that you are Jewish. Be proud of it.” Afterwards she was transferred to the convent of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul on Freta Street, also in Warsaw. Halina soon found out that there were other Jews hiding in both of these institutions, some of whom are mentioned later on. The Salesians assisted other Jews during the occupation. Fajga Wajnstraub (later Janina Sobczak-Rustecka) was engaged in the soup kitchen by Rev. Kubacki, who provided her with additional food to take home.¹⁶² The Salesians provided false identity documents to Rozalia Werdinger, among others. They issued ardent appeals at private religious gatherings regarding the need to help Jews. “These people are our brothers,” Rev. Kubacki would state. “They have a soul just like us. In the heavenly court, it is not they who will be condemned, but those who murder them today. In God’s eyes, it is man’s behaviour that counts, regardless of his religion. Be he a Buddhist, Jew or Muslim, if he believes in one God and keeps his commandments, God loves him. A good Catholic is not one who follows the religious rituals and regularly attends church to pray, but the one who obeys the commandment regarding fellow men and extends a helping hand to others in need.”¹⁶³ Rev. Michał Kubacki was recognized by Yad Vashem. The following account appears in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 412.

In April 1943, during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the Germans discovered where Halina Aszkenazy was hiding and dispatched her on a transport leaving the city. After jumping off the train, Aszkenazy made her way, with tremendous difficulty, back to Warsaw, where she knocked on the door of Michal [Michał] Kubacki, a director of the Christian charity “Charitas” [“Caritas”] and priest of the Bazylika Church in the Praga suburb of Warsaw. Kubacki, who knew Aszkenazy’s mother and had promised in the past to help her and her daughter, welcomed Halina and immediately provided her with false birth and baptism certificates. Aszkenazy hid in a room in the church for three months, during which time she became acquainted with Christian prayers and rituals. At one point, Aszkenazy was joined by an eight-year-old Jewish girl who was later adopted, on Kubacki’s recommendation, by a Christian family. Kubacki, inspired by compassion and religious faith, also financed the upkeep of two young girls whose rescuers were unable to support them. After being provided by Kubacki with a German Kennkarte, Aszkenazy left her hiding place and after numerous ordeals was liberated. After the war, Aszkenazy immigrated to Israel, where she wrote her memoirs, including Kubacki’s role in saving her life, in a book entitled I Wanted to Live.

Additional information about the rescue of Jews at the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus came to light in the year 2000, when Edmund Zabrzeźniak presented the church with a votive chalice in gratitude for his rescue. Together with several other Jews, Zabrzeźniak had been sheltered in a chamber underneath the sanctuary of the church. The Germans conducted a careful search of the church premises, even using dogs to sniff out hiding places, but fortunately did not discover these hidden Jews. The entire group survived. They left their hiding place when the Soviets arrived in the area in July 1944.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Testimony of Janina Sobczak-Rustecka, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 7812.

¹⁶³ Halina Aszkenazy-Engelhard, *Pragnęłam żyć: Pamiętnik* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Salezjańskie, 1991), 80–88, 92–93, 107–108, 114. See also the expanded version of this memoir: Halina Aszkenazy-Engelhard, *Dzień, noc, dzień* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2005), as well as her testimony, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/442.

¹⁶⁴ Jan Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2015), 152.

Jews found shelter in about a dozen convents and correctional home (*domy Miłosierdzia*) for young women run by the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, commonly known as the Magdalene Sisters (*Siostry Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia—Siostry Magdalenki*), with approval of the congregation's Mother General, Michaela Moraczewska.¹⁶⁵ However, no records were kept so the events had to be reconstructed based on testimonies. A number of Jews were accepted at the correctional home on Żytnia Street (at the corner of Wronia Street) in Warsaw, which was located near the ghetto.¹⁶⁶ Responsibility for overseeing help to Jews belonged to Sister Bernarda (Julia Wilczek). Niusia Wolfowicz worked there as a cleaning lady, having been placed there by Zofia Wiewiórowska, the director of a Warsaw women's shelter.¹⁶⁷ Irka Przysuskiej from Częstochowa, who "looked Jewish," was taken in Sister Bernarda (Julia Wilczek). However, she was apprehended when she ventured out, probably to meet her Jewish boyfriend.¹⁶⁸ Inka Szapiro, then 8 or 9 years old, had previously stayed with the Sisters of Charity on Tamka Street, also in Warsaw, before moving to the Żytnia Street hospice. When the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, the younger children were transferred to the Magdalene Sisters' summer home in Szczęśniówka near Wołomin. Inka's mother, Klara Szapiro, also left Warsaw at that time and was sheltered in a parish rectory outside Warsaw.¹⁶⁹ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 184.)

In the winter of 1942, Klara Szapiro fled from the Warsaw ghetto with her seven-year-old daughter, Nina. After being harassed by blackmailers, Szapiro was directed by an acquaintance to Adela Domanus, who obtained forged papers for her and her daughter and arranged for them to stay with one of her friends. When this hiding place proved unsafe, Domanus placed young Nina in a Christian orphanage [of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy on Żytnia Street, in Warsaw¹⁷⁰] and found a job for Klara as a maid ... In risking her life for persecuted Jews, Domanus was guided by sincere humanitarian beliefs, which overrode considerations of personal safety.

Eight-year-old Ewa M., who got separated from her parents, was brought to the correctional home on Hetmańska Street in Warsaw by a woman who found her in the street.¹⁷¹ The Magdalene Sisters placed some of their charges with Poles. Halina Rajman (born in 1929) stayed at the home on Hetmańska Street for only a very brief period. Since she was emotionally unstable, the nuns feared she would give herself away. Halina was placed with a Polish woman.¹⁷² At the behest of the nuns, Maria Goljan took in a Jewish woman with a daughter, both of whom had Semitic features, as well as another Jewish woman.¹⁷³

Jews were often moved from one convent or institution to another—run by the same or different religious order of women—to ensure their safety. The Magdalene Sisters transferred Jewish charges from their correctional home on Żytnia Street in Warsaw to their correctional homes in the Grochów district of

¹⁶⁵ On the rescue activities of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy see Nulla Chmura, "Pomoc ludności żydowskiej w Zgromadzeniu Sióstr Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 193–99; Olga Abramczuk, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1981), 168–233.

¹⁶⁶ Aszkenazy-Engelhard, *Pragnęłam żyć*, 98–100.

¹⁶⁷ Goldenberg, *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 201.

¹⁶⁸ Goldenberg, *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 200–201.

¹⁶⁹ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 115–16; Testimony of Adela Domanus, February 27, 1965, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6102.

¹⁷⁰ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 115–16.

¹⁷¹ Nulla Chmura, "Pomoc ludności żydowskiej w Zgromadzeniu Sióstr Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 193–99, at pp. 197–98.

¹⁷² Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 334; Testimony of Halina Rajman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4495.

¹⁷³ Testimony of Zofia Poławska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5211. Zofia Poławska and her daughter were also sheltered by Maria Goljan, although they were not sent there by the Magdalene Sisters.

Warsaw (44 Hetmańska Street), Częstochowa (9/11 Św. Barbary Street), Kraków,¹⁷⁴ Kalisz, and Walendów and Derdy outside Warsaw. The chaplains at these institutions also became involved in the rescue operation. After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto in October 1940,¹⁷⁵ Dora Borensztajn (born Tova Borenstein in 1926) stayed in three homes of the Magdalene Sisters, two in Warsaw and one in Częstochowa, under the assumed name of Maria Teresa Zielińska. She was directed first to the Żytnia Street shelter in Warsaw by the congregation's Mother General, Michaela Moraczewska. She remained at that shelter from December 1940 until May 1941, under the tutelage of Sister Alojza Piotrowska. Subsequently, she was transferred to the order's correctional home on Hetmańska Street, in the Grochów district of the Warsaw suburb of Praga, where she remained for more than a year. In June 1943, Mother Alojza dispatched her to a residence on Św. Barbary Street in Częstochowa, also run by the Magdalene Sisters. In one of her testimonies, Dora Borensztajn mentions the names of priests, among them Rev. Jan Tomaszewski of Częstochowa, who instructed her in religious matters.¹⁷⁶ After the war, she became a Benedictine nun known as Sister Ancilla. (Wiktorja Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* (vol. 1) [Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998], pp. 148–50.)

Death threatened not only me but all those who would accept me and all the tenants of their apartment building. Nonetheless, Janina Przybysz (Ninka) took me with her to 12? or 19? Zielna Street where she lived just with her mother, because her father had died recently ...

After a few days, I went to 43 Mokotowska Street to live with Aleksander and Maria Jazwiński, who had no children. ... I was with them until Christmas.

I returned to Zielna Street. From there, on December 27, 1940, I was taken in by Mother Michaela Moraczewska, Mother General of the Sisters of the Holy Mother of Mercy [Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy]. The Sisters had a correctional residence for girls in Warsaw at 3/9 Żytnia Street. Mother Alojza was the educator of the particular class in which I was placed, and I was now called Genia, but before that, they called me Elżbieta. There, I learned colorful embroidery.

In May 1941, while seeing a doctor in the health center on Okopowa Street, I was recognized by the nurse, Helena Wiśniewska. Therefore, [out of caution] I had to immediately change my place of residence. I went to the Grochów district to 44 Hetmańska Street, where the same order of Sisters had another correctional residence. I was given the name Urszula. It affected me greatly, knowing of the danger to me and to them. ... I learned to work in the garden and in the hothouse. I was there more than a year, and then I went again to Ninka on Zielna Street, where I stayed until June 1943. ... [After being recognized on the street] I returned to Zielna Street, and together with Ninka went to Żytnia Street to Mother Alojza to ask her for help. She wrote a letter to the Sisters in Częstochowa, who lived at 3/9 Saint Barbara Street, and she asked a lady she knew to take me there.

From the thirteenth of June, 1943, onward, I stayed there and was given the name Mirka. This was also a correctional residence. I went there with a Kennkarte [German identity document] issued at 3/9 Żytnia Street. In Częstochowa, I also changed my place of residence several times.

Another Jewish charge at the Magdalene Sisters' convent in Częstochowa was Stella Obremska (born in 1926, later Kolin) from Warsaw. After escaping from the labour camp in Skarżysko-Kamienna in August 1944, she made her way to Częstochowa and found shelter with the nuns.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ One of the charges, Sujka Erlichman, was a Jewish underground courier from Warsaw who was posing as a Pole. She had been captured by the Germans illegally trying to cross over to the Reich from the *Generalgouvernement*. After serving a three-month prison sentence in Kraków, she was transferred to a labour camp in Łagiewniki for women convicted of crimes. Before the war, this was a reformatory for girls run by the Magdalene Sisters. Since she was to remain there indefinitely and conditions were harsh, Sujka decided to volunteer for labour in Germany. Her true identity was, supposedly, not known to the nuns. When she attended mass on Sundays, she was moved by the sermons of an elderly priest who preached love towards all people. See the memoir of Sujka Erlichman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 314; Sujka Erlichman-Bank, *Listy z piekła* (Białystok: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1992).

¹⁷⁵ Dora Borensztajn decided to return to the Warsaw ghetto for a visit at some point and had to be smuggled out by Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow, a Franciscan Servant of the Cross. See Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 187–88.

¹⁷⁶ Account of Sister Maria Ancilla, August 23, 1983.

¹⁷⁷ Testimony of Stella Kolin, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 5415. Her testimony is found in Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, vol. 2 (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005), 114–16.

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Anna Sokol-Sokołowska (born in 1933, later Brożek) was cared for by her Polish nanny and several families. After the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, she was expelled from the city together with her elderly caregiver, who died in the transit camp in Pruszków. Alone, Anna was put on a train which stopped in Bliżyn, near Skarżysko-Kamienna. Local residents took in the refugees. Anna found shelter in the rectory of Rev. Czesław Kucharczyk, the local pastor, and was cared for by the priest's mother and his housekeeper. She remained there after the war, was baptized in November 1945, and later was placed in a children's home.¹⁷⁸

According to a Jewish account, Rev. Tadeusz Kamiński, the pastor of Czernice Borowe near Przasnysz, sheltered two Jews in the parish rectory, but the particulars are not known. Fearful of being arrested again by the Germans, Rev. Kamiński had to go into hiding.¹⁷⁹ Perhaps these were the two Jewish sisters from Czernice Borowe who were later sheltered by Rev. Józef Piekut, the pastor of Przasnysz, in the parish rectory. Rev. Piekut placed the girls in the monastery of the Capuchin Poor Clares (*mniszki klaryski kapucynki*) in Przasnysz. In April 1941, the Germans arrested all of the nuns and sent them to the Soldau concentration camp in Działdowo. Once the monastery was closed, the girls returned to the parish rectory in Przasnysz. Afterwards, they were placed with the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, also in Przasnysz. The ultimate fate of these two girls is not known. According to one account, they were eventually caught by the Germans and did not survive.¹⁸⁰

Bronisław Krzyżanowski, a Home Army commander from Wilno, and his wife, Helena, were decorated by Yad Vashem for rescuing several members of the Baran family. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 411–12.)

In July 1941, immediately after the Jews of Vilna [Wilno] were interned in the ghetto, five-year-old Zeev Baran was smuggled over to the Aryan side of the city, where he was taken in by Bronislaw [Bronisław] and Helena Krzyżanowski [Krzyżanowski], friends of his family. The Krzyżanowskis passed Zeev off as a relative whose parents had been exiled to Siberia by the Soviets. In time, Guta Baran, Zeev's mother, also escaped from the ghetto, after her husband [Eliasz Baran], who was a leading AK [i.e., Home Army] activist, fell in action against the Germans. The Krzyżanowskis hid Guta, who was in the last months of pregnancy, in their apartment, where she gave birth to her second son, Eliahu. The Krzyżanowskis also hid Sophie Rachel and Gregory Baran, relatives of Guta's, in their summer house [in Ponaryszki]. Throughout the occupation, there were many near escapes, when the refugees were almost discovered. Despite the danger, the Krzyżanowskis, prompted by humanitarian considerations, were determined to help their friends, and never expected anything in return. All the refugees were liberated in July 1944 and after the war immigrated to Israel, while the Krzyżanowskis moved to an area within Poland's new borders.

As is very often the case, the above encyclopedia entry does not record all those who came to the assistance of the rescued Jews. We know from Bronisław Krzyżanowski's personal account that Eliasz Baran, his wife Guta and their son Zeev were also sheltered for periods of time by the Magdalene Sisters, on a farm known as Tartak-Saraj on the outskirts of Wilno, near Werki. Krzyżanowski mentions Sister Petronela (Zofia Basiura), Sister Innocenta (Zofia Jakubowska), and Sister Fabiana, as well as several other Poles by name who came to the assistance of the Baran family.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Testimony of Anna Brozek, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 28418.

¹⁷⁹ Janusz Szczepański, *Spoleczność żydowska Mazowsza w XIX–XX wieku* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna imienia Aleksandra Gieysztora w Pułtusk, 2005), 491 (based on the account of Seweryn Ruda of Tel Aviv); “Tadeusz Kamiński,” Wikipedia, Internet: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tadeusz_Kamiński>.

¹⁸⁰ Shlomo Bachrach, ed., *Sefer zikaron kehilat Proshnits* (Tel Aviv: Proshnitz Landsmanshaft in Israel, 1974), translated as *Memorial Book to the Community of Przasnysz*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/przasnysz/przasnysz.html>>; Józef Piekut, Wikipedia, Internet: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Józef_Piekut>; Oral history interview with Aleksander Drwęcki, August 30, 2009, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Rev. Józef Piekut was a good friend of Yitzhak Perzhentsavsky, the last rabbi of Przasnysz, and they were known to take long walks together. Rev. Piekut died in 1946 and was buried in Przasnysz. Reportedly, years later, the two girls' brother returned to Przasnysz and cried over the priest's grave.

¹⁸¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 228–32. See also Bronisław Krzyżanowski, *Wileński matecznik 1939–1944* (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1979), 94–96.

Nuns were part of a network that worked closely with lay welfare institutions in Warsaw in sheltering Jews. The overnight hospice (*dom noclegowy*) for women from the lowest strata of society, located on Leszno Street near the main gate of the Warsaw ghetto, was run by the Municipal Women's House; both these institutions were operated and financed by Department of Social Welfare. The aforementioned Sister Bernarda (Julia Wilczek) of the Magdalene Sisters and the Sisters of Charity are mentioned in accounts describing the activities of two valiant women, Kazimiera (Halina) Szarowaro, the manager of the hospice on Leszno Street, and Zofia Wróblewska-Wiewiórowska, an employee of the hospice, both of whom were recognized by Yad Vashem. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, pp. 777–78; "Portrait of Zofia Wiewiorowska," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1177149>>; Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 635.)

Kazimiera Szarowaro and her daughter, Zofia Kwiatkowska, lived in Warsaw during the war. Kazimiera managed an overnight guesthouse next to the Municipal Women's House. The guesthouse (as well as the Women's House) stood near the ghetto on Leszno Street. During the German occupation, Szarowaro as well as her daughter lent considerable help to people who were hiding because of persecution. Since the Municipal Women's House and the overnight guesthouse were near the ghetto Kwiatkowska and her mother often helped people who were escaping from the ghetto and gave them illegal shelter in their apartment. Many times these people stayed for a long time under their complete care. At this time the Lodging House was run by the Municipal Women's House, at 96, Leszno St., and both these institutions were managed and financed by the Department of Social Welfare at 74, Złota St.

In the summer of 1942, when the Germans started to liquidate the 'small ghetto' ... Women of Semitic type with insanity and fear of death in their eyes began to reach the porter's lodge of our House more and more frequently, asking for a place to sleep and for asylum. They had false papers, Kennkarten (identity cards) issued by the City of Warsaw authorities. We placed the women in the common ward, but usually they left this asylum. After seeing the horrible conditions among the crowd of drunkards, beggars and insane women, they went to seek refuge somewhere else. ...

The Jewish escapees were passed on to us by a nun, Bernarda, with whom we kept in touch until the end. It was she who placed the younger ones in various boarding houses, private homes or institutions. The Municipal Women's House also crowded with Jewesses—girls in the boarding house and dormitories, governesses, guardians of the girls found refuge and occupation there. We never spoke, of course, about their origin, accepted their false papers in good faith ...

We arranged for the hidden women to get in touch with their families; the underground organization supplied them with medicine, food and clothing.

Zofia Wiewiorowska [Wiewiórowska], together with Halina Szarowaro, managed a night hospice ("Dom Noclegowy") for women from the lowest strata of society, which was located near the main gate of the Warsaw ghetto. Two rooms in the hospice served as a small hotel, and another as a small infirmary. There, Zofia hid a number of Jewish women throughout the war. In addition, she served as a liaison and courier for Jews hiding in nearby Radosc [Radość], delivering money for their upkeep. Zofia placed Anna [Wolfowicz, Irena Cygler's mother] in one of the rooms in her hotel. Although Anna had false papers under the name of Anna Sierczynska [Sierczyńska], she had Semitic looks, and was unable to safely leave her hiding place. She remained in the hotel until the Warsaw ghetto uprising, in August 1944. After the fall of the Wola district, where the hospital was located, she managed to blend in with the crowds of Poles expelled from Warsaw. She was sent to forced labor in Germany, where she survived until the end of the war.

Zofia also arranged for false Catholic birth certificates for Hendel and Irena [Cygler]. With these, they applied for Kennkartes (official identification cards) under the names of Kazimierz Laski [Łaski] and Teodozja Lewandowska. With the help of a Catholic nun, Sister Bernarda, Zofia then arranged a job for Hendel, working in a vegetable garden in the suburbs of Warsaw. This job, his false papers, his appearance, and his command of the Polish language enabled him to survive there until August 1944. He fought in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, as a member of the AL (People's Army) in the Old City district. He was wounded and hospitalized at Plocka [Płocka] Street, and later evacuated to the field hospital in Ursus, in the vicinity of Warsaw. He was liberated there in January 1945 by the Red Army.

Like Hendel, Irena spoke Polish perfectly, but her looks betrayed her Jewish origins and she was forced to change her place of employment frequently. Zofia always assisted in finding a new job for her. Finally, Sister Bernarda

found a job for Irena in the Szarytki [Sisters of Charity] convent orphanage at ul. Ordynacka,¹⁸² where she worked first in the kitchen, and later as a children's caretaker in the orphanage. Irena stayed there until the Warsaw ghetto uprising. She also was able to leave with the Polish population expelled by the Germans. She found Hendel in Ursus shortly before liberation.

In February 1942, Zofia [Wiewiórska] began working as a manager in the hospice and shelter for women at 93 Leszno Street, which was part of the Municipal Women's Home under the auspices of the Division of Social Services. The hospice was located close to one of the entrances to the Warsaw ghetto at Żelazna Street. Together with her immediate superior, Kazimiera Szarowaro, Zofia Wiewiórska helped to arrange short- and long-term stays at the shelter for women who had escaped from the Warsaw ghetto, especially in the summer of 1942, during the deportation of Warsaw ghetto Jews to Treblinka. While some were placed with trusted families and institutions, others continued to stay at the shelter. Though some of them had false identity papers, Zofia was well aware that they were Jewish. Among those who turned to Zofia for help in the fall of 1942 was a pianist, Niusia (Anna) Wolfowicz. Niusia and her daughter Irena had survived the liquidation of the ghetto in Żelechów (Garwolin County, Lublin District), and had moved to Warsaw. When Irena went to Częstochowa to look for her boyfriend, Hendel Cygler (later, Kazimierz Łaski), she visited Alina Sybyłówna [Sebyła], a friend from school and Zofia Wiewiórska's niece who gave her Zofia's Warsaw address. Zofia placed Niusia Wolfowicz in one of the rooms of the small hotel that was part of the hospice. She had false identity papers in the name of Anna Sierczyńska, but due to her looks, she stayed inside until August 1944, when the Warsaw Uprising broke out. Hendel Cygler escaped from the ghetto in Częstochowa in April 1943, and Zofia arranged an original birth certificate for him under the name of Kazimierz Łaski and a birth certificate for Irena under the name of Teodozja Lewandowska. These documents allowed them to apply for official identity cards. Zofia organized a place to stay for Hendel Cygler in the basement at 62 Chłodna Street and put him in touch with Sister Bernarda, who found him work in a vegetable garden. Zofia also arranged work for Irena Wolfowicz and eventually likewise put her in touch with Sister Bernarda, who found Irena a place in the orphanage run by the Szarytki Convent. Irena stayed at the orphanage during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 and found her fiancé shortly after the liberation. [...] Among other Jews who were hidden at the shelter was Zofia Władimirowa Łukaszewicz, who presented herself as a White Russian émigré [sic]. Zofia Wiewiórska and her colleague, Kazimiera Szarowaro [sic], organized private tutorials for her so that she could make a living teaching French and German. Other Jews who were hidden in the hospice were Irena Drweska-Ruszczyówna, Miss Szapiro, and Maria Fisher, who worked as a nurse in the hospice infirmary.

Zofia Wiewiórska provides additional information about the activities of Sister Bernarda in her account in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, at pages pp. 132–33.

The Jewish escapees [from the Warsaw ghetto] were passed on to us by a nun, Bernarda, with whom we kept in touch until the end. It was she who placed the younger ones in various boarding houses, private homes or institutions. The Municipal Women's House also crowded with Jewesses—girls in the boarding house and dormitories, governesses, guardians of the girls found refuge and occupation here. We never spoke, of course, about their origin, accepted their false papers in good faith ... In the hospital of the House there were a few 'sick' persons who simulated illness, so as not to go outdoors, being afraid of contact with the rest of the lodgers. Among them was Mrs Szapiro, wife of a film manager.

The Magdalene Sisters also took in Jews at their shelter in Lwów. After their mother was seized from their home and taken to the ghetto in August 1942, Danuta Macharowska (born in 1928) and her brother, Ryszard Macharowski (born in 1930), roamed the streets of Lwów begging for food. In February 1943, someone brought them to the attention of the Polish Welfare Committee and they were placed with nuns. Danuta stayed at a shelter run by the Magdalene Sisters on Zadwórzańska Street, where she remained until after the war. There she met another Jewish girl, Fela (Felicja) Meisels, who had stayed earlier with the Felician Sisters and whose story is set out later on. Danuta posed as a Catholic and bonded with Sister Kazimiera, with whom she remained a life-long friend. Her brother, Ryszard, was placed in a shelter for

¹⁸² This was the House of Mercy (Dom Miłosierdzia), which sheltered a number of Jewish girls. See Jadwiga Kisielewska, "Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej," *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85, at p. 83.

boys in the Zamarstynów district run by the Albertine Sisters.¹⁸³ Because he was circumcised and it was feared that his cover as a Catholic would be discovered by the other charges, in June 1943, Ryszard was sent to live with Polish families, first with a doctor in Lwów, and then on a farm in the nearby Polish village of Zimna Woda. Danuta and Ryszard were baptized by Rev. Tadeusz Załuczowski, the pastor of St. Elizabeth church, in April 1944, and made their First Holy Communion. In 1946, the children were reunited with their father, Ignacy Macharowski, who had been interned in Hungary as a Polish soldier and returned to Łódź after the war. Unfortunately, he died of cancer very soon after their reunion.¹⁸⁴

Another Jewish child who was placed in the Magdalene Sister's shelter on Zadwórzańska Street in Lwów was Marlena Wolisch (born in 1936). After her parents and brother were seized by the Germans, Marlena's older sister, Irka (then 15 years old), turned to a Catholic priest, who was an acquaintance of their mother, and obtained false identity documents for herself and Marlena. The priest was willing to hire Irka as a housekeeper, but she was not interested. Instead, Irka registered for labour in Germany as a Pole. Marlena went to live with her Ukrainian aunt, Marysia, who was married to Marlena's Jewish paternal uncle. After Ukrainian police arrested her aunt and uncle, a friend of Marysia's took Marlena in but she was afraid to keep her because of continued police raids on that same building. That woman took Marlena to the Polish Welfare Committee who placed her in the Magdalene Sister's shelter, where she remained until the entry of the Soviet army. The sister superior and another nun surmised that Marlena was Jewish.¹⁸⁵

A number of Jewish children were brought to the Magdalene Sisters' convent in Rabka¹⁸⁶ near Zakopane, whose charges included Beata Lew and Halina Lamet. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 127.)

In 1942, Krystyna Lew escaped from the Warsaw ghetto together with her eight-year-old daughter, Beata; her son, Marek; and her sister, Helena Pocimak. Armed with Aryan papers, which they had obtained from a Polish acquaintance, the fugitives appealed for help to Helena Byszewska, her sisters Jadwiga Gostkiewicz and Maria Szulinska [Szulińska], and Wiktoria Kolbinska [Kolbińska]. Before the war, these four women had maintained a business relationship with the Lew family, which in the course of time had evolved into genuine friendship. When they learned of the distress of their Jewish friends, the women immediately undertook to help them. Helena took Marek into her apartment, and subsequently found refuge for Krystyna and her daughter as well as a hideout elsewhere for Helena Pocimak. The women set up a joint fund, from which 150 zlotys [zloty] were allocated monthly to Krystyna and Helena Byszewska. In due course, the janitor's daughter began to suspect that Beata was Jewish,

¹⁸³ At least three Jewish boys were accepted by the Albertine Sisters at the shelter for abandoned boys on Sklepiński Street in the Zamarstynów district of Lwów. The shelter was maintained by the Main Welfare Council. See Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją*, 131; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 152. Jan Kulbinger (born in 1930) states that he and his cousin, Jęzek Rabach, who were passing as Jan Bandrowski and Józef Bandrowski respectively, convinced the German police in Lwów that they were not Jews after an inspection by a Jewish doctor, and were then sent to a shelter run by nuns where they successfully maintained their guise even though they knew nothing about Catholic rituals. Several weeks later they were employed by farmers as cattle herders. See the testimony of Jan Kulbinger, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 344.

¹⁸⁴ Magdalena Marczyńska, *Uśmiecham się, jak chciałaś* (Warsaw: Baobab, 2008), 22, 28–34, 62, 70, 194–95. Three Polish families from this small Polish village near Lwów have been recognized by Yad Vashem: Ulanowski, Dutkiewicz and Sołek. See, respectively, Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 4: *Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), Part 1, 195; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 738; Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), vol. II, 738. Additional accounts involving other rescuers from Zimna Woda are found in this compilation. See also the testimony of Dawid Tenenbaum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 806, who does not identify his Polish helpers by name, and the testimony of Sania Farber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1386, who was hidden by a woman named Zielińska.

¹⁸⁵ Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 95–97; Testimony of Marlena Wolisch, October 26, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1128.

¹⁸⁶ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 560; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 197–204.

and fearing denunciation Helena Byszewska decided to transfer her to a convent. Helena's daughter, Anna, taught Beata the rudiments of the Catholic faith, and the child was sent to a convent [of the Magdalene Sisters in Rabka near Nowy Targ], where she remained until the end of the war. ... Jadwiga, Maria, and Wiktoria were of constant assistance to Helena and Anna, and in times of danger hid the fugitives in their homes.

From 1942 Adela Nowosielska sheltered two Jewish children in her home in Rabka: Boruch Szafir, four years old, and Ewa Seifmann, one and a half years old. When Boruch fell ill, he was taken to the hospital in nearby Nowy Targ, where the Seraphic Sisters (Daughters of Our Lady of Sorrows) were employed as administrators and nurses. Sister Roberta Dudek, the head of the local convent, made every effort to conceal the fact that Boruch, who was circumcised, was Jewish. Nonetheless, at least some of the lay staff at the hospital must have been aware of that fact, yet no one betrayed him. Adela Nowosielska recounted the story in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, at pages 404–405, as follows:

I kept the boy Boruch Szafir, son of Chana Łaja, née Korn, and Froim Szafir, the father, who lived before the war in Ostrów Kielecki. At the time the boy of four was given to me, he was called Boluś in order to avoid dangerous suspicion. Boluś became very sick of appendicitis in the autumn of 1943. During the night, I took him to the hospital in Nowy Targ where it was found during the preliminary examination that he was circumcised and so they were afraid to take him in. A nun (Sister Roberta of the Seraphic order) transferred me with Boluś to the German ward for women and children and put me in a private room for prisoners where I remained with the child for four months. I went home to Rabka only once a week in order to leave my dispositions and food for my children and then my 14-years-old daughter replaced me with Boluś. In consequence, she acquired a serious case of neuritis and I had to stay constantly, day and night, with the sick Boluś. Obviously, I spent much money for the hospital, doctors and services at the hospital; I did everything to keep the child alive. There is no need to add that in concealing Boluś I exposed my children and myself to a death sentence at the hands of the Nazi Gestapo.

The Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) sheltered four Jewish children at their convent in Lwów: the brothers Stań and Bolo Proszowski, Lermi Tischer, and Krzysia Tymeczko.¹⁸⁷

At least six Jewish children were left as foundlings at the shelter run by the Seraphic Sisters in Drohobycz. For everyone's safety, the children's Jewish names were not known at the time. After the arrival of the Soviet army, the children were reclaimed by their relatives. The nuns refused to accept any payment for rescuing the Jewish children.¹⁸⁸ The Seraphic Sisters accepted at least one Jewish child at their children's shelter in Stryj. Pola (Tamara) Richter, who went by the name of Michasia, survived the war and left Stryj with the Sisters when they relocated to Gliwice, in Upper Silesia. The child had been left near the gate of the nuns' convent by an unknown woman, and was taken in as a foundling. A Jewish woman who was brought into Sisters' confidence, praised the kindness and compassion of the Mother Michalina, the superior, who turned away no child in need of help. Pola was a member of the Fischbein family who were sheltered in Stryj by a Polish couple, Bronisław and Maria Jarosiński. The Polish benefactors were arrested by the Gestapo in November 1943 together with their Jewish charges and executed. According to the Jarosińskis' son, Leszek, who was also arrested at the same time but released due to the intervention of a woman, they had been betrayed by a Jew who was not accepted into the shelter because of a lack of room. (The Jarosińskis were already sheltering a Jewish family consisting of five people.). The Jarosińskis' two young daughters, who were not home at the time of the arrest, were also spared. Pola managed to escape detection during the raid on the home. The three Jarosiński children were placed in the same children's shelter as Pola, which was later transferred to Gliwice. Upon arriving in Gliwice, the Jarosiński children were taken by their aunt. Pola Richter was removed from the convent on Gliwice by subterfuge. The Jewish committee sent someone there posing as the girl's uncle, and the

¹⁸⁷ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 142.

¹⁸⁸ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 240. In some cases, convents requested some reimbursement for the cost of sheltering Jewish children when they were reclaimed after the war. As Donald Niewyk points out, these requests for payment "must be viewed compassionately in light of the desperate poverty of these institutions." See Donald L. Niewyk ed., *Fresh Wounds: Early Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 151.

child was handed over to him.¹⁸⁹

Rev. Kazimierz Wasiak of the church of Our Lady of Victory (Corpus Christi parish), on Grochowska Street, in the Warsaw suburb of Praga (Kamionek), was instrumental in the rescue of a number of Jews. He connected Irena Śmietanowska (née Waksenbaum) of Warsaw, who had converted when she married Józef Śmietanowski, and their children Stefan (born in 1930) and Aleksandra (born in 1937), with his sister Maria Pac (Józef Śmietanowski's distant cousin) and her husband Stanisław Pac, who owned a mill in the village of Życzyn near Dęblin, and provided Irena a false birth certificate under the name of Bednarska to conceal her Jewish origin. The Śmietanowski family lived in Życzyn under the protection of the Pac family from summer 1940. Józef Śmietanowski was killed in a brawl with a mill worker in February 1942. (The mill worker's denunciation of the Śmietanowskis was fortunately intercepted by the Polish underground.) Aleksandra stayed with the Albertine Sisters in Życzyn for several weeks. Afterwards she and her mother moved back to Warsaw, where they took shelter in the rectory of Our Lady of Victory Church. In addition to Rev. Wasiak, the rectory housed the parish pastor, Rev. Feliks De Ville, and another priest. Irena and Aleksandra lived at the rectory from summer 1942 until their return to Życzyn in summer 1943. They were reunited with Stefan and together survived the war in Życzyn. Aleksandra was issued a false birth certificate by Rev. Waław Lechowicz of Życzyn under the assumed name of Bednarska. Rev. Wasiak also brought to Życzyn, from Warsaw, a Jewish woman named Maria Rybakowska (actually Wieniewicz) and her daughter Katarzyna. They too survived the war in Życzyn under the protection of the Pac family.¹⁹⁰ In addition to the aforementioned Aleksandra Śmietanowska, the Albertine Sisters of Życzyn also sheltered Hanka Arbesfeld (born in 1935),¹⁹¹ as well as Hanna Krall, a well-known journalist who counted 45 Poles who risked their lives to rescue her.¹⁹²

Another survivor describes the fate of her aunt, Frania Fink, a native of Zamość, who survived in Warsaw leading the life of a beggar. She frequented Catholic churches where she begged, received assistance, and occasionally shelter. Her identity as a Jew was known or suspected by many. Although occasionally taunted by some young ruffians, she was not betrayed during the two years she lived on the streets on Warsaw. (Joseph Freeman, *Kingdom of Night: The Saga of a Woman's Struggle for Survival* [Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2006], pp. 113–15.)

Frانيا had lived in Zamosc [Zamość], along with her husband and three daughters, when the war broke out in 1939. They managed to endure ghetto conditions with the help of Polish friends who provided food and money. They also gave Frania a false ID, which she could use in case of an emergency.

In October 1942, the Zamosc ghetto was brutally liquidated by the German forces. By then, one daughter had escaped to Russia and another had left the ghetto and was working in a factory on the Aryan side. During the liquidation, my aunt removed her armband with the Star of David and sneaked out of the ghetto to get some food for her daughter and husband. Upon her return she witnessed the liquidation of the Jews of Zamosc. From afar she saw the town's Jewish inhabitants shot by the SS and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. Horrified, she ran back to her Polish friends crying: "It is time for me to get out of this place. I'm alone. My husband and little girl have been sent away by the Germans with our people. I have nowhere to go. I cannot stay here, endangering the life of your family. May the Lord take care of you. Thank you for helping me. Some day I will return and pay you back for the things which you did for me and my family.

¹⁸⁹ Testimony of Pola Richter, October 22, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5399; Rysia Sobol-Masłowska, *Fakty i wspomnienia*, Second edition (Haifa: Ayalon, 1973), Part One, 117–18, 204–207; Diane Armstrong, *Mosaic: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (Milsons Point, N.S.W.: Random House, 1998), 392–94; Jolanta Chodorska, ed., *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny: Świadczenia nadesłane na apel Radia Maryja* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, 2002), Part Two, 164–65. An official German announcement of January 28, 1944 concerning the death sentence imposed on 84 people, five of them specifically for sheltering or otherwise helping Jews, including Bronisław Jarosziński (sic) of Stryj, is found in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 442.

¹⁹⁰ Ola (urodzona w 1937) [Aleksandra Leliwa-Kopystyńska], "Niemów nikomu!" *Midrasz*, no. 1 (129), January 2008: 42–49; "The Righteous from the Treblinka Area: Stanisław and Maria Pac and Fr. Kazimierz Wasiak," Internet: <<https://muzeumtreblinka.eu/en/informacje/stanislaw-and-maria-pac-and-fr-kazimierz-wasiak/>>.

¹⁹¹ Testimony of Hanka Arbesfeld, Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel), catalog no. 4918, registry no. 02850 collection.

¹⁹² Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 410–13.

To get out of the city she took care to pass as a gentile. Fortunately, she had [sic] blond hair and blue eyes and spoke fluent Polish without any accent. Leaving nothing to chance, she boarded a train wearing a big cross on her chest and under her arm was a Christian prayer book. Reasoning that it was easier to get lost in a bog city, she left Zamosc, for the Polish capital of Warsaw, where she assumed the appearance of a beggar. Warsaw was a crowded metropolis, full of people trying to do their best to persevere. But survival was not easy, even for Poles, as the Germans planned to transform the entire population into slaves working for the Fatherland. As a result, the streets of Warsaw were teeming with paupers just looking for handouts. Many stationed themselves at the entrances of churches, so they could plead with worshipers for food and money.

My aunt was a lost soul in Warsaw, without funds and without shelter. She slept where she could—sometimes invited into homes by strangers, sometimes on the street. It was a very hard and dangerous life, but she had no choice. Ironically, it was the Catholic churches that provided the greatest refuge for my Jewish aunt. She found a priest who gave her permission to solicit on the steps of the sanctuary. He also allowed her to wash her clothes and take care of herself in the rear of the church, but only during the warmer months. In the winter she had to clean her face and hands with snow and frequently went weeks without washing herself. The harsh cold and rains of winter left her sick, and she often had to find refuge by sleeping on the hard wooden benches inside the church. Already familiar with Catholic liturgy, she prayed and sang along with other worshipers, with a prayer book in one hand and a cross in the other. But this, too, was not easy. At times, Polish youths taunted her by calling “to stoy Zydowka” [“to stój Żydówko”] (“[Stand] You Jew!”), forcing her to flee to another part of the town and finding another church for safe harbor. ...

For two years my aunt had to endure the shame of posing as a beggar woman, living off the magnanimity of church officials and the generosity of strangers. She also lived through the Warsaw uprising in August 1944, when the Germans destroyed the city, killing hundreds of thousands of Poles. She saw how the Nazis eradicated Polish patriots who dreamed of a democratic Poland, while the Red army cynically watched from the other side of the Vistula. The Germans left Warsaw in ruins, liquidating almost all the inhabitants of the city. Those who did not perish were sent either to labor camps in Nazi Germany or to transit camps in Poland. My aunt was arrested and spent the remainder of the war in one such camp in eastern Poland, from where she was liberated by Russian and Polish forces in January 1945.

It was only with great difficulty that she returned to Zamosc after the war in Europe came to an end. Immediately she reconnected with her Polish friend who, true to his word, returned the hardware store that Frania had left with his years earlier. She got back her home, too, but she was alone. It was very difficult for her to go on living, so it was that our finding each other came as a blessing.

Zofia Bartel, a Jewish woman, converted to the Augsburg Evangelical faith when she married Oskar Bartel, a Protestant high school teacher in Warsaw. They couple frequented Polish society before the war. Her husband acquired for his wife the documents of one Jadwiga Idzikowska, deceased, which were supplied to him by a Catholic priest from St. James’s parish in Warsaw. For a time, Zofia even took shelter at the rectory. Afterwards, she was sheltered by Polish friends, among them the Usarek family of Warsaw and the Kuszell family of Przytoczno near Kock. Zofia Bartel had a marked Jewish appearance and her husband’s decision to move her from Warsaw to Przytoczno was fraught with peril, as recalled by Krystyna Usarek, but ended up being fortuitous.¹⁹³ (Marian Turski, ed., *Polish Witnesses to the Shoah* [London and Portland, Oregon, 2010], p. 165.)

So it was that Mrs. Bartel, alias Jadwiga Idzikowska, became our ‘second Jew’. She lived with us for six months. She could not, of course, ever set foot outside the flat or even show herself at the window. ...

At the beginning of April [1944] she announced that she was leaving. Mr. Oskar Bartel had found a hiding place for her at a manor house near Dęblin. We spent a long time urging her to reconsider her decision. There was a curfew from eight in the evening until six in the morning, and it was forbidden to be on the streets during this time without a pass. She would have to walk in front of the sentry while it was still light, make her way to the tram terminus near the Basilica [of the Sacred Heart] (often used by German soldiers going on leave), walk from the tram stop at ulica Targowa to the Eastern Station, and finally ride a hundred kilometres in a crowded train. I was brutal. I handed her a mirror and told her to look at her profile. ‘Yes, I know what sort of nose I’ve got’, she said. ‘I’ll have plastic surgery as soon as the war is over. But for now, I’m leaving!’

She left on Holy Thursday and arrived safely. She encountered no evil people, no stupid people, and no Germans along the way. ... She must, on the other hand, have met at least two or three hundred people who knew what she was as soon as they looked at her, but pretended to see nothing. Just four months later, she was free. She survived.

¹⁹³ Marian Turski, ed., *Polish Witnesses to the Shoah* (London and Portland, Oregon, 2010), 163–66; The Kuszell Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-kuszell-family>>.

But the Gestapo came for us at night, the following Thursday, exactly a week after her departure. Our arrest had nothing to do with Mrs Zofia Bartel. The Gestapo officer at their headquarters on aleja Szucha [in Warsaw] screamed 'You should all be shot and hanged! You are ALL in the Resistance!' (There were a hundred of us, and I supposed that he must have been right.)

Forty of the hundred were shot forthwith, and the other sixty sent to concentration camps. It was pure chance that we were among the sixty, and not the forty.

Moshe and Eva Weinman (Wajnman) befriended Rev. Józef Garbala, the pastor of a Polish National Catholic (*Kościół Polskokatolicki*) parish in Skarżysko-Kamienna. Rev. Garbala taught them prayers so they could pass as Christians. After their conversion in 1940, the family lived for a period of time as Christians. Their oldest daughter, Ruth, obtained false documents in the name of Krystyna Kowalska and went to stay with the pastor of the Polish National Catholic in the village of Hucisko near Końskie. That priest was also sheltering a Jewish couple going by the name of Majewski, who may have been implicated in the disappearance of Ruth. (After the war Majewski worked for the State Security office in Katowice.) After the loss of their parents, the oldest son, 16-year-old Witold, took the youngest sibling, Henryk, who was born in March 1941 and was not circumcised, to Kraków in December 1943. He left him at the entrance of the building at 45 Krakowska Street, near the Albertine Sisters' orphanage, wrapped in a blanket. As Witold watched from a distance, the caretaker, Józef Wadek, took Henryk away. Henryk was taken to the Albertine Sisters' orphanage on Koletek Street, where he was known as Stanisław. After the war, Henryk was adopted by Stanisław Jankowski and his wife, who did not want to return the child when his brother, Witold, found him. Witold also took his seven-year-old sister Danuta, known as Dana or Danusia (her Hebrew name was Rachel; later she became Dena Axelrod), born in 1936, to Warsaw and left her at St. James church (actually the church of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary of St. James parish) on Grójecka Street near Narutowicz Square. Her brother instructed her to turn to a priest for help pretending to be Barbara Ślązak, a lost child. She remained at the church rectory for about a month, cared for by the sister of a priest. A parishioner named Mrs. Przybysz then agreed to take the child. When she took her to the police station to register her, as she was required to do, a policeman suspected the child was Jewish. To ensure the child's safety, another policeman took her to the office of the Polish social welfare agency, where lost Polish children were brought. Danuta was introduced to Stanisław Kornacki, an official at the agency, who became her guardian and protector. Kornacki cared and provided for Danuta throughout the war. Initially, she stayed at a children's institution on Czerniakowska Street, where she suspected that a number of the children were Jewish, and would often visit Kornacki at the one-room apartment he shared with his family. In July 1944, just before the Warsaw Uprising broke out, Kornacki placed Danuta in a boarding school on Marysińska Street, on the outskirts of Warsaw, which was relocated to Poronin near Zakopane after the city was evacuated. She returned to his home in May 1945 and remained with him until November 1947. Henryk and Danuta were eventually reunited with their brother Witold, who also survived. A Polish friend, Jan Szalla, found Witold a job as a farm hand on an estate in Głusków near Warsaw, where he was known as Witold Winiarski (Winarski). The estate was managed by Count Jan Skarbek-Łuchowski, who used to provide food to Jews hiding in the forests. Count Skarbek-Łuchowski had been expelled by the Germans from his own estate in Kije near Pińczów. They were later evicted to a small farm in the nearby village of Cząstoniew. When Witold returned to Skarżysko after the liberation, he met up again with Rev. Garbala who took him in and cared for him. Witold followed Rev. Garbala when he was transferred to another parish in Grudziądz. Witold attended high school there and served as an altar boy. In the summer of 1946, he decided to return to the Jewish community.¹⁹⁴ The story of Dana Wajnman is found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 375.

¹⁹⁴ Diana Binder, "Abandoned", in Arnold Geier, *Heroes of the Holocaust* (New York: Berkley Books, 1998), 211–25; Dena Axelrod, "'My Name is Barbara,'" in Peter Tarjan, ed., *Children Who Survived the Final Solution* (New York: iUniverse, 2004), 192–204; Emily Taitz, ed., *Holocaust Survivors: A Biographical Dictionary* (Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 2007), vol. 1, 15–17; Testimony of Witold Weinman, September 13, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1945; Testimony of Henryk Weinman, February 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3362; Testimony of Danuta (Basia) Wajnman, August 8, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4110; Testimony of Stanisław Kornacki, September 20, 1958, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5635; Testimony of Dena Axelrod, Yad Vashem Archives, file 7786; Testimony of Bill Wyman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 16232.

In January 1943, six-year-old Dana Wajnman's elder brother [Witold] smuggled her out of the Przeborz [Przedbórz] ghetto, in the Kielce district, and took her with him to Warsaw. Upon their arrival, Dana's brother told her to enter a church [St. James] and tell the priest that her parents had died in the war and that she had nowhere to go. The priest accompanied little Dana to the offices of the RGO [Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, a social welfare agency] where an RGO official, Stanislaw [Stanisław] Kornacki, questioned her. After she fearfully admitted that she was Jewish and told him her story, Kornacki, stirred to compassion, arranged for Dana to stay in an orphanage near Warsaw under an assumed identity, where he used to visit her and bring her candy and clothing. Dana also used to stay with Kornacki on occasion. Dana remained in the orphanage until January 1945, when the area was liberated. After the war, when he discovered that Dana's parents had perished, Kornacki adopted her and gave her his name. After his death in 1963, Dana Wajnman emigrated to the United States.

Rev. Józef Kamiński found shelter for Marian Kuszner (born in 1937), who had been smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto and left with the Catholic Aid Centre. The boy was baptized under the name of Marzyński. He was placed in the Orionine Fathers' orphanage for boys in Łaźniew outside of Warsaw, which was staffed by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś). Marzyński, who became an altar boy, recalled the precautions that had to be taken when the Germans arrived to search the orphanage: "And the chapel was used whenever Germans were around, probably buying some goods or being around. I was always taken by one of the brothers to the chapel, and I was hiding, either by serving the mass or sometimes behind the altar."¹⁹⁵ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 324.)

In the summer of 1942, Jozef Kaminski [Józef Kamiński], a priest, turned to Antonina Kaczorowska, and asked her to look after Marian Marzynski [Marzyński], a five-year-old orphan. After Kaczorowska, a matron at Warsaw's Saint Roch hospital who lived on the hospital premises, agreed the orphan was brought to her apartment. Although she soon discovered that Marian was a Jew who had been smuggled out of the local ghetto, Kaczorowska decided to look after him. Kaczorowska obtained Aryan papers for Marian, whom she passed off as a relative. Inspired by her religious faith to look after the persecuted, Kaczorowska took good care of Marian without expecting anything in return. Marian stayed with Kaczorowska for eight months, after which a place was found for him in an orphanage run by a convent in the village of Łaźniew [Łaźniew], near Warsaw, where he stayed under an assumed identity until April 1945. Throughout his stay at the orphanage, Kaczorowska came to visit him and brought him clothes and candy. After the war, his mother traced him and reclaimed him.

The Salesian Society (Society of St. Francis de Sales) sheltered Jews—primarily boys—at various institutions for boys in several localities: the Ks. Siemca Institute on Lipowa Street in Warsaw; an orphanage on Litewska Street in Warsaw; a boarding school in Głusków near Warsaw; a boarding school in Częstochowa; an orphanage in Przemyśl; and an orphanage in Supraśl.¹⁹⁶ Among the priests directly involved in the rescue of Jews were Rev. Jan Mazerski, the director of the Ks. Siemca Institute; Rev.

¹⁹⁵ Testimony of Marian Marzynski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 34729, Internet: <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/marian/>>. There is some confusion as to the institution that sheltered Marzyński. According to the Samaritan Sisters of the Cross of Christ, he stayed at their home for boys in Pruszków near Warsaw for at least some time. See Margarita Brzozowska, "Samaratynki nie pytały o narodowość," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 61–77, at p. 65. Marzyński made the following bizarre claim about the alleged carefree lives of Catholic Poles during the war: "See, during the war, when people were dying, the Catholic Church functioned like there was no war [sic]. People were dressing up. They were going to church, they were singing the songs. They were connected to their God. So I played this game. It was oppressive, of course, but at the same time it made me busy." See Azmat Khan's interview with Marian Marzynski, "Before I Was Anybody, I Was a Child survivor of the Holocaust," February 4, 2013, Internet: <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/biographies/never-forget-to-lie/before-i-was-anybody-i-was-a-child-survivor-of-the-holocaust/>>.

¹⁹⁶ The Goldstein brothers, among others, were sheltered at the Ks. Siemca Institute in Warsaw; A. Filipowski was sheltered at the boarding school in Częstochowa. Jewish boys who made their way to the orphanage on Litewska Street, located near the Warsaw ghetto, were transferred out soon after their arrival there. The orphanage was closed permanently by the Germans in the fall of 1943. See Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, 149–50, 155; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 745–46. Julian Ostrowski and several other Jewish boys were sheltered by the Salesians in Przemyśl. Dis account is set out later. See Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 204. Accounts regarding the Salesian parishes in Lwów (Our Lady of Ostra Brama) and Warsaw (Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) can be found elsewhere in the text. Rev. Wawrzyniec Kapczuk, a Salesian, is believed to have assisted Jews in Kraków. See Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, 155.

Stanisław Janik, who procured false documents for Jews and whose involvement with a social welfare agency enabled him to place some Jewish boys at the Ks. Siemca Institute¹⁹⁷; and Rev. Adam Skalbania, the director of the school for boys in Głusków.

Artur Ney, born in Warsaw in 1930, lived in the Warsaw ghetto together with his parents. He ventured out of the ghetto frequently, buying goods and then smuggling them into the ghetto for re-sale. When the ghetto uprising broke out in April 1943, Artur happened to be on the Aryan side, at the home of the Serafinowicz family, who offered him a base outside the ghetto. They made arrangements for Artur to stay with their relatives in a Warsaw suburb where he remained for a brief period. Artur then found employment as a farm hand in the village of Runów near Grójec, where he worked for the Puchała family. The family learned that he was Jewish but Artur felt safe among them. At one point, Artur was injured on the farm. A nun, who was a nurse, came to see him twice to dress his wound. She too was aware he was Jewish. Artur returned to Warsaw in December 1943, when the Germans carried out a round-up in the village seizing Poles for labour in Germany. He turned to the Polish civilian welfare authorities for assistance. Realizing he was Jewish, they sent him to the Ks. Siemca Institute, a boarding school for boys on Lipowa Street run by the Salesian Society. Artur was known there as Piotr Grodzieński, using identity documents his father had obtained for him. The director, Rev. Jan Mazerski, who had assumed a false identity because he was wanted by the Gestapo,¹⁹⁸ was aware of Artur's Jewish origin. Eventually, of his own accord, Artur asked Rev. Stefanowski (likely an alias), his religion teacher, to christen him. Artur learned that there was at least one other Jewish boy, who was a prefect, at this institution. Artur remembered him as a mean boy who took advantage of the younger boys. In fact, there were several Jewish boys residing there. The Goldstein brothers, who had Semitic appearances, were also referred there by the Warsaw Social Welfare Department. They went by the name of Cesarski.¹⁹⁹ Another charge was Edgar Talmus, who went by the name of Włodzimierz Zieliński. He too had to leave, after a three year stay, when the institute was shut down during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, and joined up his parents.²⁰⁰ Artur Ney relates the story in the following account. (Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* [Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971], pp. 331–32.)

I went to the emergency welfare department. In the ghetto I had purchased an “Aryan” birth certificate from a boy who was a convert who was later deported from the ghetto. They checked the document in the social welfare office and discovered that it belonged to a convert. So I was sent to an institute which was run by Rev. Jan Kapusta as a convert. He was there as a civilian, hiding from the Germans. His real name was Jan Marzerski [Mazerski]. He was a good person. Rev. Stefanowski also knew about me, and he was good to me too. The children who resided there knew nothing about me. While there I completed my sixth grade of public school. There were about 100 people there in total. The institute was located at 59 Sienna Street. [Actually, the institution was located on Lipowa Street. M.P.] I stayed there until the Uprising [in August 1944].

¹⁹⁷ On the activities of Rev. Stanisław Janik see Jarosław Wąsowicz, “Cierpiący świadek Chrystusa: Ks. Stanisław Janik (1909–2006), więzień obozów hitlerowskich i komunistycznych,” *Nasz Dziennik*, July 7–8, 2007; Jarosław Wąsowicz, “Wychowawca, nauczyciel, więzień PRL—ks. Stanisław Janik SDB (1909–2006),” in Gustaw Romanowski, ed., *Bohaterowie trudnych czasów* (Łódź: Biblioteka Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2006), vol. 2, 30–45. Rev. Janik was arrested by the Gestapo in February 1944, during a raid on the Ks. Siemca Institute, and taken to the Pawiak prison together with several other priests, among them Rev. Jan Cybulski. He was subsequently imprisoned in several concentration camps, mostly in Gross-Rosen. On his return to Poland, he was persecuted by the Communist authorities and, in January 1962, was sentenced to a three-year prison term for alleged subversive activities.

¹⁹⁸ Wanted by the Gestapo in Kraków, Rev. Jan Mazerski escaped to Warsaw. Artur Ney, who found shelter at Ks. Siemca Institute, knew Fr. Mazerski under his assumed identity of Jan Kapusta. (Rev. Jan Kapusta had been arrested by the Soviets in Eastern Poland in November 1939 and was deported to the Gulag. He was released only in December 1955.) During the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, Rev. Mazerski took refuge in the convent of the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the New Town Market Square. The convent was bombed by the Germans on August 31, 1944, killing 36 nuns, 4 priests (Rev. Jan Mazerski, Rev. Józef Archutowski, Rev. Michał Rozwadowski, and Fr. Leonard Hrynaszkiewicz), and about one thousand civilians, among them Jews who had taken refuge there. See Sylwester Jędrzejewski, “Jan Mazerski SDB (1901–1944), biblista i orientalista,” *Seminare*, vol. 35 (2014), no. 3: 11–19.

¹⁹⁹ Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, 150.

²⁰⁰ Testimony of Edgar Talmus, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 57127.

During the Uprising I joined the Home Army. They knew I was Jewish. The whole time I was in the first frontline in horrible conditions. I went there of my own free will, because they did not want to let me out of the institute. ... On October 7 we all left Warsaw as the last patrols. We were taken to Pruszków. I ran away from the transport and made it to Łowicz. ... I stayed there until the Soviet Army arrived.

During the Warsaw Uprising Artur was protected by the commander of his unit, Captain “Orzech,” and by an unidentified chaplain, both of whom knew he was Jewish. After the uprising, Captain “Orzech” and a driver by the name of Kazimierczak helped Artur to escape from the transit camp in Pruszków. Since he had no surviving family, Artur decided to return to the Salesians after the war. He stayed at their orphanage in Głusków-Zielone outside Warsaw for more than a year, while attending high school. He recalled, “The priests knew that I was Jewish but they didn’t treat me any differently.” In particular, he had fond memories of Rev. Henryk Ignaczewski, the director of the orphanage. A former employee of his deceased father was surprised to run into Artur. He put him in contact with an aunt and uncle who had also survived. They made arrangements for Artur to leave Poland with them, and Artur eventually settled in Canada.²⁰¹

Two Jewish women were employed at the Ks. Siemca Institute: Adina Blady Szwajger was a child care worker for the Central Relief Council²⁰²; and Zofia Kubar was an accounting teacher.²⁰³ It is not clear whether their true identity was known to the priests.

Rev. Adam Skalbania, the director of the Salesian Society’s school for boys in Głusków (Głusków-Zielone) near Warsaw, was awarded posthumously by Yad Vashem in 2006 for his rescue efforts. Among the Jewish boys he accepted at this institution were the cousins Jan Majzel (later Jan Philipp) and Karol Majzel, and Piotr Krasucki. (Adam Skalbania, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5728782>>.)

During the war, Adam Skalbania, a Catholic priest and member of the Silesian [sic] Order, worked as headmaster of a boys’ school run by the Order in Głusków, a small village some 18 km south of Warsaw. In the fall of 1942, Jan Majzel (b. 1928, later Jan Mostowski, later Jan Philipp) arrived at the school, having previously hidden in Warsaw with his father. After placing his son in Skalbania’s care, Majzel’s father was captured and killed in Warsaw. Meanwhile, Majzel’s cousin Karol (b. 1932, later Łaskowski [Laskowski]) was hiding on the Aryan side with his mother. By the end of 1942 the threat of being discovered and arrested grew dangerously high. When she learned that Jan was already safely at the school, Karol’s mother went to beg Skalbania to accept Karol as a student too. Karol was taken in immediately, posing as a “charity case”—a poor orphan sent from another Salesian school. Karol’s mother also stayed at the school, passing as her son’s aunt. Altogether, over 30 other students were at the school, including Piotr Krasucki, who was also in hiding, along with several university professors whose life [sic] were in peril as “intellectuals”—all of whom needed to be fed and cared for. Few of them could pay any tuition, and the school was aided by some of the neighboring farmers. Skalbania, however, was the only person aware of the Jewish identities of some of his wards. ... On Sundays, mass was held for all the villagers in the small schoolhouse, and there was always a risk that their true identities would be revealed. Despite the enormous peril to himself and others, Adam Skalbania felt that saving the persecuted was his moral obligation, and he willingly sheltered them for no reward. As Father Skalbania told Piotr Krasucki when they met in Łódź after the war, “The danger of death for us was possible, but for our charges it was imminent.”

According to a brochure, *Righteous Among the Nations*, published for the award ceremony held in Warsaw on June 14, 2010:

²⁰¹ Artur Ney describes his stay with the Salesian Society at length in his autobiography, published under the name of Arthur Ney, *W Hour* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2014), 98–109. The references to the nun who cared for him when he was a farmhand and the chaplain who protected him when he joined the underground are found, respectively, at pp. 82–83 and 119. His stay with the Salesians in Głusków after the war is described at pp. 145–57. See also his testimony (Artur Ney) dated January 15, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2227, which is reproduced in part in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 331–32.

²⁰² Adina Blady Szwajger, *I Remember Nothing More: The Warsaw Children’s Hospital and the Jewish Resistance* (London: Collins Havrill, 1990), 122–24.

²⁰³ Zofia S. Kubar, *Double Identity: A Memoir* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 147–49.

The boys had to keep their Jewish origin in secret. However, other boys from the school were easily guessing at it. One pupil even threatened Jan to inform on him to the Germans. The risk of disclosure was higher because the school was often inspected by the German soldiers. Another danger would arise on Sundays when the school attended Mass. People in church could pay attention to two little boys with dark looks. Fortunately, all of them survived the war. Later on they moved to Lodz [Łódź]. Rev. Skalbania [Skalbania] offered to orphaned Jan (his father was killed during the occupation) to live with him. Rev. Skalbania, a man of great heart and bravery, died in 1986 in Warsaw. Today Karol Laskowski lives in Brazil, his cousin Jan Philipp—in the United States. Up to this day, both of them remember their rescuer and guardian who lent them a helping hand although he risked his life.

Several Jewish boys were sheltered at the Salesian Society's orphanage in Supraśl. Dioniza Lewin (Lewińska) from Warsaw was employed as a laundry woman under an assumed identity. Her seven-year-old son, Jan, was housed in the orphanage. Both of them survived the occupation. Dr. Brennmuller, a local doctor, and his wife stayed in a rectory in nearby Czarna Wieś for several weeks. The following priests were involved in the rescue effort: Rev. Władysław Dorobiałą (Dorabiała), the director of the institution, Rev. Julian Zawadzki, the administrator, Rev. Stanisław Piotrowski, Rev. Leon Kunat, and the seminarian Mikołaj Płoski. Several lay persons were on the staff of the institution.²⁰⁴

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul had to relocate their orphanage from Białystok to Surpraśl in 1942 when the Germans took over their premises. They sheltered a number of Jewish children and a nun of Jewish origin. Three Jewish girls—Maria Syrota, Józefina Kloze, and Henryka Phifer—and a Jewish boy sheltered by the nuns were transferred to the Jewish community after the war. In addition to the nuns, among them Sister Natalia Hadryszewska, the superior, and Sister Genowefa Łaguń, the rescue effort also involved the lay staff of the orphanage.²⁰⁵ Some of the Jewish charges had been brought to the orphanage by Marcin Czyżykowski, a Home Army liaison with the Białystok ghetto who was honoured by Yad Vashem for rescuing several Jews.²⁰⁶ (The Czyżykowski Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-czyzykowski-family>>.)

During the war, Marcin Czyżykowski lived in Białystok, together with his wife Maria and two two-year-old daughters. From the moment that a ghetto was established in the city, the Czyżykowski couple openly engaged in helping its inhabitants. The Białystok ghetto held over 40,000 Jews from the city and the surrounding area. Pre-war friends of the family had also ended up there.

Marcin Czyżykowski provided the ghetto with food and medicines. He also helped the neediest of members of Jewish organisations who were active outside the ghetto walls. In 1941, he joined the Home Army (AK) within which, as Bartek, he was assigned the duty of maintaining contact with the ghetto. As part of his activities, he supplied the ghetto with false documents which gave Jews the chance to escape and live on the Aryan side. He organised the transport of weapons to Jewish partisans and the escape of people into the forest.

He also saved Jewish children, leading them into the Aryan side and placing them into crèches, orphanages and kindergartens run by the Sisters of Charity. His actions required great courage and were enormously risky.

Czyżykowski wrote, "My assignment was to be the contact with the ghetto. I saved children through my contacts with the clergy. I once transferred twelve infants, some of whom were still in cradles. I was scared that their crying

²⁰⁴ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 745–46; Ewa Rogalewska, "Siostry szarytki i księży salezjanie: Zapomniana karta ratowania Żydów w Białymstoku i Supraślu," in Aleksandra Namysło, ed., *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...": Polacy niosący pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2009), 56–73; Ewa Rogalewska, "Zagłada, opór, pomoc: Miasteczko Supraśl na skraju Puszczy Knyszyńskiej," in Adam Sitarek, Michał Trębacz, and Ewa Wiatr, eds., *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego; Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Łodzi, 2012), 216–17; Ewa Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie: Doświadczenie Zagłady—świadectwa literatury i życia* (Białystok: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Oddział w Białymstoku, 2013), 200–10; Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, 150–51.

²⁰⁵ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 745–46; Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 956; Ewa Rogalewska, "Siostry szarytki i księży salezjanie: Zapomniana karta ratowania Żydów w Białymstoku i Supraślu," in Namysło, *"Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?..."*, 56–73; Ewa Rogalewska, "Zagłada, opór, pomoc: Miasteczko Supraśl na skraju Puszczy Knyszyńskiej," in Sitarek, Trębacz, and Wiatr, *Zagłada Żydów na polskiej prowincji*, 216–17; Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie*, 200–10.

²⁰⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 163.

would attract attention to me. The Sisters of Charity accepted the children into their crèche, the older ones entering their kindergarten.”

The Czyżykowski home served as a hiding-place for ghetto escapees. Among those hidden there were the Kaczmarczyk and Neumark families. Maria and Marcin saw their providing help to needy Jews as their obligation, regardless of the problems that this would entail.

In April 1944, Marcin Czyżykowski was arrested by the Gestapo for his activity in the underground and put into prison. He was then moved to the Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp. Upon his release, he returned to Białystok.

The Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) (*Siostry Służebniczki Najświętszej Maryi Panny Niepokalanie Poczętej ze Starej Wsi*), whose mother house was located in Stara Wieś near Brzozów, ran a large number of institutions throughout Poland where Jews were sheltered: Będzin, Brzeżany, Chotomów near Warsaw, Chorostków near Kopyczyńce, Częstochowa, Gorlice, Grodzisko Dolne near Przeworsk,²⁰⁷ Keaków-Prądnik Czerwony, Łązniew near Warsaw, Lesko, Lisków near Kalisz, Łódź, Lublin,²⁰⁸ Miechów, Nienadówka near Rzeszów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Róża near Mielec, Rzepińce near Buczac, Skąła Podolska, Stara Wieś near Brzozów, Staromieście near Rzeszów, Szywnald, Tapin near Przemyśl, Tarnopol, Tarnów, Turkowice near Hrubieszów, Wirów near Drohiczyń, and Wola Rzędzińska near Tarnów.

At the orphanage in the village of Turkowice near Hrubieszów, thirty-three Jewish children were saved by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś). All of the convent's twenty-two nuns were actively engaged in the rescue. Although the Jewish children were not baptized, they all had false baptismal certificates and were permitted to receive the sacraments. The nuns were assisted by their chaplain, Fr. Stanisław Bajko, a Jesuit, and by a network of people outside the convent, including a district social services inspector. No one was betrayed. The superior of the convent, Aniela Polechajłło (Sister Stanisława), and three other sisters—Antonina Manaszczuk (Sister Irena), Józefa Romansewicz (Sister Hermana), and Bronisława Galus (Sister Róża)—have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 629; Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 552.)

The Turkowice convent in Hrubieszow [Hrubieszów] county, Lublin district, was one of the largest children's convents in Poland, known for having provided asylum for Jewish children during the occupation. Some arrived in the convent from the immediate surroundings, but most were sent there from distant Warsaw by Żegota [Żegota]. The efforts to save children were spearheaded by the mother superior of the convent, Aniela Polechajłło [Polechajłło], known as Sister Stanisława. She collaborated with Jan Dobraczyński [Dobraczyński], the head of the department for abandoned children in Warsaw's City Hall and an active Żegota member. Polechajłło was an educational role model and inspired her students with her own spirit of tolerance. Helped by the nuns Antonina Manaszczuk (Sister Irena) and Józefa [Józefa] Romansewicz (Sister Hermana), she received the Jewish children warmly and never forced any to accept the Catholic religion. The three nuns worked to save Jewish children in full cognizance of the danger they had taken upon themselves. A number of German soldiers were always stationed in

²⁰⁷ According to a Jewish account, the young daughter of Reb Moshe of Grodzisko was sheltered in an orphanage run by nuns. No one betrayed her even though her presence there was widely known. See Bertha Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining...* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980), 199. According to Frieda Stieglitz (Fryda Einsiedler), who hails from Grodzisko Dolne, the child in question was Anna (Hana, Hanale) Kestenbaum, also from Grodzisko Dolne. The child appeared openly with the nuns and was reclaimed by her mother after the war. See the Testimony of Frieda Stieglitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 23942 (segment 270). In a Polish account, this child is referred to as Hania, the daughter of a couple known as Jackow. Stanisław Dec, the head of the family who sheltered the Jackows and two other Jews in Grodzisko Dolne, was shot by the Germans during a raid on his home, together with one of the Jewish men he protected. See Elżbieta Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 162–63; Elżbieta Rączy and Igor Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2011), 196.

²⁰⁸ Ruta Helman was one of several Jewish children sheltered at the orphanage on Dominikańska Street under the direction of Sister Florentyna Podolak. See the testimony of Ruta Helman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 997. See the story of Sabina Irena Czerkies later in the text.

the convent, some of whom knew that Jewish children were hiding there but were willing to turn a blind eye because of their sympathy for the nuns. The Żegota chose to send children of particularly Jewish appearance there because of the convent's remote location in a forest far from any main roads. Whenever Żegota activists came across children difficult to hide because of their appearance, they would inform the Turkowice convent and the nuns Romansewicz and Manaszczuk would set out on the long journey to Warsaw to rescue them. All the boys and girls brought to the Turkowice convent were saved and not a single case of a Jewish child being denounced or handed over to the German authorities is known. Those saved by the three nuns have very fond memories of them and the convent—of how they cared for them with kind devotion and without discrimination, motivated only by their conscious and religious faith.

Sister Bronisława Róża Galus was one of the nuns teaching in the orphanage in the convent of Turkowice (Hrubieszów County, Lublin District) where 30 Jewish children were kept in hiding. Sister Róża taught a group of boys, including several Jewish boys who had taken refuge there under false Christian identities, with Michał Głowiński and Ludwik Brylant among them. She knew that they were Jewish and was aware of their fears that their Christian friends might inform on them and cause their death. Sister Róża displayed warmth towards her Jewish pupils, surrounded them with love, and protected them. ... In his biography, Michał Głowiński indicates that of all the nuns who looked after the Jewish children in the Turkowice convent, three of whom have been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations, Sister Róża exceeded them all in her devotion and sensitivity, because she knew that the Jewish children felt threatened even there and she took them under her personal protection.

Katarzyna Meloch, born in 1932, passing as Irena Dąbrowska, was one of many Jewish children sheltered in at the orphanage in Turkowice. Her account is recorded in Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, at pages 114–15.

I was a Jewish child, saved in an institution for children operated by nuns, Servant Sisters of the Most Holy Virgin Mary (headquartered in Stara Wieś). I am one of a large group of Jewish children saved in Turkowice in the Zamość area. "Jolanta" (Irena Sendler, the head of Żegota's department for the care of children) reports that thirty-two Jewish children found shelter in Turkowice. One of the nuns, decorated posthumously, Sister Hermana (secular name Józefa Romansewicz), writes in her yet-unpublished memoirs about nineteen children who were hidden in the institution.

Three nuns from Turkowice (from a religious staff of approximately twenty-two persons) have already been awarded Yad Vashem medals, but rescuing us Jewish children was the joint effort of the entire religious staff. When I write and speak of the collective rescue deeds, I have in mind not just "our" nuns. In the Social Service Department of the municipal administration of Warsaw, operations were conducted, clandestinely, to place Jewish children in homes operated by religious orders. The writer Jan Dobraczyński was the initiator of this activity. He was assisted by coworkers Irena Sendler, Jadwiga Piotrowska and also by my wartime Aryan guardian, Jadwiga Deneka [Deneko]. The "collective enterprise" would have been impossible without the consent of Inspector Saturnin Jarmulski.²⁰⁹ He knew (Sister Superior had no secrets from him) that Jewish children were located in the Turkowice institution. He demanded just one thing, that we all have our Aryan documents in good order.

I cannot fail to mention Father Stanisław Bajko. He saw to it that our identity was corroborated by church practices. ...

For me, the most important of these persons was and is Sister Irena (Antonina Manaszczuk). Two years ago, she received, in person, a medal at Yad Vashem. ... Sister Irena took us, girls and boys, by a dangerous route from Warsaw to our place of destination. On a daily basis, she looked after several Jewish girls. In the task of rescuing us, she was the right hand of Mother Superior.

Janusz Sadowski, a Jewish boy from Lwów with flaming red hair, had been wandering around in small villages before presenting himself at the convent in Turkowice and declaring he was Jewish. The nuns accepted him without hesitation. He was well liked by the other boys even though everyone knew about his Jewish origin. He was one of several teenage boys killed by Ukrainian nationalists on May 16, 1944, when they accompanied Sister Longina (Wanda Janina Trudzińska) on a food mission to nearby Werbkowice.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ See also Saturnin Jarmulski's account, "Ze wspomnień inspektora," *Więź*, no. 4 (1988): 82–90, and Cezary Gawryś, "Turkowice—śmierć i ocalenie," *Więź*, no. 4 (1987): 4–42.

²¹⁰ Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 1, 65–66. Sister Longina was also murdered together with the boys, all but one of whom were Catholic Poles.

The rescue of Renata Margulies (born in 1921), the daughter of a lawyer, was a complicated one. Since Renata was recognizable in her hometown of Stryj, she had to be moved to another town. Her former teacher, Maria Wasserman-Waniewska, provided Renata with the baptismal certificate of her own daughter, Janina Wasserman, as well as other documents fabricated for no charge by the artist Edward Grabowski. Although Renata was stopped by a train policeman (*Bahnschutz*) in Stryj, another policeman vouched for her and she was released. After arriving in Czortków, Renata was sheltered by Bronisława Rybak with the assistance of Professor Mossoczy. Renata then relocated to Tarnopol, where she lived with a friend of Mrs. Rybak. Fr. Józef Obacz, a Jesuit priest in Tarnopol, placed Renata for a period of time with Agata Gomulkiwicz. Afterwards, Fr. Obacz took Renata to Stara Wieś near Brzozów, where she was put in the care of Fr. Bogusław Waczyński, the rector of the Jesuit college (seminary). For a short time, Renata (then passing as Joanna Kluzowicz, which was Maria Wasserman-Waniewska's maiden name) was sheltered by the Wałęcki family. Afterwards, in February 1943, with the permission of Mother General Eleonora Jankiewicz, Fr. Waczyński placed Renata in the convent (mother house) of the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Immaculately Conceived in Stara Wieś, ostensibly as his cousin. Renata remained there until March 1945, under the care of Sister Maria Walentyna Krzywonos. While at the convent, Renata shared a dwelling with Maria Ujejska, a benefactor of the nuns. Fr. Waczyński also sheltered another Jewish girl, who went by the name of Maria, in the Jesuit residence in Stara Wieś.²¹¹

As an eight-year-old boy from a family of converts, Ludwik Brylant attempted to escape from the Warsaw ghetto on three occasions. The first two times Ludwik was apprehended by the same Polish policeman just outside the ghetto wall when he jumped off a streetcar that he had mounted as it passed through the ghetto. He was handed over to the Jewish ghetto police who beat him mercilessly. His second beating was so ferocious that Ludwik suffered permanent scarring on his head and brain damage. On the third occasion, towards the end of 1941, an unknown Pole protected the young boy by concealing him to prevent him from being detected by the German guard on the streetcar. Ludwik then made his way to Mr. Dąbrowski, a family friend whom Ludwik's father had recommended. Mr. Dąbrowski, who lived in the Old Town, welcomed Ludwik and the Dąbrowskis kept him for a short period of time. Subsequently, Ludwik was transferred to Rev. Tadeusz Zimiński, who lived in suburban Anopol. Rev. Zimiński cared for Ludwik for several weeks before placing him in an emergency shelter in Warsaw. Ludwik was transferred to the Father Baudouin children's home. He was one of several Jewish children who were taken from that institution, just before Christmas 1941, to the orphanage of the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) in Turkowice, where he survived the war. He was joined by his older sister, Feliksa, whose escape from the Warsaw ghetto was arranged by Rev. Zimiński. After a stay at the orphanage in Chotomów outside Warsaw, also run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), where she received medical care for her tuberculosis, Feliksa was transferred to the orphanage in Turkowice.²¹²

Michał Głowiński (Adam Pruszkowski), born in 1934, arrived at the orphanage in Turkowice in February 1944, as part of a group of some fifteen Jewish children who were brought there by Sister Hermana from the Father Baudouin children's home in Warsaw. He recalled their voyage in the harsh winter conditions: "We travelled a long time. We sat on wooden benches, crowded, frozen, huddled closely together." He also described the dilemma faced by the Catholic clergy regarding the religious practices of children, like himself, who had not been baptized: "The Sisters knew about it as well. Still, they allowed something that they may have regarded as a sacrilege—my full participation in religious life. I was entitled not only to pray. I participated actively in everything. I went to confession, and I took communion." Participation in the sacrament of Holy Communion by non-Catholics in the pre-Vatican II era would have been

²¹¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 593–94; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 74; Rączy and Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 193–94.

²¹² Testimony of Ludwik Brylant in Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Midrasz and Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2008), 174–78; Interview with Ludwik Brylant, "Z getta uciekałem trzy razy," February 14, 2010, Polska Agencja Prasowa, Internet: <<http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/198835,Z-getta-uciekalem-trzy-razy>>.

universally regarded as a sacrilegious act. Understandably, as other accounts demonstrate, it caused some priests great concern. Previously, Głowiński had stayed briefly with the Felician Sisters in Otwock and later, for even a shorter time, with the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (of Pleszew) in Czernsk.²¹³

Sabina Futersak (Sheindel Futersack) placed her two infant daughters, Sonia (born in 1941) and Dina, with two Polish families in Nienadówka near Rzeszów before joining her husband who was hiding in nearby forests. Fearing for the safety of their charge, the Benedyk family entrusted seven-week-old Dina into care of the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), who had a small convent in the village. Dina was given the name of Maria and survived the war, as did her sister, Sonia. Sabina Futersak located Sonia after the war, but did not manage to find Dina when she left Poland in 1946. Dina was adopted by the Benedyks. In 1963, Dina was reunited with her mother and sister, who had settled in the United States. (“Mother and Daughter, Separated by the Nazis, Reunited Here,” *Jewish Post*, December 20, 1963.)

A Jewish mother has been reunited with the daughter whom she left in the care of a Catholic woman in their small Polish town when their family was threatened by the Nazis. Mrs. Sabina Futersak, who now lives on New York's Lower East Side, last saw her daughter when she was seven weeks old. The next time they met was at New York's Idlewild Airport when they were brought together by the efforts of a small voluntary agency which tries to reunite families who were separated during World War II.

In 1942, the Futersaks were in fear of their lives in their small village of Sokoloff [Sokolów], Poland. The father finally decided to go into the woods to join a group of partisan fighters. The mother, believing her place was at her husband's side, joined him; but first she left her two small daughters, Sonia, 1, and Dina, seven weeks, with two families in the town whom they knew well. Dina was left with a Catholic couple, the Benedyks.

The Benedyks, fearing for the safety of their charge, gave her over to a group of nuns. Meanwhile, Futersak was shot by the Germans, and he died in the woods in 1945. His wife managed to escape to Austria where she gave birth to a son, Samuel.

After the war, Mrs. Futersak tried to find her two daughters. She managed to locate Sonia, but Dina could not be traced. Mrs. Futersak's mother and brothers had come to the United States, and she and her two children joined them in 1949.

This did not mean that she had given up looking for her other daughter. However, for 10 years, all inquiries proved fruitless. Finally, in 1959, she learned of Children's Salvation, Inc., and turned to it for aid in locating the long-missing Dina.

The agency conducted its investigation in secret for four years and finally located Dina. Only now Dina was Maria Benedyk; she had been reclaimed and adopted by Mrs. Władysława [Własysława] Benedyk, now a widow, in 1950.

Finding her was one thing; arranging for her to be brought to the United States was quite another story. Children's Salvation ultimately worked out an agreement with Polish authorities, and Maria, now 21, and her foster mother both were flown to the United States.

Mrs. Benedyk had been frightened when she learned that Mrs. Futersak was still alive and wished to see her daughter, and she was at first reluctant to bring them together. Finally, however, she wrote Mrs. Futersak: “I've given her an education. I've cared for her. Someday I will present you with your little princess.”

Someday came sooner than she thought. Maria and her foster mother were flown to New York where they were met by her sister and brother. They then took her and Mrs. Benedyk to the Futersak's apartment where all will stay for the time being. Maria, although she speaks no English, wishes to stay in the United States; plans for Mrs. Benedyk are not yet certain.

After Jews emerged from hiding when the Red Army entered the area near Czortków around March 1944, they had to go into hiding again when, shortly thereafter, the Germans returned. Cyla Sznajder (née Huss) and several other Jewish girls took shelter with the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) in Jagielnica. They were hidden in the attic of their convent and survived a German search for Jews. “The nuns comforted us that things would not last long, and brought

²¹³ Michał Głowiński's account is recorded in Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 56–70, where the quotations can be found; his autobiography *Czarne sezony* (Warsaw: Open, 1998), 97–134, translated as *The Black Seasons* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005); and Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 191–96; Testimony of Michał Głowiński, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 19205.

us food,” Cyla recalled.²¹⁴

Maria Feldhorn was sheltered at the convent of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (of Pleszew) in Czersk from March 1944, after her “bad looks” attracted attention and conditions deteriorated at her hiding place in Łagiewniki, a suburb of Kraków.²¹⁵ She recalled the perilous times experienced by the residents of the convent when the Soviet front approached. (Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, p. 43.)

I was then nine years old, and I was one of the oldest children in the orphanage where the majority were little ones. The nuns, forced to leave their place because of the approaching front line, in a heroic manner and at great personal sacrifice, tried to provide the assembled group of children with a roof over their heads and something to eat. There were bombardments and continuous flight, fear, hunger, lice, shortages of clothing and shoes. We lasted like this until the end of the war. At the beginning of 1945, the nuns, together with the children, returned to their ruined quarters in Czersk.

The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary (*Siostry Franciszkańki Rodziny Maryi*), one of the largest orders of Polish nuns, rescued more than 500 Jewish children and some 250 Jewish adults, and provided temporary assistance to many other Jews in their convents and all 40 of their orphanages throughout Poland: Anin (near Warsaw)—two orphanages housed 40 children each, half of whom were Jewish, Białolęka Dworska (near Warsaw), Brwinów (near Warsaw), Brzezinki (near Warsaw), Grodzisk Mazowiecki (near Warsaw), Izabelin (near Warsaw)—15 Jews, mostly adults, were sheltered by three nuns in their small home, Kołomyja, Kostowiec (near Warsaw), Krasnystaw, Łomna (near Turka)—26 Jewish girls were among the 120 children, Lwów—an orphanage on Kurkowa Street with 12 Jewish children, another on Słodowa Street with several Jewish children and some adults, Międzyzylesie (near Warsaw)—an orphanage (Zosinek) with 17 Jewish children and a sanatorium (Ulanówek) with a dozen Jewish girls and four Jewish adults, Mirzec, Mszana Dolna, Nieborów, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Ostrówek, Płudy (near Warsaw)—40 Jewish girls were among the 180 children, and at least ten adult Jews were employed there, Podhajce (near Brzeżany), Pustelnik (near Warsaw)—several adult Jews also worked there, Sambor, Soplicowo (near Warsaw), Tłuste (near Zaleszczyki), Turka, Warsaw (19 Chelmska Street—about a dozen Jewish children were sheltered at this institution, as well as some adult Jews, 53 Hoża Street, 7 Targowa Street, 15 Targowa Street, Skaryszewska Street—Ognisko Rodziny Maryi, 12 Wolność Street, 97 Żelazna Street—15 Jewish girls were sheltered at this home), and Wola Gołkowska (near Warsaw).²¹⁶ No Jewish child placed in the care of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary perished during the war. Among the 120 sisters who stand out for their role in this vast rescue mission and conspiracy are: Mother Matylda Getter, the order’s provincial superior in Warsaw, who oversaw the reception of several hundred Jews at the order’s convent on Hoża Street in Warsaw and their transfer to other institutions; Mother Ludwika Lis (Lisówna), the superior general of the order, and Mother Janina Wirball, the vicar general, both in Lwów; Sister Apolonia Sawicka and Sister Anna Skotnicka, superiors of two orphanages in Anin; Sister Bernarda Lemańska, the superior in Izabelin; Sister Tekla (Anna) Budnowska, the superior in Łomna; Sister Aniela Stawowiak and Sister Gabriela Strak, superiors of two institutions in Międzyzylesie; Sister Romualda Stępak, the superior in Płudy (in 1943, Sisters Romualda Stępak and Aniela Stawowiak had exchanged their posts); Sister Helena

²¹⁴ Testimony of Cyla Sznajder (Huss), January 25, 1960, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5699. See also Omer Bartov, “Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944,” in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 411.

²¹⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 822.

²¹⁶ On the rescue activities of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary see the following: Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 842–43; Teresa Frącek, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Maryi w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1981); Teresa Antonietta Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzyzylesiu i Aninie* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Publiczna w dzielnicy Wawer m. St. Warszawy, 2006); Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć,” 6 Parts, *Nasz Dziennik*, March 10, March 12, March 16, March 19, March 26, April 4, 2008; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkańki Rodziny Maryi: Dzielily się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92.

Dobiecka, the superior in Pustelnik; Sister Celina Kędzierska, the superior in Sambor; Sister Olga Schwarz (Szwarc), the superior of the Divine Mercy home on Chełmska Street in Warsaw; and Sister Teresa Stępówna, the superior of the home on Żelazna Street in Warsaw.²¹⁷ Various nuns such as Sisters Janina Kruszewska, Apolonia Lorenc, and Stefania Miałkiewicz were charged with transporting Jewish children from one institution to another. Jewish children and adult charges were also placed in the homes of lay persons.²¹⁸ Rescue at the institutions in Lwów, Sambor, Kostowiec and Warsaw (Chełmska St.) was particularly precarious because German soldiers occupied part of the premises. Baptismal certificates for the Jewish charges were obtained from various Warsaw parishes: St. Barbara, St. Florian, Holy Cross, St. Adalbert, St. Alexander, St. James, All Saints, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as well as from parishes outside Warsaw, such as St. Anthony and St. Mary Magdalene in Lwów and parishes in Grodno, Wadowice, Wilno and Wołkowysk.²¹⁹ Rev. Stanisław Piotrowski, the pastor of Dobrzejowice, who was hiding in Warsaw, also furnished baptismal certificates for Mother Matylda Getter, with the assistance of Rev. Józef Rosiński.²²⁰ Although at least several hundred Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary risked their lives to rescue Jews, only twelve of them—Mother Matylda Getter, Helena Chmielewska, Celina Kędzierska, Tekla Budnowska, Zofia Olszewska, Zofia Pięłowska, Olga Schwarz (Szwarc), Bernarda Lemańska, Aniela Wesołowska, Romualda Stępak, Aniela Stawowiak, and Ludwika Peńsko—have been decorated by Yad Vashem. This is indicative of the sorry state of recognition of Polish rescuers by that institution. Yad Vashem’s recognition named 32 Jews rescued in the two institutions in Międzyzlesie and Płudy headed by Sisters Aniela Stawowiak and Romualda Stępak.²²¹ The following accounts are found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 234; Part 2, at pages 663–64, 702, 728, and 935–36.

²¹⁷ The fate of the nuns from the convent on Żelazna Street was particularly tragic. During the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, their convent was bombed and burned to the ground. On August 9, 44 nuns and 30 children were seized and taken to the transit camp in Pruszków. From there, the nuns were then sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and then to Ravensbrück. Nuns from Brwinów and Kostowiec were able to salvage the children, among them many Jewish ones.

²¹⁸ For example, Antoni Chaciński, a Christian Democratic political activist, and his wife, Irena, accepted 13 Jewish women and girls into their Warsaw apartment at the behest of Mother Matylda Getter, despite the proximity of German Kripo and Gestapo premises to their home. Antoni Chaciński was part of Irena Sendler’s network. See Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 73; “Irena Sendler’s network of colleagues,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/o-sprawiedliwych/irena-sendlerowa/siec-wspolpracownikow-ireny-sendlerowej>>.

²¹⁹ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanek Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 183. Regarding the retrieval of baptismal certificates from the records of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary parish in Warsaw’s New Town, see the testimony of Feliksa Piotrowska, the parish secretary and wife of the parish organist, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4154, and the testimony of Stanisław Stefański, a Home Army member overseeing this complex operation, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2975. For further confirmation of the provision of documents by priests from the Warsaw parishes of the Holy Cross and Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary parishes, see the testimony of Roman Jabrzemski in Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 601–2. On the provision of birth certificates by the Warsaw parishes of St. James and St. Alexander, see Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 334. Roman and Józefa Osiejewski obtained a birth and baptismal certificate from the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for a young Jewish girl left in the nuns’ care by her father. See Marian Turski, ed., *Losy żydowskie: Świadectwo żywych*, vol. 3 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatanów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2006), 320–23.

²²⁰ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanek Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 183; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, *Matka Matylda Getter* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2019), 56.

²²¹ Yad Vashem lists the following rescued persons: Krystyna Frydman Mirska Mausner, Janina Dawidowicz (David), Hanna Zajtmán Fajgenbaum, Daniela Shtaimetz Reiss (Danuta Rajska), Małgorzata Marguerite Frydman Mirska Acher, Teresa Mirska Lasota, Varda (Wanda) Rozenbaum Shamir, Krystyna Grodzieńska Żurowska, Nora (Eleonora) Rozenberg Baranowicz Hilkowicz Stern, Maria Juszcak, Stanisława Rakower Juszcak, Jolanta Zabarnik Nowakowska, Mira Wrocławska, Maria Barga, Barbara Barga, Felicja Górńska, Ryszarda Górńska, Teresa Kass, Maria Miniewicz, Bronisława Kowalska, Barbara Matusik, Zofia Oprzała, Irena Styś, Krystyna Styś, Halina Święcicka, Zofia Młocińska, Teresa Wlekińska, Rev. Marian Tadeusz Puder, Krystyna Parysek, Eleonora Senkowska, Dąbrowska, and Stefania Dąbrowska. The testimony of Krystyna Żurowska (née Grodzieńska), who remained a Catholic after the war, can be found in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 25745.

[1] Matylda Getter (Mother Matylda) was head of the Franciscan order “Mary’s Family” ... in the Warsaw district. In her capacity as Mother Superior, Matylda ran a number of children’s homes and orphanages in the locality, where she hid many Jewish children during the occupation. In 1942–1943, Mother Matylda contacted the workers of Centos, an organization which arranged care for orphans and abandoned Jewish children in the Warsaw ghetto. Many of these children, after being smuggled out of the ghetto, were sent directly to Matylda’s institutions. Although we do not know exactly how many Jewish children were saved by the institutions of “Mary’s Family,” we do know that about 40 Jewish girls—including Wanda Rozenbaum [later Shamir], Margareta Frydman [later Marguerite Acher], and Chana Zajtman [Hanna Zajdman, later Fajgenbaum]—found refuge in the Pludy [Pludy] branch alone. All 40 survived. [Chana Zajtman first stayed for a few months in the nuns’ small rest home in Izabelin before being moved to Pludy—see below.] Mother Matylda was fond of saying that it was her duty to save those in trouble. Spurred by her religious faith, she never demanded payment for her services, although some parents, and a few relatives, paid for their children’s upkeep. Despite the fact that most of the Jewish children were baptized while in the institutions, they all returned to Judaism after the liberation.

[2] Professor Stanislaw [Stanisław] Popowski, a physician, was a well-known expert in children’s diseases. During the occupation, he was the head of the children’s municipal hospital in Warsaw and active in an underground organization of democratic and socialist doctors who helped save Jews who fled from the ghetto to the Aryan side of the city. In saving Jewish children, Popowski collaborated with Matylda Getter, the mother superior of a Franciscan convent in the area. ... Bianka Perlmutter, the daughter of a family of physicians [Arnold and Stefania Perlmutter] who had been friendly with the Popowski family, ... was smuggled out of the ghetto during the large-scale deportation in the summer of 1942 and the Popowskis hid her in their home, where she was treated with warm devotion as if she were a member of the family. After a few months, Aryan papers were arranged for her and she was taken to the orphanage [on Hoża Street] run by the Franciscan sisters, where she remained until the liberation.

[3] After the establishment of Żegota [Żegota], Irena Sendler, who lived in Warsaw, became one of its main activists. Her job in the Warsaw Municipality’s social affairs department made it easier for her to carry out her clandestine assignments. In September 1943, Sendler was appointed director of Żegota’s Department for the Care of Jewish Children. Sendler, whose underground name was Jolanta, exploited her contacts with orphanages and institutes for abandoned children, to send Jewish children there. Many of the children were sent to the Rodzina Marii [Rodzina Maryi] (Family of Mary) Orphanage [on Hoża Street] in Warsaw and to religious institutions run by nuns [Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś)] in nearby Chotomow [Chotomów outside Warsaw] and in Turkowice near Lublin. In late 1943, Sendler was arrested and sentenced to death, but underground activists managed to bribe officials to release her. After her release, even though she knew that the authorities were keeping an eye on her, Sendler continued her underground activities. The exact number of children saved by Sendler is unknown.

[4] The occupation did not curtail the friendship between Władysław Smolski [Władysław Smólski], a Polish author and playwright, and his many Jewish writer friends. On the contrary, he maintained contact with them and tried to help them to the best of his ability. As a member of Żegota [Żegota] in Warsaw, he provided a number of Jews with forged documents, found them hiding places on the Aryan side of the city, and offered them financial assistance. Among the Jews he helped were Bronisław [Bronisław] Elkana Anlen, Tadeusz Reinberg, Wanda Hac, Janina Reicher, Janina Wierzbicka, and Natalia Zwierzowa. Smolski’s youngest charge was Jolanta Zabarnik (later Nowakowska), the daughter of friends of his, who was five when she first arrived. At first, Smolski hid her in his home and with relatives, until he found her a safer place in a convent in Chotomow [Chotomów—actually, with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Pludy²²²], near Warsaw.

[5] When the war broke out, Aleksander Zelwerowicz, a well-known Polish actor, was living in Warsaw with his daughter, Helena (later Orchon [Orchoń]). At the end of August 1942, one of Helena’s prewar friends, Helena Caspari, came to her with her 11-year-old daughter, Hania. They had managed to flee the ghetto and were looking for shelter. The Zelwerowicz’s apartment was already serving as a hiding place for Miriam Nudel (later Caspari). Nevertheless, Helena and her daughter were invited to stay with them for a few weeks and then after that with some friends of the Zelwerowicz’s. All the while, Helena was looking for a permanent hiding place for the Jews. In the end, it was possible to hide them in a convent located in Izabelin, near Warsaw, where they were able to wait out the rest of the war. Miriam stayed with Helena—who provided for all her needs—until Warsaw was evacuated after the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in October 1944. She moved in with Helena’s father, Aleksander, who was a delegate of the Central Relief Council [RGO] in Sochaczew at that time. ... After the war, Helena and Hania

²²² Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 496.

Caspari, as well as Miriam Nudel, left for Israel.

Pola Hajt (later Wall) and her daughter, Lusia-Halinka (later Zipi or Zipora Kamon), found shelter at the Divine Mercy institution (Zakład Opatrzności Bożej) on Chełmska Street in Warsaw, which was run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. They passed as Catholic Poles using the surname of Zajączkowska. In 1978, after the death of Sister Olga Schwarz (Szwarc), who was the superior of this home during the war, these two Jewish survivors wrote a letter to the nuns expressing their gratitude to Sister Olga. A photograph of some of the children who resided at this institution, showing Lusia-Halinka Hajt standing next to the chaplain, Rev. Zygmunt Strzałkowski, has been preserved. At least a dozen Jewish children were sheltered at this home, among them Maria Malinowska (later Widera). The building was bombarded five times by the Germans during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, even though it housed a hospital and flew a Red Cross flag, killing several hundred wounded patients and seven nuns. Fortunately, all of the 180 children survived. Sister Olga evacuated them promptly after the first bombardment, and they found refuge in Skrzyszewce, north of Warsaw. Sister Olga was officially recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018.²²³

In the early part of 1942, the parents of Ruth Knyszyńska (later Flakowicz, born in 1923) and her younger sister, Lilka, turned to a priest in Warsaw, a prewar acquaintance identified as Rev. Brodecki, who temporarily sheltered the girls. The girls' parents were seized during a deportation from the Warsaw ghetto. Rev. Brodecki provided Ruth with the identity documents of Krystyna Kośna, a deceased girl, and taught them Catholic prayers. He then arranged for the girls to be placed in an institution, Ognisko Rodziny Maryi, at 15 Targowa Street, in the Praga district, run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. Ruth claims the nuns were not aware of the girls' Jewish origin, but this is rather unlikely. Ruth remained at the institution for about a year and a half, before moving out on her own when she obtained employment as a nurse trainee at the Transfiguration of Our Lord Hospital (szpital Przemienienia Pańskiego), which was run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. In her testimony, Ruth states that, during an anti-resistance reprisal, the Gestapo raided Ognisko Rodziny Maryi and other nearby premises, randomly selected 50 civilians including two nuns and Ruth's sister, Lilka, and shot them. The order has no record of any nuns being killed in a raid, so the circumstances of Lilka's death is unclear. In her testimony, Ruth also states that Rev. Brodecki helped many Jews, however, his actual identity is unclear.²²⁴

Helena Zelwerowicz contacted her priest and confessor with the aim of finding a permanent refuge for Helena Caspari (then Helena Zajdman) and her daughter Hanna. The two were directed to the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary on Hoża Street in Warsaw, and then to a convent in Izabelin, where Helena remained dressed as a nun until the end of the war. After several months, Hanna was transferred to the institution for girls in Płudy.²²⁵ As mentioned, adult Jews were also sheltered in Płudy. Stanisława Rakower Juszcak, for example, would dress as a nun when the Germans conducted searches

²²³ “Żadne dziecko nie zginęło,” *Nasz Dziennik (Magazyn)*, March 14–15, 2014; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć,” Part 2, *Nasz Dziennik*, March 12, 2008; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkańki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 179; Olga Schwartz (sic), The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=13200289>>.

²²⁴ Testimony of Ruth Flakowicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 4565. Ruth Flakowicz also left a written account with Yad Vashem in 1980, which may contain additional information, however it has not been accessed.

²²⁵ The Zelwerowicz Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-zelwerowicz-family>>; “Hanne Feigenbaum (nee Zaitman, born on 14.5.1931.) about Her Parents and Their Families, Live in Warsaw ghetto, Escape from It and Hiding, Live in Łódź after the War and Way to Israel,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/article/warszawa/16,relacje-wspomnienia/19022,hanne-feigenbaum-nee-zaitman-born-on-14-5-1931-about-her-parents-and-their-families-live-in-warsaw-ghetto-escape-from-it-and-hiding-live-in-lodz-after-war-and-way-to-israel/>>. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 234.

for Jews.²²⁶

Among the many Jewish children sheltered at the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary on Hoża Street in Warsaw were the aforementioned Bianka Perlmutter (known as Marzec, later Bianca Lerner), who spent a year and a half there, and the daughter of a lawyer from Poznań by the name Hofnung, who was brought there by the son of Hofnung's friend Pesakh Bergman, with whom Hofnung had left his child in Warsaw.²²⁷ The sisters Lila Goldschmidt (born in 1922, known as Danuta Sawicka, later Engel) and Mary Goldschmidt (born in 1924, known as Maria Krawczyk, later Eckerling), fugitives from Lwów, also turned to Mother Getter for help. Lila Goldschmidt had been urged to seek out Rev. Alojzy Chrobak, a Jesuit at St. John's Cathedral in the Old Town who had a reputation for helping Jews. Rev. Chrobak, in turn, directed Lila to Mother Matylda Getter. Lila recalled her first meeting with Mother Getter as follows:

I will not forget that moment as long as I live. Mother Getter was in the small garden on Hoża Street. I approached her and told her that I had nowhere to go, that I am a Jew, and therefore outlawed. Mother Getter replied with these words: "My child, whoever enters our courtyard and asks for help, in the name of Christ, cannot be turned away."

Mother Getter found jobs and homes for both Lila and Mary. The sisters survived the war with the nuns' guidance and protection. Mary recalled, in particular, the helpfulness of Sister Janina, and stated that the nuns did not attempt to convert her, but rather respected her religious beliefs.²²⁸

Whenever a Gestapo raid on one of the orphanages was believed imminent, Mother Matylda arranged to have children who looked too obviously Jewish taken to temporary shelter elsewhere. When there was not enough time to do this, those particularly Jewish-looking children would have their heads or faces bandaged as if they had been injured. The author Władysław Smólski, who took part in the rescue activities, described the Sisters' zeal and dedication. (Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us*, pp. 190–91.)

It was only after the Germans had left that I learned the real number of Jewish children concealed in the orphanage at Płudy. It was revealed that of the 160 girls, about 40 were Jewish. The same Franciscan Sisters also maintained another home at Płudy, with 120 boys. The percentage of Jewish children harboured there was somewhat lower but this was more than offset by the incomparably greater risk involved in hiding boys. [Jewish boys were circumcised, Christian boys were not.]...

The Congregation of Sisters of the Family of Mary in Poland was divided administratively into three provinces. Since Warsaw province was running more than 20 orphanages, and an identical attitude towards Jews prevailed in all of them due to the influence of Matylda Getter; active in the provincial authorities, it may be safely stated that this province alone kept several hundred Jewish children through the war.

The moral attitude of the nuns was all the more admirable as their aim was not to win new converts but to save human lives. Baptism was seldom administered and then solely at the request of a few of the older children, after long catechetical preparation. I remember Sister Stefania's attitude towards these matters: how avid she was in rescue work, how eagerly she accepted every little Jew into the institution.

Some of the children had a very markedly Jewish appearance; those were not taken out for walks and, in case of an inspection by German authorities—of which the head of the village warned the sisters—those children were put in some hiding places or hidden in private homes, or else taken to the nearby home [in Anin] of Father [Marceli] Godlewski, former rector of the Roman Catholic parish in the ghetto who displayed truly incredible energy in aiding the Jews. The transport of children from one place to another was the worst problem—and such situations also occurred. In such cases, the sisters would bandage their heads to conceal a part of the face and make Semitic

²²⁶ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 184.

²²⁷ Bianca Lerner, "Humanity in the Midst of Death," in Peter Tarjan, ed., *Children Who Survived the Final Solution* (New York: iUniverse, 2004), 212–18; Eugene Bergman, *Survival Artist: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2009), 107.

²²⁸ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at pp. 189–90; Testimony of Lila Engel, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 40006.

features less conspicuous. To protect their wards, the brave sisters resorted to all kinds of ruses and most hazardous undertakings!

Mother Matylda Getter was instrumental in finding safe hiding places for Jews outside the convent, as illustrated by the following documented cases. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 562, 660.)

[1] In early 1943, the commandant of the forced labor camp near Lwow [Lwów] informed the Jewish prisoners that they would soon be liquidated. Irena and Lazar Engelberg, prisoners in the camp, managed to escape, going to Warsaw in the hope of finding refuge there. Matylda Getter, a nun, found them a place to hide on the Szeligi estate, located near Warsaw. Ignoring the Engelbergs' obvious Jewish appearance and the danger to his life, the manager of the estate, Count Władysław [Władysław] Olizar, and his wife, Jadwiga, and Stanisław [Stanisław] and Aleksandra Zaryn [Żaryn] agreed to give Irena a job working on the farm and to find shelter for her husband, Lazar, on one of the neighboring farms. The Olizars and Zaryns soon realized that the work in the fields was too difficult for Irena and they hired her to care for Zaryns' children instead. ... Throughout the entire time that Irena remained under the care of the Olizars and Zaryns, they treated her warmly, guarding her personal safety and caring for her every need. ... The Engelbergs remained in hiding until the liberation of the area in January 1945 ...

[2] The Radziwills [Radziwiłł], scions of an aristocratic family in Poland, had Jewish friends, grew up in an atmosphere of tolerance toward Jews. During the occupation, their daughter, Izabella, was active in the RGO [Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, a social welfare agency], and in the Red Cross and helped the poor and Polish prisoners of war who had been wounded in battle. One day in 1942, Matylda Getter, head of the Franciscan order in the Warsaw area, approached her with a request to look after 12 girls, including three Jews. Radziwiłł agreed and accommodated the girls, together with the nuns who looked after them, in a community center on a family estate in Nieborów [Nieborów] in the county of Łowicz [Łowicz], Łódź [Łódź] district, where she kept them at her own expense. One day, when Radziwiłł was warned that the identity of one of the girls had been discovered, she herself accompanied the girl to Getter in Warsaw, who hid her from her pursuers. After the Warsaw Uprising, Radziwiłł also hid Jerzy Einhorn and Nusbaum-Hilarowicz and his wife and daughter in her mansion. Even when German soldiers were billeted in Radziwiłł's mansion in Nieborów, Radziwiłł did all she could to help those who reached it, including Jewish refugees.

The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary had a small farm in Robercin near Grójec, outside Warsaw, where the Warsaw Social Welfare Department would send Jewish children. After her escape from the Warsaw ghetto in September 1942, Jadwiga Skrzydłowska stayed with Sabina Czesława and Jan Ordynowski, an elderly couple who were sheltering several Jews in Brwinów. Mrs. Ordynowska approached Mother Matylda Getter, who agreed to help Skrzydłowska. First she stayed with the Sisters in their convent in Brwinów. In the spring of 1943, she went to stay at the Sisters' farm in Wola Gołkowska known as Robercin, where she remained for the duration of the occupation. She worked on the farm with the nuns, who treated her well and with kindness. Jadwiga Skrzydłowska's daughter, Alina, was sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Warsaw and Międzylesie.²²⁹

Two of the many Jewish children sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Płudy outside Warsaw were Małgorzata Frydman (later Marguerite Acher) and her sister, Irena (later Mausner). On September 9, 1942, the two young girls were taken from the Warsaw ghetto by a friend of their mother's. They then stayed with various persons. A baptismal certificate for Małgorzata was obtained from the pastor of the parish of St. Therese of the Child Jesus on Tamka Street.²³⁰ The girls were taken to Mother Matylda Getter, at the Hoża Street convent, who agreed to accept them despite their pronounced Semitic looks. The following day, Sister Aniela Stawowiak took the girls to Płudy, an educational institution outside Warsaw that housed some 40 Jewish children and at least 10 adult Jews. A small amount of money was paid for the upkeep of the two girls; first by friends, then by their mother, who fled

²²⁹ Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 310–11; Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 1: *Dystrykt warszawski Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2018), 35–36, 411–12.

²³⁰ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkańki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 182. Statements of gratitude by Marguerite Acher can be found at p. 186.

from the ghetto in February 1943. The payments stopped when their mother was sent to Ravensbrück concentration camp in August 1944. The two girls remained in the convent until May 1945, when their father returned to Poland from Hungary and their mother from Germany. Marguerite Acher wrote a memoir, which was published in Polish.²³¹ (Halter, *Stories of Deliverance*, pp. 16–17, 25–27.)

But little Margaret, only ten years old, posed a problem: it is difficult for a Polish family to shelter her temporarily, let alone hide her permanently. It is that she has, to use the correct words, a bad face. ... a Semitic face, immediately recognizable. ...

“To go out of the ghetto without risk of immediately being identified as a Jew, I would have to cover up with a hat along with a huge fur collar to disguise my hair and my nose. I could hide for a time at the house of the niece of the attorney general [Wacław Szyszowski], my parents’ friend. ... I stayed there two or three weeks. ... Then my sister and I were taken into a convent near Warsaw, at Plody [Pludy]: the Convent of the Sisters of the Family of The Virgin Mary. ... At Plody, about forty Jewish children were already hidden. They were brought by different channels, through Irena Sendler’s network. But certain families came with their children. Sister Ludovica [Ludwika Peńsko] told you: parents never showed themselves as such; they preferred to say they were the child’s aunt or uncle, and that they were here to give them to the convent. They gave the name of the child, then left quickly, taking cover along the way. The Sisters had to change the names and keep absolute secrecy. Every Jewish child knew that they were Jewish but did not know which others were Jews, in the community of several hundred ‘orphans,’ Jews and non-Jews. ...

“One day, a blue [i.e., a Polish policeman] came to the convent. He spoke to the Mother Superior and said to her: ‘I know you are hiding Jewish children and demand that you denounce them.’ The Mother Superior answered him: ‘Why don’t you do it yourself?’ Replied the blue: ‘No, I can’t. I am a Catholic, I was baptized here. I don’t want to go to Hell...’ And the Mother Superior retorted: ‘Why would you want me to go to Hell in your place?’ Ah well, that policeman never dared to denounce the convent to the Germans!” ...

For sister Ludovica, who speaks with simplicity, everything came, she said, from the interior:

“I was very happy that these children were able to survive, that they were able to get away. It gives me great satisfaction, yes ... But, what I did was from the heart. The adults, in principle, could shift for themselves—children, no. So, all the children who came here were accepted. We never knew how it would all finish. We did all we could so that they could survive, everything it was possible to do ... It was a heart’s demand, a cry from inside.”

She explained how these things had been handled in the convent during the war: each Sister was responsible for a small group of children; she herself was in charge of thirty-five little Jewish girls. She told me: “today, some of them are in America, others in Israel, and others still in France. Regularly, one or another comes to see me. Besides that, I have many of their visiting cards. ... they were saved from death, and now they have children, and some of them are grandmothers!” ...

“All of them were collected [after the war] by their relatives, or friends, who knew they were here, hidden in the convent. Only one, whom nobody reclaimed, remained. Then someone came to take her to Palestine. ...

I ask Sister Ludovica: “I have been told that the Nazis came three times to inspect the convent?”

“They only saw Christian children,” she chuckled. “You see the little chapel in the grounds? We took the children there to pray. We put the little Jewish girls furthest from the door, right up by the crucifix, close to Jesus: like that when the Germans came, they could only see blond heads.”

Sister Ludwika Peńsko, an instructor who had 23 Jewish children in the group of children under her care at Pludy, described to Władysław Smólski in more detail the menacing visits paid to the orphanage by the Germans, and the help rendered by local Poles to protect the nuns and their charges. Although there some 140 Polish children at the institution, as well as lay staff and visitors from outside, no one betrayed the Jewish charges. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 349–51.)

‘And the Germans also came?’

‘Oh, lots of times! It was simply a divine miracle that they did not find anything. People of good will helped a lot, of course. The head of the village always warned us. We then placed the children with a more telling appearance at private homes or with Father [Marceli] Godlewski [of All Saints parish in Warsaw], who lived nearby [in the suburb of Anin]. As we were taking them along, we would bandage the heads or faces of some to cover up their Semitic features.’

‘So in that way had you to conceal their suspicious appearances?’

‘Of course. Those above all sought refuge in the convent. And surely, we could not drive them away, could we? In my group of twenty girls at least one in two attracted attention by her appearance. ...

²³¹ Małgorzata-Maria Acher, *Niewłaściwa twarz: Wspomnienia ocalałej z warszawskiego getta* (Częstochowa: Święty Paweł, 2001).

When the front drew nearer in the concluding months, already after the [Warsaw] uprising, Germans began bursting into the orphanage. One Gestapo officer was an especially frequent visitor. He roared like mad, stamped his boots and threatened us with death if he ever found a Jew in the institution. My Lord, if he only knew the actual facts, he would have to have us shot fifty times.'

'But he did not find any one?'

'Somehow the Lord had mercy upon us. But were those days terrible! Artillery shells kept exploding around the orphanage.'

'I do not fear bombs myself too much. And since there was indescribable filth and odour in the cellar where many people from Pludy took shelter with us, I kept my group of girls, about twenty Jews and a few Christians among them, in the corridor next to our dormitory. That was on the ground floor. The rabid Gestapo man burst in there many a time. Luckily enough, the Germans could never tell Semitic features from others. And then, too, the corridor was in semi-darkness.'

'But still, ... how often did he come?'

'In the concluding weeks he came nearly every day. Only he seemed to be in constant hurry then. One Sister, who had been resettled from the Poznań province and had a perfect command of German, always tried to outtalk him while we were hurriedly hiding those children whose appearance seemed most telling away. We were frightened. Our Mother Superior was most frightened of all because she was responsible above all others. Being an elderly person, critically ill with cancer, she seemed nearing a collapse. With adults we had even more trouble than with the children. During searches we hid one Jewish family inside an old dry well which stood in our garden. They descended a ladder and we put a heavy lid on the top. Somehow or other, it all went on without a single bad break. But no, there was one, caused by nervousness. But let me relate that story from the beginning.'

'Even at the beginning of 1943 Mother Getter brought a young woman with a ten-year-old daughter to Pludy. She gave them to me for safekeeping. Both looked all right and when the mother peroxided her hair you could not tell she was Jewish. But she had one weakness: she took fright easily. And small wonder it was, after all—just try to live so many years in constant danger! She was good-looking and bright, and knew a few languages. She taught English to our girls. She spent nights in the pavilion set aside for teachers but in daytime she came to me, to my group. She would say she felt safest with us. Well, we had a very narrow escape with Rena (that was her first name) in the last month of the occupation when once that rabid Gestapoman burst into the orphanage. He came just as we were sitting with the girls in the corridor. In all likelihood, he would not have done her any harm as a teacher. But her nerves let her down. She fled to the girls' dormitory where my bed stood behind a screen. All of a sudden I heard the officer roar. I jumped into the dorm and what did I see? The Gestapoman had glanced behind the screen and saw Rena there. She was there all right, covered with my quilt, a bonnet on her head. He turned to me and asked—I know some German—is she was a nun. Naturally I answered yes. Then he pulled the quilt and saw Rena's lay dress.

'That was a moment in my life! I thought both of us were already done for. He called me a liar, pulled poor Rena by the hair and out into the yard where he had already rounded up several persons caught in Pludy and environs. When I ceased trembling I felt enormous pity for Rena even though she had let us down in such a foolish manner. I did not know one thing, though: did he take her on the assumption that she was Jewish or because she seemed to him politically suspected? But anyway, what could I do? I only prayed. ... A few minutes went by and ... I could not believe my eyes. Rena, safe and sound, reappeared in the corridor. Just imagine, there was such chaos that she actually slipped off and came back into the building. I do not now realize how it could all come off: it seemed part of a nightmare. And then, artillery shells started coming down again, too. It was a miracle that she escaped death. Forthwith I gave her a frock which, from that moment on, she never failed to put on whenever the rabid Gestapo man put his foot in the orphanage.'

Henryk Ryszard Gantz was born in Warsaw in 1932 into a family of professionals. He left the Warsaw ghetto with his parents, Stanisław and Halina (née Hertz) Gantz, in June 1942 and was hidden in religious institutions in the vicinity of Warsaw. First, he stayed with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Białoleka Dworska. Then he was transferred to a school for boys in Marki-Struga run by the Michaelite Fathers. Henryk was reunited with his parents in September 1944, during the Warsaw Uprising. Afterwards, the family passed as Poles and his father worked for a German construction company. (Sliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, p. 54.)

In June 1942, I went, together with them [i.e., his parents], in a column of workers (in the middle of the column) past the guard post to work. When we got to the place, I was told to hide somewhere. I was picked up from there by Mrs. Stefania Wortman, and she took me to my mother's cousin, Zofia Hertz, at Plac Inwalidów in the Żoliborz district, where I spent about a month.

Then, under the name of Ryszard Klemens Szymański, I was taken to the orphanage of the Sisters of the Family of Mary in Białoleka Dworska in the district of Pludy. I was there several months, after which my mother (posing as my aunt) picked me up from there because of the excessive care the sisters were giving me (attracting attention). She

placed me in the institution of the Michaelite Fathers in Struga near Warsaw, where I stayed until the summer of 1944. There, I finished the fifth and sixth grades of elementary school.

All of July through September of 1944 I spent in Milanówek with Mr. and Mrs. Dobrzański, where my parents also wound up after leaving Warsaw and escaping from Pruszków (Mother as Ewa Ziemska, my aunt, Father as Władysław Jan Matusiak, her fiancé).

Hadassah (Halinka), the daughter of Dov Berish First, was spirited out of the Warsaw ghetto into the welcoming hands of Zygmunt and Maria Rumiński, who sheltered her for several months. She then stayed with members of the Rumiński family before being placed with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Brwinów, where she went by the name of Janina Szejmer. Hadassah survived the war and was reunited with her father. (Dov Berish F., "The Righteous Gentiles," in Arie Shamri and Dov Berish First, eds., *Memorial Book of Nowy-Dwor*; Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Nowy_Dwor/Nowy_dwor.html>, translation of *Pinkas Nowy Dwor* [Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Nowy-Dwor in Israel, USA, Argentina, Uruguay, and France, 1965], pp. 417–18.)

They were a wonderful couple: Zigmund Ruminski [Zygmunt Rumiński] and his wife "Pani [Pol., respectful term of address] Maria," both ardent Catholics. They had no children. He was an exceptionally handsome man, a lawyer by profession. For many years he was a devoted admirer of Jozef Pilsudski [Piłsudski]. In the army he held the high rank of colonel and for some time he was the deputy-prosecutor of the highest military court. ...

He then opened a law office in his lovely five-room residence in Warsaw, at #17 on quiet, aristocratic Poznańska [Poznańska] Street. The building belonged to the well-known, wealthy Samuel Habergrits, who was a partner in the Jewish-owned chocolate factory "Pluto's." I was the building manager and for many years was very friendly with the quiet, small Ruminski family. These two later demonstrated their noble character by rescuing a Jewish child from the clutches of the horrendous Nazis. This actually involved my only child, my daughter Halinka–Hadassah, and here is the story of how it happened.

On August 22, 1939, a week before Hitler attacked Poland, I, a military reservist, was called up into the Polish Army and assigned to the Warsaw intendatur [military administrative offices], which was located in Praga [district of Warsaw]. After the war broke out three days later I didn't see my family anymore.

On Saturday, September 9, 1939, I left Warsaw with my military division under heavy bombardment, leaving behind my wife Brokhe–Bronia, the daughter of the well-known and prosperous Reb [respectful form of address] Shimen Orzhof, and my only child Halinka.

My division "fought" until September 21 when we reached the Hungarian border, where we were disarmed and interned in camps. We remained interned for five years, but not as prisoners of war, because Hungary and Poland were not on opposing sides in the war. For that reason, we were treated much more leniently and could correspond freely with our families in Poland.

In 1941, when I began to receive the terrible letters about suffering from my wife and began to ponder how to help, I delved into my memory to remember all my Christian friends from the past and hit upon the Ruminskis, certain that they would help if it was at all possible. I was sure about the Ruminskis because I had continued to maintain contact with them after they fled from burning Warsaw to Rumania in 1939. I continued to exchange letters with them especially with "Good Maria" until they wrote me that I shouldn't write anymore, because they were returning to Warsaw. Our correspondence broke off. When I began to send them my alarming letters, I did not receive an answer.

I found a way to the Ruminskis through the only son of my brother, Rabbi Avraham Simkhe First. His son, Marek (Meyer Noekh), was very active, energetic man with many connections with the non-Jewish side [of the ghetto]. I wrote to him to get in touch with the Ruminskis. He located them and set a time when he would take my daughter out of the ghetto. (My wife had already been sent to Treblinka [Concentration Camp], where she died.) A pure Aryan was waiting outside the ghetto and brought my daughter to the Ruminskis at 17 Poznańska Street.

My daughter stayed with the Ruminskis for several months, and when the pressure grew for Aryans hiding Jewish children, the Ruminskis took her to a safer place with their family. But there, too, things became uncomfortable, and Pani Maria, who was a well-known social activist in Catholic circles, with great care and devotion found a place for her in a Catholic convent outside Warsaw, the institution "Sisters of Mary" in Brwinow [Brwinów]. There they converted the little Jewish girl with her Jewish ways and she was given her new, although not terribly Aryan-sounding name, Janina Shteymer.

After the liberation, I retrieved my daughter from the convent with the help of Pani Maria and installed her in the children's home in Otvotsk [Otwock] run by the extraordinary pedagogue Frau Bielitski-Blum. There my daughter was soon cured of the Catholic nonsense that had been drilled into her young head.

We didn't stay long in Poland. The brother of my dead wife, Mordkhe Orzhof, was then in the Jewish Brigade, which was headquartered in Holland. When he learned that we had survived, he came in a jeep to see us, provided us with well-prepared papers, and took us to Germany. I sent my daughter to Israel with the first children's Aliyah,

Passover time 1946. There she forgot her former names Halina and Janina, and remained Hadassah, a name given her in honor of her noble, pious maternal grandmother. ...

And what happened to the Ruminskis, my child's saviors? The Germans tracked them down. He managed to hide, but Pani Maria was taken to Ravensbruck [Ravensbrück] Concentration Camp and wasn't reunited with her husband until after liberation.

Their home at 17 Poznanska Street no longer existed. When I went to Warsaw after the war, I found them in a very modest apartment in one of the houses that chanced to survive on Yerozalimsker Boulevard [Aleje Jerozolimskie], across from the railroad station. They were aged and enfeebled. All that remained of their old selves was the fine kindly look in their dimmed eyes. He died a few years after the war, and she a little later.

Another Jewish child who was spirited out of the Warsaw ghetto and sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Brwinów was Lea Balint, then Halinka Herla.²³² (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 177–79.)

Before the war my parents lived in Ostrow Swietokrzyski [Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski] and owned a furniture factory. We had an accountant named Gluchowski [Gluchowski], and my father, when the Germans were taking him to Oswiecim [Oświęcim or Auschwitz], gave him the key to the factory and asked him to hide me. He sent my mother to Russia. I'm sure it was this Gluchowski who took me to the convent in Brwinow [Brwinów], but I really don't remember much from that time. ... My mother died in Warsaw in 1944; I think she used to come to the convent on occasion, and once she brought me some white bread. I was at the convent until 1945.

I remember that I was very sick. I had some type of growth and an infection. There was heavy bombing going on, and a nun took me by the hand and ran with me one night to the hospital, in which there were [German] soldiers. The nun sat with me and told me through the entire time that if I behaved she would buy me a doll larger than the one in the convent. They operated on me, and I returned to the convent.

I also remember that during the bombing we would go to the cellar, whose ceiling was made not of concrete but of earth. We laid there with the nuns; I remember the smell of potatoes. I remember the type of life we led, and Christmas, and a Christmas tree in some room to the left, with candles on the tree. Candies during wartime! St. Nicholas would come on Christmas [December 6th]; he would come though that big gate and go up the steps. This was during the war! We did not have potatoes to eat; we ate offals—and the nuns ate offals! Just like the children. And yet we would get candies at Christmas. The Christmas tree was enormous, and covered with balls and candles. There was much joy at the time. Now I have come back to my childhood, and it was not a bad one at that!

All in all, my war experiences were not that tragic. I think that if during the war it was possible for me to be on a bed of roses, then the bed was prepared for me here. And that is why the war is not so terrible for me.

But I never really understood why they were hiding me. They did not explain it to me; they only said that there was danger. I remember one more thing. The Germans used to come to the convent and take eggs, or sometimes pigs. There was a garden there, fruit and vegetables were growing—and the Germans came and took them. One day, there was a large basket full of eggs and straw. Perhaps there were hens in the convent? I do not remember.

The Germans came in so suddenly that I was left inside the room and could not be taken out through any door. Sister Helena—she was tall and slim, her face was like that of the Madonna; she was beautiful—took those eggs out so quickly! She put me inside the basket and covered me with the eggs and straw.

A German came in, kicked the basket and asked what was in it. She calmly answered that there were eggs in the basket. The German said he was taking the eggs. The sister started begging him, saying there was a seriously ill nun in the convent who had to have those eggs. The German persisted, but then started paying her compliments, for she was very beautiful. Finally he left the basket where it was and went away.

There was a lot of straw lying on the floor. I could not stay in that basket, for the straw prevented me from breathing properly. I had to hold my nose shut the entire time. Nowadays I think I must have been co-operating with the nun. A five-year-old girl, that's all I could have been at the time. Not more than five. To be aware of the terrible danger we were in! Both she and I, and the entire convent!

When the Germans left, the sister took me out of the basket and began to clean my nose. She kissed and hugged me. I was well-liked in the convent; I always felt that somebody loved me, and this was very important.

I remember one more thing. When we went to church, I always went with a blanket over my shoulder. A nun had explained to me that if a German came up from one side, I was to place the blanket on that side so that it would hide my face. I always listened to what she said, for I was a good, obedient child. If there had not been this attention to every detail, I don't know if I could have survived the war.

²³² Lea Balint expressed her gratitude for the nuns' help on several occasions. See Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at pp. 185–86.

It is not clear which nuns sheltered Aliza Penski-Chayut in Brwinów, as the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary maintained two children's shelters there and the Grey Ursulines one. Aliza described her first day in the convent thus (Nahum Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers: The Rescue of Jewish Children with Assumed Identities in Poland* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009], pp. 159–60):

I was placed with a group of children who were playing in a circle. Quickly I became re-accustomed to playing children's games. I was like a regular resident there. In the evening, after vespers, we went to bed. The room was very large and had rows of little white beds. I was given a bed near a little blonde girl who became my best friend. ... The supervisor of the room was a young, pretty nun named Barbara, whose bed was behind a curtain in the corner. Before I went to sleep, I was told that we all had to sleep on our backs, our arms folded over our hearts. ... That's how I fell asleep. The next morning, I woke up before all the children. I looked around ... and saw that everyone was sleeping quietly and calmly, meaning there was no longer anything to fear. Very slowly many heads began to rise. ... Sister Barbara stepped out from behind the curtain, fully dressed, and with a cheerful "Good morning" ordered us all to get up and wash up. I took my place in the long line to wash my face and teeth. We got dressed and went to a small chapel on the top floor, where I prayed fervently to Him Who sits on high, asking Him quickly to take me back to my parents and my home.

There was a custom at the convent for the outstanding pupil in religious studies to wear a long white dress to her First Communion, whereas the other girls wore short dresses. Aliza, going by the name of Krystyna (Krystyna), decided to compete for the long dress and poured over her catechism. Her hard work paid off for, in the test administered by the priest to the whole class, Aliza excelled and was chosen to wear the prize dress. "It had been along time since I had been so happy," she recalled. "I ran straight to the chapel and thanked God for His kindness."²³³

The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary also sheltered and helped adult Jews. Michael Zylberberg's wife, Henrietta, was sheltered at the convent on Hoża Street in Warsaw. When the Germans became aware that Jewish children were hidden there, one of the nuns by the name of Stefania (Krzosek) transferred Mrs. Zylberberg to her mother's home in the town of Piastów near Warsaw.²³⁴ Zuzanna Rabska, a convert to Catholicism, was sheltered for a year and a half in the institution for the elderly and handicapped on Belwederska Street in Warsaw, which was under the care of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. She wrote: "For the first time since I went into hiding I had an awareness of complete safety. Above all, I was treated like a human being. The mother superior gave me the keys to the library collection, which was full of good books, and tasked me with the duty of distributing them among the sick."²³⁵ After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Romana Koplewicz (née Margitte), born in Warsaw in 1919, held various jobs. When her position as a chambermaid in a hospital in Otwock became endangered in the summer of 1944, a nun there gave her the name of the Mother Superior of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Warsaw. She, in turn, directed Romana to a convent in Grodzisk Mazowiecki where she worked in the garden. After some three months, the priest there asked Romana to leave, apologetically, because her presence was arousing suspicion and endangered the lives of the Jewish children sheltered in that convent. He provided her with a reference, which was vital for future employment.²³⁶ The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary arranged for false identity documents, a residence and job for Dr. Mieczysław Gelbstein (later Stanisław Krzysztoporski) in Lwów.²³⁷

Deborah (Adela) Knie from Nagoszyn near Dębica moved to Lwów with her young daughter, Irka. When

²³³ Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 168; based on the testimony of Aliza Penski-Chayut, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3410.

²³⁴ Michael Zylberberg, *A Warsaw Diary, 1939–1945* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1969), 133, 141.

²³⁵ See Zuzanna Rabska's testimony in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 627–28, and Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 61 n.125. Zuzanna Rabska, the daughter of Aleksander Kraushar, a renowned Jewish convert, was married to Władysław Rabski, an author who was a parliamentarian for the National Democracy (*Narodowa Demokracja*). Her son-in-law, Zbigniew Stypułowski, was the political leader of the National Armed Forces (*Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*).

²³⁶ Oral history interview with Romana Koplewicz, October 8, 1993, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

²³⁷ Testimony of Stanisław Krzysztoporski in Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 544.

she encountered a street round-up, she quickly pushed her daughter into the doorway of a Franciscan monastery to save her. The monks took the young girl to a nearby convent of nuns. She was adopted by a forester, who subsequently gave her over to another family after his wife died. After the war, Deborah Knie was able to find and her daughter. The family eventually settled in the United States.²³⁸ According to Polish sources, Brother Norbert Wojciechowicz, the Franciscan who received the six-year-old child, brought her to the orphanage of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary on Kurkowa Street.²³⁹ A dozen Jewish children were sheltered at that orphanage. Shosh Ronis, who went by the name of Janina (Janka) Ryszarda Glińska, was placed there by her mother in 1942. After the war, she was reunited with her mother. Another girl who arrived there was Łucja Keller.²⁴⁰

A second orphanage in Lwów of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary was located on Słodowa Street. Sister Janina Wirball was the superior of this institution. The Jewish charges included both children, among them Maria Kuśnirska, Bronisława Malinowicz, Ewa Szlam, and Antonina Słonina, as well as some adults.²⁴¹

After being apprehended in a suburb of Warsaw, Esther Bas-Melcer's was interrogated by the Germans. A priest whom she did not know vouched for her and brought her to a convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Izabelin. Fifteen Jewish women and children were sheltered there by three nuns. The superior of this small home was Sister Bernarda Lemańska. The chaplain was Fr. Oskar Wiśniewski, a Conventual Franciscan. Both Sister Bernarda and Fr. Oskar were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018 for rescuing Esther (Ester) Bas-Melcer (Waiss), Helena Zajtman Hisenholc Caspari, Hanna Zajtman Fajgenbaum (Anna Zabielska), and Marian Nudel (Niedźwiedzki). The congregation's records also mention Anna Zabielska's mother, Aleksandra, and Guranowski's mother.²⁴² As this story shows, Germans occasionally forced Catholic priests to question persons suspected of being Jewish about their knowledge of the Catholic faith. However, priests were rarely conscripted for this task, as they were not needed or dependable. Basic testing of knowledge of prayers and rituals was usually carried out by German officials who knew Polish or used interpreters. German officials were far more effective

²³⁸ Grzegorz Król, "Sharon spotkała wybawców matki," December 10, 2011, <<http://debica24.eu>>.

²³⁹ Teresa Frącek, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Maryi w latach 1939–1945*, in the series *Kościół katolicki na ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej: Materiały i studia*, book (zeszyt) 1 (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1973), 109–31; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 158; Ryszard Szkopwiec, "Działalność franciszkanów na rzecz Żydów," in Stanisław C. Napiórkowski, ed., *A bliźniego swego...: Materiały z sympozjum "Św. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe—Żydzi—masoni* (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1997), 128.

²⁴⁰ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć," Part 6, *Nasz Dziennik*, April 4, 2008; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at pp. 180, 187–88.

²⁴¹ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 180.

²⁴² Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 175.

interrogators than priests, who were not known to cooperate in exposing Jews.²⁴³ Esther Bas-Melcer assumed the identity of Barbara Małecka at the convent. She relates her story in her memoir, *In the Claws of Destruction* (Montreal: Aron Horowitz, 1986), at pages 40–46.

I was summoned to the chancellery [in Izabelin]. ... Afterwards, [the German officer] read the letters. I adhered to

²⁴³ There are numerous recorded cases of interrogations of Jews passing as Catholics by German officials, and not one of them mention the involvement of Polish priests. See, for example, the account of Elżbieta [Elżbieta] Szandorowska from Warsaw: “In May 1943, the Germans arrested seventeen people in our boarding house, including my mother and the rest of our family. They took us to the Gestapo headquarters on Szucha Avenue. Throughout the entire night, I taught Christian prayers to one of the Jewish girls who [had] been arrested. The next day the Germans were in a very good mood because they had found diamonds sewn into the trousers of one of the Jewish men. So they allowed my family to go free the next day. They freed a couple of Jewish people, too, because they had extremely convincing documents and they had passed the so-called religion examination, which consisted of reciting Catholic prayers.” See Richard C. Lukas, ed., *Out of the Inferno: Poles Remember the Holocaust* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 161. Lidia Kott was interrogated by two Gestapo officers on Szucha Street: “They told her to say her prayers, asked her to tell them the shape of the host, and tried to get her to say that it was square. ... The investigations began all over again, now with the assistance of three experts: a Jew, a Ukrainian, and a Pole.” See Kott, *Still Alive*, 77. Braunia Szul, then a 14-year-old girl, and her mother were also brought to the Gestapo headquarters on Szucha Street and interrogated by Germans: “When we arrived there, they started to ask us about religion, if I know the religion prayers, so I knew the [Catholic] prayers by heart. We were prepared for that, you know.” See the interview with Braunia Sztul, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 19, 1995. The testimony of Wanda Ziemska, who was interrogated by the Gestapo in Warsaw and made to recite prayers, but released after a Polish policeman vouched for her, is found in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 2, 348. For another account from Warsaw mentioning interrogation by the German authorities about Christian prayers and customs (and release after a Pole vouched for the two Jewish women), see Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), 192–93. Lala Fishman (née Klara Weintraub) was one a number of women arrested in street sweeps in Kraków who were interrogated by the Germans and made to recite Catholic prayers. See Lala Fishman and Steven Weingartner, *Lala’s Story: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 188. For additional examples of interrogations conducted by Germans, sometimes using Polish interpreters, see: Yehuda Nir, *The Lost Childhood: A Memoir* (San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1989), 67; Halina Zylberman, *Swimming Under Water* (Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2001), 56; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 276; Theresa Cahn-Tober, *Hide and Seek: A Wartime Childhood* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 68–69; Małgorzata Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość: Polscy Żydzi ocaleni na “aryjskich papierach”*: Analiza doświadczeń biograficznego (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004), 236; Halina Grubowska, *Haneczko, musisz przeżyć* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2007), 45; Testimony of an unidentified Jewish woman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 164 (by the Gestapo in Warsaw, who also contacted the parish that issued the woman’s baptismal certificate); Testimony of Marceli Lubasz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 418 (in the Łącki Street prison in Lwów); Testimony of Helena Kenig-Bruder, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2832 (by the Gestapo in Warsaw). The next series of accounts pertains to questioning by Polish policemen of suspected Jews on religious knowledge. Such examinations tended to be perfunctory. Jadwiga Krall and her six-year-old daughter, Hanna, were accosted in the spring of 1943 by a blackmailer in the Aryan part of Warsaw. Because they had no money to pay him, he turned them in to the police, who tested their claim that they were Catholics by asking questions about Catholic prayers. “Suddenly the voice of a woman could be heard in the police station demanding to know why the police were accusing her sister of being Jewish. The woman, who eventually succeeded in getting Krall and her daughter out of the police’s hands, was Maria Ostrowska, who had previously provided Krall with the birth certificate of her sister, who lived outside Warsaw.” See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 569–70. Alina Margolis describes her interrogation by the police after being apprehended with her friend Zosia, who was recognized as a Jew. While Margolis was able to recite the prayers asked of her, thanks to having observed her Polish childhood nanny, her friend Zosia could not correctly describe the size of a Communion host. However, both were eventually released through a bribe arranged by a Polish acquaintance. See Alina Margolis-Edelman, *Ala z elementarza* (London: Aneks, 1994), 109–11; Alina Margolis-Edelman, *Tego, co mówili, nie powtórzę...* (Wrocław: Siedmioróg, 1999), 112–13; available also in French translation as *Je ne répéterai pas, je ne veux pas le répéter* (Paris: Autrement Littératures, 1997). After being fingered by a Ukrainian woman informer in Drohobycz, Erna Kamerman, then a child, and her mother were seized by German officials, who ordered a Polish policeman listen to the child recite prayers in Polish. See Erna Kamerman Perry, *Christian by Disguise: A Story of Survival* (Margate, New Jersey: ComteQ Publishing, 2014). For additional examples of testing Jews’ religious knowledge without the participation of priests, see Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 152 (Kraków); Elsa Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction: Memories, 1939–1945* (Hamilton, Ontario: Mekler & Deahl, 1997), 63; Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość*, 170, 236; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 569–70; Christine Winecki, *The Girl in the Check Coat: Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland and a New Life in Australia* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), 70–71; Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2015), vol. 4, 125 (Warsaw), 354–55 (Częstochowa); Testimony of Janina Kroch, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 362 (by Kripo policeman in Lwów).

Historian Gunnar Paulsson states that “some [Catholic priests] could be found who were prepared to rule on a suspect’s

my original lies. He asked me to wait while he went outside.

A short time passed by. A priest and two nuns then entered. I was certain at that point that I was to be questioned. The priest, who was about thirty-five years of age, of medium height and who had mild, kind eyes, took my hand and asked me whether I was a Roman Catholic, while winking to me that I should say yes. I answered calmly, "Yes."

"In that case, come with us," he told me. "You will rest and recover at our place."

Could it be true? Was it possible? I thought to myself. A wagon could not be found, so two Poles were called. They crossed their hands and I was seated on them. This way, there [sic] were able to carry me. The priest, both nuns and children walked behind me. And so, in this way, I was led into the church in the procession.

They had prepared a sofa for me in the older nun's room. My eyes were transfixed by the ideal cleanliness and warmth of the room.

I would write much more about these people, but I did not know whether I would succeed. One thing, however, that I can say is that I never saw anywhere such extraordinary genuine, good and friendly people.

I shall refer to it as paradise, because I really thought that I was truly in paradise. Although a complete stranger, I felt good and free amongst them. I knew that these people would not disappoint me. Every one of them looked to me like an angel. ...

The oldest nun, who was about sixty-eight years old, was a true embodiment of righteousness and goodness. She immediately gave me a bowl of cream of wheat soup. When I ate, she prepared for me a clean bed, her own clean and fresh underwear, a pan with warm water and a towel [sic].

"Do not cry, my child," she said to me. "You will wash up, have a good sleep in a clean bed and you will surely recover in a short time."

My gratitude was boundless. I immediately took out my last fifty dollars and wanted to give it to the nun for the church or for another cause that she would find necessary.

"No, my child," she said. "You are young and sick. This money will surely come in handy for you at some time in the future."

Her kindness moved me to tears. I kissed her hand tenderly. She wanted to help me wash myself, but I declined. I was ashamed to show her my extremely lean body. ... I had no strength to wash my head. The nun did this the next morning. ...

There I lay, washed and clean in a spotless bed. I thought about all that had happened to me and what was now taking place. Every few minutes, another nun would come in to ask whether I was all right and whether I needed anything. ...

At seven o'clock the next morning, the priest came in and asked me my name.

"I have to inform the Polish Philanthropic Association about you in order to obtain medicine and better nutrition for you, because we, unfortunately lack it here," he explained. I naturally gave him my Aryan name.

He walked over eleven kilometers to obtain the necessary items for me. The directress of the institution came with him and brought along injections, milk and other products.

As I have already described, this priest embodied a type of complete gentleness and goodness. His mild look, warm and hearty words affected me like warm sunshine.

Several times a day, he would come into the room, move over a chair to my bed, sit down and make an effort to engage me into conversation on various abstract themes, in order that I should forget my sorrows. Under the influence of these saintly people, the beastly faces of the brutal Germans began to fade slowly from before my eyes. It seemed to me that I was being re-born.

... [After the entry of the Russian troops in mid January 1945], [a]n old woman from a nearby room came in, fell toward me in tears, and revealed that she was Jewish believing that I, too, was Jewish. Before that time, she would also often come in to where I was, conduct long conversations and inquire about the Jews of Warsaw. I therefore had a basis to believe that she was Jewish, but because I was not completely certain, I used to respond evasively.

Some time later, I learned that almost all of the women who were there were Jewish. The only one from among these who often came in to console me was the above-mentioned woman, who was named Wanda Rogatska [Rogacka] from Warsaw. All of the others kept away from my bed, in order not to become suspect. ...

Now we had to leave this place [i.e., after the liberation], first because we could not be a burden on these good people and second because we had to regain our identity. ...

Regrettably, I had to remain there another six whole weeks. I simply could not walk around. My sister finally located a room in Otwozk [Otwock].

The kindhearted priest rented a carriage for us. The nun wrapped me in a blanket with true motherly concern and seated me in the carriage. With tears of gratitude and heartfelt blessings from the priest and the nun, we left that blessed house and all of its wonderful inhabitants.

Pesa Achtman Cimerman's sister, who was hidden together with her and eleven other Jews by the Koper family in the Warsaw suburb of Praga, "had once been rescued by a priest, Oskar Wiśniewski, when she was discovered in a hiding place, dirty and ragged. It was obvious she was Jewish, but Wiśniewski was called upon to identify her. He insisted she was a parishioner and took her home until another place could

be found.”²⁴⁴

Felicja Seifert (later Ela Manor) was smuggled out of the ghetto in Kraków. She was sent to a farm in the village of Wawrzeńczyce, in the county of Miechów, near Kraków, where she stayed for about a year, together with another Jewish couple, the Rozmaryns, at the home of Zygmunt and Elżbieta Wojnarowicz. One day, the Germans raided the farm and arrested the farm owners (Zygmunt Wojnarowicz perished in the Dora concentration camp) and executed the Jewish couple. Felicja managed to escape and ran to the private tutor the Wojnarowiczes had hired for her. The tutor sent her to Dr. Aleksandra Mianowska in Kraków, a Żegota activist. Mianowska turned to Rev. Ferdynand Machay, who provided Felicja with a baptismal and birth certificate in the name of Elżbieta Smoleń. Dr. Mianowska arranged for Stefan Kamiński, an underground activist and member of Żegota, to take Felicja to a children’s home in Kostowiec near Warsaw run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. She remained there until the area was liberated.²⁴⁵

The Zosinek orphanage in Międzyzlesie near Warsaw was also operated by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. From 1942 until 1945, it was under the direction of Sister Gabriela Strak and had 10 nuns, a chaplain, and another resident priest. The orphanage housed around 75 children from ages 8 to 11, of whom some 17 were Jewish. Among the Jewish charges was Maria Kruszewska (born in 1934), the daughter of a medical doctor. The residents of the orphanage were expelled by the Germans without warning on August 1, 1944, when the Warsaw Uprising broke out, and relocated to the order’s overcrowded educational institution in Płudy.²⁴⁶ Likewise, the residents of a sanatorium (Ulanówek) in that same town, under the direction of Sister Aniela Stawowiak, with around a dozen Jewish girls and four Jewish adults, were also expelled.²⁴⁷ (“Getter, Matylda, Mother,” Internet: <<http://www.savingjews.org/righteous/gv.htm>>, based on Władysław Smólski, *Za to groziła śmierć: Polacy z pomocą w czasie okupacji* [Warsaw: Pax, 1981], pp. 300–308.)

The orphanage counted ca. 70 children, of which 10 were Jewish. One of them was a nine-year-old girl who was so terrified. One of them was a nine-year-old girl who was so terrified by the sight of Germans that her fright immediately attracted their attention when some of them appeared at the orphanage and caused them to ask if the Sisters do not keep Jewish children. Stanisława Kaniewska, fluent in German, assured them that only Polish Catholic children are in the orphanage and another Sister, Maria Czechowicz, distracted them from that dangerous questioning by talking to them in French, which one of them knew. In the last days of July 1944, when Russians reached the River Vistula, they bombarded the city by artillery and from the air. Several people were killed, the chapel was destroyed, but nobody from the orphanage was harmed. On August 1st, 1944 (first day of the Warsaw Uprising), during lunch, for which there were only broad beans, the Germans suddenly stormed into the orphanage and ordered everybody to leave and to march toward Warsaw. Soon the other orphanage from Międzyzlesie, “Ulanówek”, with the youngest children, joined them. Those children remained at Grochów, while “Zosinek” went on to Saska Kępa, both in Warsaw. As the children had nothing to eat, Sister Stanisława asked the parish priest to announce their predicament in church and parishioners flocked with food. Sister Stanisława, realizing that this was not sufficient, returned with the older girls to Międzyzlesie for food. The Germans forbade them to go there but allowed them to go to Anin, where the Sisters had another orphanage. There they were bombarded again by artillery fire by both the Germans and Russians at the same time. On August 13, the Germans ordered the evacuation also of this second orphanage. Sister Stanisława explained the situation to the German command. At the beginning, the commanding officer refused any help, but finally agreed to give them horse carts for the children and food. After another bombing from the air by the Soviets, Sister Stanisława ordered the drivers to go not to Modlin, as indicated

²⁴⁴ Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 1st edition, *Żegota*, 125; Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 2nd edition, *Żegota*, 116; Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 3rd edition, *Code Name: Żegota*, 125.

²⁴⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 332, 507, Part 2, 886; Aleksandra Mianowska, *The Righteous Among the Nations*, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044043>>.

²⁴⁶ Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzyzlesiu i Aninie*, 9–42.

²⁴⁷ Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzyzlesiu i Aninie*, 43–63. Among those sheltered at Ulanówek was 10-year-old Alina Koenigstein, whose mother, a lawyer, was sheltered in another home of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary.

the Germans, but to Pludy, another of their orphanages, this time with 80 children and with the food. Having arrived there, she got some food for the children left at Saska Kępa. When she returned there, the children received her with tears. She fed them and they all went to Pludy. The conditions there were very difficult, as several orphanages were reunited there: altogether 500 children, of which a hundred (100) were Jewish. The Germans came continuously to search the house, especially one, particularly obnoxious fellow, returned every day for three weeks looking for Jewish children and for a Jewish priest, Father [Tadeusz] Puder, but as much as he searched he could not find them. He announced that if he discovers even one Jew, all would be shot. Despite continuous threats Sister Stanisława refused three times to leave the orphanage. The soldiers put her against the wall and under guard when they were expelling again all the children to Modlin. The superior, Sister Romualda [Stępak], entreated the Germans to leave the two and three year olds as too young to walk so far, famished as they were. They acquiesced and allowed seven Sisters, among them Stanisława, to stay with them. On the third night there arrived a German doctor who was furious that not all the children had left; he demanded to see the German-speaking Sister. But when he saw the miserable state of children in the cellars, he was appalled. He promised her to reward her after the war for her heroism. She thanked him but told him that she does it not for German rewards but to save the Polish children and that they need food, as they have only rye grain to eat. He promised to send them all kinds of food and delicacies. At that moment a shell fell in the place where both of them were standing and killed some people. The German doctor and the Polish Sister were both knocked out. But the food never arrived: the Germans fled. The next day Polish soldiers from the Kościuszko Division (formed in Soviet Russia out of Poles deported to Siberia at the beginning of the war who did not manage to join the 2nd Polish Corps of General Anders) liberated them. One of the priests celebrated Mass in the cellar; everybody wept.

The aforementioned Rev. Tadeusz Puder was a Jew by birth who had converted to Catholicism as a teenager, together with his widowed mother, Jadwiga, and his two brothers. In order to protect Rev. Puder, a well-known convert with a distinctive Semitic appearance, Archbishop Stanisław Gall, the Vicar Capitular and later Apostolic Administrator of the vacant Warsaw archdiocese, removed him from his parish church of St. Hyacinth (św. Jacka) in Warsaw. In November 1939, he was appointed chaplain at a children's home in Białoleka Dworska near Warsaw run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, where a number of Jewish children were being sheltered. Rev. Puder was arrested by the Gestapo in April 1941 as a result of a denunciation. He was sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment for residing outside the Warsaw ghetto and not wearing an armband with a Star of David. Through the intervention of nuns and others, he was transferred to St. Sophia's hospital in Warsaw, near the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. Although he was under the watch of the Gestapo, a daring escape was staged in November 1942. Rev. Puder slid down a rope made of bed sheets into a horse-drawn wagon awaiting him and was hidden under some coal. Dressed as a nun and with his head heavily bandaged, he was taken to stay with his mother in Grodzisk Mazowiecki. Soon after, Sister Janina Kruszewska brought Rev. Puder, again dressed as a nun, to the children's home in Białoleka Dworska, where he lived in seclusion. In September 1944, the residents of that institution were expelled by the Germans and made their way to Pludy, where the nuns maintained another institution for girls. Rev. Puder arrived at Pludy dressed as a nun in the company of Sister Romualda Stępak, who was the director of the institution, Sister Domicela Golik, and Sister Janina Kruszewska. Rev. Puder remained there in hiding until the liberation of Pludy on October 24, 1944. After the liberation of left-bank Warsaw on January 17, 1945, Rev. Puder was able to visit his mother, who survived in hiding. On January 23, 1945, while walking on a street in the ruins of Warsaw with Sister Irena Waśniewska, Rev. Puder was hit by a truck driven by a Red Army soldier. Rev. Puder was struck unconscious and died from head injuries four days later.²⁴⁸

Priests were often instrumental in placing Jews in convents and worked hand in glove with nuns to rescue Jews. According to historian Ewa Kurek (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, p. 52):

Priests also fulfilled the role of intermediaries between Jews and convents, and they extricated children from the ghettos. Children were led out of the Warsaw ghetto by, among others, Rev. Prelate Marceł Godlewski, the pastor of the Church of All Saints, and by Rev. Piotr Tomaszewski, the chaplain of the Father Boduen [Baudouin] Home, who,

²⁴⁸ Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven, Connecticut, and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 653; Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *Getto warszawskie: Przewodnik po nieistniejącym mieście*, Second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2013), 674–75; Peter F. Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto: An Epitaph for the Unremembered* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 61–62; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 852; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć,” Parts 3 and 4, *Nasz Dziennik*, March 16 and March 19, 2008.

for example, brought three-year-old Monika to the Sisters of Charity [of St. Vincent de Paul] during playtime. Monsignor Antoni Godziszewski had contacts with the Czestochowa [Częstochowa] ghetto, from which he smuggled children to suitable institutions in that town. A similar role was played in Kielce by Rev. Jan Jaroszewicz, the future bishop of the Kielce diocese.

Rev. Jan Jaroszewicz placed Jewish children in institutions in Kielce run by religious orders as well as in safe houses outside the city through a network of clerical rescuers.

The aforementioned Rev. Antoni Godziszewski, the provost (*prepozyt*) of the cathedral parish of the Holy Family in Częstochowa, is mentioned in several rescue stories. After her father bribed a Ukrainian guard, 20-year-old Janina Rozenblat (Rosenblatt, later Jane Laufer) was able to leave the ghetto in Częstochowa in September 1942 shortly before its liquidation. She made her way to a convent where her father was acquainted with a nun, Mother Klara. The nun took her to the Jasna Góra monastery where Janina shared a room with other nuns. She then put Janina in contact with Rev. Godziszewski, who provided her with false identity documents in the name of Eugenia Otremba, a deceased person. With the help of Antonina Stalska, her former nanny, Janina obtained a job in a restaurant in Gross Strehlitz, in Opole Silesia. The nuns gave her clothes and the priest gave her a crucifix to wear. Rev. Godziszewski corresponded with Janina to assist with her cover. Janina described Rev. Godziszewski as a “very noble person” who saved many lives, mentioning in particular two engineers who took refuge in Warsaw.²⁴⁹ At the request of Rev. Godziszewski, Natalia Jaroszyńska took in the brothers Teodor and Leopold Szajn into her home in the Warsaw suburb of Wesoła. The brothers had moved to Warsaw from Częstochowa, where they had stayed briefly with Rev. Godziszewski after leaving the ghetto. The brothers were also sheltered by Jan Czerwiakowski, Dr. Janina Krasowska, and Zofia Kanczewska. Leopold Szajn’s daughter was placed in a convent in Bielany.²⁵⁰ Rev. Godziszewski was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2020, as was Antonina Stalska.

Rescue often entailed moving charges across the country to convents, homes and institutions ready to receive them. Often, this was done by train. Noemi Szac-Wajnkranc, a native of Warsaw, noted in her wartime diary how, in the autumn of 1942 when she was leaving Warsaw by train from Dworzec Wschodni (Eastern Terminal), a nun entered the wagon with a two-year-old girl. The child looked sad and started to cry. The passengers, who immediately recognized the child to be Jewish, tried to comfort her.²⁵¹

Moving children from one convent or institution to another was a fairly frequent occurrence. Danuta Rajaska (Daniela Reiss) was transferred from Płudy to Anin, and then to Międzyzylesie, all in the vicinity of Warsaw and under the care of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary.²⁵² Maria Baczkowska, the daughter of Dr. Feliks Blayn, was brought from Lwów to Warsaw, as was Ewa Szlam, who was eventually sheltered in Anin.²⁵³ Sixteen-year-old Janina Sosnowska, who had previously resided in Anin, was transferred to Płudy during the evacuation from Białołęka dressed as a nun.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Oral history interview with Jane Laufer, September 18, 1984, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; Testimony of Janina Laufer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45744.

²⁵⁰ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1026–27; Edmund Mazur, “Po prostu człowiek: Materiały dotyczące pomocy niesionej Żydom w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Warszawie,” *Palestra*, no. 11 (1968): 65–104, at p. 84.

²⁵¹ Noemi Szac-Wajnkranc, *Przeminęło z ogniem* (Warsaw: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1947).

²⁵² Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 177.

²⁵³ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 181.

²⁵⁴ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Dzieci żydowskie uratowane przez Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Za to groziła śmierć,” April 11, 2016, Internet: <<https://zakony-zenskie.pl/dzieci-zydowskie-uratowane-przez-siostry-franciszanki-rodziny-maryi-za-to-grozila-smierc/>>.

After leaving the Warsaw ghetto in the early part of 1943, Janina Dawidowicz (later David), then 13 years old, assumed the identity of Danuta Teresa Markowska. She was cared for by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Płudy outside of Warsaw from July 1943 to January 1944, she then stayed for a brief period at their orphanage in Łomna near Turka, and afterwards she was moved to an orphanage on Wolność Street, near the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto. After the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, the children were evacuated to Kostowiec, outside Warsaw, where the sisters had another convent. Janina describes her experiences in those convents in her memoirs, *A Touch of Earth* and *A Square of Sky: Memoirs of Wartime Childhood*. She was treated well and even lovingly by the nuns, among them Sister Zofia Olszewska, with whom Janina corresponded until the nun's death. Sister Zofia Olszewska was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2016. Janina also remembered fondly the priests who came to the convents, among them a Franciscan she identified as Father Cezary. In fact, this was Czesław Baran, a Conventual Franciscan known as Father Cezar, who was a confessor to the nuns and taught high school classes clandestinely in Kostowiec.²⁵⁵ Other Jewish children identified by Yad Vashem include Halina Złotnicka (Chana Złotnik), Teresa Brama, Teresa Kowalska, a boy named Kowalski, Teresa Rogozińska, and Felicja (Sara) Rafalska.

Twenty-six Jewish children were sheltered among the 120 children housed in the orphanage and school run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Łomna near Turka, southwest of Lwów. A number of the Jewish children, among them Janina Dawidowicz (later David), were brought there from Warsaw by Sister Blanka (Zofia) Pięłowska, who maintained contact with trusted persons in Warsaw's Social Welfare Department. The superior of the Łomna convent, Sister Tekla (Anna) Budnowska, stated that all of the nuns were aware of the identity of their Jewish charges. Sister Tekla Budnowska and Sister Blanka Pięłowska were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2016. One of the Jewish children was Chana Złotnik (Halina Złotnicka), a native of Głowno, whose family had been deported to the Warsaw ghetto. While working at a warehouse outside the ghetto sorting old clothes, her mother learned of the assistance provided by its Polish director, identified as Władysław, in finding shelters for Jewish children through the Warsaw Social Welfare Department network. Halina, already a teenager, was assisted and sheltered by several Polish women who were part of this network—a woman known as Wanda (likely, Wanda Drozdowska-Rogowicz), Zofia Papuzińska (whose home served as a drop-off point for many Jewish children), Izabella Kuczkowska, Jadwiga Piotrowska and her daughter, Hanka, and another relative of hers—before being taken by a nun to the convent in Łomna by train. Although everyone experienced hunger, the food was shared equally among the children and staff, and the nuns treated all of their charges devotedly and with compassion, regardless of their origin. In her testimony Halina wrote of her “boundless respect and admiration” for the nuns who cared for her during the occupation. When the convent in Łomna came under attack by Ukrainian nationalist partisans in the fall of 1943, the children were transferred to Warsaw. During the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, the children were evacuated to the Franciscan Sisters' convent in Kostowiec, outside the city. One of the instructors there was the aforementioned Franciscan Father Cezar (Czesław Baran), who is warmly remembered by the children.²⁵⁶

The story of the rescue efforts of the Papuziński family, who assisted Halina Złotnik and a number of other Jews, is so remarkable that it deserves further mention. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 580.)

The modest apartment of Zofia and Stanislaw Papuzinski [Stanislaw Papuziński], who lived in the Ochota neighborhood of Warsaw, served as an “address” and temporary hiding place for Jewish children hiding on the

²⁵⁵ Janina David, *A Touch of Earth: A Wartime Childhood* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1966; New York: Orion Press, 1966), *passim*, especially at pp. 25, 27, 75–78, 94–95, 97, 99, 123, 161, 162, 185. See also Janina David, *A Square of Sky: Memoirs of Wartime Childhood* (London: Eland, 1992), *passim*. On Father Czesław Cezar Baran see Ryszard Żmuda, “O. Czesław Cezar Baran (1915–1997) OFM Conv.,” *Saeculum Christianum: Pismo historyczno-społeczne*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1998): 85–91.

Zofia Olszewska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=12407966>>.

²⁵⁶ Testimony of Halina Złotnik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 93; Testimony of Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6340.

Aryan side of the city. From December 1942, after the establishment of Żegota [Zegota], Zofia and Stanislaw Papuzinski worked untiringly, risking their own lives to save Jewish children. Motivated by national duty, and although they themselves were the parents of two young children, they placed themselves at the disposal of Żegota, disregarding the very real danger to their lives. Dozens of Jewish children brought to their apartment were treated with warm devotion until they were taken to other places to hide. In her book about Żegota, Teresa Prekerowa writes that the Papuzinskis were among the most active members of the organization. Among the children helped by the Papuzinskis were Ester Sztajn, Stefania Wortman, Krzysztof Groslik, Halina Zlotnik [Złotnik], and Basia Markow, who was the eight-year-old daughter of a stage actor. Following information provided by informers, the Gestapo raided the Papuzinski apartment in February 1944. Those hiding in the apartment at the time were shot and Zofia was incarcerated in the Pawiak prison, where she was executed. Her husband Stanislaw survived and passed away after the war.

Lidia Kleinman (later Siciarz), who was born in Kraków in 1930, was brought to the hospital in Turka, where her father worked as a physician, by her mother on the eve of the deportation of the Jews of Turka. Lidia's her father, Dr. Mendel Kleinman, entrusted her to Sister Jadwiga, the head nurse, who hid Lidia in the hospital for several weeks until she was able to smuggle her out to her home. Sister Jadwiga then arranged for Lidia to be hidden in an orphanage on Kurkowa Street in Lwów run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. Lidia remained there under the care of Sister Blanka (Zofia) Pięłowska, using the assumed name of Maria Borowska. When suspicions arose as to her identity, Lidia was transferred to the Franciscan Sisters' orphanage in Łomna, which was headed by Sister Tekla (Anna) Budnowska, where a number of Jewish children were hidden. Lidia obtained a new set of false papers under the name of Maria Wołoszyńska. She became particularly attached to Sister Zofia Olszewska, who was in charge of the school. Lidia describes her as a "wonderful person." Lidia met a Jewish girl named Urszula Peiper, whom she describes as "very, very Semitic" looking, with "very dark, olive skin and very, very dark hair." (Urszula Peiper's story follows.) Towards the end of 1943, the nuns and children were transferred to Warsaw because of attacks on the convent by Ukrainian nationalists. Afterwards, when the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, the orphanage had to be evacuated to Kostowiec near Warsaw. In May 1945, Lidia was reunited with her father. Lidia's mother did not survive, but several other family members did.²⁵⁷ (Gilbert, *The Righteous*, pp. 56–57.)

In Turka, on the eve of the deportation of the Jews in August 1942, Sister Jadwiga, a nun who was also the head nurse at the local hospital, hid twelve-year-old Lidia Kleiman [sic] in one of the cubicles of the men's washroom, which was used as a broom closet. Lidia stayed hidden in the hospital for several weeks. Sister Jadwiga then took her to her own home and taught her Christian prayers in preparation for placing her in a Catholic orphanage in Lvov [Lwów] under the assumed name of Marysia Borowska. There she was put in the care of Sister Blanka Pięłowska [Pięłowska], who knew that she was Jewish. When a suspicion arose in the orphanage that Lidia might be Jewish, it was Sister Blanka who obtained new false papers for her, with a new name, Maria Wołoszyńska [Wołoszyńska]. She then transferred the girl to another orphanage, at the convent in the village of Łomna [Łomna near Turka], where the Mother Superior, Sister Tekla Budnowska, was hiding many Jewish girls.

In the early autumn of 1943, after an attack by Ukrainian nationalists, Sister Budnowska received permission to transfer her girls to Warsaw, and to establish an orphanage in an abandoned building in the former ghetto. In Warsaw, she accepted yet more Jewish children. After the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 [which lasted until October], the orphanage relocated to Kostowiec, fifteen miles south-west of Warsaw.

Lidia's mother had been denounced to the Gestapo while travelling on false papers, arrested and killed; but her father had been hidden by a Russian [Eastern] Orthodox priest, and survived. Father and daughter were reunited after liberation.

Lidia Kleinman wrote the following testimonial about her stay in Łomna (Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, here at 185):

When Sister Blanka [Pięłowska] brought me to Łomna in 1942 I was 10 years old and had a package of experiences that I cannot recollect calmly even to this day. For me Łomna was a safe island in a deep sea of misfortune. Thanks to a group of generous persons who extended a helping hand to me and many others, I survived the war. I feel a deep love and gratefulness for Mother Tekla [Budnowska], Sister Zofia [Olszewska] and Sister Blanka [Pięłowska] for their care, goodness and understanding, and for my companions from Łomna, since they were then my family.

²⁵⁷ Oral history interview with Lidia Kleinman Siciarz, January 11, 2000, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Sister Tekla Budnowska recalled those times in an interview conducted in June 1984 (Kurek, *My Life Is Worth Yours*, pp. 139–41):

During the war I was mother superior of a home in Lomna [Łomna]. I had 115 children in the orphanage, of which twenty-three were Jewish—one boy, the rest girls, for the orphanage was for girls. Only later did I get [more] boys.

Sometimes there was a note with the child saying that it was Jewish, but most of the time the children came to us with birth certificates. Some of the girls said openly: I am a Jew. Others did not admit to their Jewish background, and that's the way it stayed. For instance, Teresa B. She did not look Jewish; nothing betrayed her. One day an older [Jewish] girl came to me, her name was Glancman, and she said:

"Mother Superior, Teresa B. is a Jew."

"She is no Jew," I replied. "Blue eyes, the nose and everything; she does not look like a Jew."

"I tell you, Mother Superior, she is! I can feel it!" Literally: I can feel it.

The fact is these children could somehow tell. For example, if some older Jewish girl was cleaning up, then the younger Jewish girls were immediately drawn to her. They didn't help anyone but the Jewish girl.

Returning to Teresa B.: Teresa came to us when she was eleven. Certainly, she had a [baptismal] certificate. As it turned out later, she had not been baptized. However, she was receiving the sacraments all the time. She was a rather pious, practicing Catholic. Only after the Warsaw Uprising in 1944—she had probably taken some oath—did she turn to an old nun and ask to be baptized. We baptized her in secret, so that nobody knew.

When the Germans would come, the Jewish children would be the first to go to the chapel, for they were afraid of them. They had a certain feeling, an instinct of self-preservation. They did not exhibit exceptional piety. They probably just felt safe, and that was the reason for their normality, as far as matters of faith were concerned. We took great pains so that the children would not lack for anything. When the children in Lomna went out, I always reminded the sisters to make sure that no Germans or strangers were standing by the chapel.

Once the following thing happened: The children were going out, everyone was looking at them, including a German officer, who finally said to me:

"There are a lot of different faces in your group, sister!"

"What else do you expect," I answered him in German. "Do you want them all to look like you? Everyone has a different mother and father."

I gave him a look, and that was the end of that. The officer did not think any more of the matter.

I also remember the daughter of a doctor from Turka. He was needed by the Germans for something, so he was kept alive and walked around with the Star of David. His daughter [Lidia Kleinman] was being hidden by our sisters in Lwow [Lwów], but they feared keeping her, for she was too well known. So I told them: "Give her to us; we already have many, so one more won't make a difference."

The little girl had very long tresses, so I said to her: "You have to make a sacrifice, my child."

I cut off her tresses [so that she would not be recognized en route], and we found a birth certificate for her. A sister went to St. Antoni's [Anthony's] Church in Lwow; the priest gave her a baptismal book [register], and after a two-day search she finally found a girl whose age coincided with the age of the doctor's daughter. The priest wrote out a certificate in the name of O. [Maria Wołoszyńska], a name which was used after the war by the father of the child also.

Not one of the Jewish children we had was killed. The majority of our children are grateful, and maintain contact with us.

We received children mostly from Warsaw. All the sisters at Lomna knew about the Jewish children, but no one was allowed to differentiate between the children, and no one did. At most, the children did so among themselves.

One day Sister Paulina arrived with some children, and a boy came over to me, and said:

"I beg your pardon, Mother Superior, Sister Paulina has brought some children from Warsaw, all of them Jews!"

"They are not Jews, but all are baptized children, so there are no Jews here!" I replied.

We tried to create an atmosphere where the children would feel safe and secure. After the Ukrainian attacks [on the convent] in 1943, we left Lomna, and together with the children moved to Warsaw. In Warsaw we lived in a small place on Wolna [Wolność] St., until the uprising. All of us left Warsaw in August of 1944.

The children came from Warsaw in groups. There were situations where the [train] conductor, seeing our nuns with a group of children, among which he could see Jewish children, closed the compartment and drew the curtains to assure the safety of the sisters and children. These conductors were Polish, but one time a German conductor did this also.

After the uprising, we stayed for some time in Kostowiec, then in Wegrocia [?]; finally we found ourselves in Lublin [Lubień] Kujawski.

Reclaiming Jewish children started as early as 1945. When someone called at the convent, they gave a name and collected a child. But sometimes it was different. ...

Róża Peiper was the wife of a judge from Sambor who had been deported to the Gulag during the Soviet occupation. After the entry of the Germans in 1941, she turned to Rev. Michał Ziajka, the pastor of the Catholic parish in Sambor, who promised her that he would care for her daughter, Urszula (born in 1934). He placed Urszula in the orphanage of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Łomna, where she remained until the nuns and children were forced to leave the area in the fall of 1943 because of threats from Ukrainian nationalist partisans. Urszula expressed nothing but praise for the nuns who protected her, and she had excellent relations with the children even though they suspected her Jewish origin. Urszula Peiper stated, “It was splendid for me there. The sisters adored me. Whenever there was a game, I was part of it. The sisters knew that I was Jewish, and the children guessed, but no one confronted me or said anything bad to me.” During her stay there, Rev. Ziajka provided Urszula with additional food and clothing. When the orphanage was evacuated, Urszula returned to the parish rectory. She did not want to remain there, however, because her presence was well known. Rev. Ziajka arranged for Urszula to stay at a children’s shelter in Sambor, also run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. Urszula remained there until the arrival of the Soviet army. Rev. Ziajka sheltered Róża Peiper, Urszula’s mother, at his rectory for several weeks. When her cover became risky, Róża found other hideouts, the last one in the home of a Ukrainian woman who denounced her. She did not survive the war.²⁵⁸

Anna Henrietta Kretz (later Daniszewska), born in 1934, was one of a dozen Jewish and three Gypsy children sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in their orphanage in Sambor, under the care of the superior, Sister Celina (Aniela) Kędzierska. After the family’s hideout with a Polish family was betrayed by a fellow Jew, miraculously Anna managed to run away from the German executioners who killed her parents and their Polish benefactors. She approached the orphanage with caution because part of the building was occupied by German soldiers, who used the courtyard as their field kitchen. When she arrived at the orphanage Anna turned to Sister Celina with these words: “Sister, be my mother; I don’t have parents anymore.” When Anna’s uncle came to claim her after the war, Sister Celina, then seriously ill, said to Anna on parting: “Remember, be a good person.” Those words forever left an impression in Anna’s heart. In October 1993, Anna Kretz penned the following testimonial (Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, here at 187):

In memory of the Sister superior and other Sisters who, risking their own lives and in those terrible conditions, cared for me and other Jewish children and helped to instil in us faith in people, which we could have lost forever together with our lives. May the memory of their deed never fade, because by their actions they showed that love of one’s neighbour could lead to the highest form of generosity and heroism. I will never forget that. May I be worthy of it.

Sister Celina (Aniela) Kędzierska was recognized as a Righteous Among Nations by Yad Vashem in 2015. Sister Maria Sawicka, who worked at the orphanage in Sambor, remembered Anna Kretz and a number of other Jewish children sheltered there, including Rysiek and Urszula Peiper, who had distinctly Jewish appearances, and a girl named Marysia.²⁵⁹ Jerzy Bander (born in 1942), who was smuggled out of the Sambor ghetto in June 1943, was one of several Jewish infants brought to the orphanage in Sambor run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary by Maria Wachułka, a secretary at a local high school and family friend. Jerzy was reunited with his father, who was rescued by the Wachułka family, after the war.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Testimony of Urszula Peiper, February 15, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4721; Testimony of Shulamit Kaner (Urszula Peiper), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45348.

²⁵⁹ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 227–29.

²⁶⁰ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć,” Part 6, *Nasz Dziennik*, April 4, 2008; “Wspomnienia Jerzego Bandera,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/sambor-1365/16,accounts-memories/42179,wspomnienia-jerzego-bandera/>>; Jerzy Bander, *My ocaleni i inne opowiadania* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Książkowe IBiS, 2011); Anna Kołacińska-Gałżka, ed., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie “Dzieci Holocaustu” w Polsce, 2013), 287.

Mina Deutsch (née Kimmel) recalled the assistance she, her husband, Leon, and their young daughter, Eva, received from many persons, including the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Dźwiniaczka, a village near Borszczów, where she and her husband had worked for the Germans as doctors before going into hiding. The nuns even agreed to take in Eva (born in 1939), but Mina did not want to part from her. While hiding with Ukrainian farmers in the village of Babińce, the family was helped by an unidentified Ukrainian priest.²⁶¹ (Mina Deutsch, *Mina's Story: A Doctor's Memoir of the Holocaust* [Toronto: ECW Press, 1994], p. 48.)

We used to hide from time to time in a nearby convent where the nuns were quite nice to us and asked us to come to them when there was an urgent need. After being there for a day or two a few times, the Sister Superior suggested that we leave our daughter with them ...

Regina Kartyganer (later Maria Damaszek) was seven years old when her father entrusted her to Czesława Kisielewicz (later Strąg), who lived in Brzeżany with her mother, Rozalia Kisielewicz. With the agreement of her father, Regina was baptized by a priest who was brought into the conspiracy. The priest provided Regina with a false baptismal and birth certificate under the name of Maria Szkolnicka. Czesława took her charge with her when she moved to Sambor, and then to Lwów. Afterwards, the Polish Welfare Committee arranged for Regina to be placed with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Podhajce near Brzeżany, where she resided in an orphanage under the care Sister Helena (Stanisława) Chmielewska, the superior of the convent. In the spring of 1944, fearing attacks by Ukrainian nationalist partisans, the nuns and their charges left Podhajce and moved to Lwów, where they stayed in the order's mother house on Kurkowa Street. Subsequently, they evacuated to Staniątki near Kraków, and later to Nysa, before settling in Koperniki in Silesia. After the war, Regina immigrated to the United States. Three of her rescuers, apart from the priest, were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2014.²⁶² (Helena Chmielewska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10785690>>.)

Rozalia Kartyganer was born in Kańczuga, Poland, in 1935. Her parents escaped Kańczuga at the beginning of the war and arrived in Brzeżany [Brzeżany]. Persecution of the Jews began there in 1942. Rozalia's mother was soon captured by the Germans and never seen again. Her father remained with 7-year-old Rozalia and began looking for solutions. Primarily, he wanted to find someone to hide his little girl. Czesława Kisielewicz (married name, Strąg), a 19-year-old Polish girl who happened to live and work with a family next door, was able to help. She had witnessed the capture of Rozalia's mother and observed the frightened and reserved girl from then on. Gradually, an emotional connection was forged between the two girls, and Rozalia's father felt able to approach Czesława to see if she would take it upon herself to protect his daughter. After presenting the child to her mother, Rozalia Kisielewicz, and consulting with her, Czesława agreed.

The Kisielewicz family consisted of six people, two parents and four adult children living out of town. Czesława was the second oldest. She begged her father, who was initially reluctant, to agree to shelter the little Jewish girl. He eventually gave in but did not contribute, whereas Czesława's mother, Rozalia, helped her daughter throughout the process.

The first order of business was making little Rozalia convincingly Polish. Czesława had her priest baptize the child and issue a birth certificate under the name of a girl she knew of the same age who had been sent to Siberia with her family by the Soviets. Rozalia's father knew and agreed to all this, knowing that it was done for his daughter's safety. He was kept aware of her progress, and along with his approval he sent contact information for relatives in the United States, in case he should not survive the war. Indeed, in 1944 he was captured by the Germans and, like his wife, murdered.

Czesława tried to move out of her parents' house and find work to support herself and the child but was unable to do so. She was desperate for a solution and sought the advice of her family doctor, whom she knew and trusted. His suggestion was that Rozalia be sent to the Franciscan orphanage opening at that time in nearby Podhajce. The orphanage was led by Mother Superior Helena Chmielewska. She was made aware of the little girl's real origins and did not hesitate to receive her. Rozalia was not the only Jewish girl in the establishment: an infant with

²⁶¹ Mina Deutsch, *Mina's Story: A Doctor's Memoir of the Holocaust* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1994), 49–50, 77–79. Although Mina Deutsch implies that the nuns' help was motivated by a desire to convert her daughter, there is no evidence to suggest that their help was conditional on converting anyone.

²⁶² Polska Agencja Prasowa, "Nowi Sprawiedliwi wśród Narodów," *Nasz Dziennik*, November 9, 2014; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć," Part 4, *Nasz Dziennik*, March 19, 2008.

distinctly Semitic features had been given up for adoption not long before, and Chmielewska was happy to raise her as well.

Both Jewish children survived the war at the monastery orphanage. Chmielewska cared for them with love and dedication. Czesława continued to visit her ward and receive updates on her situation. After the war, when the area was liberated and fate took everyone involved in very different directions, the connection remained. Rozalia Kartyganer eventually joined her relatives in the United States, where she grew up and became a pediatrician, living by the name of Maria Damaszek. Czesława visited her several times, and Rozalia/Maria corresponded with Helena Chmielewska for the many years that she lived.

The Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (*Siostry Służebnice Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego*, commonly known as *Siostry Sercanki*) opened their orphanage in Przemyśl to children of all faiths. Sister Emilia (Józefa Małkowska), the convent's superior, initiated and oversaw the rescue mission. Among the nuns involved in the rescue were Sister Longina (Leokadia Juśkiewicz), Sister Ligorja (Anna Grenda), Sister Bernarda (Rozalia Domicella Sidelko), and Sister Alfonsa (Eugenia Wąsowska), who was responsible for the Jewish children. The latter four nuns were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. According to Yad Vashem, 13 Jewish children—ten girls: Anna (Hanka) Rubin, Maria Reinhartz (later Miriam Klein), Barbara (Zofia) Friedman, Hedy Rosen, Zofia Horn, Beti Milczyn, Ahuva Liss, Aviva Fogelman, and Batia (Barbara) Fridman (later Gortler), as well as three boys: Julian Ostrowski, Edward (Edek) Goldberg, and Gabriel Koren—found shelter. Another child who arrived at the orphanage four months before the city's liberation was Fryda Einsiedler (later Frieda Stieglitz).²⁶³ These children were turned over to the Jewish committee that was constituted upon liberation in July 1944. The Rinde sisters, Flora (later Blitzer, born in 1930) and Roma, stayed there for two months under the assumed names of Janina and Ewa Kowalska, respectively, after escaping from the Przemyśl ghetto with their parents.²⁶⁴ Children were often received under dramatic circumstances, on occasion simply left at the gate of the orphanage. Sister Alfonsa saw to it that the children did not lack food or clothing, and often ventured out to collect alms in order to support the young charges. The following account is recorded in Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House, 1993), at pages 219–22.

Hedy Rosen (a four-year-old child in the summer of 1942) and her mother had wandered through the woods for two years, seeking shelter from the fury of the Nazi Final Solution. One day they arrived outside the walls of a convent in Przemyśl in southern Poland. Panting for breath and on the verge of collapse, Hedy's mother looked into her daughter's eyes and told her quietly: "You have no choice. From now on your name is Jadwiga Kozowska and you are a Christian Pole." After repeating with her several verses of a Catholic prayer, she placed Hedy near the convent's entrance and disappeared behind a tree. Hedy stood there alone and wept. Her cries alerted the nuns, who opened the gates and fetched the child inside. There she stayed for two full years. She was the first Jewish child to be admitted. Twelve others followed in her wake.

St. Joseph's Heart was a children's orphanage with main offices in Cracow [Kraków]. In 1942, Sister Alfonsa (Eugenia Wąsowska) was sent from Cracow to the Przemyśl convent to help the other five nuns and one priest to care for the forty-seven orphaned Catholic children. With the approval of her Cracow superiors, the Przemyśl mother superior decided to give shelter to Jewish children; she then suddenly took ill and expired. When her successor in turn fell ill, Sister Alfonsa was made responsible for the "Jewish Section" of the Catholic orphanage. Under her stewardship, a total of thirteen Jewish children (ten girls and three boys) were sheltered in the orphanage

²⁶³ Fryda Einsiedler (later Frieda Stieglitz), born in 1933, received a great deal of assistance from Polish farmers in the vicinity of her native village of Grodzisko Dolne, before arriving at the convent of the Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in Przemyśl approximately four months before the entry of the Soviet army. She described the nuns as being "very kind" and stated that, although all the children were taught religion, the nuns did not press the Jewish children to become Catholics. See Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 73–74, 80–81; Testimony of Fryda Einsiedler, February 15, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1348; Testimony of Frieda Stieglitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 23942. See also Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 576 (this entry states, mistakenly, that Fryda Einsiedler remained at the home of Maria Korzystko until liberation).

²⁶⁴ Although the Rinde sisters had been taught some prayers before arriving at the convent, they made obvious errors during religious services that gave them away, yet the other children treated them very well. After a visitor to the convent recognized the girls as members of a well-to-do prominent Jewish family, they could not remain there any longer. The girls rejoined their parents, who had moved to Lublin. The entire family survived the war. Testimony of Flora Blitzer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 327.

until the city's liberation in July 1944.

Przemyśl had a Jewish population of 20,000 at the start of the war. When the city was liberated in 1944, only some 250 Jews had survived the Nazi terror.

Hedy's mother had in the meantime found work in a nearby village, under a new identity, and on occasion brought food to the orphanage for her daughter's sake. "I was forbidden to show the slightest sign that I knew her," relates Hedy, "for fear of the other children. I had to disregard her completely." The fear of detection was a constant threat to the children and the orphanage as well. Various tactics were used. One was to tell the Jewish boys "that if a stranger comes to the convent and asks a boy what he wants to be when he grows up, he should say a priest," Sister Alfonsa relates, adding, "We took the children to church along with Polish children, not because we were trying to make them Catholics but just so nobody would suspect they were Jews."

Sister Alfonsa was committed, soul and heart, to her charges. She saw to it that the children did not lack food or clothing during those years of dearth and want for the local population. Not able to repress the severe traumatic experience which had preceded their placement in the orphanage, the Jewish children were prone to sudden bursts of hysterical weeping. "Sometimes at mealtime a child would cry and throw his food on the floor," Sister Alfonsa recalls. Miriam Klein remembers some of the children screaming at night and wetting their beds. "Sister Alfonsa always knew how to calm us. Sleeping with us in the small room she was alert to every noise and often got up at night to place an additional blanket on the frightened children."

Immediately upon the city's liberation, Sister Alfonsa took the thirteen Jewish children to the newly constituted Jewish Committee in Przemyśl and promptly turned them over. "They were Jewish children and belonged with Jews," Sister Alfonsa emphasized. In one case, a father who was a shoemaker, made a pair of new shoes for Sister Alfonsa as a sign of his appreciation.

... Recalling her stay at the orphanage, Miriam Klein remarks, "I was privileged to experience calm and mental relaxation, and there I discovered the best and most beautiful of women."

The account of Miriam Klein (Maria Reinharz, born in 1933) is found in Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), at pages 191–98. Although Miriam wanted to convert and become a Catholic, she was dissuaded by the nuns and a priest at the convent.²⁶⁵

My father was very well liked among the Polish population, he belonged to the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), which was valued in the Polish intellectual community, and he also was on good terms with Kedyw [the diversionary command of the Polish Home Army] ...

... he tried to find another place of shelter [for me]. It was a convent of the order of the Sacred Heart in Przemyśl, in Mickiewicz Street, where they also ran an orphanage. One of my father's acquaintances dealt in cattle and knew the Mother Superior of the convent, who was a descendant of the Czartoryskis—Sister Emilia Małkowska. She herself had brought up the subject in a conversation and stated that she was going to rescue Jewish children. There were already Jewish children at the convent, but not from Przemyśl, only from Wołyń [Volhynia]. I said that I wasn't going to any convent. Then my father took me up to the attic where there was a small window—there was an operation taking place right then. They [the Germans] were catching children and killing them. I saw how, on Mikołaja Street, they were taking these children by the legs and smashing their heads against the walls. I saw how they were burning dead bodies mixed up with living ones and layers of wood. They set fire to these heaps with petrol or something of the kind, I don't know what, but the whole town was saturated with the smell afterwards and the wind made the ashes fly in the air. What else did I see? People hanged with dogs. ... So my father said, 'You're thinking about death? Look, that's what it looks like. If you don't go to the convent, the same will happen to you.'

So I went, thank God I went. It was a bandage for my soul. A soothing compress. Something wonderful.

The nuns occupied a two-storey building. There were six of them, the best nuns in the world. Conditions were the pits, but the nuns were the best in the world. One of them [Sister Alfonsa] begged for food for us, going from house to house. The Polish woman who took me out of the ghetto brought milk. She was called Kazimiera Romankiewicz.

...

There were fourteen Jewish children in the nuns' orphanage and the rest were Polish orphans, dirty, pitiful, flea-ridden, sickly, whose parents had been killed, among others, by members of Bandera's [nationalist] Ukrainian groups. There were, for example, girls there who had had their stomachs cut open. They were no different to us, the Jewish girls. They had the same scared-looking eyes. We all looked the same. When I arrived with Mrs. Kazia, I was introduced to the Mother Superior. Later Sister Małkowska's heart could no longer bear the life of continual tension and fear—she died. But that was later. Then the nuns introduced me to Hania, a Jewish girl who had been there for

²⁶⁵ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 80–81. When Maria Klein wanted to continue to attend Catholic services after the war, her father would beat her. See Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Ustna harmojka: Relacje Żydów, których uratowali od zagłady Polacy* (Warsaw: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Polskie, 2000), 181.

some time. I knew who she was because she was the daughter of a friend of my father's, but I didn't let on, as though I had never seen her before in my life. 'Show Marysia where the toilet is,' she said, 'and where her bed is, introduce her to the life of the day-nursery.'

When we got down to the toilet, we hugged, kissed each other and burst into tears. Then other girls joined in too: Zosia, Basia, and others. In this secret way, a get-together took place, so that nobody would suspect that we knew each other. ...

There were three circumcised boys among us. One of them was a toddler. We took great care that nobody saw us changing his nappies, that was why either the nuns or the older Jewish girls did it. ...

Once the Ukrainian police, who were co-operating with the Germans, occupied the first floor of our house—we were terrified. ...

I had never had anything to do with Christianity. My father was a member of the PPS [Polish Socialist Party], my uncle was a traditional Jew ...

When I came to the convent, I didn't know how to pray or make the sign of the cross, I knew nothing. Sister Jakuba told me to kneel down. I objected. 'I'm Jewish,' I said, 'I don't know whether life is worth changing your personality for.' Then Sister Jakuba suggested that I kneel at the end of the chapel and just make miming movements with my mouth so that it would just seem like I was praying. I pretended like that for a month or more. But I was never punished; I never heard a bad word, or any anti-Semitic allusions.²⁶⁶ On the contrary, it was I who asked questions; I was too clever by half. I wanted to know what God was like, why he treated us in this way.

They were patient. They were good. Whenever they had a crumb of extra food—sometimes the priest brought a piece of cake—they gave it to us. I kept hearing, 'Marysia, open wide, I have something for you.'

The nuns took us under their protection and clasped us to their breasts. I remember them all: Sister Ligoria Grenda, Sister Bernarda, Sister Longina, Sister Jakuba and Sister Leokadia—a probationer nun who only took her vows after the war, because it was not possible during the war. And also Sister Alfonsa ...

So, it is hard to say when the process of conversion began, under the influence of their personal example, their love. After a certain time, I decided that I wanted to be christened. But the nuns said, 'No, you have parents and you'll go back to them; faith is not some sort of pendulum.

Then Przemyśl was bombed. I knelt before the priest and kissed his hands, I begged him to christen me. The priest said, 'If a bomb lands here, you'll be christened.'

No bomb fell.

When the liberation came in 1944, I did not want to return to my parents. The nuns reminded me that amongst the Ten Commandments there was also this one: Honour thy father and thy mother. 'You are sinning by not returning to your parents,' they repeated. And of course I did not want to sin. I went back. But when I went to church for mass, my father would beat me. I went about with a swollen face. It was hell within hell, the two together. ...

I was very happy in Poland, I studied, I played the piano. I was the only Jew in the class, everything was working out wonderfully, except that when there was a retreat, my parents would take me away and I couldn't receive any of the holy sacraments. I waged war with my father for four years about the Church. But I never gave up hope.

Then in 1948 we moved to Sweden ...

The accounts of the nuns themselves—Sister Bernarda, Sister Ligoria and Sister Alfonsa—are found in John J. Hartman and Jacek Krochmal, eds., *I Remember Every Day...: The Fates of the Jews of Przemyśl during World War II* (Przemyśl: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Przemyślu; Ann Arbor, Michigan: Remembrance & Reconciliation Inc., 2002), at pages 211–18. The account of Hedy (Jadwiga) Rosen (née Tugendhaft) is also found there, at pages 163–64.

Account of Hedy Rosen:

I was born in Cracow [Kraków] in 1936. When the war broke out in 1939 and the Germans captured Cracow my father was immediately taken away ... No one knows where he was taken, but he was never seen again.

My mother and I fled and went to Katowice and then to various towns. We lived for almost two years in the countryside—in dog kennels and horse stables with barely enough to eat. By this time my mother managed to get

²⁶⁶ Some accounts go out of their way to claim that priests and nuns in Poland instilled anti-Semitism or anti-Jewish teachings in their Jewish charges. One can also encounter similar charges in accounts from other countries. For example, Adele Lazanowski Zaveduk, whose mother arranged through an underground agency to place her and her sister with a widow in the small village of Brou near Chartres, recalled visiting the Catholic church daily and attending Mass every Sunday and holidays. "In church we learned that the Jews killed Jesus, and they were bad people." She states, in the context of her reunion with her mother after the war: "because we were raised as Catholics, we had been taught that Jews killed Jesus Christ. ... It was some time before I could think about what my parents' reaction to our Catholic training must have been, especially after the price they had paid for being Jews." See Elaine Saphier Fox, ed., *Out of Chaos: Hidden Children Remember the Holocaust* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2013), 102–3.

“Aryan” papers, as she did not look Jewish. I did look Jewish and so she had trouble getting papers for me. We went from town to town until we came to Przemyśl.

My mother heard about a convent there that was taking Jewish children to save them from the Germans. My mother was dressed in peasant clothes and left me at the St. Joseph orphanage run by nuns from the order of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. My mother instructed me to say that my aunt from another city could not take care of me and that my parents were lost. The Mother Superior accepted this story and for a long time the nuns did not know that I was Jewish. I was the first Jewish child they took and after me they took more until there were about thirteen Jewish children

The Mother Superior was Sister Amelia [Emilia] Małkowska and the orphanage was at 80 Mickiewicza Street. There was Sister Ligoria, and Sister Bernarda. Sister Alfonsa was a third nun who left the order [after the war] and moved to Australia and married a Jewish man.

The nuns did not try to convert us. There was one girl, Hania, who refused to go with her uncle from the United States after the war. She remained with the nuns and was eventually baptized, married a Polish man, and lives in Przemyśl. Many of the children like myself went to Israel and have lived there. Miriam, my friend in the orphanage, is a neighbour in Israel to this day.

I remember a time when German soldiers came to stay in the orphanage and they played with the little boy, Staś. One day a woman wanted to take him with her when she left with the German soldiers. One of the nuns rescued him. He was circumcised and would have been discovered. Interestingly, he could only ask two of the older Jewish girls to change his diaper so that no one would discover that he was circumcised. Somehow he knew this even though he was only two or three years old. ...

During this time my mother remained in the area as a Polish peasant woman. She brought food to the orphanage for the nuns and for the children. I was in the orphanage in 1943 and 1944 until the Russians liberated Przemyśl. My mother left for Budapest, Hungary. I was very sick. I had pneumonia and rickets. I was in a hospital for about six months but survived these illnesses.

We made our way to Australia and then to Israel. ...

The little boy Staś whose last name was Korn lives now in Israel. His father was a lawyer and a prominent man in Przemyśl.

Testimony of Sister Bernarda:

I was in Przemyśl three or four years, 1942 to 1945. I was in the order of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. We had in our orphanage thirteen Jewish children and about forty Polish children. It was located at 80 Mickiewicza Street. It was across the street from a church and we could see the altar from our windows. Before this we had an orphanage that was destroyed by a bomb. The City gave us this building which had been previously owned by Jews who had been forced into the Ghetto. This was a two-storey home in disrepair. We conducted also a preschool and there were rooms for games and play.

Sister Emilia-Józefa Małkowska was the Mother Superior of our order. I worked with Sister Ligoria Grenda. Some women delivered some of the Jewish children. I did not know her. Sister Superior did not tell us any particulars in order not to endanger us with this knowledge. The less we knew the better. But I knew that some of the boys were circumcised and from the shooting in town I knew we had Jewish children.

Conditions were very hard at this time. We had little food and there was terrible hunger. We scraped the bottom of the barrel for any remnants of marmalade for the children. The Germans were right next door, behind the wall, and we all lived in fear that they would discover the Jewish children. These children were very afraid of the Germans. One little boy, Edek, slept with me in my bed and in the middle of the night would cry out, “Auntie, Auntie, save me! They will shoot me!”

One child was named Hania and she was twelve. Before she came to us she was hiding in a chimney. She was terribly malnourished. Her parents who lived in Zasanie had been shot by the Germans.

My job in the orphanage was to wash laundry and scrub floors. I would dress the children in clean underwear and they would get it dirty very quickly. I was sixteen years old and so the children did not confide in me too much. There was a lot of work just to keep the children clothed. I patched and sewed and picked lice off the children. My own clothing I made into clothing for the children. There was little food. We made sugar from red beets. Bread was made with sawdust. We had no coal to heat the house. We bathed four or five children in the same water. We did not know any last names. There was Bronek, Julek, etc. Maybe Sister Superior knew the last names. We knitted sweaters and sold them for food. We knitted until two o'clock in the morning. Five children slept under one cover. We made our own soap. We had no vitamins. The children were hungry and we filled them with potatoes.

There was a Mr. Walczak who would buy wounded horses and give us meat and fat. The children ate soup made from beets and horse fat. We would go on quests for food. I was not used to this from my upbringing but we would go out to collect money for the children. The children did not starve and no one died of hunger. They did catch colds due to lack of vitamins and sufficient clothing. You could not keep them on a leash. They would run around in the garden and play.

The children were dirty and brought lice with them in their clothing. Most had scabies. The wounds were very deep in their skin and the wounds festered and as they hardened they would scratch because it itched them a lot. Eventually I got a recipe for a salve. I had to get some grey stone crystals, grind them up and I mixed it with horse fat and sulphur which became a salve. I applied it twice and the itching went away. If someone knew what I had done I would have gone to jail. Their skin was so delicate. It all ended well. One had to stand on her head to do what one could for these children. None of the children died and no one was discovered by the Germans.

There was a Polish organization, RGO [Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, a social welfare agency] it was called, that helped us quite a bit especially near the end of the war. There was also a man who would bring us money, medicine, and clothing. I did not know who he was. We grew some vegetables and fruit in our garden but conditions were very tough.

We did not christen the children. Because we had some Ukrainian and Polish children, the Jewish children went to church. I gave Maria the key to the church across the street and showed her the place she and the other Jewish children should hide if the Germans came to the orphanage in search of Jewish children. It was in a secret place in the altar where the holy relics were kept. The children were well-trained and would not say anything unnecessary, and if they were awakened in the night by the Germans they would still do very well. How much terror these children experienced! Fear, hard work, this was our reward. We had no employment possibilities. Our work was for the Lord and we made sacrifices for the sake of the children. Our aim was to save human beings. We did not do it for compensation. After all the Jews had nothing. They were begging for food, begging to live.

After the war, the children went in different directions. Some were picked up by relatives and friends. Most went to Israel. Hania did not want to go with relatives. She wanted to convert to Catholicism. She eventually did, married, and lives in Przemyśl. I correspond with many of the "children." We reminisce about the war very seldom. The stresses are gone and it is very hard to return to them. For them these years were hell, they suffered very much. Maria was constantly praying, "Please, God, let my parents return and not be shot." She wanted to convert but the priest would not agree as she was only 14 years old. Eventually she did convert after the war.

The youngest child was Stasiu and he was only two and a half. His name now is Gabriel Koren and he lives in Israel. Whenever I would wash him he would move his bowels on the floor. The memories of this time have been paid for in nervousness, bad health, and bombings. The children were very aware of what was happening. Stasiu had a game in which he would throw his hat in the air and when it came down he would yell, "Bomb!"

We did our best not to scare the children. They were scared enough and so were we.

Testimony of Sister Ligoria:

I stayed in Przemyśl from the winter of 1943 till 1956. The orphanage was established when transports of refugees from Volhynia [fleeing massacres by Ukrainian nationalists] started coming. The Germans would bring adults and very many children. All of them were put in the camp at Bakończyce in Przemyśl. Rada Główna Opiekuńcza (RGO) turned to Mother Superior Emilia Malkowska, a great child lover and orphan protector about organizing an orphanage. The RGO arranged a house in Mickiewicza Street, opposite the church at Błonie. It was a very primitive building in bad condition. The RGO would take children out of the camp and put them in our shelter. At first, no one had even considered admitting Jewish children. The kids were mostly Polish. A lot of them did not know their own names. They were sad and apathetic. No wonder, some had witnessed the death of their parents.

We were terribly poor, even though the RGO did their best to help. At least the children did not cry of hunger. After some time also Jewish children started appearing. Those cases were handled by Mother Superior only. She did not let us in on the secret for safety reasons. There was always somebody involved in the "deliveries." I particularly remember one name. It was Mrs [Kazimiera] Romankiewicz, who lived near the Ghetto. Some children came to us by themselves. Among them was a small, eighteen-month-old boy. The children's surnames were changed. Usually they had no documents. If anybody knew anything about their background, it was Mother Superior. She tried to get rid of any similarities. We only knew about some of those Jewish children, not all of them. It was Providence that saved them, not us. It was so very dangerous. The house, the backyard, the garden could be seen easily—we never locked the children up.

We kept about thirteen Jewish kids, boys and girls. I was the go-between for the RGO and the orphanage. My job was catering. I used to go to the Town Council where one could always get something by begging.

The one who took more care of the children was sister Bernarda. She did what she could: she would sew and change the clothes from her own outfit. The children from the camp were in a terrible hygienic condition, some of them were injured. We had to help one another as there were only a few of us: five sisters and thirty children. Of course, I also looked after the kids. I remember very well carrying little Staś in my arms. He was a pretty boy. Everybody loved him! He was the youngest one. I couldn't recognize him when I saw him fifty years later. I have the closest contact with Marynia, Maria Klein (Miriam). She writes to me in Polish. After the war I used to receive many letters, some "children" visited me in Cracow with their parents. I am not in touch with them any more. [This account is from October 1998—M.P.] Only with Marysia, always twice a year. And with Staś. All of them survived. I always say that it was nothing but the great Divine Providence over those children and us all. I tell them: "You

should thank God, not us, we didn't save you."

One day, a car full of men stopped opposite our house. They got out and looked at the building. I was afraid that they had discovered somebody and were going to enter the orphanage any minute. I was scared! Sister Superior was already very ill at that time (she died on 12. 04. 1944). I couldn't even pray. Suddenly they got back into the car and drove away. I don't really know what they were after, but it was a frightening moment for all of us.

Our house was never searched by the Gestapo. There was one more orphanage in Przemyśl, run by the Sisters of the Order of Providence [in Zasanie]. We learned that somebody had given them away. The Germans went there and decided that the nuns had not known one of the kids was Jewish. They took the child away and that was it.

In our house a group of military officers occupied one or two apartments. They were not German, they were soldiers of some other nationality. Somebody told me that our children would visit their place sometimes, including Staś. They took to him very much. Staś was circumcised and he would often pee in his pants. But he never did it while at their place. A miracle? Just think if they had started changing his clothes!

Those medals, awards, they shouldn't be for us. It was God who chose to save those children. It was His great protection, Divine Providence. I am positive about it.

Our children were, among others, Marysia, two Jadzias, Irenka, Stasiu, Edziu ... I can't remember many names. [The account is from October 1998—M.P.] Ah, yes, there was also Zosia. I remember, when I went to the RGO one day, there came a thirteen-year-old girl and asked to be taken under protection. The president of the RGO asked me:

"Will you take her, sister?"

"Well, yes, I will."

And Zosia, the Jewish girl, came with me.

We tried to organize their time. There were different age groups. The eldest child was fourteen. They were all very apathetic. Well, they had been through terrible things. We couldn't make them smile. They just sat there and stared ahead. We tried to keep them busy, to prevent them from thinking. We organized physical exercise for them. They would go to church with us and learn to pray. Sister Bernarda used to make them stand at the back of the church for other children not to see that they didn't know how to pray. They learned with time. They were very worried when the front was approaching. The older girls asked to be baptized, but we didn't do it. Later they recalled it like this: "For me the church was heaven and rescue, while being Jewish meant the Germans and death." Such were their associations.

At the end, when parents and families started collecting their children, they didn't want to leave. Stasiu stretched out his arms and screamed: "Tyćka Gina Tyćka Gin!" He meant Sister Longina who worked in the kitchen and loved him very much. The children used to call us "mateczki" (mothers), hence "Tyćka."

Apart from Sister Longina, Sister Bernarda and myself, there was also Sister Alfonsa Wąsowska. ... There was also Sister Jakuba. And, of course, our Mother Superior, Sister Emilia from Warsaw, a good and noble person, mother of the orphans.

Testimony of Sister Alfonsa:

I was born in Węgrów, Poland. My father was a farmer. I had four brothers and sisters. My father bought animals for butchering, and he often did business with Jewish people. Jews were often in our home.

When I was thirteen I was badly hurt in a farm accident and was in a coma. My father promised Go that if I lived he would give me to the Catholic Church. I recovered and in June of 1939, my father kept his promise and I became a nun. In August I joined the convent of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and took the name Sister Alfonsa.

Mother Superior, Emilia Małkowska, thought I would do well with children and sent me to the St. Joseph Orphanage in Przemyśl. We had about forty children, ages two to twelve, two of them we knew to be Jewish. Mother Superior decided we should save the Jewish children. ...

One day a little girl came to the orphanage crying. She said her name was Maria and that she was Catholic. I saw a couple in the woods some distance away. I suspected they were Jewish and I felt we had to save these children. Soon more children came. The parents were preparing to go to the death camps and wanted their children to survive. Each child had a Polish name and some knew some prayers. We treated them as Catholics so as not to arouse the suspicions of the other children or the Polish people who visited the orphanage. We knew we were risking our lives because we knew the Germans killed people who helped Jews, but what kind of Christians would we be if we put our own safety first?

We had to make-do in terrible conditions. I was very young myself, a teenager, but I had to learn how to nurse and how to make clothes. I made medicine out of foxglove and made valerian herbal tea to relax the children. We could never risk calling a doctor because two of the Jewish boys were circumcised. Maria contracted pneumonia and was close to death. I applied leeches and finally she opened her eyes and recovered.

Most of the time the children were quiet and nervous. They cried at night about missing their parents. We had no news of them, of course. Sometimes a child at a meal time would cry and throw food on the floor. We used psychology and acted as if nothing had happened, talking to the child gently until he felt better.

We told one of the Jewish boys who wanted to be a rabbi that if a stranger comes to the convent and asks what he

wants to be when he grows up, he should say a priest. We took the Jewish children to church not to convert them but so that no one would know they were Jews. The Germans did come but they found nothing suspicious.

We had no heat, no toilets, and food was very scarce. We had to go out begging or scavenging for food. We cooked lollies which we exchanged with Ukrainian farmers for food. In my nun's habit I could go places where other people could not go. Once I went to the big German army hospital to ask for sauerkraut which was good for the treatment of worms. The German officers called me names and insulted me. I told them I was working only for God. I left without anything. A little while later a German soldier brought a huge barrel of sauerkraut to the orphanage. We had enough to share with other orphanages and poor people.

In 1944 we were liberated by the Red Army. ... In one case the parents came back and claimed a child. They could not find words to thank us. The father who was a shoemaker made me a pair of shoes to show his appreciation. The other Jewish children I took to the Jewish Orphanage that was set up by the surviving Jewish community. Most of the children went to Israel.

Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, at page 852, provides the following additional information:

The nuns' rescue operation began one day in July 1942, when they found an abandoned infant crying piercingly at the convent gate. Because Aktionen and deportations from the Przemyśl [Przemysł] ghetto were occurring at this time, additional Jewish children were taken to the convent—several directly by their parents, some by Catholic go-betweens such as Kazika [Kazimiera] Romankiewicz, and others placed at the convent entrance with a note attached to their clothing. As devout Catholics, the nuns rescued the Jewish children even though they were aware of the personal risk. The children received devoted and loving care and the nuns kept them fed and clothed despite the state of deprivation at the convent. As part of the nuns' precautions, the Jewish youngsters were not issued official ration cards and Sister Alfonsa unhesitatingly begged and solicited donations for the convent children. Notably, the four nuns [awarded by Yad Vashem] had no missionary motive in their rescue effort and never attempted to convert the young wards. In November 1944, after Przemyśl was liberated, the nuns at their own initiative delivered the 13 Jewish children whom they had saved to the Jewish Committee that had been established in the town.

Julian Ostrowski was found wounded by a Catholic priest near railway tracks and eventually made his way to the social services agency in Przemyśl. He was then placed with the Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. When he ventured out of the convent one day, his Semitic appearance drew the attention of German officials so he was transferred to an orphanage for boys in Przemyśl run by the Salesian Society. Julian recalled that the Germans once came to the institution looking for Jewish boys, of whom there were several. They were accompanied by a Jew dressed as a priest. Fortunately, the boys passed the religion test he administered to them.²⁶⁷

Seven Jews were sheltered by the Felician Sisters (Franciscan Sisters of St. Felix of Cantalice, popularly known as felicjanki) at the convent of St. Hedwig (św. Jadwiga Śląska) on Waygart Street in Przemyśl, under the direction of the superior, Sister Maria Honorata (Irena Bielawska). The charges included Abraham and Ela Wajtman (Weitman) and their son Jakub; Mr. and Mrs. Poler (Fuller); and four-year-old Lila Rosenthal (later Lea Fried).²⁶⁸ The Felician Sisters also gave shelter to at least one dozen Jews—among them the teenagers Bilha Wajtman (Weitman) and Helena and Maria Poler, seven other children and two women—at the convent of Blessed Angela of Folgino on Szczytowa Street in Przemyśl, which was under the direction of the superior, Sister Maria Klara (Aniela Kotowska).²⁶⁹ The rescue efforts of these two nuns, both of whom were recognized by Yad Vashem as “Righteous Among the Nations,” is described in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, at page 89.

²⁶⁷ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 204.

²⁶⁸ Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 47; Leah Blumenkrantz-Frid, *Rikud ha-simhah veba-'etsev* ([Lohame ha-Geta'ot]: Bet lohame ha-geta'ot: [Israel]: Be-yahad, 2005). Lea (Lila) Fried/Rosenthal/Blumenkrantz was given over by her mother to her good friend, Janina Wałęga, after one of the Aktionen in Tarnów. After sheltering the child for a period of time, Wałęga brought her to Przemyśl and placed her in a convent.

²⁶⁹ Rączy and Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 183–84.

In October 1942, Bożena Zlamal [Bożena Zlamal] helped the Wittman [Weitman?] family (father Abraham, mother Ela, son Jakub, and daughter Bilha) escape from the ghetto in Przemyśl [Przemysl] and find shelter on the Aryan side of town. Bożena contacted two Polish nuns—Aniela Kotowska (Sister Klara) and Irena Bielawska (Sister Honorata)—and asked them to help rescue a Jewish family. Both nuns, each from a different convent in Przemyśl, agreed to hide the Wittmans. [The parents stayed in a cell-like room, whereas the two children, born in 1936 and 1939, were in separate locations. M.P.] Abraham Wittman later wrote about Kotowska that she was “an angel in a human body,” emphasizing her goodness and compassion towards her [dozen Jewish] wards. [When he no longer had enough money to pay for food and board, his fears were stilled by Sister Klara: ‘Don’t worry; we shall keep you until the war’s end.’] During the war, Bielawska (Sister Honorata) also hid a Jewish couple named Fuller as well as a five-year-old Jewish girl called Lila Rosenthal (later Lea Fried). Both nuns acted without reward, receiving only small sums of money from their charges that covered the cost of their food. After the war, the Wittmans emigrated to Sweden. The fate of the Fuller couple is unknown. [The Fullers or Polers remained in Przemyśl after the war. M.P.]

Gerta Zilber (later Magdalena Orner) from Lwów, passing as Magdalena Szymańska, was one of the Jewish children sheltered in a Felician convent in Przemyśl. She arrived there at the age of ten, having stayed previously with two Polish women.²⁷⁰

Dr. Abraham Kapilman turned to his friends, Stanisław and Helena Podrzycki, to shelter his seven-year-old daughter, Bronia (later Bela Choter). Helena Podrzycka took Bronia out of the Końskie ghetto and kept her for several weeks. Afterwards, Bronia was sheltered by the Grabiński family and then by Dr. Czesław Lutyński, who was deported to Auschwitz in August 1943. She was eventually placed by the Central Relief Council in a children’s shelter in Końskie which was run by the Passionist Sisters (Sisters of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ—*Siostry Pasjonistki*). Bronia remained in that shelter until the end of the war. The Podrzyckis, who sheltered eleven Jews at various times, were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2016.²⁷¹

The Passionist Sisters rescued a Jewish boy in their home in Łączka Zaklikowa near Janów Lubelski. Sister Ewelina Nienalowska’s account is found in Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, at pages 161–62.

I’ve been a member of our congregation since 1930. The war found me in Janów Lubelski, where we had a home for old people and orphans. When the war broke out we had 200 senior citizens and 30 children. In the spring of 1940, the Germans moved us to Laka [Łąka] Zaklikowa. Through the entire occupation we had a Jewish boy with us—Janek Burak.

He came to us before the war. His parents had gone to Germany, where they had died, but before that happened they gave the child to us. A nun went to pick up the child at the border. When she brought him over to us, she still did not know how to walk. We did not know if he had been baptized, so he was baptized in November 1943 by Father [Stanisław] Zieliński behind closed doors of Holy Spirit Church in Krasnik [Kraśnik] Lubelski. During the entire war the nuns hid Janek Burak from the Germans, as his features betrayed his Jewish heritage. When the war broke out, Janek was eleven years old. One day I sent him with some girls to Zaklikowa [Zaklików] for meat. The Germans were riding in a car, when they saw home. They jumped out of the car and shouted: “Jude!”—that is, Jew.

Then the girls fastened onto the Germans and started to shout: “He is not Jewish! This is our Janek! This is our Janek!” Finally, as the girls continued to scream, the Germans got back into the car and rode away. Janek was so shaken up, that he never wanted to leave our home again. And after that I never sent him out.

The aforementioned Rev. Stanisław Zieliński of Kraśnik Lubelski was known to have provided food to Jewish children who came around begging.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 49–50, 162, 175, 281, 282; based on the testimony of Magdalena Orner, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/6745.

²⁷¹ Righteous Medal Award Ceremony in Łódź, August 30, 2016, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/news/i-have-no-other-memorabilia-my-grandparents-reason-medal-priceless-righteous-medal-award-ceremony>>; Testimony of Helena Rodezycka (sic), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4824; “Siostry Pasjonistki w Końskich 1938–1949,” Internet: <konskie.org.pl/2016/07/siostry-pasjonistki-w-konskich-1938.html>; “Moi dziadkowie Helena i Stanisław Podrzyccy: Sprawiedliwi wśród Nadodów Świata,” Internet: <konskie.org.pl/2018/07/moi-dziadkowie-helena-i-stanislaw.html>.

²⁷² *Regionalista* (Kraśnik), no. 3 (1995): 7.

The Carmelite Sisters of the Infant Jesus sheltered a number of Jewish children in the orphanage they opened for homeless children in Sosnowiec during the war. Their help was widely known among the local population. One of the Jewish children and her grandmother had been directed to the sisters by Rev. Mieczysław Zawadzki, the pastor of Będzin.²⁷³ The superior, Mother Teresa of St. Joseph (Janina Kierocińska), was awarded by Yad Vashem posthumously in 1992.²⁷⁴ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. 346–47.)

Mother Teresa-Janina Kierocinska [Kierocińska] was mother superior of the ... Carmelite Sisters Convent in the town of Sosnowiec. On her orders and instructions, some local Jews were hidden in the convent. Among them were a Jewish woman, Pinkus, and her granddaughter, who was "christened" Marysia Wilczynska [Wilczyńska]. They stayed at the convent until the area was liberated in January 1945. Teresa Jablonska [Jabłońska], a Jewish girl who escaped the liquidation of the Sosnowiec ghetto, stayed with the nuns until after the war, when her mother came to reclaim her. In 1943, a Jewish baby was brought to the convent from the town of Szydłowiec [Szydłowiec]. On Kierocinska's express orders, the nuns took care of the little baby, passing him off as a Polish orphan called Jozef [Józef] Bombecki. It was only after the war that the child discovered his Jewish origins. Mother Teresa-Janina also sheltered Andrzej Siemiatkowski [Siemiatkowski], whose mother, a convert to Christianity, had perished in Auschwitz. The survivors of the Sosnowiec convent later remembered Mother Teresa-Janina as someone of exceptional humanity whose love of mankind was rooted in deep religious faith.

One of the Jewish charges, then a boy, recalled ("Sprawiedliwa wśród Narodów Świata: Rozmowa z siostrą Bogdaną Batog, karmelitanką Dzieciątka Jezus o Matce Teresie Kierocińskiej. Rozmawiał ojciec Bartłomiej Kucharski OCD," *Głos Karmelu*, no. 4 (2006), Internet: <<http://www.karmel.pl/rozmowy/rozmowa39.html>>):

As a Jewish child I encountered exceptional care and protection. The Sisters created for us family conditions and took care of us with the greatest open-heartedness. This was heroism! Their heroic attitude I attribute above all to Mother Teresa.

The Carmelite Sisters of the Infant Jesus sheltered Leonia Jabłonka (Maria Leonia Jabłonkówna), a stage director and theatre critic, in their convent in Czerna near Krzeszowice. Previously, she had been sheltered in Warsaw with the help of a number of Poles. She was baptized clandestinely by Rev. Jan Zieja in April 1944. She was wounded during the Warsaw uprising of August 1944. After the evacuation of Warsaw, she was taken to the care of the Carmelite Sisters.²⁷⁵

Ada Kessler Kierszman placed her young daughter, Renata, in an orphanage of the Dominican Sisters in Kielce in 1942, ostensibly as the daughter of a deceased Polish officer. She took her daughter back in summer 1944 when she had settled in Warsaw.²⁷⁶ Renata Kierszman was one of several Jewish children sheltered at that institution.²⁷⁷

In Klimontów, a small town near Sandomierz, the Sisters of the Most Holy Name of Jesus under the Protection of the Virgin Mary Help of the Faithful (*Siostry Najświętszego Imienia Jezus pod opieką Najświętszej Maryi Panny Wspomożenia Wiernych*, commonly known as *Siostry Imienia Jezus* or *Siostry Marylki*) sheltered three Jewish girls in their orphanage, under the care of Sister Urszula (Maria Herman):

²⁷³ "Przechowywanie Żydów przez Matkę Teresę od św. Józefa-Janinę Kierocińską (1885–1946), współzałożycielkę Zgromadzenia Sióstr Karmelitanek Dzieciątka Jezus w Sosnowcu," Internet: <http://archidiecezja.lodz.pl/azkarmel/mT_wiecej.html>.

²⁷⁴ On the rescue activities of the Carmelite Sisters of the Infant Jesus see Wiktoria Renata Szczepańczyk, "Zaangażowanie sióstr karmelitanek Dzieciątka Jezus w ratowanie ludności żydowskiej," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 86–95.

²⁷⁵ Marcin Gugulski, "Wielka Sobota 1944," April 23, 2011, Internet: <<http://gugulskim.salon24.pl/300753,wielka-sobota-1944>>; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 293–94.

²⁷⁶ Ada Kessler-Pawlak, *Nie chcę nocy: Dziewczyna i kanibale*, 2nd expanded edition (Warsaw: Agencja Wydawnicza CB), 123–24, 157–58. See also Ada Pawlak, *Je refuse la nuit* (Paris: Giles Tautin, 1974).

²⁷⁷ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 126.

Eva Nisencwajg (later Eve Bergstein), her three-year-old cousin, Lucy Nisencwajg, and, from September 1942, Maria Ropelewska (actually Mania Sztajnman, later Marion Staiman Weinzweig, born in May 1940).²⁷⁸ The nuns also rescued a Jewish man, who assumed the name Zasławski.²⁷⁹ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, p. 797.)

Wiktoria and Stanislaw [Stanisław] Szumielewicz lived in the village of Rytwiany near Staszow [Staszów] in the Kielce district during the war. In the summer of 1942, they sheltered Eva, the five-year-old daughter of prewar friends Moshe and Hena Nisencwajg. The Szumielewicz, who had moved to the area from Bydgoszcz upon the outbreak of the war, introduced Eva as "Iwonka, our orphaned niece." Being a teacher by profession, Wiktoria provided Eva with an education. Some time afterwards, the Szumielewicz also sheltered Eva's cousins, Lucy and Janek Nisencwajg. When someone informed on them and the children were in danger, Wiktoria decided to move them to the cloister orphanage. Janek did not go to the orphanage; instead he returned to his parents. A few days later, Lucy also ran away from the cloister and joined her family. ... Eva stayed in the orphanage in Klimatow [Klimontów] for a year. When the cloister was bombed during an Allied [actually, it was bombed by the Germans] air raid, Wiktoria located Eva and sheltered her once more. After the liberation, the Szumielewicz, along with Eva, returned to Bydgoszcz. There Eva was found by her uncle Henryk Nisencwajg and taken to Cracow [Kraków]. ... In 1947, Eva (later Bergstein) was sent to her mother's sister in Canada.

The same order of Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus sheltered Jewish children in Wilno and Suchedniów near Skarżysko-Kamienna. Joanna Przygoda (later Joan Kirsten) was entrusted to the orphanage in Suchedniów as a child.²⁸⁰ In 2013, Yad Vashem recognized Adela Rosolińska (Sister Serafia), the superior, and Sister Kornelia Jankowska, Joanna's caregiver, as Righteous Among Nations. (Jankowska Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10493486>>.)

Zdzisław Przygoda and his wife, Irena (nee Mizne), lived in Warsaw. Przygoda was an engineer. With the establishment of the ghetto, the Przygodas went to live with Irena's parents. There, in 1942, they had a daughter named Joanna. It was very dangerous to be in the ghetto with a baby, so they started looking for a way to escape to the Aryan side. They knew a man named Roman Talikowski, and he helped them escape the ghetto. ...

The place Roman had arranged for them was in the home of Maria Kaczyńska. The house was a twenty-minute ride away from the center of Warsaw, in a sheltered wooded area. Two other women were already hiding there, one of whom may have been Jewish, but both were linked to the resistance. The Przygodas spent several months there. Zdzisław eventually joined the underground resistance; he was away most of the time but kept in touch with his wife and daughter.

One day in 1943, German soldiers came to the house looking for the hiding women. They drove them out and killed them all, despite Maria Kaczyńska throwing herself between them and the shooter and begging for mercy on their behalf. They had been looking for resistance fighters and did know Irena was Jewish. This may be the reason that they did not touch Kaczyńska herself, nor little Joanna. ...

Zdzisław heard that his wife had been murdered and rushed back to collect his daughter. Joanna was unaware of what had happened and was playing when he saw her. He took her away and hid her in several consecutive places, including the home of Irena's sister Alicja and her husband, Mieczysław Dortheimer, in Tarnów, until finally she ended up at the Order of the Most Holy Name of Jesus convent in Suchedniów. ...

The Mother Superior of the convent was Sister Serafia Adela Rosolińska [Rosolińska]. She chose one of the nuns, Sister Kornelia Jankowska, to care for Joanna. The sisters knew that the child was Jewish, and while there were 75 other children living in the convent's orphanage, Joanna was cared for separately, living with Sister Kornelia in her quarters. Everyone loved Joanna at the convent—she was a pretty and intelligent child. She survived until the end of the war and was collected from the convent in 1945 by an acquaintance of her father's, who had survived

²⁷⁸ Testimony of Marion Weinzweig, September 1997, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. In her Yad Vashem testimony, Eva Bergstein (Nisencwajg) states that the nuns were unaware that she and her cousin Lucy were Jewish, or else "we would be handed over to the Germans by the nuns." See Internet: <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/related/szumielewicz_testimony.asp>. This claim is not true. Lucy would have had no exposure to Catholic rituals before her arrival at the convent, and thus her true identity would have been easy to detect. Moreover, as mentioned, the nuns also rescued a Jewish man, which is inconsistent with this claim.

²⁷⁹ "Klimontów," Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/klimontow/5.history/>>.

²⁸⁰ Zdzisław Przygoda, *The Way to Freedom* (Toronto: Lugus, 1995), 62, 65, 88.

concentration camp and was eventually reunited with his daughter.

Assistance was often unorganized and random. Krystyna Kalata-Olejnik recalls how, in April 1943, as a four-year-old child fleeing from the ghetto, she was plucked off the streets of Warsaw and whisked to safety by a nun, a stranger she met entirely by chance. She was taken to a home for orphans in Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki, run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, where a number of Jews, both children and adults, were sheltered. (Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, p. 280.)

I was born in Warsaw, but my autobiography actually begins the moment I stepped out of a sewer canal onto the Aryan side during the uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto. Sister Julia Sosnowska, no longer alive today, a nun from a nearby order on Nowolipie Street, was passing by near the canal. She spotted a little girl with dark hair and helped her get out of the sewer. And that, indeed, was me. She decided to help and traveled with me to the children's home in Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki. In precisely this home [run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul], where I was being hidden, I stayed until the end of the war. I supposedly had a small slip of paper with the name: Krystyna Olejnik, age 4. I stayed there until October 1945.

Sister Julia Sosnowska, the nun who rescued Krystyna Kalata-Olejnik, was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 741.)

In April 1943, Julia Sosnowska, a nun, noticed a young child in a tattered and torn dress crawling out of the sewer near the border of the Warsaw ghetto. Shocked by the spectacle, Julia picked up the girl, who was in a state of near exhaustion, and, guided by Christian love, took her back to her room in the house that she shared with other nuns. Julia learned that the foundling had tried to escape from the ghetto, but being too weak to stand had only managed to crawl as far as the sewer opening. Julia washed the girl, fed her, and looked after her devotedly until October 1943, when she placed her in an educational establishment in Ignacow [Ignaców], near Minsk [Mińsk] Mazowiecki, in the Warsaw district. The little girl, registered as Krystyna Olejnik in the Aryan papers that Sister Julia obtained for her, remained in the institution until the area was liberated. After the war, she was officially adopted by a Polish family and stayed on in Poland under the name of Krystyna Kalata.

Another Jewish girl who made her way to Ignaców from the Warsaw ghetto was Ida Englard, then 15 years old, who assumed the name of Irena Kisielewska. As an adult, now Irena Majchrzak, she remembered fondly Sister Irena, who took care of her attentively, recalling “I felt her love.”²⁸¹ Three Jewish teenagers from the Mińsk Mazowiecki area were also sheltered at the convent of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Ignaców: Fryda (Frida) or Franciszka (Frania) Szpigner (later Aronson or Aharonson), Irena Kuper (later Irit Romano), and Miriam Fiszman (later Miriam Saadia).²⁸² Fryda Szpigner states that there were nine Jewish girls in total that she was aware of, as well as an elderly Jewish woman and a Gypsy girl. Sister Marianna Reszko (Sister Marcjanna), the superior, and Sister Janina Mistera (Sister Joanna) were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles, although the charges also recall the kindness of other nuns. All fourteen nuns working at this institution—among them Sisters Kazimiera Krajewska, Janina Popławska, Irena Szpak, and Jadwiga Wróblewska—were aware of the presence of Jewish children, as was the chaplain. Jewish girls with marked Semitic looks had to be hidden from sight when the premises were inspected by the German authorities. The conspiracy also extended to the lay staff at the orphanage, which housed some 150 children. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 230–31; Part 2, p. 668.)

[1] Jan Gawrych lived with his wife and their four children in a small house adjacent to the Wolka Czarninska [Wólka Czarnińska] estate near the town of Stanisławów, which is near Minsk [Mińsk] Mazowiecki in the Warsaw district. ... Jan Gawrych worked there as a forester. ... In 1942, when a young girl named Fryda Szpringer

²⁸¹ See her testimony, “W dziadku moje korzenie,” in Turski, *Losy żydowskie*, vol. 3, 11.

²⁸² See also the testimony of Franciszka Aronson (Fryda/Frieda/Frania Szpigner, later Aronson), Irit Romano (Irena Kuper), and Miriam Sada in Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 171–77, 191–97; Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 114–20, 215–20, 226–27; Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 90, 90, 96, 151–52, 156, 161, 177. See also Irit R. [Romano] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–1805), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library; Testimony of Miriam Saadia, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 5137.

[Szpigner, later Aronson] escaped from the ghetto in Minsk Mazowiecki, which was about to be liquidated, she went straight to the house of the Gawrychs, who did not hesitate to accept her unconditionally into their home. They treated her kindly, gave her help, and told anyone who asked about her identity that she was a relative. In September 1942, the Stanislawow ghetto was liquidated and its inhabitants were taken to the extermination camp in Treblinka. Three of them—Chaskiel Paper, Tirza Zylberberg, and Moshe Aronson—escaped from the transport and after wandering through fields and villages arrived at the home of Jan and Aleksandra Gawrych, who at great risk took them in too and gave them food and lodging. ... On March 8, 1943, after somebody informed on them, German policemen raided the Gawrych home. The Jews hiding there tried to escape, but except for Szpringer they were all shot to death. The Gawrych home was burned down, Jan was arrested and transferred to the Gestapo in Minsk Mazowiecki, where he was tortured and murdered. Szpringer managed to flee the massacre and after wandering through the neighboring villages found shelter in a convent in Ignacow [Ignaców], where she remained until the liberation of the area in the summer of 1944 [under the name of Frania Malinowska]. After the war she immigrated to Israel.

[2] In August 1942, during the liquidation of the Minsk [Mińsk] Mazowiecki ghetto in the Warsaw district, three girls—Irena Romano [née Kuper], Frania Aronson [née Szpigner], and Miriam Sada—escaped. After wandering through the area, the three reached St. Anthony's Convent ... in the nearby village of Ignacow [Ignaców], where they were welcomed by Marianna Reszko, the mother superior. Although she realized they were Jewish refugees, Reszko took them in and put them to work as kitchen hands and maids. Joanna Mistera, a nun who was also let in on the secret, looked after them devotedly and watched out for their safety, especially when Germans visited the convent. The three Jewish girls stayed in the convent until September 1944, when the area was liberated and after the war immigrated to Israel.

As a 14-year-old girl, Franciszka (Frania) Aronson, from a village near Mińsk Mazowiecki, survived by wandering from village to village, including villages where she was known, begging for food before she arrived at the convent in Ignaców in February 1943. Irena Kuper (Irit Romano) was about twelve years old when she started to wander in the countryside near her hometown of Mińsk Mazowiecki, posing as a Polish orphan. Everyone who moved to a village had to be registered with the village headman and provide proper documents. After the farmer who employed Irena learned from other villagers that Irena was Jewish, she promised to bring him a document attesting to her Christianity. She then approached an unknown priest in Mińsk Mazowiecki who issued her a birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Irena Kowalczyk. (Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, p. 96).

She returned to her native city and in her despair asked the priest for a birth certificate, based on the names of her supposedly Christian parents. After being unable to find the name in the church records, the priest evidently understood the situation and told the girl to come back the following day. When he returned, he gave her a birth certificate in the name of a girl born out of wedlock. The peasant took the document to the village headman and came home happy and cheerful. From that moment, he no longer considered Irit to be Jewish, but an illegitimate Catholic girl.

Franciszka (Frania) Aronson recalled her arrival and stay at the convent in Ignaców in an account published in Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, at pages 171–77.

It was February, 1943. I was dressed in a blouse with short-sleeves and my legs were bare. Suddenly an older woman stopped me and asked where I was going. I told her that I was displaced and that I was looking for work.

"You're looking for work?" she asked. "Do you have some documentation?"

"No," I answered.

"If you don't have documents then no one will take you," she replied.

"But you know what? Do you see that church steeple? There are nuns there, and a convent and an orphanage also. Maybe they will take you in. When you get to the convent, say, 'Praise the Lord,' [Niech będzie pochwalony Jezus Chrystus] and kiss the nun's hand and ask her whatever you want."

I went off the main road and went to the convent. When I went inside, it was just like the woman said.

The mother superior, Sister Marcjanna, came out. I said, "Praise the Lord." She didn't ask me much. She asked me my name, where I was from, how old I was, and what kind of work I wanted to do. She said she was sorry but that dinner was already over, and there was only bread and milk left. She called the postulant, Regina, to take me to the kitchen and give me something to eat.

In the kitchen I was given bread and milk. I ate. Then I was taken to the bathroom, where I was washed and given clothes. They were not new clothes but they were clean, from one of the children, for there were 150 of them there. Regina asked me what job I wanted to do and if I liked children. I replied that I liked them, so Regina led me to the

so-called "barn." This was a separate building in which one group of children stayed.

The work was not hard—simply helping out with the children. One had to help them make their beds, wash their cups, lay the table, etc. For some time I helped the teacher nuns, and later I was transferred to working in the hen house. ...

Once, when I was still working with the children, I came down from the bedroom and saw that the courtyard was filled with German soldiers. Whenever I saw Germans I always felt that they were there for me. I continually thought that someone would betray me and that the Germans would take me away. In this "barn" slept Sister Bronislawa [Bronisława], the nun in charge of education (she had a room next to mine), and two other workers besides me. When I heard this nun coming out of her room (one could not enter the room of a nun) I went up to her and said: "Sister, what should I do?"

At the time I still didn't have my work permit but only a piece of paper showing that I had registered at the police station. This police registration always worried me, for I feared that someone would try to verify the false information that I had given. I always felt that something bad could happen around the corner. At the time, there was a round-up of Jews hiding in the woods.

So I asked Sister Bronislawa what I should do. The sister replied that she would go to the big house, to the mother superior, because she didn't know what to do. She opened the door.

"Halt! Who is there?"

Sister Bronislawa came from the German border and spoke the language well; so she answered in German:

"A group of children live here, along with me and three helpers—two grown-up and a young one."

The Germans demanded documents, but when the sister said that I still didn't have any, they had me summoned. When I came into the room they said that they had to take me to the big house to make sure that I hadn't come to the convent just now at the time of the round-up of the Jews. Then I showed them my police registration and Sister Bronislawa translated it, the result being that they said I didn't have to go with them. It was said that the Germans caught a lot of Jews in the forest that day.

The following day Sister Bronislawa came to me and stated that I had to go to Minsk [Mińsk] Mazowiecki to get myself a work permit.

"How can I get a permit?" I asked. "I don't even have a birth certificate!"

"I will take care of everything at the office," she replied.

Everyone who applied for a work permit got it after two weeks. With me it took three months. When I finally received it, I felt relieved. I stayed with the nuns until the liberation in 1944.

Throughout the entire time I was in the convent I was considered Polish.

The sisters never asked about anything. Even Sister Joanna, though we were such good friends. ... The sisters did not know that I was a Jewess. They could only suspect it. In the convent, however, there was an old priest, who, every time I went to confession, always mentioned something about Jews.

Obviously, since I was in a convent, I went to confession. This priest was served by Jozka Mankowska [Józka Mańkowska], and when she went to visit her family, I took her place. I brought him food and cleaned his room. One day the priest asked me why I wasn't writing a diary.

"Why should I write a diary?" I asked him.

"Because your life is more interesting than other peoples," the priest replied.

I think that he knew who I really was.

In the convent all the children belonged to the "Association of the Children of Mary," and every Sunday after dinner we had a meeting with this priest, who taught us and explained certain religious matters. At every one of these talks he would add something about Jews. Not against Jews, but he always put in a word on the subject. He would say that it was a great sin for someone not to confess to which religion he belongs and to accept holy communion without being baptized. We sat and listened. Irka [Kuper] was there too.... After that lesson we both came to the conclusion that we were committing a sacrilege because both of us were Jews.... It was, in truth, this Irka who took me to the woods and told me that she was committing a sin because she was Jewish.

How could she not be afraid to tell me about it? After all, if she had told someone else.... Irka told me that she sensed that I was Jewish also, and that is why she told me about herself.

I remember one more incident. The day I came to the convent, Sister Bronislawa sent me to get coffee for breakfast. Outside I met a teacher I knew from Wolka Czerniejowska [actually, Wólka Czarnińska], Irena Cudna, who knew me and my parents very well. I pretended not to see her. Through the entire time of my stay in the convent, she saw me everyday; despite this, she did not tell anyone about me to the end of the war. Only after the liberation did she tell her family that Szpigner's daughter had been staying at the convent. ...

As far as I know there were ten Jewesses living at Ignacow [Ignaców]. In my group there was a little girl, perhaps four-years-old, who did not know who she was.

She was called Marysia. I remember a game she played one day with the children. She placed all the chairs in a row and sat the children down, after which she crawled under a chair. When I asked her why she wasn't sitting on the chair but hiding underneath it, she replied: "Quiet, Miss Frania! If the Germans catch me, I'm dead!"

When I asked her why she said that and from where she came, the girl told me her story. She told me that she was

once walking down a street in Warsaw with her aunt and when they came to the doorway of her building, the aunt told her to remain on the street and if a policeman asked her any questions she was to say that she knew nothing. Marysia wound up in the Boduen [Baudouin] house [for foundlings, at which the Sisters of Charity worked], and then Ignacow. I told her not to tell anyone what she had told me, but this was a child. ... She always hid under the chair, so that the Germans would not kill her. ...

During the war one of the convent buildings, the “barn,” burned down. The Germans stationed in nearby Janowa [Janów] proposed that the nuns use one of their barracks. The children were without a roof over their heads, so the nuns transported them to Janowa. Marysia did not go, however, but was placed in the “big” house. She was too Jewish-looking for the nuns to allow her to live among the Germans.

Aside from various inspections, the Germans would come to Ignacow for their walks, while the children cuddled next to the nuns for they needed a mother, and they didn't have any. ... One day a German officer came to Ignacow for a walk with his wife. Marysia was holding onto Sister Bronislawa. Then that German woman—I was standing nearby—pointed to Marysia and said to Sister Bronislawa: “That girl looks Jewish!”

“We have absolutely no Jewish girls here!” the sister replied categorically. “We know where each child comes from.”

She was lying, of course, for there was no way for her to know from where each child came.

In any case, Marysia was kept hidden a lot, for she looked very Jewish.

Apparently, so was another girl, the slightly older Marysia Kuczynska [Kuczyńska], who couldn't go to school with the rest of the children because she also looked Semitic. The nuns brought over a teacher to the convent to teach Marysia.

In the convent there were fourteen nuns, the old priest, 150 children and 50 other people, among whom were farmhands and so-called “ladies”—women who were hiding. When I went to work in the sewing room, I moved to the bedroom of these ladies. Among them was an older woman named Maria Kowalska, who when she entered the chapel seemed to speak to God Himself, she was so religious.

After the liberation I joined the army and worked in the army hospital in Lublin. One day a doctor, a Jew, asked me to accompany his aunt from Szojadel [?]. You can imagine my surprise when I saw that the aunt of my doctor was the lady from Ignacow, Maria Kowalska, the woman with whom I had slept in one room! When we finally reached Lublin, Maria said to me: “Frania, let us go to church to say a prayer in thanks for our successful journey.”

I found this very funny, for she already knew that I was a Jew and that I knew she was a Jew, too, and yet. ... I'm laughing at Maria now, but I myself had in the convent a praying-desk by the main altar, and every free moment I would sit in the chapel and pray.

I came from a very religious Jewish family. Despite that, I believed in Jesus Christ. Because, firstly, a young person is very susceptible. Secondly, being a convent will make a believer out of anyone! To be in those surroundings, a part of that life, of that wonderful life. The nuns lived so nicely! It was a peaceful life.

Materially? The war was on and not much was expected. But everyone had enough.

I valued life in the convent above all because I knew how I had lived before. I knew that I lived well here, that I got everything I needed. I did not get money, but I didn't need it. I had enough to eat, a clean bed and a kind word—everything I needed at the time, everything that a person could need. ...

In the convent I was very religious. I began to believe in Christ when that old woman on the road pointed the convent out to me and had me go there.

I went off the road then, knelt and prayed to Christ to help me. That was the first time I prayed to Christ. I promised Him that if they accepted me in the convent and I survived the war, that would mean that he was the real God and I would never leave Him. I did not keep my word, but through the entire time I was in the convent I prayed, went to confession, took holy communion—I did everything, believing in it! I believed in it!

After the war, I couldn't decide whether to be baptized and change my faith, for I was brought up in the Jewish faith and all the people close to me were dead because they were Jewish. When I was older, I thought differently.

The most remarkable story of rescue in all of Europe is doubtless that involving a large network of employees of the Warsaw Social Welfare Department. With the cooperation of various Catholic institutions, they were able to rescue hundreds of Jewish children. Their efforts are all the more praiseworthy because, unlike rescue in Western Europe, in Poland rescue was punishable by death. An integral part of this operation was the Father Baudouin Home for infant foundlings (Dom Małych Dzieci im. Ks. Gabriela Piotra Baudouina), popularly known as the Father Boduen Home, located at 75 Nowogrodzka Street. The Father Baudouin Home played an important role during World War II in providing shelter to Jewish children. As many as 200 Jewish children are believed to have passed through

the home,²⁸³ making this the largest single rescue conspiracy in occupied Poland. The Father Baudouin Home was one of a number of institutions in Warsaw maintained by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (*Siostry Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego à Paulo*, commonly known as *Siostry Szarytki* from the order's original French name, *Les Filles de la Charité*), where help was extended to Jews.²⁸⁴ Many Jewish children stayed at the Father Baudouin Home temporarily before being placed with Polish families or transferred to other institutions, usually convents, among them the affiliated children's homes in Klarysew and Góra Kalwaria outside Warsaw, also under the care of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. Children who stayed at the Father Baudouin Home only for a short duration were not registered, so it is difficult to account for all of the Jewish charges. The lay director of the Home, Dr. Maria Prokopowicz-Wierzbowska, oversaw a staff of more than 200 persons including 35 nuns. Dr. Prokopowicz-Wierzbowska was recognized by Yad Vashem, as was Władysława Marynowska, the institution's guardian. The Father Baudouin Home was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare of the municipality of Warsaw and was subject to strict rules and control of the German authorities. The tacit cooperation of the personnel—all of whom were aware of the presence of a large number of Jewish children and several adult Jews²⁸⁵—was indispensable for the success of the operation. Even at least one Polish blue policeman was brought into the conspiracy.²⁸⁶ Despite periodic raids by the Gestapo, no Jewish child fell into the hands of the Germans. (The Home also experienced bombings by both the Germans and Soviets.) Each child was accepted based on documents such as a social inquiry, birth certificate and health certificate. The decision to accept Jewish children—whose identities had to be hidden from the German authorities—was made with the knowledge and full approval of Jan Dobraczyński, who was the director of the Closed Welfare Section of the Department of Social Welfare. Jan Dobraczyński, a writer and prewar National Democratic activist, has also been awarded by Yad Vashem. He used his contacts with Catholic religious orders to place Jewish children in convents and orphanages, personally signing each referral as a code that a Jewish child was involved. Priests from parishes in Warsaw as well as distant parishes such as those in Lwów were enlisted to provide false birth and baptismal certificates for the Jewish children. The operation also depended on the cooperation of a large group of employees of the Social Welfare Department, among them Irena Schultz (also recognized by Yad Vashem) and the nurse Helena Szeszko, both of whom had passes to the Warsaw ghetto and secretly took out children from the ghetto. A planned drop-off of a child was usually announced by telephone in a code, including information about the child's appearance and the time of its arrival. Some of the Jewish children were brought to the Father Baudouin Home by their parents or by their Polish guardians, who were fearful or unable to continue to care for them any longer; others were brought by underground activists or employees of the Social Welfare Department. The chaplain, Rev. Piotr Tomaszewski, also brought children to the institution. (Two of Rev. Tomaszewski's sisters, Stanisława and Zofia, were Sisters of Charity who served in the Father Baudouin Home.) Newly arrived children were hidden among the rest of the charges, fed and cared for. They often required medical attention because of the poor state of their health. Children with a "bad appearance" had to be transferred out of the Father Baudouin home as soon as possible. They were placed with foster families, employees of the Social Welfare Department, or institutions run by religious orders. The employees of the Social Welfare Department involved in this network included the legendary Irena Sendler, Jadwiga Piotrowska, Irena

²⁸³ The greatest influx of children was just before the final liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943. In the first three months of that year, 57 Jewish girls and 66 boys were brought to the Father Baudouin Home. See Barbara Pamrów, "Działalność Domu Małych Dzieci im. ks. Gabriela Baudouina oraz dyrektor Marii Prokopowicz-Wierzbowskiej w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 95–121; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 52.

²⁸⁴ On the rescue activities of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul see Jadwiga Kisielewska, "Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej," *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85.

²⁸⁵ One of the Jews employed at the institution was 16-year-old Hania Festentsztat, who worked as a nurse. See Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 194.

²⁸⁶ A member of the Jewish underground described how a blue policeman worked with the social workers and staff in conveying Jewish children to the Father Baudouin Home, where they were accepted as "Aryan" foundlings. See Adina Blady-Szwajger, *I więcej nic nie pamiętam*, 2nd expanded edition (Warsaw: Volumen, 1994), 109; translated as *I Remember Nothing More: The Warsaw Children's Hospital and the Jewish Resistance* (London: Collins-Havrill, 1990).

Schultz, all three of whom were awarded by Yad Vashem, Nonna Jastrzębska, Halina Kozłowska, Janina Barczak, Halina Szablak, and Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska. Many other collaborated in this rescue mission, including Stanisława Bussold, Jadwiga Sałek-Deneko, Wanda Drozdowska-Rogowicz, Zofia Patecka, Róża and Janina Zawadzka, Janina Grabowska, Jadwiga Bilwin, Maria Kukulska, M. Felińska, A. Adamski, and Wincenty Fester.²⁸⁷ Among the former Jewish charges who attended the award ceremony in Warsaw in February 2007²⁸⁸ were Krystyna Kalata, Teresa Lisiewska, Katarzyna Meloch, Joanna Sobolewska-Pyz, Debora Stocker (née Rygier, then passing as Wanda Katarzyna Szymeczko), Barbara Schmid, Anna Szpanowska,²⁸⁹ Michał Głowiński, Stan (Staś) Kol, and Aaron Seidenberg. Other charges include Ludwik Brylant (mentioned earlier), Mania Powązek's daughter,²⁹⁰ Bruria (Bronia, Anusia) Taglicht,²⁹¹ Sabina Żelazko's son,²⁹² Bronisława Kotlińska's daughter,²⁹³ Jakub Wilamowski's

²⁸⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 41–62; Klara Jackl, “Father Boduen Children’s Home, a Gateway to Life,” June 10, 2012, Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/cms/your-stories/794,father-boduen-children-s-home-a-gateway-to-life/>>; Klara Jackl, Jan Dobraczyński, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/i-singled-out-centres-exclusively-those-run-nuns-which-i-could-trust-story-jan-dobraczynski>>. See also the following entries in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 125–26 (Stanisława Bussold), 420 (Maria Kukulska and Anna Krzyżowska-Kukulska); vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 612–13 (Jadwiga Piotrowska), 694 (Radeusz Sałek and Jadwiga Sałek-Deneko), 700 (Irena Schultz), 702 (Irena Sandler).

²⁸⁸ Anna Sierpińska, “Uroczystość nadania tytułu ‘Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata’ ... w Domu Małych Dzieci im. Ks. G.P. Baudouina w Warszawie, 22 lutego 2007 r.,” Internet: <http://dzieciholocaustu.org.pl/szab13.php?s=aktualnosci004_01.php>. Joanna Sobolewska-Pyz, born in 1939, was placed there temporarily to facilitate her placement with a Polish family. See Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 2, 221. Leah Rygier gave birth to her daughter Wanda Katarzyna Szymeczko (later Deborah Stocker) in the Father Baudouin Home in February, 1943. The two remained there for about six to eight months. Afterwards, Wanda was sent to another orphanage on the outskirts of Warsaw. Towards the end of 1945, Wanda’s parents picked her up from that orphanage. See “A Jewish Child Sits on a Scale in a Catholic Orphanage Where She Is Hiding under a False Name,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1143827>>.

²⁸⁹ Kołacińska-Gałazka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 316.

²⁹⁰ Mania Powązek entrusted her four-year-old daughter to Antonina Baraniak. After a Gestapo raid on her home, during which Baraniak successfully concealed the child, she turned to Rev. Marcei Godlewski, who arranged for the child to be accepted at the Father Baudouin Home. After the war, the child was reclaimed by her father. See the testimony of Antonina Baraniak, November 23, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5114.

²⁹¹ “The Topilsky Family Poses in Their Garden Outside their home in Lodz,” USHMM Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1151131>>; Maria Taglicht, “Droga Heleno,” *Gazeta Wyborcza, Dodatek Wysokie Obcasy*, April 2, 2005. After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Michalina Taglicht and her 5-year-old daughter, Bronia, were sheltered by the siblings Tadeusz and Jadwiga Sałek-Deneko. Bronia Taglicht was then taken in by the Sałek’s parents, and later placed in an unidentified orphanage in Radom.

²⁹² Testimony of Janina Prymowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5276. Both Sabina Żelazko and her child survived. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 694.

²⁹³ Joanna Beata Michlic, “Daily Life of Polish Women, Dedicated Rescuers of Jews during and after the Second World War,” in Simone Gigliotti, Jacob Golomb, and Caroline Steinberg Gould, eds., *Ethics, Art, and Representations of the Holocaust: Essays in Honor of Berel Lang*, (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), 218.

daughter,²⁹⁴ Szmulik Kenigswein,²⁹⁵ Piotr Tober,²⁹⁶ Elżbieta Palatyńska,²⁹⁷ Barbara Guz,²⁹⁸ Lucyna Trzonek (born in 1934, later Lange),²⁹⁹ Rosa Rotenberg (born in 1941, passing as Wanda Darlewska, later Rozensztroch),³⁰⁰ Sara (passing as Teresa Lisiewska) and her brother Mojżesz (passing as Wiktor),³⁰¹ Kazimierz Schmidt³⁰² (whose rescue is described later on), and many others. Lena Küchler claims to have smuggled several children out of the Warsaw ghetto, some with the assistance of a Polish Red Cross nurse named Sieradzka [likely, the aforementioned Helena Szeszko—*M.P.*], and placed them in the care of a priest at the Father Baudouin Home.³⁰³

The rescue efforts of Dr. Maria Prokopowicz-Wierzbowska, the director of Father Baudouin Home for Foundlings, and some of her collaborators are described in the following account. (Prokopowicz Family and Sobolewski Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5607119>>.)

Inka Grynszpan was born in Warsaw on July 31, 1939, to Tadeusz and Halina (née Zylberbart). The next year, the family was incarcerated in the ghetto, where they stayed until March 1943, not long before the ghetto uprising. Before being taken to Umschlagplatz, Halina and Tadeusz managed to hide four-year-old Inka in a sewage pipe. There she was discovered by some workers employed by Walerian Sobolewski. The workers somehow knew to take the little girl to the home of Wanda Bruno-Niczowa, a Polish teacher and acquaintance of her parents, who was also hiding her cousins' child. When Walerian's wife Anastazja heard that a pretty little girl was being hidden there, she decided [to] try and adopt Inka, as she and her husband were childless. At Niczowa's home in Żoliborz, they finally met the blue-eyed, blonde-haired beautiful Inka. They were determined to look after her, but she was dressed in rags, she drew unwanted attention from onlookers as they travelled home by wagon. The Sobolewskis made an effort to speak loudly about their "cousins sending their daughter to the doctor" dressed in an embarrassing way. Luckily, they were not denounced and got home safely. After a while, a Russian neighbor told Anastazja that she suspected that Inka was Jewish. This was very dangerous, so the Sobolewskis asked Niczowa to formally register Inka (under the name of Joanna Kwiecińska) at the G. P. Baudouin Home for Infants in Warsaw. The papers obtained from the home allowed the Sobolewskis to keep up the pretense of having legally adopted a Polish child. In 1943, Walerian was arrested and incarcerated in Pawiak Prison, which was extremely stressful and frightening to his wife, but he survived and returned home. In 1944, the Sobolewskis moved to Milanówek with their adopted daughter and beloved

²⁹⁴ Testimony of Jakub Wilamowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3949. After the war, the child was reclaimed by her father.

²⁹⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 606.

²⁹⁶ Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 3, 31.

²⁹⁷ Wanda Biernacka and Zofia Prager, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4015946>>.

²⁹⁸ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 645; Maria Wierbowska, *The Righteous Among the Nations Database*, Yad Vashem (Barbara Guz-Schmid); Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 128; based on Leon Guz, *Targowa 64: Dziennik 27 I 1943–11 IX 1944* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1990), 135–43.

²⁹⁹ Testimony of Halina Zalewska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 36458. Halina Zalewska (née Kowalska, then Trzonek) was Lucyna's mother, a Jewish woman who married a Pole. She survived in Warsaw with help of numerous Poles.

³⁰⁰ Diana Wang, *Los niños escondidos: Del Holocausto a Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Marea, 2004), 132, 167; Testimony of Rosa Rozensztroch, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 36590.

³⁰¹ Sara and her brother Mojżesz were sheltered there in 1942–1943. See Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 4, 51–52.

³⁰² Leokadia Schmidt, *Rescued from the Ashes: The Diary of Leokadia Schmidt, Survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oegstgeest, The Netherlands: Amsterdam Publishers, 2018), 282. The child was placed there with the assistance of Rev. Ludwik Świącki.

³⁰³ Lena Küchler-Silberman, *My Hundred Children* (New York: Laurel-Leaf/Dell, 1987), 22–23, 53, 223. This source, however, is not particularly reliable, as Küchler claims that she dealt with Father Baudouin in person. Father Baudouin was an eighteenth-century French missionary after whom the institution was named.

dog, to live with their relatives. One day, a German officer came by the house, which terrified little Inka, but he ended up holding her and giving her a chocolate bar because the blonde child reminded him of his own. Inka grew up with the Sobolewskis until the 1960s. After the war, the family lived very comfortably, thanks to Walerian's business enterprise. However, after Walerian was arrested for alleged sabotage, and Anastazja suffered [a] fatal heart attack in 1958, someone revealed the truth to Inka about her adoption. This news set her searching for her blood relatives in advertisements and the Israeli embassy. When she discovered a family of cousins by the name of Prusak, Inka left Walerian and continued her life with her relatives.

The Baudouin Home provided a sanctuary to more refugees than just Inka. During the war, its head, Maria Wierzbowska, took in many Jewish children. As Irena Sendler, who was responsible for the saving of children in Żegota, later testified, the Baudouin Home was one of a network of homes serving not only as an orphanage, but also as a transition point for children while Aryan papers were being created for them. Once the documents were ready, Wierzbowska would contact one of the neighboring monasteries, letting the nuns know it was time to come and collect the children. One of the monasteries was in Turkowice, next to Lublin, where over 30 children from Baudouin found shelter and thus survived. Sendler wrote: "Upon their arrival at the Baudouin Home the children were often ill, starved, terrified, after horrible experiences. They found in the staff of the Home support and total care: medical, material and parental. For some of them, the Home was a place of temporary yet safe refuge; for some war orphans it became their own home; but to all it was salvation from the death to which the occupants had sentenced them." Among the children taken in by Maria Wierzbowska and her staff were Michał Głowiński, Katarzyna Meloch-Jackl (both of whom were transferred to Turkowice), and Barbara Guz-Schmid, who survived there until the end of the war. On July 19, 2006, Yad Vashem recognized [Walerian] and Anastazja Sobolewski and Maria Wierzbowska as Righteous Among the Nations.

Placing Jewish children in the Father Baudouin Home was not a straightforward matter, and it became increasingly more difficult to do so. The German authorities clamped down and demanded records proving that the child was in fact an orphan or foundling, and not of Jewish origin. The following account regarding the aforementioned Barbara Guz-Schmid, who was later transferred to the orphanage of the Sisters Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) in Turkowice, illustrates some of the ruses that were employed. (Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, pp. 128–29.)

At the end of 1942, a young couple, Leon and Alicja Guz, found themselves in a mixed Polish-Jewish group of laborers who worked in a metal plant near Minsk-Mazowiecki [Mińsk Mazowiecki]. Alicja was in an advanced state of pregnancy. As the due date neared, she and Leon were at their wits' end about where they could turn for help. But assistance arrived suddenly and unexpectedly. A Polish physician, Dr. Olgierd Mackiewicz, visited the factory regularly to treat sick workers. He noticed Alicja's condition but seemingly ignored her. Shortly before she was due to give birth, he gave her the address of a private maternity hospital in the city, telling her to go there when her contractions began. He said he had already arranged with the hospital's owner—who knew she was Jewish—that she would not have to pay. The lifeline that was suddenly thrown to them in their distress gave the couple new energy. When the time came, Alicja slipped out of the camp, reached the hospital, and gave birth to a daughter. It was not until after the war that the couple learned that Dr. Mackiewicz was working in the service of Żegota. In this case, the physician left the infant's future care in the hands of the parents. This occurred in December 1942 when the organization was still in its infancy, apparently not yet prepared to deal with such a complicated situation. Naturally, it was impossible for the baby to stay with the parents in the factory. Alicja sought the help of a Polish friend, Apolonia Przybojewska, who lived in Warsaw. In a plan of their joint devising, the infant was supposedly abandoned on Przybojewska's doorstep, and the next day she placed her in the Boduen children's home.

Getting the infant admitted to this orphanage, which was located in the heart of Warsaw, was far from simple. The process involved an official request from the municipality's department of social welfare, and in the case of an abandoned child a police investigation of the circumstances in which the child had been acquired. Żegota personnel worked with doctors and nurses in the orphanage whom they knew could be relied on, in order to hide the Jewish origins of children they placed in the institution.

More than a dozen Jewish girls, several of whom have been identified by name, were lodged with the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul at their convent on Tamka Street in Warsaw. Two of them, Inka Szapiro and Halina Mirska, are mentioned elsewhere. Krystyna Sigalin, the 12-year-old daughter of Hanna Sigalin, was placed there for a period of several months by their benefactor Sylwia Rzeczycka

while they looked for private accommodations.³⁰⁴ As part of a network of Poles who rescued a number of Jews, Rzeczycka stated that Catholic parishes were very accommodating in providing false birth certificates.³⁰⁵ Rzeczycka was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile.³⁰⁶

St. Casimir's orphanage in Warsaw, also run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, took in Jewish children as well as some adults who were employed there.³⁰⁷ Sister Weronika Hendzel, who was the director of the orphanage, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2017 for her role in the rescue of Anita Zofia Bergerman Weinberg (born in 1935), who went by names of Maciejewska and Biernacka.³⁰⁸

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Danuta Miron (born in 1931) was placed in the Our Lady of Loreto educational institution (Zakład wychowawczy p.w. NMP Loretańskiej) of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul located at 47 Czerniakowska Street in Warsaw, ostensibly as a Catholic child, by a Polish woman named Woźniak, to whom she had been entrusted by Danuta's mother, Maria Miron. Danuta went by the name of Danuta Woźniak at the time, and remained at the institution for about ten months. After a raid by the Gestapo in November 1943, when a Jewish girl was seized, out of fear Danuta was removed from the institution. She was then cared for by elderly woman, and afterwards stayed with her maternal aunt, who was married to a Pole. Danuta survived the war and was reunited with her mother and younger brother, Jerzy, who was rescued by the Wróbel family. Her father perished.³⁰⁹ About a dozen Jewish girls were sheltered at the Our Lady of Loreto institution.³¹⁰

The following accounts, which describe the activities of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul at various institutions in Warsaw, are found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, at pages 195, 427–28, 430, 435, 435–36, 459, 494; Part 2, at pages 606, 820. Although some of the summaries claim the nuns did not know about their charges' Jewish origin, that information is not very credible as the nuns at least suspected as much, if only because of the children's lack of knowledge of religious practices.

[1] *Waclaw [Waclaw] and Helena Dutkiewicz lived in a large apartment building in Warsaw that belonged to the Warta insurance company, where Waclaw Dutkiewicz worked. Dutkiewicz exploited his position as manager of the building to save Jews, particularly acquaintances, by hiding them in the offices of the insurance company, in the building's basement, in empty apartments, and sometimes even in his own apartment. Waclaw's wife, who before the war had worked in a registry office, exploited her connections to obtain forged documents for the Jews they were hiding. Dutkiewicz also exploited his contacts with the Polish underground to save Jewish children, whom he transferred to the famous orphanage run by [named after] the priest Boduen. Among their other activities, the Dutkiewiczes distributed money to needy Jews through their contacts with Zegota [Zegota]. As members of the*

³⁰⁴ Testimony of Hanna Sigalin, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5611.

³⁰⁵ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 171; Testimony of Sylwia Rzeczycka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5987.

³⁰⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 689.

³⁰⁷ Jadwiga Kisielewska, "Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85, at p. 82.

³⁰⁸ Weronika Hendzel, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=12752364>>.

³⁰⁹ Testimony of Danuta Sowa (Klimczuk-Miron), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5841; Testimony of Maria Miron (Klimczuk), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7215; Testimony of Maria Miron-Klimczuk, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1393. On the rescue of Jerzy Miron see Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 900–1.

³¹⁰ Jadwiga Kisielewska, "Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85, at p. 83.

Polish underground, the Dutkiewiczzes considered saving Jews part of the fight against the common enemy. Among the many Jews who were helped by the Dutkiewiczzes were Dr. Marian Zbarski, who fell in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, and his large family; an attorney named Kowalski and his family; Dr. Solowiejczyk [Sołowiejczyk] and his wife and cousin; Mr. Oldak, an attorney; and Dr. Pellier-Zagorski [Pellier-Zagórski]. Those who survived testified that the Dutkiewiczzes were guided by sincere humanitarian motives. In due course, most of the survivors moved to Britain, Sweden, and Israel.

[2] In 1938, soon after Eleonora Hopfenstand gave birth to her daughter, Juliana, Marianna Bronik [Kurkowska-Bronik] began working in her Warsaw home as a nursemaid, remaining there until the city's Jews were interned in the local ghetto. Bronik would often go into the ghetto, taking great risks, to bring Hopfenstand various foodstuffs. In July 1942, during the large-scale Aktion in the ghetto, Hopfenstand succeeded in smuggling Juliana out to the Aryan side of the city, where, as they had agreed in advance, Kurkowska-Bronik received her. From that day on, Kurkowska looked after Juliana as if she were her own daughter, telling anyone who asked that she was a relative whose parents had been deported to Germany. In Kurkowska's home, the child was given loving care, until one of the neighbors began to suspect that she was Jewish. It turned out afterwards that the neighbor was an agent of the Gestapo, who was later executed in her apartment by members of the Polish underground. But Kurkowska, whose experience had made her wary, preferred to place Juliana in an institution for children [on Czerniakowska Street³¹¹] run by nuns (Siostry Szarytki), without revealing that she was Jewish. The Jewish child remained there even after the children of the institution were deported with all the city's residents after the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, and it was there that her mother found her after the liberation in January 1945.

[3] In 1943, after countless ordeals, Zuzanna Ronen and her four-year-old daughter, Wera, arrived in Warsaw from one of the neighboring towns. Exhausted and hungry, lacking shelter or any means of livelihood, the two walked around the city streets until Boguslaw Jan Kuryłowicz [Bogusław Jan Kuryłowicz] suddenly came up to them. Before the war, Kuryłowicz had managed a business together with Ronen's husband and had become friends with him and his family. Kuryłowicz realized how desperate the two Jewish refugees were and, despite the risk to his life, invited them to his spacious home in the center of the city, where he lived with his wife, Zofia. Ronen and her daughter were warmly welcomed into the Kuryłowiczzes' home. After the two rested for a few days and received devoted care, Zofia succeeded in placing Wera in a home for children run by nuns, where she passed her off as a relative. At the same time, Boguslaw Jan took steps to save Ronen, soon obtaining for her Aryan papers, a room to live in, and employment as a clerk. After the Warsaw Uprising was suppressed in October 1944, Ronen managed to move to nearby Milanówek [Milanówek], with Kuryłowicz's help, while her daughter Wera was transferred, along with all the other girls in the institution where she had been placed, to a location far from Warsaw. Ronen and her daughter were liberated in January 1945 and after the war immigrated to Israel. Deeply grateful, they never forgot the Kuryłowiczzes, who saved their lives without receiving anything in return, motivated solely their human compassion.

[4] When the Warsaw ghetto was sealed, Maria Kwiatkowska came to the aid of Jews interned in it. She smuggled foodstuffs and medications to them, and also helped some of her acquaintances to flee to the Aryan side of the city. In December 1942, when Żegota [Żegota] was established, Kwiatkowska became active in the organization. Without asking for anything in return, simply because she felt it was her moral duty to help Jews persecuted by a common enemy, Kwiatkowska became one of Żegota's most courageous and outstanding couriers. Risking her own life, Kwiatkowska helped Dr. Jozef [Józef] Fuswerk and his wife, Maria née Adler (who perished in the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944), escape from the ghetto and housed them in her mother's apartment until she was able to find a permanent shelter for them. With Kwiatkowska's active assistance, Stefania Staszewska also fled the ghetto. Kwiatkowska obtained Aryan papers for her and employed her as a housekeeper in her home. After the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, Kwiatkowska transferred Staszewska to Zakopane, where she was liberated in January 1945. Kwiatkowska also saved Jewish children by taking them to Christian orphanages, in particular to the Father Boduen [Baudouin] children's home, where she was known and her activity was greatly valued. Kwiatkowska's apartment in the center of Warsaw was an address for Jews who fled from the ghetto and those seeking shelter on the Aryan side. Among the Jews whose lives were saved thanks to Kwiatkowska's help were Hipolit Bajera and Zygmunt Rukalski, who left Poland after the war.

[5] While still a youngster, Wanda Kwiatkowska [later Biernacka] was active in the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] in Warsaw. In 1940, Kwiatkowska met Jonas Benon in the home of a party activist who was married to a Jewish woman. In the summer of 1942, during the large-scale deportations from the Warsaw ghetto, Benon turned to Kwiatkowska, asking her to help him and his family find a hiding place on the Aryan side of the city. Kwiatkowska

³¹¹ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 286.

did as requested and managed to get Aryan papers and accommodations in Warsaw for Jonas, his wife, Bronislawa [Bronisława], and their two sons, nine-year-old Andrzej and two-year-old Stanislaw [Stanisław]. After a while, Barbara Palatynska [Palatyńska], Bronislawa's sister, also escaped with her two-year-old daughter, Elzbieta [Elżbieta]. Palatynska paid a Polish woman to look after her daughter while she herself moved in with her sister. Jonas, who found separate accommodations, worked to provide for the family. When, in the spring of 1943, neighbors became suspicious of the two sisters, they were forced to separate. Once again Kwiatkowska came to the rescue. She arranged for the Benons' older boy to move in with acquaintances, where he stayed until the end of the war, while Kwiatkowska arranged for Bronislawa to move in with her cousin, Zofia Prager [née Michalak], who lived in Ozarow [Ożarów] Mazowiecki, near Warsaw. Although Prager realized that Bronislawa was Jewish, she agreed to let her stay for about a year and a half, until January 1945, when the area was liberated by the Red Army, after which she was reunited with her family. Palatynska, who, thanks to her Aryan looks, managed to survive numerous hardships after leaving her sister, found work but was unable to find a long-term arrangement for her little girl. Kwiatkowska once again came to the rescue and with the help of a relative [Helena Michalak, Wanda's cousin³¹²] who was a nun working in Father Boduen's orphanage in Warsaw arranged for Elzbieta to be admitted to the orphanage, where she remained until the end of the war.

[6] Daniela Szylkret was four years old in 1942, when a Polish acquaintance of her parents took her out of the Warsaw ghetto and handed her over to a family of Jewish refugees who were living outside the ghetto under false identities. Later, when someone informed on them to the authorities, the family that adopted Daniela was arrested and executed. Daniela was saved thanks to the intervention of Wladyslaw [Władysław] and Stefania Lipski, who despite the danger to their lives testified that Daniela was not Jewish. They placed her, as a Christian, in an orphanage run by nuns (Siostry Szarytki), where she remained until the end of the war, after which she immigrated to Israel ... The Lipskis continued to save Jewish children and early in 1943 sheltered Lola Lew, a Jewish girl who had escaped from the ghetto, in their apartment and passed her off as a relative whose parents had been arrested by the Germans. Although Lola looked Jewish, Danuta, the Lipskis' daughter, would take walks with her in the street to cheer her up and dispel her feelings of loneliness. Lola remained in the Lipskis' home, although they received no payment from her, and all the members of the family, out of purely humanitarian feelings, treated her with great devotion. After they were expelled from the city following the Warsaw Uprising in late summer 1944, the Lipskis continued to look after the girl they were sheltering and did not part from her until their liberation in January 1945. After the war, Lola emigrated from Poland to France ...

[7] During the occupation, Wladyslawa [Władysława] Marynowska worked as a children's nursemaid in an orphanage for abandoned children named after the priest Boduen [Baudouin]. Active in the underground and working in close cooperation with Irena Schultz, an underground activist who worked in the social affairs department of the city of Warsaw, Marynowska took advantage of her position in the orphanage to take in Jewish children in need of asylum under assumed identities, most of whom were sent from CENTOS children's institution in the ghetto. Despite the constant danger to her life and the life of her young son, Marynowska did everything she could to safeguard the young children from the constant checks conducted by the Gestapo, who would periodically visit the orphanage and search for hidden Jewish children. Most of the charges left the orphanage after shelter was found for them with foster families in the city and outside it, in an operation that Marynowska participated in using her connections in the underground. The number of children who were saved thanks to Marynowska's efforts is unknown, both because records were not kept and because the children who were saved left Poland after the war for localities all over the world.

[8] Shmuel Kenigswein, a well-known boxer, met Zygmunt Pietak [Piętak] when both were involved in the smuggling of food into the Warsaw ghetto. In the summer of 1942, during the large-scale deportation of the Jews of Warsaw to Treblinka, Kenigswein asked Pietak to help him escape together with his family and find a place to hide on the Aryan side of the city. Pietak immediately agreed to help his friend despite the great danger involved, and demonstrating considerable resourcefulness smuggled Shmuel and Regina Kenigswein and their three young children [Mosze or Miecio, Sara or Stefcia, and Szmulik or Szulik] out of the ghetto. Pietak placed the youngest child [Szmulik or Szulik, born in 1942], still a baby, in the foundling home run by Father Boduen [Baudouin] and hid the other four members of the family in a hiding place in an apartment which he had prepared for them ahead of time and where they hid until late 1943. Throughout that entire period, Pietak was the Jewish family's only contact with the outside world, visiting them frequently and bringing them provisions and other necessities. When the hiding place became too dangerous and it was feared that they would be discovered, Pietak moved the four fugitives to the care of Jan Zabinski [Zabiński], the manager of a zoo, who hid them in the zoo for two months. After that, the

³¹² Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 288–89; Wanda Biernacka and Zofia Prager, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4015946>>. https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%20nun&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=4015946&ind=7

*Kenigswein family hid with Feliks Cywinski [Cywiński], and until the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944, Pietak kept in constant touch with them, giving them moral support and caring for all their needs. Kenigswein participated in the Warsaw Uprising as a platoon commander and all five members of the Kenigswein family were saved.*³¹³

[9] Genowefa and Jozef [Józef] Tomczyk lived in Wlochy [Włochy], near Warsaw, during the war. In the summer of 1942, they accepted Anna Jasinska [Jasińska] as a domestic worker after she was sent to them by an employment agency. Anna had managed to leave the Warsaw ghetto with her 15-month-old baby girl. When she was on the Aryan side of the city it occurred to her that she would not be able to find work if she was burdened with a child. She managed to place the child in an orphanage on Nowogrodzka Street [the Father Baudouin Home] and then began to look for work. She found the Tomczyks through the employment agency and soon afterwards began working for them. Almost immediately, the Tomczyks' neighbors accused them of hiding a Jew. Genowefa asked Anna about her origins and Anna answered that she was a Jew. She also offered to leave if the Tomczyks preferred her to do so. After consulting with her husband, Genowefa decided to let Anna stay. The neighbors were told that Anna was a prewar friend of the family. Jozef arranged a Kennkarte for Anna and the neighbors seemed satisfied with the Tomczyk's story. "The Tomczyks lived in difficult circumstances ... despite that, I received from them food, medicine, and even money for travel, since every Sunday I visited my daughter, who had been taken to a monastery [run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul] in Klarysew, near Warsaw. ... The food and medicine I brought saved my daughter's life and helped many sick children in the monastery," wrote Anna in her testimony to Yad Vashem. After the war, Anna brought her daughter to the Tomczyks and they stayed there until both families were able to organize their new lives.

The Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul ran or were on the staff—often as nurses—of hospitals throughout Poland. Mention was already made of the hospital of the Transfiguration of Our Lord and the children's hospital on Kopernik Street, both in Warsaw, where Jews were sheltered and assisted. Another such hospital, Szpital Wolski, was located in the Wola district of Warsaw. The entire staff, including some 30 nuns employed there, treated Jewish patients who were admitted clandestinely. Dr. Leon Manteuffel performed operations on Jews with Semitic looking noses.³¹⁴ The Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul also provided help to Jews at the hospitals in Biała Podlaska, Kielce, Opoczno, and Siedlce.³¹⁵

Assistance was also provided to Jews at the Lutheran Hospital (Szpital Ewangelicki) on Karmelicka Street, adjacent to the wall surrounding the Warsaw ghetto. The hospital was staffed by a large contingent of Lutheran nuns with medical qualifications. Both the nuns and doctors extended help to Jews in need, both within and outside the hospital.³¹⁶ Irene Zoberman, who was employed there passing as a Christian, recalled, "When some Jew came to the hospital for help, the nuns very often gave whatever they could. I

³¹³ According to Mieczysław (Miecio or Mosze) Kenigswein, later Moshe Tirosh, after their escape from the ghetto, the Kenigswein family stayed with the Rączek family for a few months before moving in with the Żabińskis. Later the family split up, with a shopkeeper agreeing to adopt Stefania (Stefcia or Sara). Mrs Wala cared for Mieczysław until the Warsaw uprising of August 1944, when he was separated from her. The Polish underground placed Mieczysław in an orphanage, under the care of nuns. The orphanage was evacuated to a monastery near Kraków. There, Mieczysław enjoyed the protection of a priest, Father Andrzej. Since Mieczysław was circumcised, his Jewish origin was no secret. After the war, he was taken by a Polish family for a time before being transferred to an orphanage in Kraków, where he was reclaimed by his mother. The youngest of the three children, Stanisław (Szmulik), was also evacuated from Warsaw with other foundlings to city of Częstochowa. See Vanessa Gera, "A Holocaust Survivor Remembers: Lost in the Rubble of Warsaw," Associated Press News, May 9, 2015.

³¹⁴ Helena Anna Jurczak SM, "Siostry Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego à Paulo w szpitalu wolskim 1939–1945," in Halina Geber and Halina Halweg, eds., *Szpital dobrej woli: Szpital Wolski w latach 1939–1945*, Second revised edition (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 2004), 73–103; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 151–52.

³¹⁵ Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 152.

³¹⁶ Stanisław Adamski et al., eds., *Jubileusz Parafii Ewangelicko-Augsburskiej Świętej Trójcy w Warszawie 1581–1781–1981* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Kościoła Metodystycznego w PRL, 1985); Testimony of Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 198.

supplied them with cotton, antiseptic, dressings and tablets.”³¹⁷

Leon Weinstein, a survivor from Radzymin, described how he left his 18-month-old daughter, Natasha Leya (later Natalie Gold-Lumer), who was born in 1940, on the doorsteps of a childless Christian lawyer and his wife in Warsaw with a note saying the child’s name was Natalia Jasińska, and that her mother, a widow, could no longer take care of her. The sudden appearance of a child at this apartment would not have gone unnoticed by neighbours, and without a compelling alibi and a baptismal and birth certificate, this was a clear indication that the child was Jewish. It is not surprising, therefore, that the child was delivered to a police station. (Only someone who has a proven track record of performing a life-threatening, humanitarian act for others is in a moral position to condemn this couple.) A police officer at the station took the child to an unidentified convent. After the war, Leon Weinstein was able to recover the child and identify her by a distinctive birthmark. She had been transferred from one convent to another when the residents of Warsaw were evacuated after the August 1944 uprising, and finally made her way back to a convent in Warsaw. Apparently, no effort has been made to identify the nuns involved in this rescue and to thank them for their selfless deeds. This state of affairs is, regrettably, rather characteristic of most children rescued by nuns in Poland.³¹⁸

In her memoir, Leokadia Schmidt describes the assistance she and her husband Maniek (Józef) received from Rev. Edward Święcki, the prewar prefect of secondary schools in Warsaw. Rev. Święcki was himself wanted by the Gestapo for his connections with the Polish underground and was living under an assumed name. He encouraged his cousin, Maria Michalska, and her family (including Maria’s husband Henryk Michalski, and Henryk’s father, Antoni Michalski) them to provide shelter for the fugitives from the Warsaw ghetto, arranged for false identity documents for them, and helped Maniek financially after he was apprehended by the Polish police and had to pay a large bribe for his release. Rev. Święcki placed the Schmidts’ young son, Kazimierz (born in 1942), in the care of the Father Boduen home for foundlings, where Rev. Święcki was the confessor of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, who worked at that the institution. When the boy fell ill, Rev. Święcki and his cousin, Maria, cared for him.³¹⁹

Vera Frister (born in Lwów in 1937 as Vera Hefter) described her stay at an orphanage (Zakład Wychowaczy Najświętszej Maryi Panny Loretańskiej) run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul located at 47 Czerniakowska Street, where nine Jewish children were sheltered. Vera was known as Janka Michalska and was cared for lovingly by Sister Teresa, which she describes in her account of May 27, 2006, titled “My Guardian Angel.”³²⁰ After the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, the Sisters and their charges were forced to leave Warsaw along with the rest of the population. After several days’ journey in the countryside, marching from village to village with large numbers of evacuees, Vera’s mother found her. Vera spent the rest of the war hiding with her mother. Mrs. Kuryłowicz, a devout Catholic, believed that it was her duty to help those in need, regardless of their religion.

Ilonka Fajenberg (Ilona Feinberg, later Róża Maria Górka), born in 1939, was one of several Jewish children sheltered by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in the Warsaw suburb of Kamionek, in east bank Praga, where she went under the name of Marysia Kołakowska. Some Jewish adults, employed

³¹⁷ Goldenberg, *Before All Memory Is Lost*, 230. Zoberman mistakenly refers to the religious ceremonies she attended in the hospital chapel as Catholic, whereas they were probably Lutheran. She was introduced to a Polish underground organization by Dr. Stefan Schmidt, who later fought in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, for which she distributed anti-German leaflets and took medicines for storage in abandoned apartments.

³¹⁸ Kurt Streeter, “A Holocaust Survivor Raised a Fist to Death,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 2011; Testimony of Natalie Gold-Lumer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 8524.

³¹⁹ Leokadia Schmidt, *Cudem przeżyliśmy czas zagłady* (Kraków and Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983), 54, 160, 203–6, 218, 242–43, 256. Leokadia Schmidt’s memoir was translated as *Rescued from the Ashes: The Diary of Leokadia Schmidt, Survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oegstgeest, the Netherlands: Amsterdam Publishers, 2018), 174, 237, 241, 250, 282, 298, 316, 408.

³²⁰ “Aniele... stróżu moj...”, *Świecie Nasz—Comiesięczny Magazyn Polonii*, Internet: <<http://artographix.net/sn/index.php?id=48e0f92>>.

as staff, were also sheltered at that institution. When an inspection was announced, the Jewish charges were secluded in an area reserved for those suffering from typhus, thus avoiding contact with the Germans who came to inspect the premises.³²¹ The superior of the convent, Sister Maria Pietkiewicz, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2004. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 604.)

Sister Maria Pietkiewicz belonged to the order of “Sisters of Charity” (Szarytki) in Warsaw. In the 1930s she established the children’s convent at 365 Grochowski [Grochowska] Street, which housed a kindergarten, elementary school, and boarding school. She served as the institution’s Mother Superior until 1956. In 1942–1943, a girl named Roza Gorska [Róża Górska] was brought to the convent and was received by Maria. The girl’s real name was Ilona Feinberg. Her mother, Blima Chaja Feinberg, had removed her from the ghetto and placed her in the custody of a Polish woman. However, the woman was afraid of the consequences of being discovered hiding a Jewish child and brought Ilona to the convent. Only Maria knew that she was Jewish, a secret she kept until the day of her death. Roza recalls her with great love. In her testimony Roza notes that Maria was an educator who loved children and that she was particularly attached to her and protected her, as she was an orphan and no one from her family ever visited her. Roza herself did not discover that she was Jewish until the 1980s. She wanted to show her gratitude for Maria’s compassion in rescuing her by having her recognized as Righteous Among the Nations.

In her account, “I Found My Roots,” Ilonka Fajnberg (born in 1939, passing as Marysia Kołakowska), recalled (Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała, eds., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak*, volume 2 [Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2005], p. 40):

In the spring of 1943 I found myself in the Sisters of Charity convent in Kamionek. From that time on, my guardian was the mother superior in this convent, Sister Maria Pietkiewicz, a woman of great heart, which she, however, tried not to show. She was stiff and unapproachable and aroused fear and respect, not only among the girls in her care.

At the convent I was the only fully orphaned child, left without even an extended family. It was very sad for me when families took the other children on Sundays and holidays, and I had to remain alone. When I grew up a bit, I complained about this to Mother Superior, and she became angry, “What do you mean you have no family; we’re your family!”

And that’s how it was left.

The situation for children, especially Jewish ones, was particularly tragic after the failed Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. Hena Kuczer, who assumed the name Krystyna Budnicka, recalls her experience as an 11-year-old girl. After being rescued by Poles from the ruins of the ghetto, she was sheltered by a Polish family. Soon they too found themselves homeless and dispossessed. In the transit camp in Pruszków they turned to the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, who themselves were being evacuated along with a group of children from their orphanage. Budnicka recalled, “They accepted me, although not even for a moment did they have any doubts about my origins, especially since I was unable to produce any documents.”³²² (Testimony of Krystyna Budnicka, August 2003, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/krystyna-budnicka>>.)

My name is Krystyna Budnicka, my true family name is Kuczer, Hena Kuczer. I first used my Polish name when Mr. Budnicki, a Pole, who had been looking after me, handed me over to some nuns who ran an orphanage as we were leaving a burning Warsaw after the Uprising in October 1944. When the nuns asked my name I didn’t hesitate for long. Krystyna Budnicka, I said. And it stuck. ...

I couldn’t show my face in public because I looked very Semitic. The next day a female liaison came in the morning, put a bandage around my head and took me by tram to Dobra Street. And that’s how I found myself at the Budnickis’. Anka [her sister-in-law] was already there.

The Budnickis helped Jews; they were a middle-aged childless couple. I know that when the summer holidays started, Mrs. Budnicka went to a summer vacation spot with some Jewish children, somewhere in the Otwock area. When the Uprising broke out, she wasn’t in Dobra Street. Anka cooked there. I recall that the Poles captured a heating plant somewhere nearby and there was great joy, euphoria. During the Uprising we would go down with

³²¹ Jadwiga Kisielewska, “Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85, at p. 83.

³²² Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 21.

everybody else to the cellar, the shelter. At that time I didn't hear a bad word directed at us. You could say that people felt a stronger solidarity with one another, all felt the same danger. We walked out of Warsaw on 6th September with the Budnickis. We crossed Warsaw, which was ablaze. I parted with Anka in Wola [a district of Warsaw]. First, there was a night stopover under the open sky, and in the morning selection for work duties.

Mr. Budnicki noticed some nuns, Grey Nuns [a mistranslation of "szarytki"—actually, Sisters of Charity, from the French "charité"] from Warsaw, from Ordynacka Street. He went up to the Mother Superior and told her that he had an orphan, that he wasn't her father. She said, 'You will come to get her after the war?' 'Yes, yes, of course,' said Budnicki. When the nun saw me, she asked, 'My child, what's your name?' I said, 'Krysia Budnicka'. I went with the children from the orphanage to the Pruszkow [Pruszków] transit camp. Later it turned out that out of eighteen children, six were Jewish. ...

At Pruszkow we spent only one night. I remember I was given an empty food can, with which I went to get soup. From Pruszkow the whole children's home was moved to Bobrowce near Mszczonow [Mszczonów]. The trek took several days. We were billeted in a school. A few of the girls were Jewish, but of course I knew nothing of that. We were all very poor, we had left Warsaw after the Uprising with nothing. The nuns scoured the villages and brought us bits of food and old clothes. I got a moth-eaten coat, I remember that was a luxury; the other children envied me. My looks were a big problem and the nuns protected me. When the other children went into the village to dig potatoes, the nuns kept me back. They told the other children that I had a wounded finger. I don't think I was very popular. Nobody taunted me for being Jewish, but the other children used to call me a creep because I was very obliging—probably because after the hell I'd been through I wanted to show my gratitude for being taken care of. We were in Bobrowce when the liberation came [the Russians entered Warsaw on January 17, 1945], and in February we were moved to Osuchow [Osuchów], to the abandoned palace of the Plater family. There I started going to school. I was 13. In May 1945 we were taken to a village called Szczaki Zlotoklos [Złotokłos], where we continued to go to school.

The nuns wanted to baptize me right away, in October 1944, but a priest said that he couldn't approve, that baptism could take place only in the event of a life-threatening emergency. 'We shall wait, the war will end soon, she is a big girl and she must decide for herself,' he said. I was baptized in Szczaki Zlotoklos. That was something I really wanted. I was very keen to fulfill all my religious duties conscientiously. Some men came to Szczaki Zlotoklos looking for Jewish children. The nuns brought them to me and I told them everything I remembered about my family. They said they would start looking, and that perhaps someone might have survived. I don't know what organization they can have been from. Six of us girls were Jewish. One was found by her father. I remember the tears. Another one was taken to Israel. She was very small, seven years old. First she was taken to the Jewish children's home, then to Cracow [Kraków], and today she lives in Israel. They tried to persuade me to go as well, but I didn't want to, and I was old enough that they could hardly have forced me. The same people came to the children's home several times, and they carried on coming when we were back in Warsaw, too. [Editor's note: The children's home returned to Warsaw in 1946, and was located on Czerniakowska Street.] Once a man came to visit me claiming to be my cousin and telling me he was going to take me to Palestine. But I knew he was no relative of mine. I was very hurt that he tried to deceive me.

I stayed with the Grey Nuns for a very long time, up to my grammar school graduation, that is, until 1952.

The aforementioned Irena Sendler, an employee of the Department of Social Welfare who worked with Żegota in Warsaw, recalled the obstacles she had to overcome in rescuing Jewish children. These children were often placed in Catholic convents. (Marek Halter, *Stories of Deliverance: Speaking with Men and Women Who Rescued Jews from the Holocaust* [Chicago and La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1997], pp. 9–11.)

"Within the framework of our social duties, my friend Eva worked with the leaders of the Jewish community, who gave us the addresses of needy families, and I went there. Imagine: I went to homes of these people who had never seen me before, and announced that I could save their child. All of them asked the same question: could I guarantee that their son or daughter would survive? But there were no guarantees. I wasn't even sure of getting out of the Ghetto alive. Certain parents were suspicious, and refused to let their child go. I would go back the next day in the hope of convincing them, and sometimes their flat was in ruins. The Nazis set it on fire just for the pleasure of seeing Jews burn. But more often they gave me their child. The father, the mother, and the grandparents would be crying, and I would lead the little one away. What a tragedy, each time! The children, separated from their mothers, sobbed ceaselessly all along the road, and we were crying as well. To avoid alerting the Germans with their cries, our driver had found a solution: he brought a fierce dog in the ambulance. As the guards approached we made him walk and his barking covered the children's cries...

"With some friends, I arranged for four social assistance centers, where they could stay as long as necessary—days, weeks, whole months—to overcome the shock into which the situation had plunged them. We even had to teach them how to laugh again. Only then could we place them. Sometimes in welcoming families, but more often in convents, with the complicity of Mothers Superior. No one ever refused to take a child from me. I placed them with Sister

Niepokalanski [niepokalanki—Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary], at the Visiting Sisters of Christ [?], and at the convent at Plody [Pludy, run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary]. We also had a house at 96 Lesno [Leszno] where we hid some of the mothers who had escaped from the Ghetto. It took a lot of money to sustain it all. Around 1942, the Germans started to control us more strictly, and we couldn't use social aid funds any more. Happily, in the autumn of that same year, Żegota [Żegota] was formed ... Żegota had access to funds supplied by the Polish government in exile in London."

Irena Sendler's story has been dramatized recently in a play, *Life in a Jar*, which was adapted for television as *The Courageous Heart of Irena Sander*, and a PBS documentary film, *Irena Sendler, In the Name of Their Mother*, which is based on Anna Mieszkowska's biography, *Irena Sendler: Mother of the Children of the Holocaust*.³²³ Sendler was part of a large network of Poles in Warsaw who were instrumental in saving the lives of hundreds of Jews.³²⁴

A successor to an earlier provisional committee, the clandestine Council for Aid to Jews (*Rada Pomocy Żydom*), which was known by its code name "Żegota," was established on December 4, 1942. Part of the Polish Underground State, the Council was attached to the Delegate's Office (*Delegatura*) of the Polish government in exile. It included representatives of Polish political parties and organizations operating in the underground—Catholics, Socialists, and Democrats—as well as members of Jewish organizations. Julian Grobelny (whose code name was "Trojan"), an activist in the Polish Socialist Party, was the Council's chairman. Despite suffering from tuberculosis, Grobelny, together with his wife, Halina, was personally involved in the rescue of a large number of Jews. Both Julian and Halina devoted most of their time and energy to their rescue work, turning their small house in Ceglów, near Mińsk Mazowiecki, into a temporary shelter for Jewish children until they could move into more permanent accommodations. The Grobelnys were in close contact with Irena Sendler, head of the children's section of Żegota. The Grobelnys also helped Jewish adults who fled from the ghetto by supplying them with Aryan papers, money and medicines. In March 1944, the Gestapo arrested Grobelny, but during a furlough to receive medical care he escaped.³²⁵ Julian Grobelny personally helped rescue Chaja Estera Stein (born around 1929, later Teresa Tucholska-Körner), with the assistance of Rev. Franciszek Fijałkowski, the pastor of Ceglów. Rev. Fijałkowski provided Julian Grobelny false birth and baptismal certificates, among others for Chaja Estera Stein. Chaja was sheltered in the rectory for a period of time until, passing as Teresa Tucholska, she could be taken to Warsaw.³²⁶ (Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Irena's Children: The Extraordinary Story of a Woman Who Saved 2,500 Children from the Warsaw Ghetto* [New York: Gallery Books, 2016], pp. 208–9; "Chaja Estera Stein (Teresa Tucholska-Körner), The First Child of Irena Sendler," Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/chaja-estera-stein-teresa-tucholska-korner-first-child-irena-sendler>>.)

Estera came from the village of Ceglów, not far from Warsaw, and in 1940, the year Estera turned thirteen, she was interned in the ghetto in Mrozy with her parents, Aron and Faiga, and her little sister, Jadzia [Jochewet]. In 1942 the Mrozy ghetto was liquidated. Aron, Faiga and Estera fled the roundups with their lives and huddled together that first night in an old garden shed on a farm outside the village. But little Jadzia had been left behind in the chaos alone, and her mother was frantic. Aron laid his hand on his wife's shoulder and promised: he was returning to the

³²³ Anna Mieszkowska, *Irena Sendler: Mother of the Children of the Holocaust*, (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2011); translation of *Matka dzieci Holocaustu: Historia Ireny Sendlerowej*, Second edition (Warsaw: Muza, 2005). A revised edition of Mieszkowska's biography was published under the title *Prawdziwa historia Ireny Sendlerowej* (Warsaw: Marginesy, 2014). A more recent biography is Tilar J. Mazzeo's *Irena's Children: The Extraordinary Story of the Woman Who Saved 2,500 Children from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Gallery Books/Simon & Schuster, 2016), which claims that Sendler's story was "buried for decades" (p. xi). In fact, the Żegota and Sendler stories were mentioned frequently in Polish publications and the popular media from the 1960s onward.

³²⁴ Karolina Dzieciolowska, "Irena Sendler's Network of Associates," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/o-sprawiedliwych/irena-sendlerowa/siec-wspolpracownikow-ireny-sendlerowej>>.

³²⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 255–56.

³²⁶ Edward Kopówka and Paweł Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki: Polacy z okolic Treblinki ratujący Żydów* (Oxford and Treblinka: Drohiczyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe and Kuria Diecezjalna w Drohiczyń, 2011), 288, 305.

ghetto. He would find her. For days the mother and daughter waited in the shadows. The Faiga understood that Aron and Jadzia were never returning.

Faiga looked at her hungry and tired daughter. They couldn't stay in a garden shed forever. In the darkness, Faiga crept for help to the only person in the village she could think might help them. Aron owned a factory, and his business was making soda water. Julian Grobelny owned one of the large farms in the village—perhaps even the farm where Estera and her mother were hiding. Julian and Aron were great friends, both with each other and with [Rev. Franciszek Fijałkowski] the local priest in the parish church. Estera's image of her father was always one of him and the priest walking together, her Orthodox Jewish father with his long beard and black gabardine coat and the priest in his swaying cassock. When Faiga knocked on the door of the parish house, the old priest gave her food and water and promised he would help her. But Faiga did not survive the return journey. She was captured and murdered. The priest sent urgent word to Julian that they would have to hurry if they were to save Estera.

Julian turned, as always, to Irena [Sendler], the director of Żegota's child welfare cell, who sent a courier to the priest with new identity papers. Estera's new Aryan name was now "Teresa Tucholska". [According to Estera's testimony, the birth and baptismal certificate of a deceased child was provided by Rev. Fijałkowski.] ... The priest walked Estera to the train station and showed her which compartment to enter, and when the Germans asked to see her papers, Estera remembered what to say perfectly.

Somehow, Grobelny managed to find Estera and organized for her a transport by train. Although the train station was being occupied by the Germans, they let the little girl in. A prearranged person in one of the carriages began to wave to her, indicating a coach to get on. The man led her to the priest. Estera was never to see her parents or sister again. The priest ("or maybe Grobelny") transported Estera (now called Teresa) to Warsaw to Irena Sendler, where she stayed for a few days. Irena then left the girl in her friends' care: Zofia Wędrychowska and [her partner] Stanisław Papużyński. In the apartment where she lived, there were already four children of Stanisław Papużyński and additional three Jewish children in hiding. Teresa was an eighth child in the room. In February 1944 one of Gestapo agents burst into the apartment located in Ochota (at 3 Mątwicka Street). Seeing that older boys of Papużyński and their friends were practicing shooting, the Gestapo officer shot a few times in their direction, wounding one of the boys, and retreated for back-up.

Zofia Wędrychowska, fearing a hasty return of the Gestapo police, stayed with the wounded boy and sent the rest of the children away. Teresa, being the eldest child in the group, led the kids to the friends on Krucza Street to the address she had received from Zofia. Soon the Gestapo returned to the apartment in Ochota, taking the wounded boy and the woman along with them. The boy died on the way, while Zofia was transported to the prison on Szucha [Avenue] for interrogation. On 26 April 1944 she was executed in Pawiak.

Irena Sendler put Teresa and other children in the holiday camp near Garwolin, where the girl stayed until winter 1945. After the Warsaw Uprising, Irena came back to Warsaw and took Teresa to her apartment. Teresa lived there for a few years together with her rescuer and her husband, Stefan Zgrzeński.

Jadwiga Piotrowska, who also worked with Irena Sendler, devoted her life to the welfare of her Jewish charges and helped to place many Jewish children to convents. Jadwiga was assisted by her daughter, Hanna, and her sister, Wanda, and her charges often stayed at the home of her parents, Marian and Celina Ponikiewski.³²⁷ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, at pages 611–12.)

Jadwiga Piotrowska was a member of a devout Catholic family. During the occupation, Piotrowska lived with her parents in Warsaw and worked in the social services department at City Hall. Piotrowska, who faithfully assisted Jan Dobraczyński [Dobraczyński], who was responsible for street children in the same department, happened to find herself in the Warsaw ghetto in her professional capacity, where she witnessed the hardships of the Jewish children firsthand. In the framework of her work, Piotrowska made contact in the ghetto with people who cared for children, including Janusz Korczak, whom she considered, as she put it, "a saint, although he was not a Christian." In time, Piotrowska joined Żegota [Żegota] and helped smuggle children out of the ghetto and save them on the Aryan side of the city. Piotrowska was one [of] Żegota's most active members and personally cared for many Jews who came over to the Aryan side without any address or money. She provided them with places to hide and financial support. Her home served as a transit station for Jews, both adults and children, and they found respite there from the terrible anxiety and fear they endured. She helped prepare them for their life on the Aryan side of the city. She personally took a number of Jewish children to hide with Polish families and in convents. Among those she saved were Pola and Mieczysław [Mieczysław] Monar, their two children, their niece, Halina Złotnicka [Złotnicka, actually Złotnik], Jozek Buschbaum, a youth who stayed in her home from 1943 to 1946 (who she considered adopting), the Rapaczynski [Rapaczynski] family, the girls Maria and Joanna Majerczyk, and others. Piotrowska

³²⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 47.

considered the help she extended to Jews her moral duty and the saving of their lives both a patriotic and a religious calling.

Another vital member of this network who worked closely with Catholic Church and lay institutions to rescue Jews was the journalist Irena Schultz. During the occupation she worked in the Social Welfare Department of the Warsaw municipality together with Jan Dobraczyński, Irena Sendler and Jadwiga Piotrowska. One of her many missions involved obtaining a large number of blank birth and baptismal certificate forms from Rev. Władysław Pokiziak, a vicar at St. Nicholas parish in Lwów. (“Schultz, Irena,” Internet: <<http://www.savingjews.org/righteous/sv.htm>>.)

Irena Schultz worked already before the war in the Social Welfare Department of Warsaw. This Department also cared for poor Jews, providing ca. 3,000 of them with inexpensive meals, medicine, clothing and money. After the closing of the ghetto, 90% of Jews found themselves walled in it. Irena Sendler procured for herself and for Irena Schultz a work permit of the sanitary task group for fighting infectious diseases. This enabled them to enter the ghetto freely, beginning in January 1943. They made contact with the organization CENTOS, a relief organization for Jewish children, and with Ewa Rechtman. They also renewed old contacts with their charges and made new ones. The two, Irena Schultz especially, entered the ghetto sometimes two and three times daily, bringing with them food, clothing, medicine and money. They delivered ca. 1,000 vaccines against typhoid fever. Other workers of the sanitary task group secretly brought a further 6,000 vaccines. Irena specialized in getting Jewish children out of the ghetto, either by the underground corridors of the court building on Leszno Street, or through the tram depot in Muranów. In the court building, the janitors received a small reward, “because of the risk.” Those children were placed with Polish families who received, if needed, a certain amount of money for their expenses from Żegota; others were placed in the Boduen [Baudouin] orphanage, directed by Dr. Maria Propokowicz-Wierzbowska and operated by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. To make it impossible to place in it Jewish children, Germans made a rule that the children could be placed there only with police approval and escort. Once, when a young Jewish mother wishing to go for work in Germany appeared with a newborn baby, the baby was presented at the police post as the child of the janitor, whose wife often left him to go to the country. And so the baby, called Feliks, was accepted in the orphanage. On another occasion, Irena Schultz extricated from a manhole a small Jewish girl who had a note pinned to her garment giving her age only. The girl was in such lamentable state that nobody would take her in and it was necessary to put her in the Boduen orphanage. The little girl had fair hair and blue eyes, so nobody suspected that she was Jewish. At the police station Irena was suspected of being an unnatural mother who brought her daughter to such a terrible state and tried in this way to get rid of her. Fortunately in that orphanage there were some people to whom the truth could be told. The orphanage advised the police that it found the mother of the girl on their own and so Irena was free of the suspicion of abusing her child. In spite of those difficulties, the [Father] Boduen orphanage accepted ca. 200 Jewish children, part of the several hundreds already there. A Blue policeman warned one of its doctors, Dr. Helena Słomczyńska, “You are accepting too many children, it is not good.” Irena saved many people especially from the medical world. In 1942 she went to Lwów and [through the intermediary of Professor Izydora Dąmbska made contact with and] obtained from priest [Władysław] Pokiziak [of St. Nicholas parish] many birth certificate forms, supposedly from a church [St. Mary Magdalene] that had burnt down.³²⁸ They served later as the basis to get “Kennkarten” (German identity cards). Irena Sendler said that “what was impossible for others, Irena Schultz always achieved with success.”

See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, at page 700, which provides the following additional information:

Early in the occupation, Schultz, together with Irena Sendler, began helping Jews in the ghetto by providing them with medicine, money, and clothing and was one of the first members of Żegota [Żegota]. Schultz’s job involved frequent visits to the ghetto, occasions she exploited to cooperate with CENTOS, a relief organization for Jewish children. On the eve of the ghetto’s liquidation, Schultz, as a member of Żegota, help smuggle children out of the ghetto to the Aryan side of the city. Schultz became an expert in the field, so much so that her co-workers later testified that no one could smuggle children out of the ghetto as successfully as she. Schultz also let her home be used as a transit point and temporary shelter for Jewish fugitives until they found permanent shelter. At her own initiative, Schultz provided a number of Jewish intellectuals and doctors with forged documents and found them hiding places. Among those who owed her their lives were Helena Witwicka and her daughter, Mira Pazynska [Pazyńska], and Aleksander Dubiński [Dubiński] and his sister, Gizela Gebert.

³²⁸ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 478; Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6274.

Another participant in this rescue network was Magdalena Grodzka-Guzkowska [Grodzka-Guzkowska] (née Rusinek), a teenager when she joined the Polish underground, who collected children from the Warsaw ghetto, cared for them, and took them to their places of refuge with Polish families or in convents. (“Ceremony Honoring Magdalena Grodzka-Guzkowska from Poland as Righteous Among the Nations at Yad Vashem,” Internet: <http://www1.yadvashem.org.il/about_yad/what_new/data_whats_new/grodzka.html>.)

Magdalena Grodzka-Guzkowska [Grodzka-Guzkowska] (née Rusinek) was 15 years old when she joined the Polish Underground against the Germans. In 1943, she met Jadwiga Piotrowska, later recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations, and joined her in rescuing Jewish children from the Warsaw Ghetto. Magdalena collected the children, cared for them and escorted them to their places of refuge with Polish families or in convents. She displayed enormous dedication and love, although she was placing her own life at serious risk. Before bringing the children to their hiding places, she taught them Christian customs in an effort to disguise their Jewish identity.

One such rescue activity saw Magdalena save the life of a six-year-old Jewish boy called Adas [Adaś], who had been severely injured by local thugs. Magdalena took the boy for medical care at the hospital, and then moved him to a hiding place in a monastery. She also saved the life of five-year-old Włodzio [Włodzio or Włodzimierz] Berg. In spring 1943 his parents managed to smuggle him out of the ghetto and bring him to an elderly couple [Stefan and Maria Magenheim³²⁹]. Someone denounced the family, and a new place had to be found for the child. Magdalena brought him to a safe place. She brought him food every day, as well as colors with which to draw pictures. Eventually he was brought to a convent [of the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary] in Otwock. Włodzio Berg, now called William Donat, survived the Holocaust and requested that Yad Vashem recognize his rescuer as Righteous Among the Nations.

Jona Altschuler (Yonah Altshuler), then a seven-year-old child, and her mother came to Warsaw from Lwów in 1943. Jona was placed in the convent of the Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in the Old Town, where she was under the care of Sisters Jadwiga Wyszomirska and Kinga Zakrzewska. As a sign of her gratitude, Jona invited the nuns to visit her in Israel in 1963.³³⁰ Another Jewish girl was also hidden in this convent at the time of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. When the convent was closed down after the uprising, the nuns were dispersed. However, they continued to care for their charges as best they could. (Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, pp. 176–77, based on the testimony of Yonah Altshuler, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5568.)

Yonah Altshuler was hidden in a convent in Warsaw with another Jewish girl. After the Polish uprising was suppressed, the convent was closed down and the nuns were exiled to Germany as forced laborers. The girls' caregiver, a nun about forty years old, kept them with her and did not abandon them, despite the many hardships of the way. In her place of exile she continued to care for them as if she were their mother. She took them with her to the fields where she had to work at hard manual labor from sunrise to late evening, and shared with them the meagre rations she received from her German peasant overseer. After the liberation, they returned with her to Poland, and before she resumed her prewar life she placed them in a convent in Częstochowa. It is no wonder that Yonah, summarizing her experiences of convent life, said, “I have a sentiment for the Catholic faith and I have nothing but good things to say about the nuns.”

After the failed insurrection in Warsaw (August to October 1944), Catholic institutions including convents and orphanages were forced to evacuate Warsaw and the surrounding areas. At great risk, nuns spirited their young Jewish charges to shelters in other parts of the country. One such child was Necha Baranek, who was evacuated from a convent near Warsaw to Zakopane. After the war, Necha Baranek and four other Jewish children (two girls and two boys) were taken by the Jewish Committee and placed in an orphanage in France, where Necha eventually met up with her mother, also who survived the war. Her testimony is found in Mark Schutzman, ed., *Wierzbnik-Starachowitz: A Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Wierzbnik-Starachowitz Relief Society in Israel and Abroad, 1973), at page 51.

I was born July 7th, 1940, in Wierzbnik, Poland. My parents, Zion and Sala Baranek.

In 1942 just before Hitler liquidated all Jews from Wierzbnik, my parents gave me away to a Polish couple in

³²⁹ Magenheim Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7657782>>.

³³⁰ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 111.

Warsaw and I took the identity of Zosha Murofska [Zosia Murawska]. I was two years of age and spoke perfect Polish.

Two days after my parents gave me away, they were taken to a labour camp in Wierzbnik, called Tartak. From Tartak, my parents communicated with the Pole who kept their child. He was to keep them informed about her health and they in turn would pay him at regular intervals—as agreed upon. After a few months, my parents were transferred from Tartak to Myufka [Majówka] and they had no choice but to ask somebody in Tartak to communicate with the Pole on their behalf. My parents gave this person all the information and money to pay for me. When the Pole came, this person paid him and at that time asked him to take the son of Mortry Maslowicz³³¹—a little boy who was hidden in the Tartak Camp with him. The Pole agreed and took the little boy to his home. This, I believe, was a very important step in my life—an actual turning point. The only recollection of this part of my childhood, was a little boy walking back and forth, back and forth, and me sitting crossed-legged like an Indian, for days on end. The pole [sic] was arrested by the Germans and his wife, being in fear for her life, especially since she was hiding a Jewish boy, had no alternative and found us and took us to our new home—beside Warsaw. The Nuns were very good to us and tried to keep us alive with what little they had. I can remember the hours we spent on my knees in prayer, the Virgin Mary was taught to be our one and only Mother. I do not know the date, but I remember when again, I had to leave my home. The Germans made the Nuns evacuate their Home and we all had to get out within hours. Those who were healthy, had to walk the long journey to Zakopany [Zakopane]. Babies and the sick rode in buggies. It was winter and those who had no shoes had to walk barefoot in the snow. When we arrived in Zakopany it was Christmas and I will always remember the warmth and light of that very beautiful Christmas tree. My new home consisted of tables for beds, bread and milky soup once a day, and devoted prayers.

When the war ended, we were taken away from Zakopany, by a Jewish lady. There were five of us—three girls and two boys. It was a rainy night and I can remember being carried out to the horse and buggy that would take us to a new home. From the horse and buggy we went into trucks that had been waiting for us and it was here that I got my first taste of sugar—in cubes. I recall being very sick for quite a long time, and at this point, we arrived at our new home—a Jewish orphanage in Bellevue, in the outskirts of Paris, France.

My father died in Motthousen [sic, Mauthausen]. My mother survived and in 1944 she began her long journey in search of her child.

During the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, Berta Weissberger's protector, a Pole named Stefan Broda, persuaded her to enter into a Catholic marriage in order to better her chances of not being detected during the evacuation of Warsaw. Rev. Stanislaw Olszewski performed the ceremony in the church of the Holy Redeemer, well aware that it was a fictitious marriage involving a Jewish woman and a Catholic Pole. (Betty Lauer, *Hiding in Plain Sight: The Incredible True Story of a German-Jewish Teenager's Struggle to Survive in Nazi-Occupied Poland* [Hanover, New Hampshire: Smith and Kraus, 2004], pp. 306–9.)

Mother and Stefan agreed that she and I would be better off in a large crowd, rather than among a relatively small group of people. In 1944, when the Nazis one again required all Poles to have their identification papers revalidated, neither Mother nor I had submitted our Kennkarten. ...

A young couple passed us on the street. Stefan knew the woman, and we stopped to speak with them. They told us that although there was no explicit ruling, there were rumors about that if neither husbands nor wives had taken part in the insurrection, being married would give the couple a better chance of remaining together. They were on their way to be married in Kosciol Swietego Zbawiciela [Kościół Najświętszego Zbawiciela]—Church of the Holy Savior [Redeemer]—and they asked us if we would be their witnesses at the ceremony. The woman told Stefan that the priest of the church on nearby Plac Swietego Zbawiciela was coming to the rescue of distraught unmarried Polish couples. On numerous occasions, when suddenly in need of a hiding place, this church had provided me with a refuge. The priest was issuing marriage certificates to couples whose plans to be married had been thwarted by the outbreak of the insurrection. ...

We readily agreed, and as we accompanied them, Stefan and I exchanged some thoughts. "As a married couple," Stefan said, "they might send us to a labor camp rather than a concentration camp. We might be able to remain together. Without this type of document, neither of us stands a good chance. If we stay together, I may be able to help your mother. So what do you say, Krysia, should we try?"

Should we try? Stefan had asked. I was overwhelmed by gratitude. I could not speak. I smiled and nodded my head in happy acquiescence. Ever since the A.K. [Armia Krajowa—Home Army] capitulated to the Nazis, I had not been

³³¹ Henryk Masłowicz, born in the Wierzbnik ghetto in December 1940, was smuggled out of the ghetto in 1942 and placed in a convent in Kraków. He was subsequently taken by a woman who hid him in an attic above a candy store. After the war he was seized by a Jewish social worker and taken to Israel. He was reunited with his father eight years later, and settled in Ecuador. See "Henry Maslowicz, *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/ocard.php?ModuleId=10006282>>.

able to shake the feeling that our efforts to survive, to outwit the Nazis, were doomed. Every other order to the defeated Poles included some reference to the Jews in their midst, who had been the instigators of this Polish calamity. Much of my energy was spent in combating my fears. It was churning up my insides and pulling me down. All of a sudden there was a glimpse of light.

I knew the priest, Father Stanislaw [Olszewski]. On several occasions I had heard him celebrate mass. I was astounded by his humanity. In black garb without the elaborate vestments, addressing him as Father somehow seemed natural. He addressed us as "my children," and he questioned Stefan with regard to some of the events he knew about but had not witnessed. At first, upon hearing that neither of us had been a member of his parish and that at no time had there been a posting of the banns at any church, I feared that our request would be denied. Stefan was doing most of the talking, but while he did so, the priest's eyes, so it seemed to me, never left my face. He was a man in his sixties, tall and gaunt and slightly stooped. His eyes were gray, tired looking, and wise. He asked each of us a number of questions. I told him that I was Jewish and that my mother was alive.

"So your mother knows that you are here. I am so glad that you have a mother, my child. There has been too much suffering. So much killing. I must not deny you. The Lord is full of compassion."

"I am so grateful," I whispered.

"I cannot enter your marriage in the registry, but I will issue a document of marriage. I pray that it will help you. But you must promise me," he put his hand on my head, "you must promise me, both of you, that when the war is over, and if you are sure that this is what you want to do, you will come back to this church with the certificate I will give you, and that you will enter into a marriage as prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church."

"Yes, I will, Father," I said.

"Thank you, Father," Stefan said. "The Lord willing, we will be back."

On a piece of paper we wrote down our respective names, places and dates of birth, and he names of our parents. The priest understood that all the information I gave him was false, but when I wanted to explain, he just waved his hand and said, "No, not now. Once the war is over, and you come back. It is better for me not to know."

We watched as he carefully filled in the blank spaces on an official-looking form. He signed the document and affixed the seal of the parish. "As far as the Nazis are concerned, and whatever German authority you will have to face, this document is legal. I know, you know, and the Lord knows that it is not. I will pray that it may save your lives.

When I looked around, I saw other people waiting to see the priest. He had given us a great deal of his time. I felt very grateful. I reached for his hand. I wanted to kiss it as was the custom, but he did not want that. "I am not a bishop," he said. The document stated that on October 3, 1944, Stefan Broda and Krystyna Zolkos [Zolkos] had entered into the holy state of matrimony, in accordance with the laws prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church. It was not the third of October, but we were sure that the priest knew what he was doing. Both of us felt that we had been most fortunate to have met this wise and kind man.

Many residents of Warsaw who were displaced from their homes as a result of the failed Warsaw Uprising were forced to seek assistance from and refuge with Poles in other parts of Poland. Among them were many Jews. Among their helpers were priests and nuns. Edward Karol Rechtszafen (later Haven) was taken under the wing of a priest in Biezanów near Kraków, who found him a foster family to take care of him. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<http://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1143880>>.)

Edward Karol Rechtszafen (now Haven) is the son of Ludwik Rechtszafen and Bronislawa [Bronislawa] Rechtszafen nee Bart. He was born on October 28, 1933 in Warsaw, Poland where his father owned a leather factory and numerous real estate properties. They lived in an apartment located in a building belonging to Edward's paternal grandparents, Ignacy Maksimilian Rechtszafen and Chana Rygier Rechtszafen. In addition the family owned a house in Konstancin near Warsaw. In September 1939 Edward's father was mobilized into the Polish Army as an officer and subsequently fled Poland via Romania, Iraq and Egypt to the United States. Edward, his mother, his paternal grandparents and his paternal aunt with her husband and daughter tried to flee to the east, but were forced to return to Warsaw. Their house was destroyed in bombing of the city, and the family moved to Konstancin. Sometime in the fall of 1940 they were forced into the Warsaw ghetto. Edward's grandparents subsequently perished in the ghetto. After one year Bronislawa Rechtszafen arranged for false papers for herself and her 8 years old son Edward. Bronislawa became Anna Luniewska [Luniewska] and Edward became Edward Luniewski. They found a hiding place with Edward's former nanny in the Okęcie [Okęcie] area of Warsaw. In an effort to save her son, Bronislawa unsuccessfully tried to reverse Edward's circumcision. In the summer of 1941, in an attempt to secure an American visa, she brought him with her to Berlin where they experienced an air raid. After their return to Warsaw Bronislawa took security measures not to endanger her small son during necessary trips into the city. She always walked on the opposite side of the street from Edward, who was accompanied by his former nanny or another adult protector. During one of these walks Bronislawa Rechtszafen was caught by the Gestapo, and Edward never saw her again. He

stayed with his former nanny until the outbreak of the Warsaw uprising on August 1, 1944. Edward was separated from her and found himself alone, fighting alongside the AK Home Army scouts in Warsaw. After the Germans suppressed the uprising in September 1944, most of the population was deported out of Warsaw. Edward and a new friend found themselves in Pruszkow [Pruszków], where they made acquaintance with two Polish women, who claimed to be their respective mothers. This ploy enabled them to leave the transit camp in Pruszkow and travel to Krakow [Kraków]. A priest in Biezanow [Biechanów] near Krakow found a family, which took Edward in. The Machaczek family lived in Biezanow, where they owned a bakery and Edward became a stepbrother to Jaska [Jaśka] and Jozek [Józek]. Edek, as he was known in Polish, attended the local school. Immediately after the liberation of Poland, Ludwik Rechtszafen, who had changed his name to Louis Rex Haven, initiated an intensive search for his son, and in the spring of 1946 representative of the Polish Red Cross located Edward in Biezanow. In the fall of 1946 Edward traveled to the United States via Stockholm and was finally reunited with his father. Louis Haven tried to compensate his only son for all the years of suffering and created a new reality for him, in which the past did not exist. Edward was sent to best schools but in the process many of his memories as well as his knowledge of the Polish language disappeared. In 1985 Edward renewed contact with the Machaczek family and took his children to visit Poland.

After leaving the Warsaw ghetto in the early part of 1943, Maria Kasman (1881–1971, née Brauner) was sheltered by several Polish families in Warsaw, among them, her son-in-law, Jerzy Kreczmar, a Catholic; Jan Kott, who was a convert of Jewish origin (and himself was also being sheltered by Poles³³²); and Adam and Wanda Henrych, who also sheltered several other Jews. While in hiding with the Henrychs, she met a Jewish woman by the name of Klajnman, who was being sheltered by their neighbours, Zygmunt Majewski and his wife. She was forced to leave Warsaw when the city was evacuated after the uprising of 1944. She eventually took refuge for a short period in Podkowa Leśna with the family of her son-in-law, who were also sheltering another Jewish woman, a pianist from Lwów. Afterwards, Rev. Franciszek Kawiecki, the pastor of Brwinów and a relative of her son-in-law, took Maria under his care and placed her in the home of his sister, Zofia Librowska, where she remained until the liberation. Maria's grandson, Lolek, the son of her deceased son Salomon, was taken to an orphanage in Częstochowa by another priest. Both Maria Kasman and her grandson survived the war, as well as her daughter-in-law, Felicja, who was married to Jerzy Kreczmar.³³³ According to another account, the Brwinów parish rectory was raided by the German police in 1943 on suspicion of harbouring Jews. Both Rev. Kawiecki and his vicar, Rev. Jan Górny, were detained, as was their housekeeper, Waleria Pokropek, who was severely beaten but did not reveal anything.³³⁴

After leaving the Warsaw ghetto, Władysław Lubliner placed his daughter, Tamara (Tamar, born in 1935) in a children's home in the Bielany suburb, under the care of Maria Falska.³³⁵ Tamara was transferred to the children's sanatorium (Instytut Higieny Psychiczej) in Zagórze outside Warsaw, under the direction of Professor Kazimierz Dąbrowski. The sanatorium was staffed by several nuns who did not wear habits. Sister Janina Molendzianka personally looked after Tamara, who had nothing but praise for the nuns.³³⁶

Two women—Maria Siwek and Jadwiga Urbańczyk—who are described as nuns, but likely were tertiaries who did not take formal religious vows but lived lives similar to nuns, are credited with the rescue of six Jews in the village of Brzączowice near Kraków. Maria Siwek and Jadwiga Urbańczyk were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous in 2002. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 627.)

³³² See his *Still Alive: An Autobiographical Essay* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

³³³ Testimony of Maria Kasman, March 10, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3334; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 173.

³³⁴ Grzegorz Przybysz, "Ks. Franciszek Kawiecki: Wspomnienia," Internet: <<http://zmigrodzki.pl/kawiecki/brwinow/>>.

³³⁵ Maria Falska was recognized by Yad Vashem for her rescue efforts. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 212.

³³⁶ Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 163; based on the testimony of Tamar Lubliner, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1397.

In the fall of 1943, two Jewish families, the Freunds and the Najers, six people in all, fled from the town of Myslowice (Katowice County, Upper Silesia District) and went to the home of the Freund's [sic] housemaid in the hope of finding refuge with her, but she was not prepared to take them in because she said her neighbors were watching and it was too dangerous. They then turned to two nuns, Jadwiga Urbańczyk and Maria Siwek, who lived in Brzaczowice [Brzeczowice] (Kraków District). Kurt Freund knew them, as they used to come to buy produce in his vegetable store. At first the nuns were hesitant to take six Jews into their home because they were aware of the risk that involved, especially since a German officer and his family lived above their apartment. Finally, they agreed and emptied out a small bedroom for them. The nuns shared their food with the Jews they were hiding and did not ask for any payment, not even for rent, and of course nothing could compensate them for the risk they were taking. The nuns remarked, "God led you to us and He will protect us too." The Jews hid in the nuns' apartment until the liberation early in 1945, and survived.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (known popularly as *szarytki*) provided assistance to Jews in various locations in and around Kraków. Two young men from Kraków, Lotek Spogel or Spiegel (later Eliezer Shafir) and Yehiel Steiner took refuge at their convent after escaping from the Płaszów concentration camp. (Kaczorowska Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7868025>>.)

The two young men finally decided to escape in September 1943. As they snuck out of the camp in the dead of the night they heard dogs barking, and then gunshots; Lotek was hit in the arm. They managed to hide in a field, and then made their way to the home of Maria Platek, who had worked as a maid for the Spiegel family. Maria took them in and sent her husband to fetch Andzia [i.e., Anna Kaczorowska, who used to work for the Steiner family before the war]. After a long discussion, they decided that Yehiel and Lotek cannot stay in Platek's house, as Maria was anxious about her two small children. It was decided that Yehiel and Lotek should be taken to house of Anna Madej, who had also worked as a maid for the Spiegel family. Anna and her husband Piotr welcomed the two young men, and Piotr secured for them work and shelter at the monastery in Szarytki, where he himself worked.

After a while, Yehiel and Lotek regained enough strength to be on their way. They decided to try to get to Slovakia, and from there—to Palestine. Their rescuers provided them with money and supplies for the journey, as well as false identity papers. After a long journey, Yehiel Steiner and Lotek Spiegel (today Eliezer Shafir) arrived in Palestine.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul took in Jews at their old age home in Kraków, the Helcel Institution, which was evacuated to Szczawnica, in southern Poland. Sister Bronisława Wilemska, the superior, and their chaplain, Rev. Albin Małysiak, later auxiliary bishop of Kraków, were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. Rev. Małysiak recalled those events in an article he published in 1987 ("Zakład Helclów a ratowanie Żydów," *Tygodnik Powszechny*, Kraków, March 15, 1987).

In the spring of 1944, the Germans transferred to Szczawnica the well-known Helcel Institute, a home for the aged in Kraków ... I was the chaplain of that institute. Along with Sister Bronisława Wilemska, the superior, we sheltered among the residents of the institute two Jewish women and three Jewish men. Of course, it was necessary at the outset to obtain for them the so-called Kennkarte or identity documents. ...

All of the charges of the institute as well as the personnel [nuns and lay staff] knew that there were Jews hidden among us. It was impossible to conceal that fact, even though it was known what danger faced those who were responsible for sheltering Jews.

After the passage of weeks and months many of the residents of Szczawnica learned of the Jewish retirees. No one betrayed this to the Germans who were stationed in the immediate vicinity ...

The following account is found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 487.

During the occupation, Reverend Albin Małysiak [Małysiak] and Sister Bronisława [Bronisława] Wilemska helped five Jews. At that time, Sister Bronisława was the head of the Helcel Home for the Aged and Retarded in Cracow [Kraków], where Reverend Albin was chaplain. In 1943, five Jews came to the home and stayed there as wards: Katarzyna Styczen [Styczeń], 45; Helena Kachel, 50; Zbigniew Koszanowski [Kozanowski], who was in his forties; Henryk Juanski [Juański], who was in his thirties, and another man who was aged between 30 and 35. They were provided with forged papers meals, and clothing. [Zbigniew Koszanowski's false birth certificate was provided by

Rev. Jan Wolny of Nowy Targ.³³⁷] “We helped them for humanitarian reasons. Jesus Christ told us to love everybody,” wrote Reverend Albin in his testimony to Yad Vashem. In the spring of 1944, all the tenants of the Home, including the sisters, nurses, and secular staff, were deported by the Germans to Szczawnica Zdroj [Zdrój], Nowy Soncz [Sącz] district. The five Jews also went along to Szczawnica as if they were regular residents of the home. “Nearly all those living in the Home knew that Sister Wilemska and I were hiding Jews,” wrote Reverend Albin. Many of the residents of Szczawnica knew it too, but no one informed the authorities, despite the fact that there was a German police post in the neighborhood. Helena Kachel died in the fall of 1944. Soon afterwards, Katarzyna Styczen also died. The men survived until the liberation in January 1945. Katarzyna’s daughter, Maria Rolicka, went to Szczawnica after receiving news of her mother’s death. “I talked to the sisters and the reverend father who helped my mother and the four other Jews,” she wrote. Reverend Albin told her that he and her mother had many “long talks and discussions. We used to walk in Gorny [Górny] Park in Szczawnica and discuss different problems of Jews, Poles, and humanity in general.”

One of the Jews rescued at the Helcel Institution was the mother of Mary Rolicka, who wrote about her family’s fate in “A Memoir of Survival in Poland,” *Midstream*, April 1988, at pages 26–27.

My first encounter with Holocaust documentation was watching a scene from the movie Shoah, which, by chance, I saw on television. The scene struck me as unfair to the Poles, and I decided that I had an obligation to tell my side of the story. ...

Despite what Raul Hilberg has said in his book The Destruction of the European Jews, thousands of Jews escaped from the Warsaw ghetto, and thousands—not “several hundred”—were living in Warsaw. The people who escaped (Hilberg called it “evasion”) either hid with the help of Poles, or became partisans, or, like me, lived openly by using Polish identities. The latter was possible only if one did not “look Jewish”, and could blend with the Polish background, as far as language and behaviour are concerned.

This was a dangerous life; many did not make it. But living with Poles gave me an insight in the Polish way of thinking about the Jews and the Holocaust. I met all kinds of Poles; they did not know I was Jewish, nor anything of my personal background. My father founded the Zionist organization in Chmielnik; my grandfather, founder of a synagogue in Chmielnik, was a Zionist and taught his sons to follow his path.

In the scene of Shoah that I saw, a stupid-looking group of country folk was asked by Claude Lanzmann, the director of the film, why the Holocaust had happened. They replied that perhaps the Jews had their blood on their own hands, because they had killed Jesus Christ. I never heard this anti-Semitic statement during the Holocaust. The implication is that the idea comes from the Catholic Church, but in that case would the Church have helped the Jews?

I must state here positively that many Poles, and the Church too, helped the Jews, knowing that there was a death penalty for that. I do not say there was no anti-Semitism in Poland, or that there were no Polish blackmailers, or collaborators with the Gestapo, paid “per capita” for denouncing Jews. All of us passing as Poles had very painful encounters with such criminals. But how can one expect that there would be no criminals among the Poles? Is there any country in which criminals would not take advantage of the vulnerable? ...

Nazi propaganda described deportations from the ghettos as “resettlement for work.” Many wanted to believe this: Jews are optimists, and the truth about deportations was difficult to believe for the Jewish victims in the ghettos, and for the West, where these facts were known. Clandestine data were brought to Chmielnik by Anielewicz, the hero of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising; my mother believed him. She decided that the family had to flee, and got the necessary Polish documents. My grandfather was shot by the SS. My father was sent to Buchenwald. But four members of my family escaped in the last week before the deportation. My mother found shelter in Warsaw; it did not work out. She ran to Cracow [Kraków], to which I had gone directly from Chmielnik. A mother of my Polish friends recommended me to a woman who had a room to rent. My mother, however, had to rely on little hotels, boarding houses, and pensions, swamped by Jews escaping from the ghettos, where a witch hunt for Jews was going on. My mother went through a terrible ordeal: she stayed only a few days in each place. I kept finding new accommodations for her. She could barely survive.

But then a landlady recommended her to the Sisters of Charity, a group of Roman Catholic nuns. She found a safe haven in the Retirement Home in Szczawnica, where she survived the war with other Jewish “retirees”—as far from retirement age as she was. I met her in 1944 in Cracow [Kraków], where she was brought by the Sisters. She could not find words to thank them. They gave her not only economic but moral support, without which she could not have survived the many months of anguish about my fate, especially the two months of the Warsaw Uprising [of August 1944]. Nothing is equal to what the Sisters did for my mother:

³³⁷ Testimony of Albin Małysiak, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.93/47476 [ID: 7428386]; Grzegorz Górny, *Sprawiedliwi: Jak Polacy ratowali Żydów przed Zagładą* (Izabelin-Warsaw: Rosikon, 2013), 116. See also the Testimony of Albin Małysiak, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 47476.

With this tale of survival in Poland, I hope to rectify some of the unjust treatment of Poles in historical accounts of the Holocaust.

The Daughters of Mary Immaculate (*Córki Maryi Niepokalanej*) extended help to Jews in various localities: Hrubieszów, Kielce, Końskie, Lida, Radom, Rawa Mazowiecka,³³⁸ Warsaw, and Wiszniew near Wołożyn. The following accounts pertain to the towns of Hrubieszów and Lida respectively. (Jan Żaryn, *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1944–1989)* [Warsaw: Neriton and Instytut Historii PAN, 2003], pp. 17–18; Jan Żaryn, “The Catholic Church Hierarchy vis-à-vis Polish-Jewish Relations Between 1945 and 1947,” in Łukasz Kamiński and Jan Żaryn, eds., *Reflections on the Kielce Pogrom* [Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, 2006], p. 83.)

Sisters in Hrubieszów aided Jews especially during the liquidation of the ghetto. Sister Błażeja Bednarczyk ... transported Jews and their belongings from the ghetto to the town square and she fulfilled their requests such as buying food, fruit and other items. On several occasions she thought that she would not manage to survive the ordeal, because the Gestapo had caught her red-handed [and was nearly shot].

‘One day, we found on the porch [in Lida] two small children of Jewish nationality aged one-and-a-half and two-and-a-half years old. The children were horribly neglected. One of the boys suffered from trachoma and the other had an enormous furuncle on his head. It was the war—one could not get necessary medicines, and there were no separate rooms for them so they had to sleep in a common room with the healthy children. Sister Konstancja [Bolejko] worked hard during the day and watched over the children during the night. She suffered all that hardship only to save the children and spare them from death. She baptized the boys, giving them both the name of Antoni. We kept it most secret from the other children that they were Jewish. But somehow somebody must have found out about it and informed the Germans since an automobile soon arrived at the house. The Germans asked to speak to the director and they immediately asked about the whereabouts of the Jewish children. I replied that there were no Jewish children in our place and asked Sister Nela to bring the children which had recently come to us. We had previously agreed that we would show Polish children whose nationality would be easy to prove, and that we would hide the small Jews. That time we succeeded and the Germans left empty-handed.’ ... One morning in the spring of 1944, two persons dressed in military uniforms and carrying rifles and rucksacks appeared and headed straight for our barn, where we hid with the children. ... They said that we are looking for our children, those who had been left on the porch. ... The parents were overjoyed to see their children.

The two boys left at the nuns’ home in Lida were found and taken in by Sister Kamila Zdanowicz, the director of the orphanage. There was no subsequent effort on the part of the parents to acknowledge the rescue of their children.³³⁹

An unusual rescue was that of Dr. Olga Goldfein (Goldfajn), who twice took refuge in the convent of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Family (*Siostry Misjonarki Świętej Rodziny*) in Pruzana, in eastern Poland. Unable to remain there permanently, dressed in a nun’s habit, she made her way with Sister Dolorosa (Genowefa Czubak), to her benefactor’s family home near Łowicz, in central Poland. They were assisted by many priests along the way—in Białowieża, Łapy, Sokoły, Dąbrowa Wielka, and Małkinia. Genowefa Czubak was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem. The following account was prepared in 1945, shortly after the events in question. (Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* [New York: Holocaust Library, 1981], pp. 206–12.³⁴⁰)

The war caught me in the border town of Pruzhany [Pruzana], where I was a doctor in the hospital. ...

³³⁸ A Blue policeman and a worker delivered a Jewish infant girl to the nuns’ orphanage in Rawa Mazowiecka in the early spring of 1943. The child survived under the devoted care of Sister Alina Stanisława Wilczyńska, with the assistance of her superior and some villagers. See Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 392–94.

³³⁹ Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 157–58.

³⁴⁰ See also “The Story of Olga Goldfain,” in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Publishers, 2002), 172–76.

At 5:00 A.M. on November 2, [1942] Gestapo men encircled the ghetto and announced that we would be evacuated. ...

On November 7, I received a note from a nun whom I knew—Sister Chubak [Genowefa Czubak]. She asked me to meet her. I went to the barbed-wire barrier and saw her. She gave a liter of vodka to the sentry, and we were permitted to talk. She gave me 300 marks to bribe the guards. I told her that I was exhausted and in no condition to struggle any further; I said it would be better if I left this life. When we separated, I decided to be rude to the guard so that he would shoot me. ... But the sergeant did not shoot me.

Then I went to Berestitsky, a barber friend of mine. I knew him to be a resolute person. I called him out into the alley and said: "I wanted to take poison, but poison didn't work; I wanted to be shot, but German bullets won't kill me. I asked him to help me. Berestitsky carefully raised the barbed wire; I crawled under it, crossed the street, the gardens, and the yards, and rushed to the convent. Soon I was with my acquaintance, the nun. She immediately gave me different clothes and hid me. I had three places to take refuge—in the cow shed, under the stairway, and between two cupboards. I sat locked up and constantly looked out of the window to see who was coming. All this time I had terrible toothaches, and I could not sleep at night, but I could not go to a dentist. The week passed in constant terror. In the daytime I hid in the room, and at night I would come out in the yard and listen to what was happening in the ghetto. It was dark and terrifying. Fires blazed around the ghetto, and machine guns and light tanks were stationed all around. Planes flew over the ghetto.

At the end of the fifth week of my stay in the convent a representative of the Judenrat came to me with letters from the chairman of the Judenrat and my husband. They wrote that the Germans were interested in my health. (The Germans believed that I was still sick after the poisoning.) If I did not return, the ghetto would suffer because of me.

I did not take long to think the matter over: if the ghetto was in danger because of me, I would return. But I did not know how to enter the ghetto. The messenger said that he would disguise me as an employee of the commissar who was going to the ghetto to find good wool to knit him a sweater.

A few hours later I was in the ghetto. ...

At 5:00 A.M. of January 28, [1943] troops approached the ghetto, and at 7:00 an evacuation was declared. At 8:00 many carts were brought in to remove us from the ghetto. ... The first group of carts set off at 9:00 A.M., and I was one of the passengers.

It took us five hours to reach the Linovo [Linowo] station, where the Germans told us to get out of the carts. Everyone was beaten on the head with whips until he or she lost consciousness. I received two such blows, and my head buzzed like a telegraph pole. ... We were kept at the train station for three hours ... We were thrown into the cars like sacks of potatoes. ...

At the last minute, just before the car was to be sealed, I jumped out onto the tracks. My "badge" was covered with a large kerchief. I walked quickly down a street, came to a garden, and walked along a fence into a field. After that I walked only through fields, since there were Gestapo men on the road. ...

In this fashion I walked until 2:00 A.M. Finally I reached the town. I wandered around the outskirts of the town for two hours, afraid to meet anyone. I approached the convent with extreme caution and quietly knocked on the window. The mother-superior opened the door and immediately began to rub my hands. My friend, Sister Chubak, put me in her bed, and I fell asleep.

In the morning (January 29) I was awakened by crying. It was one of the nuns; it turned out that she was afraid that my return to the convent would doom the nuns. Sister Chubak tried to convince her that we would leave the following day ... At that point I broke into the conversation and said that if I had managed to jump from a death train, I would manage to leave this house without causing any unpleasantness.

Announcements appeared in town declaring that all barns, attics, cellars, and outhouses should be locked to keep the Jews out. Dogs were to be leashed. If a Jew was found in any house, the entire population would be killed.

The sixteen-year-old serving girl of the convent, Ranya Kevyurski [Renia Wewińska], walked twelve kilometers to the village to find a cart for me. She returned late that night and said that a cart would come in the morning.

The cart arrived at 10:00 A.M. I donned the habit of a nun and put on dark glasses. Sitting on the cart, I stared stubbornly at the bundle in my hands. Sister Chubak went ahead on foot. I left the town under the eyes of the Gestapo men. Kalinovsky [Kalinowska], a Polish woman whom I knew, came toward us and made a sign to Sister Chubak indicating that I was well disguised. This frightened me, because I was afraid that she would turn me in. My companion assured me that Kalinovsky sympathized deeply with the Jews in their misfortune. She had come out onto the road, because she had learned that there were plans to save me, and she wanted to be sure that everything went well.

We were on the road until 5:00. The horse was exhausted, and we decided to spend the night in the nearest village. My companion asked the village elder for permission to spend the night, but he declared that there was no room; twenty German gendarmes were spending the night in the village. We decided it would be better for us to leave, got back on the cart, and moved on. The exhausted horse could hardly walk. We entered an enormous forest—the Bialowieza [Białowieża] Forest. Along the road we saw a small house. My companion went in and met a former pupil there. We were well received and spent the night in a warm place. We continued our journey at dawn. Finally we arrived at Bialowieza and headed for the Catholic Church. Then we went to Chainovka [Hajnówka], from there

to Belsk [Bielsk Podlaski], and from Belsk to Bialystok [Białystok] by train. On the train we learned that the Germans had surrounded the ghetto on February 2 and that a slaughter was taking place there.

In Bialystok we went to the main convent. I asked the mother-superior to hide me, but she was frightened and ordered us to leave immediately.³⁴¹ ...

That night we found ourselves on the street and did not know where to go. Then my companion remembered that she knew the address of the brother of one of the nuns. He was not home, but his wife received us gladly. At that moment the Jews of Bialystok were being slaughtered. The town was full of Gestapo men, and all the residents were afraid that they might be suspected of being Jews. There were no tickets being sold at the train stations. We asked the head of the station to give us poor nuns, who were forced to beg for charity, a ticket without a pass. At first he refused, but then he gave in. ...

In this fashion we left Bialystok on February 13 by train and went to the Lapy [Łapy] Station.³⁴² From there we went by cart to various Catholic churches—Dombrowo [Dąbrowa Wielka], Sokoly [Sokoły], Mokiny [Malkinia]. From there we travelled to Warsaw by train. ... From Warsaw we went to Lowicz [Łowicz], where my companion's family lived. We spent sixteen months there; no one knew that I was a Jew. I worked as a nurse and had a large practice.

In May, 1944, we decided to move to Naleczów [Nałęczów], near the River Bug. ... On July 26, 1944, Naleczów was liberated by the red Army, and on July 29 I set out east—partly on foot, and partly by automobile. I eventually made my way to my home town of Pruzhany.

Pruzhany had been liberated on July 16. Of the 2,700 Jews who had taken refuge in the forest only about twenty young people returned to the town; all the rest perished. The local people were very happy at my return and my friends, acquaintances, and patients literally made pilgrimages to me.

That Dr. Goldfein and Sister Dolorosa (Genowefa Czubak) remained on the best of terms with the Mother Superior of the convent in Pruzana throughout this time, is borne out by the testimony of Joseph Elman, who returned to his hometown of Pruzana after the liberation as part of the Soviet forces. (Interview with Joseph Elman, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, May 19, 1998, pp. 67–68.)

The doctor, which I mentioned, the neighbor of mine, that Olga Goldfein, arrived in Proushinna [Prużana]. She was saved—from the station at night and she came to Proushinna to the—to that convent ... And she was befriended with a nun and her name ... is DellaRosa [Sister Dolorosa]. Because, she came with her in Proushinna, when I was in Proushinna [after the liberation]. ... And she escaped from the wagons and she followed 10 kilometers and she came to Proushinna to the nun. The nun gave her ... she got the clothes and she put a cross on her. But ... she told me—this is after the liberation, now, she told me that ... the Mother Superior ... wasn't satisfied, she says better take her and go away with her, deep in Poland, where nobody knows. She was afraid that—you know, sometimes ... maybe somebody'll discover. You can't blame her, you know, they discover. So she took—you know, when she came in and the next day, you know, with the blessing with the Mother Superior, the blessing, she went the—she actually comes from the different town. She comes some—the towns near Łódź [Łódź]. And she—they travelled somehow with her—with the doctor. ... So when ... she came back, in Proushinna with this nun, ... of course I will help. So, I tried ... I was able to help this nun ... even the whole convent to supply, make sure they have enough food. It was ... still with

³⁴¹ It should be noted that when Czubak and Goldfein arrived in Bialystok, the ghetto was under siege and searches were underway for Jewish escapees. The mother superior invited them to stay for lunch, but explained that a longer stay could imperil the entire convent. See Michel Borwicz, *Vies interdites* (Tournai, Belgium: Casterman, 1969), 108–9. As documented later on, the convent of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Family in Bialystok was known to have provided food and other forms of assistance to Jews.

³⁴² In Łapy, a woman directed Czubak and Goldfein to a priest, who arranged for a carriage to take them to Dąbrowa. See Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 109.

Lorka (Gizela) Waszkowitzer (Waschkowitzer) was in her mid-fifties and living in Kraków with her husband and daughter when the war broke out. Her husband, Józef Waschkowitzer, a Second Lieutenant in the Polish army, perished in 1940 at the hands of the Soviets in the mass murder of captured Polish

³⁴³ There is no basis to question the authenticity of Dr. Goldfein's detailed account, provided in 1944, which is corroborated by another account she provided shortly after the war—see the testimony of Dr. Goldfajn, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 138, and by the account of Joseph Elman, a family friend. There is no question that her presence was known to the Sisters during her first stay at the convent, and that she left because she was summoned back to the ghetto. There is no question that she also left the convent on good terms after her second, shorter stay. Why else would Genowefa Czubak (Sister Dolorosa) have returned to the convent after the German occupation and Dr. Goldfein solicited help for the nuns? After her return to Pruzana, Czubak had a falling out with her religious order. The circumstances of that falling out are not clear, but were doubtless compounded by the invitation she and Dr. Goldfein received from Ilya Ehrenburg to go to Moscow to record their wartime experiences. Yad Vashem has disseminated a markedly different, and rather unlikely, version of these events, based on testimony by Genowefa Czubak provided many years later. According to Yad Vashem, "Czubak hid Goldfajn [Goldfein] in her convent cell without the Mother Superior's knowledge. After hiding in Czubak's cell for about a month, Goldfajn's presence was discovered and she was sent back to the ghetto, while Czubak was severely reprimanded. In January 1943, when the Germans destroyed the Pruzhana ghetto, Dr. Goldfajn managed to escape from the transport. Having nowhere else to go she returned to the convent, where once again she was turned away by the Mother Superior. Czubak, unable to accept the Mother Superior's decision, dressed Goldfajn in a nun's habit and left the convent, her—her home for 18 years—together with her. The two women wandered through the surrounding villages, staying in farmhouses and living off donations. Somehow or other they survived until the area was liberated in July 1944. After the war, Dr. Goldfajn emigrated to France, while Czubak, who was not allowed back into the convent, moved to Lodz [Łódź]." See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 161. A somewhat different version is found in Borwicz, *Vies inerdites*, 104–13, which acknowledges that all of the nuns in the convent were supportive of the rescue effort, except for the new superior who thought that Dr. Goldfein's disappearance would be detected and imperil the entire convent.

Unfortunately, some historians have gone out of their way to disparage the assistance of the Polish Catholic clergy. Mordecai Paldiel, of Yad Vashem, has claimed: "In Eastern Europe, the clergy who extended assistance to Jews were few and far between, but there were notable exceptions"; "In Poland, an exceptional [sic] priest in this regard was Father Stanislaw [Stanisław] Mazak ..." See Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews*, 56, 91. Similarly, Yehuda Bauer, also of Yad Vashem, reduced the assistance of the Polish Catholic clergy to next to nothing: "Nor was the Catholic clergy any help at all. With some very honorable exceptions, the clergy by and large not only echoed the antisemitic sentiments, but led them"; "Against the background of church antisemitism in an overwhelmingly Catholic country, the action of the Uniate archbishop of Lwow [Lwów], Count Andreas [Andrzej] Szeptycki, who ordered his clergy to save Jews despite his antisemitic views, stands out. So do the actions of the Ursuline sisters, and other individual monastic houses and occasional village priests." See Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 57, 59–60. Philip Friedman has advanced unfavourable and sweeping comparisons to other countries for which there is no basis in fact. In his book *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust* (New York: Conference on Jewish Social Studies; and Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1980), Friedman writes at pp. 416–17: "On the whole, the attitude of the lower clergy paralleled that of the various ethnic groups. Where the local population was full of sympathy for the persecuted Jews, almost all [sic] the priests participated in rescue activities; this was the case in Italy, Belgium, France, Czechoslovakia, and parts of Hungary as in the Protestant countries and in the Greek Orthodox Bulgaria and Greece. Where the majority of the population was anti-Semitic, there were also anti-semitic clergymen whose attitudes encouraged the enemies of the Jewish people. How much more should we appreciate, then, that amidst those East European peoples devoured by anti-Semitism, some clergymen had the courage to oppose the anti-Jewish wave, sometimes paying for it with their own lives." In actual fact, only a very small minority of the Catholic clergy in Italy, Belgium and France was involved in the rescue of Jews, and far fewer in Czechoslovakia (mostly in Slovakia). Yad Vashem has not recognized even one member of the Czech clergy (including nuns). The leading historian on the Holocaust in the Czech lands states authoritatively that "the assistance of clergy in the Protectorate was negligible. None of the foremost representatives of the Catholic Church protested publicly against the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws." See Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia*, 221. Moreover, conditions for Czech and Polish priests varied enormously. For example, in the Czech Těšín (Zaolzie) area, 21 priests were imprisoned, of whom eight perished. All of the victims of clerical repression were Poles. See Damian Bednarski, "Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa z Zaolzia podczas II wojny światowej," *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*, vol. 41, no. 1 (2015): 61 – 86, at p. 62. Nor is there any evidence of any priest from Eastern Europe, other than Polish priests, paying with his life for helping Jews. Punishment of clergymen in Western Europe for helping Jews was virtually unheard of. American historian Jan Tomasz Gross employs more "refined" but equally perverse arguments to attempt to paint the Polish Catholic clergy as Nazi collaborators. In his essay "On Collaboration," he argues that the definition of collaboration should also include "collaboration by omission," whereby individuals and institutions remain passive vis-à-vis the policies of the occupier. Armed with that broad definition, Gross points to the passivity of the Catholic clergy in the face of the persecution of the Jews as an example of collaboration. See Jan Tomasz Gross, "O kolaboracji," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 2 (2006): 407–16. More recently, Jewish historians, among them David Silberklang, senior historian at Yad Vashem, have questioned the veracity of the data provided to Ewa Kurek by Polish nuns who rescued children. Those "experts", who have carried out no serious research on the topic themselves and cite no evidence to back their claim, take issue with Kurek's book, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, because it is "based almost entirely on the memoirs of the nuns themselves and might have

officers in Katyn. Her daughter, Greta (Małgorzata), married a Polish Christian, Artur Woźniak, managed to secure Aryan papers and relocated to Warsaw. Lorka remained in Kraków living on her own. She had to be operated on when her eyesight started to fail and was hospitalized for six weeks. After a brief stay with her son-in-law's mother, with the assistance of her son-in-law, she was placed in a shelter run by the Albertine Sisters. This was likely the shelter at 10 Koletek Street, which was primarily a nursery for children. She remained there until the nuns had to leave in May 1944 and relocated to Rymanów near Krosno. Lorka was transferred to Rymanów with the children and a group of women. She remained there until the liberation of that area.³⁴⁴

Not all rescue efforts ended fortunately. A number of Jews found shelter at a convent in Kraków mistakenly identified as Benedictine (the Benedictine Sisters did not have a convent in that city), only to be seized by the Germans during a raid on the convent. This was the shelter on Krakowska Street run by the Albertine Sisters. Among those housed there were Anita Lobel (then known as Aneta or Hanna Kempler), an eight-year-old girl with a noticeable Semitic appearance, and her six-year-old brother, Bernard (Bernhard), who was disguised as a girl because the shelter accepted only girls. They resided there posing as the children of their Christian nanny. The story is told in Anita Lobel's memoirs, *No Pretty Pictures: A Child of War* (New York: Greenwillow Books, 1998), at pages 54–56 and 74–77.

When Niania [nanny] came for us at the ghetto bridge, she had brought with her a piece of black cloth. As soon as we were out of danger, she made a makeshift bandage and wrapped it around my head, covering my right eye. "I have found a place to stay," Niania said. "We will be safe." She had found a shelter at a convent of Benedictine Sisters. The hospital across the street from the convent was run by the brothers of the same order. We needed to stay at the shelter so that I could see a doctor. I needed treatment for my eye, was the story Niania had told the nuns. I don't know what else she told them. The Benedictines let us in. ...

Life in the convent was good. The nuns were nice. ... When we didn't go to the little Benedictine chapel for mass, we went to kościół Mariacki (Church of St. Mary), the big church in the main square. ...

We were kneeling together with the nuns in the little chapel ... Over the mix of our voices, singing a hymn, we heard, "Alles raus!" ("Everyone out!") and then the heavy steps running up the stairs. "Juden! Wo sind die Juden?" ("Jews! Where are the Jews?") Rifles in their arms, the Nazis came crashing in. "Schnell! Alles raus! Schnell!" ("Fast! Everyone out! Fast!")

The mass had been interrupted just before the communion. The soldiers rushed up to my brother and me and Niania, guns pointing straight at us. "Raus! Raus!" Now they were behind us. I felt a rifle in my rib. The chapel stairs were not steep. There were only a few steps down. But I stumbled, almost fell. My brother was right behind me. And Niania was crying, "Nie, nie, nein! Moje dzieci! Sie sind ... moje dzieci." ("No, no, no! They are my children.") She was mixing the few German words she knew with Polish. The Nazis, ignoring Niania, were shouting at the nuns. "Alle! Alle Juden hier." ("All Jews over here.") Demanding they hand over all Jews. The nuns protested, were shoved aside. In no time everyone Jewish had been flushed out. They had caught up with us at last. It was Christmas Day.

They lined us up facing the wall. ... I was shaking and shivering. ... I was freezing. I wasn't scared. ... Niania was here. In the convent, among holy sisters, the Nazis could shout, but the Holy Mother would protect us.

Except for Niania, everybody who was not a Jew had stayed in the chapel. She sobbed and pleaded with the Germans in Polish. Insisted that we were her daughters. One of the Nazis began to laugh. He pushed my brother into a corner. He made him lift up his skirt and pull down his underpants. For a moment my brother's little circumcised penis flashed into view. "Und du, bist du auch ein Knab [Knabe]?" ("Are you a boy, too?") ...

I had never known that other Jewish people had been sheltered at the convent. There was a young man. A very pale, thin young woman I had never noticed before. A woman who walked with a limp. I had seen her on the soup line with her bowl and her cane. A woman and her teenaged son. I had seen them. Both of them had blond hair. I had never thought they were Jewish. The nuns had hidden us in broad daylight. We had all blended quietly into the life at the Benedictine shelter. A thought had time to cross my mind. I had never seen any of these people at mass. They were Juden. And I had become one of the Juden. ...

With the rest of their catch, the Nazis shoved my brother and me toward a canvas-covered truck that they had parked in front of the entrance to the courtyard of the convent. ... There were other people already in the truck. Both men and women. They must have been rounded up somewhere else. Shivering, silent, they stared with empty eyes at

³⁴⁴ Testimony of Lorka Waszkowitz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3217, noted in Michał Czajka, Marta Janczewska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 3001–4000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 3001–4000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2005), vol. 4, 98.

the newcomers.

Then we saw Niania running toward the truck with our coats and scarves. I was afraid the Nazis were going to shoot her. But they allowed her to throw our clothes into the truck. Still pleading and crying, she was shoved aside with the butt of a rifle. ...

As if they were closing a curtain, the Nazis pulled a canvas covering over the back of the truck. The engine started. The truck began to move. I had no idea where they were taking us.

Upon capture, Anita and her brother, Bernard, were imprisoned in the Płaszów concentration camp. They were transferred to Auschwitz and finally to Ravensbrück, where they were liberated. The Red Cross sent them to Sweden, where they were reunited with their parents. While they were held in Płaszów, their nanny managed to bring extra food to the children with the assistance of another Polish woman and her fiancé, who was employed at the camp. Their story is also recounted in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, at pages 542 and 939. There is some contradictory information in these accounts.

Franciszka Ziemiańska [Ziemańska³⁴⁵] worked in Cracow for the Kempfer family taking care of their children, Bernhard and Anita. When there were no more doubts about the Germans' intentions towards the Jews, Bernard and Anita's mother arranged that Franciszka be registered as the children's mother using false documents. In the period from 1940 to 1944, the children moved around and even fell into the Gestapo's hands a few times but were saved by Franciszka. One day, however, a Gestapo agent appeared at her apartment and inquired about the children. She answered that they were in the yard and the Gestapo agent replied that he would be back by evening for the children. Franciszka immediately ran out to the yard and took the children from their play to Rozalia Natkaniec, with whom they stayed for a few weeks. Later, Franciszka hid the children in her native village (without telling anyone they were Jewish), in a convent, and in other hiding places until the day that they were apprehended and put in Plaszow [Płaszów], from where they were transported to Auschwitz and later to Ravensbrueck [Ravensbrück]. Everything that Franciszka had done for the two children she did for purely humanitarian reasons and without any compensation. The children survived the war and afterwards immigrated to Israel.

Rozalia Natkaniec was a village girl who had worked in the home of the Gruenberg family in Cracow [Kraków] before the war. Immediately after the occupation, Natkaniec decided to remain with the Gruenberg family in order to repay them for their kind treatment and the concern they had shown for her while she worked for them. As the persecution of the Jews worsened, Natkaniec came to the assistance of her employers, but was only able to save their daughter, Ziuta, after the child's parents were seized and murdered. Ziuta hid with Natkaniec for two years until the liberation, and after the war she immigrated to Israel. Natkaniec also saved Bernhard and Anita Kempfer, Ziuta's cousins [children?], who were hiding under an assumed identity in a monastery in Cracow [actually, a shelter on Krakowska Street run by the Albertine Sisters³⁴⁶]. Unfortunately, their identity was discovered [during a raid shortly before the city was liberated by the Soviet army] and the Gestapo transported them to the Plaszow [Płaszów] concentration camp. When Natkaniec learned of this, she risked her life and smuggled them out of the camp and then hid them in her home. The Kempfers survived and after the war, immigrated to the United States.

The Jews sheltered in the Capuchin monastery in Kraków were more fortunate. The Capuchins had taken in hundreds of refugees including clergy expelled from western Poland, as well as the sick. Brother Baltazar Cekus was particularly active in the rescue efforts. He prepared Jews for baptism and taught them religious practices, allowed Jewish boys to act as altar servers, and found safe houses for Jews. Twenty-three Jews came forward after the war to attest to Brother Baltazar's good deeds. Helena Manaster Ramer posed as the Catholic wife of a Polish army officer.³⁴⁷ Among the charges at the monastery were several Jews including Helena Manaster Ramer, who took refuge in Kraków together with her husband, Norbert Ramer, a medical doctor and rabbi from Lwów. Warned of a threat of denunciation, Helena and her infant son were able to escape safely and find other hiding places. (Jafa

³⁴⁵ Franciszka Ziemiańska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4018427>>.

³⁴⁶ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 370–73.

³⁴⁷ Martyna Grądzka, "Kościół katolicki w okupowanym Krakowie w pomocy Żydom: Zarys problematyki badawczej," in Klimek, *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945*, 143–45.

Wallach, *Bitter Freedom: Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor* [Schuylkill Have, Pennsylvania: Hermitage, 2006], pp. 184–87.)

The Polish papers we had previously secured and hidden with us all the time now proved valuable. I [Helena Manaster Ramer] became Helena Dobrowski and Norbert, Tadeusz Dobrowski ... When we arrived in Krakow [Kraków] I was lost, but my husband had studied mathematics there and had many acquaintances and friends. We went at once to the home of one of these, a bachelor, and he took us in. After all these years I've forgotten his name, but he kept us with him for three days. Norbert got in touch with other friends and we made contact with the underground. We also managed to get a little money so that we could get by.

We were no longer Jews, however. We lived in different skins. Someone urged me to smile more and I did my best. We had to smile all the time, to remain above suspicion. ...

By this time it was February 1943 and I was pregnant. Still Norbert and I remained apart as much as possible to avoid suspicion. While I didn't look Jewish, Norbert had a more difficult time and had to spend much of his time indoors when he could. We found places to sleep but it was always harder to find places to spend the days and in the spring and summer the days were so long. We walked in the parks and in the stores and banks. We spent hours in the churches. We generally went to the churches to meet. Sometimes, too, we met in the waiting rooms of local doctors. Some people knew who we were and were even helpful to us.

At that time there was an 8 o'clock curfew and you had to be off the streets after that hour. All our efforts in the days were at finding places for the night. Sometimes we even found places where we could stay in the daytime too. Then we could bathe and get some food. ...

Then, one day I found myself in a difficult situation. I had an arrangement on that day to spend the following night with some people but I had nowhere to go that night. I couldn't wait until the following evening so I went to the people who were supposed to take me in the next night ...

They were having a party and I couldn't go inside because I didn't want to be seen by too many people so I sat in the hallway of the building ... There were two apartments in that hallway, one occupied by a university professor who was a known anti-Semite and I was very worried. At that time, many Poles were being executed by the Nazis in the east and there were many orphans. The professor's daughter, it turned out, was the head nurse of an organization that was engaged in rescuing these children. While I was sitting there she came out and saw me, pregnant, in the chair, in the middle of the night. I told her my husband lived in Hungary and that I had nowhere to go. Her face softened and she offered to help me. ... She took me to a monastery that night.

She took me to the Order of the Kaputzyn [Capuchins]. They had several buildings in Krakow and a vast garden. One of the buildings was being used to house refugees and the sick and they put me there. I stayed in that place for more than a year and that's where my son, Arthur, was born. ...

I arranged to go to the hospital when I was due to give birth and the manager of the refugees' house, a pious young man named M. Detz, took me. My son, Arthur, was born in October there but he took sick soon after I returned with him to the monastery and I had to take him back to the hospital for care several times. ... People at the monastery thought he might die and urged me to baptize him ... finally, I did. ... It was now July and I began to hope we would survive by remaining in the monastery. I got money from the underground but I spent very little and lived there for almost two years. ...

Later a more serious incident occurred. I found something that looked like a crudely made mezuzah, the little ornamental box containing a prayer that is put on the doorways of Jewish homes. It had been placed in the night on my doorpost. Someone was telling me that they knew what I was. It was then May 1944 and I had been in Krakow since February 1943. One evening, Mr. Detz, the manager, came to see me and said, "You can't stay here any longer. Two of our patients are going to denounce the Jews we are hiding here."

This was the first time that I realized I was not the only Jew at the monastery. One of the older men there, a man who used to visit me quite often and tell me stories of how he always prayed to Jesus and the Virgin Mary and relied on their help for everything, was a Jew, too. Mr. Detz said I had to leave at once.

I had retained contact with the underground and one of them, a Miss Eiserle, took me in. Her father was a Polish officer in exile in England but her mother was a Jew in hiding. ... I now took Arthur from place to place in the six months remaining until the liberation in January 1945. We were here a week, there a week, in places the underground arranged for us.

Witold Goldberger was sheltered in the Benedictine abbey in Tyniec, on the outskirts of Kraków, from the spring of 1942 until the end of the war, working as a gardener's assistant. His ethnicity was known to the prior of the abbey, Father Karol van Oost, and to Father Kazimierz Ratkiewicz, who arranged a forged *Kennkarte* (identity card) for Goldberger under the name of Florkowski.³⁴⁸ (Gutman and Bender, *The*

³⁴⁸ "The Florek Family," Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/107,the-florek-family/article=986,more-about-the-florek-family>>.

Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 218; Florek Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034556>>.)

At the outbreak of the war, Franciszka Goldberger was on a training farm in Lwow Lwów, which had been annexed to the Soviet Union. In 1941, after the Germans occupied the city, Goldberger was interned in the local ghetto, and toward the end of the year transferred to the Janowska Street camp. In 1943, Goldberger fled from the camp and reached her native town, Kraków, where her parents used to live. When she discovered that her entire family had perished, she made her way to the home of Bronislaw and Maria Florek, family friends. The Floreks gave her a warm welcome and offered her food, but were unable to hide her in their apartment. Nevertheless, Maria Florek accompanied Goldberger to acquaintances of hers who lived in the nearby village of Wrzqowice, where, despite the danger, she rented a room for her. The Floreks visited Goldberger each month, paid her rent, and saw to all her needs. Goldberger stayed in her hiding place until the area was liberated. After the war, she immigrated to Israel. Franciszka was not the only member of the Goldberger family whom the Floreks helped. Even before her arrival, the Floreks looked after Wincenty Goldberger, Franciszka's uncle, after he escaped from the local ghetto. They hid him in their home throughout the winter of 1942 and later arranged for him to stay with the Benedictine monks in Tyniec, near Kraków. The Floreks also helped other relatives of Goldberger, including Frania and Dolek Nichtberger who, after the liquidation of the Kraków ghetto, hid in the town of Mielec, where the Floreks sent them food and money until the liberation.

The Tenenwurz family, consisting of Dr. Bronisław (Bunim) and Dr. Betty Tenenwurz and their two children, Emanuel (born in 1928) and Ruth, lived in Miechów. They were interned in the Miechów ghetto. When the ghetto was about to be liquidated, Emanuel's mother made arrangements with her Catholic friend, Mrs. Terlecka, to take her son. Terlecka contacted her friend Stanisław Gadowski, who provided Emanuel with false identity documents in the name of Jan Wójcik and took him to the Cistercian monastery in Mogiła near Kraków where he worked. Initially passed off as a convert, Emanuel was accepted as a novice for the priesthood by the prior, Father Robert Kuhar (Kuchar), in August 1942. Father Kuhar, a native of Yugoslavia (born in what is now Slovenia), soon learned that Emanuel was Jewish by religion and treated him very well. Emanuel remained at the monastery until April 1943, when a rumour had spread that he was Jewish and the Germans raided the monastery. Gadowski got in touch with his friend Stefan Jagodziński, who took charge of the boy and sheltered him in Stary Korczyn for a period of time. Later that year, Jagodziński made arrangements through the underground to smuggle Emanuel to Hungary, together with his mother and sister. In 1990, Emanuel Tenenwurz, then going by the name of Tanay, dedicated a plaque in the monastery church in honour of Father Kuhar. The Germans raided the monastery soon after Emanuel's departure and arrested Father Kuhar, and others at the monastery, for giving assistance to the underground resistance. Father Kuhar was imprisoned in Auschwitz in August 1943, and also survived the Mauthausen and Dachau concentration camps where he was transferred afterwards.³⁴⁹

Available sanctuary was not always taken up by the Jews. In the summer of 1942, during the Great Deportation of the Warsaw Ghetto, or possibly later, in April 1943, the three remaining rabbis—Dovid Shapiro, Menachem Ziemia and Shimshon Stockhammer—received an offer of asylum from senior members of the Catholic clergy of the Warsaw archdiocese. This offer was declined—the rabbis decided

³⁴⁹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 293–94; Account of Emanuel Tanay Carol Rittner and Sondra Myers, eds., *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 52–53; Emanuel Tanay, *Passport to Life: Autobiographical Reflections on the Holocaust* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Forensic Press, 2004), 68–92.

that they could not abandon their co-religionists in their hour of adversity,³⁵⁰ as was an offer to shelter several hundred Jewish children in Church institutions.³⁵¹ A similar offer was rejected by Rabbi Y. Pinner from the bishop of Łódź.³⁵² The meeting between the three Warsaw rabbis is described in the American newspaper *Forward* of March 1, 1947.

It is not known how much time the silence lasted. Perhaps a minute; perhaps hours. Reb Dovid, who was the youngest of the three, broke the silence and said, "I am younger than both of you. My words do not obligate you. It is obvious to all of us that it is not in our hands to help these people in any way. Nevertheless, by the very fact that we are with them, that we did not leave them, there is some encouragement for them—the only encouragement. I do not have the strength to leave these people—and there is no place bereft of Him. Will we hide from the Almighty? The same God who is found there is found here."

The words came forth from the youngest rabbi and the silence continued. Then it was replaced by crying. Not one word was said. Only crying gushed forth from within the three hearts. Then they left the room and Reb Menachem said, "we are not to conduct any debate in this matter".

The bishop of Sandomierz, Jan Kanty Lorek, who had intervened on behalf of the Jews in September 1939, as well other priests from Sandomierz continued to provide assistance to Jews during the German occupation. Jews were hidden in the bell tower of the cathedral and in the cellars of the seminary. Bishop Lorek also condemned looters of Jewish property.³⁵³ Some Jews turned to Bishop Lorek with a request to shelter the revered Ostrowiec rabbi Yehiel Halevi Halshtok, who lived in Sandomierz. Bishop Lorek agreed to do so; however, the rabbi declined the generous offer. (Simon Zuker, comp., *The Unconquerable Spirit: Vignettes of the Jewish Religious Spirit the Nazis Could Not Destroy*, Second revised edition [New York: Zachor Institute, 1980/1981], p. 26.)

"My own father," the survivor who told us this story recalled, "had contacted the bishop of Tzozmir (Sandomierz) and begged him to hide the rabbi of Ostrowiec. The bishop had actually agreed to remove the rabbi from the ghetto

³⁵⁰ Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), 126; Philip Friedman, ed., *Martyrs and Fighters* (Polish Jews, Inc., 1954), reprinted in Roselle K. Chartock and Jack Spencer, eds., *Can It Happen Again? Chronicles of the Holocaust*, (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal, 1995), 248–49; (Reb) Moshe Shonfeld, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse: Documents and Testimony of Jewish War Criminals*, Part One (Brooklyn, New York: Neturei Karta of U.S.A., 1977), 34–35; Simon Zuker, comp., *The Unconquerable Spirit: Vignettes of the Jewish Religious Spirit the Nazis Could Not Destroy*, Second revised edition (New York: Zachor Institute, 1980/1981), 78; Waclaw Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), 290 (Entry 724). According to other Jewish sources, the offer of asylum, from "the highest ranks of the Roman Catholic hierarchy," came in April 1943. Rabbi Ziemia perished soon after during the Warsaw ghetto revolt; Rabbi Stockhammer was imprisoned in German concentration camps and killed in 1945, three days before liberation, when a bomb struck the train in which he was being evacuated from a camp; Rabbi Shapiro survived the war. See Sholom Friedmann, "Hiddush HaCaim," May 17, 2017, Internet: <<http://ellykleinman.com/kiddush-hachaim/>>; Alan Jay Gerber, "The 70th Yahrzeit of Rabbi Menachem Zuemba's Martyrdom: A Tribute to a Warsaw Ghetto Legacy," *The Jewish Star*, March 21, 2013, Internet: <<http://thejewishstar.com/stories/The-Kosher-BookwormThe-70th-yahrzeit-of-Rabbi-Menachem-Ziembas-martyrdomA-tribute-to-a-Warsaw,3957>>. According to one Polish source, the offer of assistance was inspired by Canon Roman Archutowski, the rector of the Archdiocesan Seminary, but he had already been imprisoned in November 1942. However, another rabbi by the name of Khane did accept an offer of shelter and was hidden in the archdiocesan library. See Kački's *Udział księży i zakonnic w holokaucie Żydów*, 54.

³⁵¹ Ewa Kurek suggests that, since no church source mentions the proposal of saving children from the Warsaw ghetto, it may be that it was actually put forward, as other sources indicate, by Irena Sendler of the Social Welfare Department of the Warsaw Municipal Council, who worked closely with the Central Relief Council (*RGO*) in placing hundreds of Jewish children in religious institutions, primarily convents. See Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 229–30.

³⁵² Shonfeld, *The Holocaust Victims Accuse*, 35. It is not clear which bishop of Łódź made this offer—Bishop Włodzimierz Jasiński, the ordinary, or his suffragan, Bishop Kazimierz Tomczak—and the circumstances. Bishop Jasiński gave approval in 1939 for 22 Jews to convert to Catholicism for reasons other than religious; as vicar general of the diocese, Bishop Tomczak was responsible for issuing the supporting church documents. Bishop Tomczak was arrested on November 9, 1939 and interned in Radogoszcz where he suffered mistreatment. After his release ten days later, he was placed under house arrest. Both Bishop Jasiński and Bishop Tomczak were arrested in May 1941 (along with other priests) and detained in Szczawina near Zgierz, before being expelled to a monastery in Biecz in the *Generalgouvernement* in August 1941. Bishop Jasiński remained there until November 1944, while Bishop Tomczak was allowed to leave for Warsaw in 1943. See Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 302, 387 n.19, 389.

³⁵³ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 444.

and to give him shelter for the duration of the war, but when my father informed the rabbi of the bishop's offer, he said that he would not save his own skin while his community perished."

Another Jewish source confirms this information and mentions the favourable attitude of a number of priests from Sandomierz. (Feldenkreiz-Grinbal, *Eth Ezkera—Whenever I Remember*, pp. 542–43, 544–45.)

Out of the gravestones pillaged by the local people and returned due to the intervention of Bishop Jan Lorek, together with thousands of broken gravestones lying around in the graveyard [destroyed by the Germans], a magnificent monument was erected in memory of the Holocaust victims and the Rabbi of Ostrowiec, murdered in the Sandomierz ghetto. ...

In 1946, we were approached by a priest, formerly a teacher at the Teacher's Seminary in Sandomierz ... who told us that his housekeeper, a village woman, had placed a girl named Rozia [Rózia], daughter of the eldest of the Unger brothers, in the care of her farmer brother in order to save her from deportation. The girl was lucky that despite her semitic looks she was accepted by the farmer's neighbours and all others in the vicinity as the illegal offspring of this housekeeper and her employer, the priest. The members of the family did not deny this gossip and the girl was called "The Bastard" by everybody. Rózia tended geese and later on cows. ... The aunt took the eight-year old Rozia to her home in Bytom where she was brought up and went to school. She later finished her medical studies in Poland and emigrated to the United States.³⁵⁴ ...

Fifteen Jewish children from Sandomierz were saved ... One of the children, a girl, was hidden in a monastery and saved. ...

One day, I met the priest Babsky [Ludwik Barski, the pastor of Ciepiałów³⁵⁵] who had been my classmate in the Government high-school in Sandomierz. After a few words of greeting, the priest told me that a farmer of his parish was in possession of a Torah Scroll which he had found and taken away the day the Jews were deported. ... He had hidden the Torah Scroll in his home. ... The Torah Scroll remained with the Dean [Rev. Adam Szymański] who asked us to return to him with a "Minyan" of Jews (this was his expression), one of us at least with a Talith, since he desired to read a portion of the law out of this Torah. Scroll.

We complied with the request of this honourable old man who was well known for his kindness and friendly attitude towards Jews. He was said to have supplied birth certificates to Jews who wished to leave town before the "Aktzia" holding Aryan papers.

We, a group of Sandomierz Jews, reached the reception hall of the Seminary and brought a Talith as promised. Jukel Schweitzman wrapped himself in the Talith and prayed. Then, Dr. Szymansky read out the Genesis portion of the Law in the pleasant voice of an experienced reader. Listening to his reading, we all shed tears. ...

A second Torah Scroll was also brought to the Wasser House where we lived at the time and given to us free of charge by the priest, Dr. Lagec [Rev. Michał Łagocki], a teacher at the Priests' Seminary. He had received the Torah Scroll from a farmer who had hidden it in order to return it after the war to a grain dealer of Sandomierz ... My cousin, Shia Soberman, identified the Torah Scroll we received from the farmer as belonging to the synagogue in our town.

The rescue activities of Rev. Adam Szymański, the rector of the diocesan seminary, who gathered sacred books to prevent them from being profaned by the Germans, issued false baptismal certificates to Jews, provided them with material assistance and agreed to safekeep their property, are confirmed by other Jewish survivors from Sandomierz. Anna Dembowa states that Rev. Szymański offered to find a shelter for her mother, who was a friend of his, but she declined. Although Dembowa's parents received many

³⁵⁴ See also the testimony of Rózia Ungar, April 22, 1948, November 21, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3699.

³⁵⁵ Rev. Ludwik Barski, the pastor of Ciepiałów, perished in October 1942. He was known to have provided false baptismal certificates to Jews. See Sebastian Piątkowski, "'Aryan Papers': On the Help Provided by Poles in Legalising False Identities for Jews in the Territory of the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Regions," *Polish-Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (2020): 437–63, at 447.

offers of assistance, they did not want to go into hiding so as not to endanger anyone's life.³⁵⁶

Before her involvement in Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka co-founded the conservative underground organization of lay Catholics known as *Front Odrodzenia Polski* (FOP—The

³⁵⁶ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 534–35. Anna Dembowa's father, who chose not to go into hiding, stated his reason for not doing so with blunt honesty: "I do not want anyone to lose his head because of me, because I would probably not do the same myself." Altruistic attitudes like this were rare, and occurred mostly among older people who had a keen awareness and understanding of the predicament of others. In a sense, they were the "righteous" victims. Another example is a Jew who would rather sacrifice their own lives than endanger the lives of their benefactors is Sabina Zisser of Szczucin near Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Although invited to take refuge in the home of the Lech family, Sabina refused because she felt that was too risky for her hosts, so she stayed in the barn. Despite assurances from her benefactors that they were willing to keep her longer, one of the reasons she decided to leave them and go to the Tarnów ghetto was that she did not want to jeopardize the family's safety. They were not the ones who were condemned to death, she reasoned. Furthermore, she contemplated, why should they risk their lives for her? Before the war they had not even been close friends, just acquaintances who used to shop at her family's store. See Serge-Allain Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés: Les vies d'un itinéraire juif de Pologne en France* (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 1992), 93–94. Another example of a righteous Jew is Regina Ruskin, a 13-year-old girl who was taken in first by the Kowalski family, and then by the Kosiński family in the village of Tołwin near Bielsk Podlaski. After a raid by German gendarmes, overwhelmed with guilt for endangering the Kosiński family, Regina announced that she was leaving. Mrs. Kosińska vehemently opposed the idea and did not let her leave. See Kosiński family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9811507>>. Such cases, however, were extremely rare, as most Jewish fugitives were preoccupied with their own survival and not the safety of their hosts. Those who fault Poles for not risking their lives to save Jews necessarily invite close scrutiny of their own level of heroism and altruism. Since there is no known case of a righteous Pole faulting other Poles for not risking their lives to rescue Jews, one can state, with a very high degree of certainty, that those who fault such Poles would never have taken such a risk upon themselves. Righteous people don't point fingers at others.

Front for the Rebirth of Poland) in 1941, and became editor of its newspaper, *Prawda* (Truth).³⁵⁷ In August 1942, as the Germans embarked on their first large-scale *Aktion* or deportation of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto, the FOP published an appeal authored by Kossak-Szczucka in an underground leaflet titled “The Protest,” which called the destruction of the Jews then in progress “the most terrible crime history has ever witnessed.” The leaflet continued as follows (Andrzej Krzysztof Kunert, ed., *Polacy–Żydzi*,

³⁵⁷ The underground Catholic organization *Front Odrodzenia Polski* (FOP—Front for the Rebirth of Poland) was co-founded in 1941 by the prominent Catholic author Zofia Kossak-Szczucka and Rev. Edmund Krause, a priest from the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw, and included in its members Rev. Donat Nowicki and Rev. Jan Zieja. Its activities were well regarded by the Catholic hierarchy and supported by the clergy. In September 1942, it set up a temporary committee to help Jews which was the precursor of Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, founded in December 1942. See *Encyclopedia Katolicka* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1989), vol. 5, columns 726–27; Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 40, 45; “Edmund Krause,” Wikipedia: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edmund_Krause>. According to Teresa Prekerowa: “By searching out and furnishing these kinds of identity documentation ... the Church authorities provided an invaluable service to Jews who were hiding, including many who were charges of Żegota. In Warsaw, among the most helpful in this regard were the parishes of All Saints, Blessed Virgin Mary, Holy Cross, St. Anthony, Christ the Saviour and others. The Catholic FOP, an organization that formed part of the Council for Aid to Jews, had the broadest contacts with pastors, though members of Jewish underground organizations also frequently established [direct] contact with certain priests and nuns. Helena Merenholt, for example, obtained many baptismal and marriage records from the parish in [suburban] Łomianki.” See Teresa Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945* (Warsawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982), 148. Further, “Catholic priests rendered an enormous service to Jews in hiding by supplying them with authentic baptismal and marriage certificates of the people who, by that time, were dead, or had vanished or were absent from the country (before and during World War II, church parishes in Poland performed functions of Registries).” See Teresa Prekerowa, “The Relief Council for Jews in Poland, 1942–1945,” in Chimen Abramsky, Maciej Jachimczyk and Antony Polonsky, eds., *The Jews In Poland* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 166.

The authors of a biography of the famed Polish courier Jan Karski, who attempted to inform a disbelieving Western World about the realities of the Holocaust, and who was very closely connected with FOP, strongly suggest that FOP was attacked by the Catholic establishment for its support of the Jews: “Yet, in the name of Catholicism, the Front’s members put their lives on the line to support the Jews. They encountered the hostility not only of the Germans, but also of elements within the Church establishment. A Vatican official who was in contact with Poland during the war wrote of the ‘intense battle’ waged by traditionalist priests against the FOP. The group’s members, wrote the official, ‘lacked any serious dogmatic foundation.’ Their publications ‘were crammed with false ideological propositions whose frank heresies made them really dangerous.’ These people had no history of philo-Semitism, yet they took up the cause of Jewry in the face of major obstacles; something must have changed in their hearts.” See E. Thomas Wood and Stanisław M. Jankowski, *Karski: How One Man Tried to Stop the Holocaust* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994), 106. However, the sources these authors cite (discussed below) do not in any way corroborate the implied claim that the pro-Jewish activities of FOP were under attack by the Church establishment. The Vatican “official” referred to is Luciana Frassati, the Italian wife of the Polish diplomat Jan Gawroński. Frassati’s book *Il destino passa per Varsavia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1949; reissued by Milano: Bompiani, 1985) is quoted extensively in Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 168–70. She writes: “[FOP’s] members, in good or bad faith, lacked any serious dogmatic foundation. Their leaflets, entirely financed by the ZWZ [*Związek Walki Zbrojnej*—Union For Armed Struggle], were crammed with false ideological propositions whose frank heresies made them really dangerous. My interlocutor quoted a few extracts which justified distrust of the whole movement. [Falconi omits the impugned extracts cited by Frassati at pp. 201–2 (1985 edition), which are all theological in nature and totally unrelated to the Jewish issue: “Natural ethics don’t exist in practice. They don’t exist even where there is no shadow of Christianity or Catholicism. The grace of redemption is the fountain of life. All that is good is caused and inspired by Grace. In Catholic life, Grace is the principle element for the development of life; natural ethics, therefore, for a Catholic cannot exist in any manner ... The national instinct comes from the intimate nature of man; the religious one from the external nature.”] The priest was very depressed and told me he had started an intense battle against these statements. But though his campaign seemed simple and just in appearance, in practice it was very hard-going by reason of the strange opposition, indirect though it was, brought by various Catholic authorities, including bishops and archbishops, as well as superiors of religious orders and communities. An active priest who was known for his pro-papal zeal and his tenacious and unbending opposition to these half-heresies, was transferred without explanation from Warsaw into the country [in the capacity of a private chaplain. Even though he presented to the responsible superior the reasons which did not permit him to abandon the city in such a critical moment, he did not secure a revocation of the order and had to leave.] Yet he did not give up: taking advantage of the peace and solitude of the country, he had written a violent pamphlet defending the Holy Father. And as he intended to print 10,000 copies of it, he was desperately looking around for the necessary money.” Thus, according to Frassati, this priest’s one-man campaign, based on purely theological grounds, against some statements made by FOP unrelated to Jews, was effectively silenced by his banishment to the countryside after it had met with the opposition of the Church leadership. This is a far cry from what Wood and Jankowski suggest was the prevailing situation. As for having had no history of philo-Semitism, the authors (Wood and Jankowski) are apparently unaware of Kossak-Szczucka’s prewar writings, for example, her well-known memoir *Pożoga: Wspomnienia z Wołynia 1917–1919*, in which she described rivetingly the Ukrainian pogroms of Jews in Płoskirów (Proskurov), in Volhynia, which she witnessed with horror in February 1919.

Kossak-Szczucka’s appeal (“The Protest”) has been minutely “dissected” and widely criticized by pundits because of the author’s anti-Jewish views and its supposed anti-Semitic content which, allegedly, had the effect of dampening, rather than increasing, societal support for the downtrodden Jews. As in the case of Father Maximilian Kolbe, that narrow approach is a

Polen–Juden, Poles–Jews, 1939–1941: Wybór źródeł, Quellenauswahl, Selection of Documents [Warsaw: Rada Ochrony Pamięci Walki i Męczeństwa, Instytut Dziedzictwa Narodowego, and Rytm, 2001], pp. 212–16):

In the face of crime, it is wrong to remain passive. Whoever is silent witnessing murder becomes a partner to the murder. Whoever does not condemn, condones.

... We have no means to actively counteract the German murders; we cannot help, nor can we rescue anybody. But we protest from the depths of our hearts filled with pity, indignation, and horror. This protest is demanded of us by God, who does not allow us to kill. It is demanded by our Christian conscience. Every being calling itself human has the right to the love of his fellow man. The blood of the defenceless victims is calling to the heavens for vengeance. Who does not support the protest with us, is not a Catholic.

We protest also as Poles. We do not believe that Poland could benefit from the horrible deeds of the Germans. ... The forced participation of the Polish nation as observers of the bloody spectacle taking place on Polish soil may breed indifference to injustice, sadism, and, above all, to the dangerous conviction that those close to us can be murdered with impunity.

Whoever does not understand this, and whoever dares to connect the future of the proud, free Poland, with the vile enjoyment of your fellow man's misfortune—is, therefore, not a Catholic and not a Pole.

Ludwik Hirszfild, a renowned immunologist who had converted to Catholicism long before the war, mingled and conversed with all strata of Polish society—“landed gentry, clergy, peasants”—while hiding in the Polish countryside. He moved eleven times and was helped by numerous Poles. In his memoir published in 1946, Hirszfild expressed his belief—based on that broad exposure—that the vast majority of the Polish population condemned the German atrocities against the Jews: “no one approved of these methods.” He cautioned about making unwarranted generalizations based on the narrow perspective of individual survivors and stereotypization. (Ludwik Hirszfild, *Ludwik Hirszfild: The Story of One Life* [Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2010], pp. 285, 318.)

I was told the story of a [German] gendarme in Tuszcz who boasted he had killed 150 Jews with his own hands. ... Local people told me this story with tears in their eyes. They showed me the nameless graves of people who were killed without guilt or need, were wept for by no one, and yet were pitied by the local people.

Hirszfild recalled his own personal experience before he went into hiding (Hirszfild, *Ludwik Hirszfild*, pp. 273–74):

The Polish people frequently displayed goodwill and friendliness toward me. I was touched most when this was displayed by persons whom I did not know personally. I remember how gallant Polish policemen were when we were being displaced from our home [to move into the Warsaw ghetto], how they encouraged us, apologized, and emphasized: “You will come back here.” When I once asked the city government to disinfect my apartment, the disinfectors did not want to take a tip, saying: “One does not take money from Professor Hirszfild.” I remember a worker from the telephone company who repaired the telephone on our apartment in the presbytery. He asked my daughter whether I was a relative of that professor. When he learned that he was in that professor's apartment, he refused to accept payment.

While the decimated and beleaguered Catholic hierarchy in Poland had meaningful avenues to protest the persecution of Jews, or of Polish Catholics—even the clergy—for that matter, representatives of the Catholic Church hierarchy in exile spoke out. Rev. Karol Mieczysław Radoński, the bishop of Włocławek, who escaped from Poland and took up residence in London, England, actively joined the efforts of the Polish government to inform the world of the crimes committed in occupied Poland. In a BBC radio address delivered on December 14, 1942, echoing the words of “The Protest,” Bishop Radoński stated (“Przemówienie biskupa Radońskiego,” *Dziennik Polski*, December 17, 1942, reproduced in Kunert, *Polacy–Żydzi, Polen–Juden, Poles–Jews, 1939–1941*, pp. 108–10):

As concerns the Jewish populace, its suffering has exceeded everything that hatred and the bestiality of the oppressor is capable of inventing. The murders committed openly on Jews in Poland midst the blustering and jibes of the executioners and their vassals must evoke horror and disgust in the entire civilized world. ...

As a Polish bishop I condemn with all certainty [most categorically] the crime committed in Poland on the Jewish population. The words of the Front Odrodzenia Polski FOP (Front for the Rebirth of Poland) which have reached us from the Homeland, beating with a truly Christian spirit of brotherly love and human compassion are an expression of that which every Pole and Christian feels.

August Cardinal Hlond, the Primate of Poland, who was exiled in France, was similarly well informed. His report to the Vatican on the situation in occupied Poland, issued in Lyons at the beginning of 1943, contained information about the confinement of Jews in ghettos and the horrible conditions there, the deportation to Poland of Jews from other occupied countries, and the mass executions and gassings of Jews. These accounts came to him from the Polish government in London. Cardinal Hlond's report was published in the foremost French Christian journal of resistance, *Cahiers du témoignage chrétien*, nos. 13–14 (1943), and played an important role in spreading the news of the fate of Polish Jewry in the West.³⁵⁸

Finally, it should be mentioned that German-occupied Poland constitutes a ghetto to which all the Jews from Poland and Germany have been brought and Jews from other occupied countries are presently being transported. They are interned in ghettos which are found in all the larger towns. They are shot to death for escaping from the ghetto. They are exhausted and in many cases are worked or starved to death, or freeze to death. Sometimes Gestapo forces enter the ghettos and carry out massacres. Every day the Jews are shot in mass executions and killed in gas chambers. Thousands of them were killed in Przemyśl, Stanisławów and Rzeszów; some 55,000 Jews were killed in Lwów alone. In total, about 700,000 Jews were cruelly murdered on Polish territory. There can be no doubt about Hitler's plan of total and unequivocal annihilation of the Jews on the European continent.

Jewish sources confirm that, while in exile in Lourdes, France, Cardinal Hlond had provided Catholic documents to many Jews and placed Jewish children in monasteries.³⁵⁹

Bishop Józef Gawlina, who was attached to the Polish armed forces fighting outside Poland, delivered a stirring sermon in London on October 3, 1943, in the presence of the President of Poland and members of the government in exile, calling for solidarity with and support for Jews on the part of the Polish nation and the Catholic Church, even though the Church itself was being persecuted and had limited possibility to extend assistance. Bishop Gawlina underscored that “All are children of God and children of the Motherland” without distinction as to religion and nationality, and that Jews in particular were being persecuted and murdered as a people by the Germans.³⁶⁰

Remarkably, British historian Richard J. Evans claims that the Polish Catholic Church not only did not take a clear stance against the Germans' murderous policies towards Polish Jews, “if anything, the

³⁵⁸ The report in question, “O położeniu Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce po trzech latach okupacji hitlerowskiej, 1939–1942,” was reprinted in *Chrześcijanin w świecie*, no. 70 (October 1978), 25–53; the relevant passage is found at p.33. Even before the war, in response to anti-Jewish disturbances, Cardinal Hlond condemned violence against Jews, just as other members of the Polish hierarchy had done. In his parotal letter of February 29, 1936, he wrote: “... it is not permissible to assault, strike or injure Jews. In a Jew you should also respect and love a human being and your neighbour.” (The author is not aware of any pronouncements by Polish rabbis imploring Jews to love Christian Poles.) According to Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch of November 17, 1931, “The Metropolitan of Cracow [Archbishop Adam Sapieha] has issued an appeal to his clergy and to all Catholics, in which he exhorts the population to keep the peace and not to allow themselves to be led away by acts of provocation committed against the Jews. The Metropolitan goes on to condemn those who are inciting the people against the Jews and demands that they should be punished.”

³⁵⁹ Joseph Tenenbaum, *In Search of a Lost People: The Old and New Poland* (New York: Beechhurst Press, 1948), 236. An academic at York University in Toronto, however, claimed contrary to all facts: “There was no coincidence in the fact that the Germans chose Poland as the site of their most horrendous concentration and extermination camps. ... The [Polish] clergy, generally speaking ... was against the Jews and preached in the churches not to help save those who tried to escape from the camps or detention. The Polish Cardinal Hlond was officially against saving or helping those who could have been saved ... These are historical facts which cannot be denied.” See Isaac Bar-Lewaw, Letter, “Jews in Poland,” *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), April 3, 1978.

³⁶⁰ Andrzej Krzysztof Kunert, ed., *Józef Feliks Gawlina Biskup Polowy Polskich Sił Zbrojnych* (Warsaw: Adiutor, 2002), 123; Damian Bednarski, “I vescovi polacchi e la salvaguardia delgi ebrei,” in Mikrut, *La Chiesa cattolica in Europa centro-orientale di fronte al Nazionalsocialismo 1939–1945*, 748.

opposite was the case.”³⁶¹ The decimated Polish hierarchy, it must be remembered, did not issue public pronouncements even on fate of its own clergy or Catholic Poles. Unfortunately, such baseless charges are rather typical of Western literature on wartime Poland. Columbia University historian István Deák, an authority on the subject, remarked: “No issue in Holocaust literature is more burdened by misunderstanding, mendacity, and sheer racial prejudice than that of Polish-Jewish relations during World War II.”³⁶²

Members of the Jewish underground would often meet at Catholic institutions on the “Aryan” side of Warsaw, as these were considered the safest meeting places. A popular venue was a kitchen run by the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) on Sewerynów Street. This quiet, secluded spot was a regular meeting place not only for Żegota, but for the Jewish Fighting Organization (ŻOB). Vladka Meed (Feigele Peltel, later Miedzyrzecki), a member of the Jewish underground who had been brought out of the ghetto in December 1942 by Michał Klepfisz, provides the following description in her book *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), at pages 84–85.

Michał [Michał Klepfisz] informed me that Mikolai [Mikołaj] Berezowski (his original name was Dr. Leon Feiner) wanted to see me. He was the Bund representative of the coordinating committee on the “Aryan side,” and the central figure in the Jewish underground, and our liaison with the Polish underground. ...

I was to meet him at Sewerynow [Sewerynów] 6, between two and three in the afternoon, in a convent, which had a restaurant open to the public. It served as a rendezvous for our small circle of underground activists. Since our group had no steady meeting place, we had to use quiet public sites, and could not meet too often in the same locale.

Michał accompanied me to the convent, which was on a quiet lane where people rarely passed. Next to the kitchen were a small waiting room where one could smoke, a cloakroom, and two spacious halls. Our group usually lunched in one of these halls, which was screened by old green palms set near the window. A rare serenity prevailed here. The diners were predominantly office clerks and impoverished middle class people. Compared to other public kitchens, the prices here were very moderate.

Michał guided me to a vacant table, whispering instructions. Two men were dining at a table to the right. One of them was forty years old, with a crop of black hair, a somber face and unassuming black clothes. He looked like a minor Polish government official. (Dr. Adolf Berman, representative on the Aryan side of the Jewish National Committee, and leader of the Left Poale Zion). Beside him sat a blonde gentleman with a well-groomed moustache, calm and confident in bearing. This was Henryk (Salo Fishgrund), who had been a Bund activist in Cracow [Kraków] prior to the war. Our own Celek [Jankel Celemenski] was sitting by himself at a table opposite.

Shortly, a tall, elegant elderly man with silvery hair and an upturned moustache, bright eyes, and rosy cheeks—the image of a Polish country gentleman—entered. Like Henryk, he had an air of self-confidence. This was Mikolai. He took in the scene at a glance and, catching sight of Michał, joined us.

After exchanging pleasantries, we ordered our meal. Even-tempered, with a faint smile, Mikolai spoke to me with fatherly warmth. ...

“Our task is to get more volunteers,” he remarked. “But we must be very careful; if we make one mistake, we can get a lot of people into very bad trouble.”

³⁶¹ Evans, *The Third Reich at War*, 64. Writing in a similar vein, American historian Timothy Snyder, who has no expertise in this area, put forward equally bizarre conclusions for which he provides no hard evidence: “The dominant Roman Catholic Church in Poland took no stance against the mass murder of the millions of Jews who had lived for centuries among its adherents. Catholic doctrine at the time deemed Jews collectively responsible for the killing of Jesus, and Catholic teachings about modernity connected the blight of communism to Judaism. As a result, the motivations of Roman Catholics who rescued Jews had to arise from some sort of individualism, either their own or that of their parish priests. Such Roman Catholics tended to express religious beliefs that were unorthodox or heretical.” See Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Tom Duggan Books, 2015), 291. In fact, many Polish rescuers as well as their Jewish charges pointed to the rescuers’ strong Catholic faith as their motivation for risking their lives to help Jews. Unfortunately, one can find statements in the memoirs of highly educated Holocaust survivors who are oblivious to the wartime fate of the Polish Catholic clergy. See, for example, Carolyn Gammon and Israel Unger, *The Unwritten Diary of Israel Unger* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), at p.156: “Perhaps the most depressing feeling was seeing the huge church next to the town where Jews had been assembled and tortured prior to being murdered. We saw priests and nuns walking to the church. ... It was very rare that the Catholic clergy protested against what was being done on their doorstep.” Unger, whose family was rescued by Poles in Tarnów, also writes candidly: “I desperately wanted to be Canadian. I was ashamed of being born in Poland. I still have difficulty with that today. Poland was something I did not want to be associated with. I have no feelings for Poland. It is too much of a Jewish graveyard.” *Ibid.*, 72.

³⁶² István Deák, “Memories of Hell,” *The New York Review of Books*, June 26, 1997.

“What will my assignment be?” I asked.

“As you are doubtless aware, our main tasks are to establish contact with Gentiles, find living quarters for women and children, assist Jews who are in hiding, and, in particular, to find sources of arms.”

Michal and I listened closely, as Mikolai continued his instructions in a low voice. ...

As the waitress approached, we stopped our discussion. After she had left, Mikolai asked me whether everything was clear to me. ...

Again, for the benefit of the waitress, we changed to comments on the weather and our delicious meal. When she had gone, we agreed that I would meet Henryk and Mikolai at this convent every day for lunch. All issues would have to be settled at this meeting-place. On special occasions, however, I was to visit Henryk at his home ...

This quiet conversation over lunch in a convent kitchen marked a turning-point in my life and activities. From now on I was to be an integral active part of the underground.

I started a new life. We carried on our activities in accordance with the quiet conversations we had had in the convent refectory where practically all the activists who could move about in public because of their Aryan looks converged.

Michael Zylberberg, another Jewish patron of the same kitchen run by the Resurrectionist Sisters, in his memoirs, *A Warsaw Diary, 1939–1945* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1969), at pages 120–21, notes that many Jews frequented that place and that this fact was likely no secret to the nuns.

Jews in hiding often met by chance in the streets, restaurants and churches. In Sewerynow [Sewerynow] Street you would find the Catholic Community Centre of St. Joseph, which had a well-patronised restaurant. The fact that it was in a quiet street and that the service by nuns was so pleasant attracted many Jews to that place. They came there for lunch and to meet friends, both Jews and Gentiles. It was known to nearly all Jews hidden in Warsaw, and offered an hour's respite from the cruel outside. The atmosphere was peaceful; everyone knew everyone else and fear was temporarily at bay. I went to the restaurant every day for more than a year. On principle I avoided those whom I suspected of being Jewish; I always tried to sit with Poles. It turned out that these so very Catholic Poles were, in fact, Jews. Among the diners I often saw previous friends and pupils of mine. We glanced at each other but conversation was out of the question.

There was one diner who always attracted particular attention; a heavily-veiled woman in black who always wore widow's weeds. No one ever saw her face. The heavy mourning garb, which she wore in summer and winter, and the thick veil were symbols of some great tragedy—and I was certain that she was Jewish too. One day I asked a fellow diner who she was. He told me she was Mrs. Basia Berman, the wife of the active Jewish underground worker Adolf Berman. She acted well, and sometimes overacted, the part of a veiled Catholic.

The Jewish underground was known to turn to the Catholic clergy for assistance. The convent of the Discalced or Barefoot Carmelites on Wolska Street in Warsaw, near the ghetto, was one of their meeting places. It also served as a storage place for arms destined for the ghetto fighters. A cot was kept behind the screen in the locutory of the cloister for Arie Wilner (“Jurek”), a liaison officer of the Jewish Fighting Organization (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa—ŻOB*) to sleep overnight if necessary. (Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us*, pp. 189–90.)

... the Discalced Carmelites gave shelter to the especially endangered leaders of Jewish underground organizations. In their home at 27 Wolska Street in Warsaw, situated near the ghetto walls, help was given to refugees in various forms; this was one of the places where false documents were delivered to Jews; there, too, liaison men of the Jewish underground on the “Aryan” side—Arie Wilner, Tuwie Szejngut, and others—had their secret premises. In 1942 and 1943, the seventeen sisters lived under permanent danger of [death] but never declined their cooperation even in the most hazardous undertakings.

The mother superior of the Carmelite convent was Jadwiga Komaiszko, known as Mother Mary Joseph of Jesus (Maria Józefa od Jezusa). The spirit of those times was captured with unusual poignancy by Polish-Jewish journalist Hanna Krall, who interviewed her for her book *Shielding the Flame: An Intimate Conversation with Dr. Marek Edelman, the Last Surviving Leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986), at pages 100–101.

As the ŻOB's [ŻOB's] representative on the Aryan side ..., Jurek [Arie Wilner] used to get in touch all the time with “Waclaw” [Waclaw, i.e., Henryk Woliński of the Jewish Department of the Home Army's Bureau of Information and Propaganda] and the officers, and when he was unable to take all the packets [of arms and ammunition] to the Ghetto, he would leave them at Mr. [Henryk] Grabowski's or with the barefoot Carmelite nuns on Wolska Street: sometimes guns, sometimes knives, or even explosives. At the time the barefoot Carmelite nuns did not have

strictures as severe as those they observe today and they were allowed to show their faces to strangers, so Jurek, tired after carrying sacks, used to rest on a cot behind a screen in the locutory. I am sitting now in the same locutory on one side of a black iron bar, with the Mother Superior in a nook on the other side, at dusk, and we are talking about those arms transports for the Ghetto that went through the convent for almost a year. Didn't they have any misgivings? The Mother Superior does not understand ...

"After all, arms in such a place?"

"You mean, perhaps, that arms serve to kill people?" asks the Mother Superior. No, for some reason she had never thought about it that way. Her only thought was for the fact that Jurek would eventually be making use of these arms and that when his last hour came, it would be good if he managed to make an act of contrition and make his peace with God. She even asked him to promise this to her, and now she asks me what I think; did he remember the promise when he shot himself in the bunker, at Miła Street?

While Jurek and his friends were making use of those arms, the sky in this part of the town became red and this glow even reached into the convent's vestibule. That's why precisely there, and not in the chapel, the barefoot Carmelite nuns would gather each night and read psalms ("Yea, for Thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter. Awake! Why sleepest thou, oh Lord?"), and she prayed to God that Jurek Wilner might meet his death without fear.

In preparation for the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943, the Jewish Fighting Organization received military training in a Catholic church. (Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall*, p. 125.)

Mikolaj [Mikolaj, i.e., Leon Feiner] introduced Michal [i.e., Michał Klepfisz] to a Polish underground officer named Julian, who was an expert on explosives. Their first meeting took place at dusk in a church on Fabryczna Street. Michal soon learned the art of manufacturing grenades, bombs, and "Molotov cocktails." Silent but pleased, he would return from the church, loaded with leaflets and formulae, to sit up all night studying the material.

The main arms depot for the right-wing Jewish underground organization, the Jewish Military Union (*Żydowski Związek Walki-ŻZW*), was located at St. Stanisław Hospital for Infectious Diseases located at 37 Wolska Street, a place that the Germans were reluctant to enter. The Polish underground organized a cell at that hospital comprised of medical staff, nurses—both nuns and lay personnel, and the hospital chaplain, Rev. Władysław Smyrski (*nom de guerre* "Jawor"), which worked closely with the Jewish underground.³⁶³

Chaim Lazar Litai records the following story of assistance by Catholic priests for the Jewish underground in Warsaw in his monograph *Muranowska 7: The Warsaw Ghetto Rising* (Tel Aviv: Massada-P.E.C. Press, 1966), at pages 135–36 and 169–70:

A Catholic church served the Z.Z.W. [Żydowski Związek Walki—Jewish Military Union] as a highly-effective hideout.

There were in the ghetto at that time a considerable number of former Jews who had converted to Christianity; one of their centres was the Church of the Holy Virgin in Leszno St. ...

... One of these converts was a man called Fodor [Rev. Tadeusz Puder], a priest at the Church of the Holy Virgin and a close friend of Dr. Marcei Godlewski, a leading Catholic Church dignitary. Fodor was later saved by Godlewski from deportation and hidden in the Aryan section of the city.³⁶⁴

In the course of their joint efforts, Father Godlewski became friendly with a number of Jews, among them Lopata [Łopata], one of the Betar leaders and a member of Betar. Very soon, Lopata was able to exert considerable influence on the priest. This gave rise to the idea of digging a tunnel leading from the ghetto to the church, through which Jewish children could be evacuated. The tunnel would also be used by the Jewish Military Organization for transferring men, supplies and arms, and as a means of communication with the Aryan side.

The tunnel was dug from a building near the church on Leszno St. under the crypt of the church, where a large bunker was excavated. A well-concealed aperture was made in the floor of the crypt to the bunker below (the floor of the crypt was actually the roof of the bunker). This aperture gave access from the bunker to the crypt, whence, by means of a ladder, one emerged through removable floorboards into the vestibule of the church, a few paces from the entrance. A short stairway led down to Leszno St. a busy thoroughfare open to Poles and Aryans, transversed by

³⁶³ Maciej Kledzik, "Biało-czerwona opaska z gwiazdą Dawida," *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), March 12, 2005; Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 40.

³⁶⁴ *Author's note:* The story of Rev. Puder being in the ghetto is a legend. The circumstances of his rescue are described earlier in the text.

tramway from the west of the city to the eastern suburbs.

The bunker had another exit through a hole in the wall of the crypt. This led to an adjacent building which was occupied by nuns. In an emergency, an additional means of escape was afforded by the 'chimney', a narrow shaft in the hollow wall behind the church altar, which led down to the bunker. Built by engineers, members of the Z.Z.W., the bunker was fitted with electricity, an alarm system and other essential installations. ...

Gabriela "Bronka" Lajewska [Łajewska], a non-Jewish girl, maintained liaison between the A.K. [Armia Krajowa—Polish Home Army] and the Z.Z.W. headquarters. ... Her main task lay in helping the evacuation of Jewish children from the ghetto. As a rule she would take charge of the children at the mouth of the tunnel in the cemetery or near the All Saints Church and hand them into the care of Father Godlewski, the priest. The last time she was in the ghetto, shortly before the major Aktion [summer 1942], she was caught trying to get a group of children out through the passage near the Pawiak, and sent to prison. In July 1944 she was transferred from the prison to a camp at Ravensburg [Ravensbrück?]. ... In all, Gabriela rescued more than seventy children, many of whom she transferred to the Home for Blind Children [run by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross] in the town of Laski [near Warsaw].

Jewish converts posed a unique challenge for the Catholic clergy. Several thousand Catholics of Jewish origin, some from families who had converted one or two generations previously, were classified as Jews by the Germans and forced into the ghettos.³⁶⁵ These converts required both spiritual care and material assistance. In addition, many Jews decided to convert inside the ghetto. The activities of the Polish clergy were not confined to converts. All Saints church, which was located inside the walled Warsaw ghetto, remained open until the so-called Great Action at end of July 1942. Monsignor Marceli Godlewski, the pastor of All Saints church, and his vicars, Rev. Antoni Czarnecki and Rev. Tadeusz Nowotko, extended help to everyone. Some 22 families of Jewish converts as well as non-converts, around 100 people in total, were housed in the parish rectory. Caritas, The secretary of the metropolitan curia, Monsignor Aleksander Fajęcki, visited the parish from time to time. Jewish children from Janusz Korczak's orphanage were invited to play in the church's courtyard garden. Rev. Godlewski opened up the church's

³⁶⁵ The number of Jewish converts to Christianity who resided in the Warsaw ghetto is variously estimated at between 2,000 and 6,000. According to official sources, as of January 1, 1941, just after the closing of the ghetto, there were some 1,750 Jewish Christians, but this figure is likely low. See Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto*, 66–68. Converts, as well as assimilated Jews who spoke only Polish, were generally disliked in the ghetto and even suffered harassment at the hands of Jews. According to one study, converts were "generally despised by the wider ghetto society." They were "accused of lack morality, of having spiritual complexes of megalomania toward Jews, and of having an inferiority complex toward Christians." See Katarzyna Person, *Assimilated Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1943* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 46. Rabbi Chaim Aron Kaplan expressed tremendous rancor toward Jewish converts, attributing to them the vilest of motives and rejoicing at their misfortune: "I shall, however, have revenge on our 'converts.' I will laugh aloud at the sight of their tragedy. ... Conversion brought them but small deliverance. ... This is the first time in my life that a feeling of vengeance has given me pleasure." See Abraham I. Katsh, ed., *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (New York: Macmillan; and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965), 78–79, 250. The Orthodox members of the Jewish council attempted to deny Christian Jews the rights and help provided to Jews in the ghetto. See Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto*, 70. Converts were repeatedly harassed when they left church services and, on occasion, the German authorities had to intervene to protect them from enraged Orthodox Jews. See the diary of Alceo Valcini, Warsaw correspondent of the Milan *Corriere della Sera*, *Il calvario di Varsavia, 1939–1945* (Milano: Garzanti, 1945), translated into Polish as *Golgota Warszawy, 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1973), 235–36. Valcini's portrayal is fully supported by a report filed by a Jewish Gestapo informer: Crowds of Jews would gather in front of the Christian churches on Sundays and Christian holy days to take in the spectacle of converts attending mass. At Easter in 1942, the crowd of onlookers at the church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Leszno Street was so large that the Jewish police (*Ordnungsdienst*) stationed a special squad there to maintain order and protect the converts. Cited in Christopher R. Browning and Israel Gutman, "The Reports of a Jewish 'Informer' in the Warsaw Ghetto—Selected Documents," in *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 17 (1986): 263. Hostilities also occurred during the Sunday mass at All Saints Church, where a large mob of Hasids gathered with sticks to beat up the converted Jews as they left church. The Jewish police was called in to disperse the Hasids. See Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto*, 85. A Jewish woman, who was not a convert, describes in her memoirs how Jews in the Warsaw ghetto harassed Jewish Christians who attended church services. See Ruth Altbeker Cyprys, *A Jump For Life: A Survivor's Journal from Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York: Continuum, 1997), 32. A Pole who entered the ghetto recalled the caustic remarks made by onlookers about Jews who attended religious services at All Saints Church. See Waclaw Sledzinski, *Governor Frank's Dark Harvest* (Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Mid-Wales: Montgomerys, 1946), 120. This is confirmed by another Jew who observed Jewish youths standing in the street as converts walked to church services and calling out mockingly, "Good Yontiff!" (Good holiday!). See Gary A. Keins, *A Journey Through the Valley of Perdition* ([United States]: n.p., 1985), 86. A similar situation prevailed in Kraków. When priests and nuns would enter the ghetto to tend to the spiritual needs of the converts, they were spat on and cursed by indignant Jews. "Converts were not popular in the ghetto. ... We're foreigners and they hate us." See Roman Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 84, 89–90.

crypt to Jews who made their way out of the ghetto, provided false documents to many Jews, and helped smuggle Jewish children out of the ghetto. Since he resided outside the ghetto, Rev. Godlewski had a special pass which allowed him to enter the ghetto. He was thus able to smuggle food into the ghetto and took children out of the ghetto when he was leaving. Bronisław Anlen, a member of the Communist Party, stated that Rev. Godlewski brought food for him into the ghetto from Antoni Mokrzycki, who was the head of a dentists' association and member of the National Democratic Party.³⁶⁶ Rev. Godlewski also helped Jews escape from the ghetto and hide on the Aryan side, something that has already been mentioned. At least a dozen Jewish boys were brought from the Warsaw ghetto to Rev. Godlewski's home in Anin, on the outskirts of Warsaw, which housed a children's shelter (orphanage) staffed by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary.³⁶⁷ The Jewish children sheltered there included Adam Feller, Jerzy (Jerzyk) Szczeciński, Grinberg, Tazio Łuszczyk (Tadeusz Rosentreter) and his sister Teresa, Andrzejek, Jędrus, Julian (Julek) Brzeziński, Zygmus, and 16-year-old Hanka Sokołowska.³⁶⁸ There is more about the rescue activity in Anin later on. Rev. Godlewski provided birth and baptismal certificates for Jews who passed as Catholic Poles outside the ghetto. The Jasik family, the rescuers of Larissa Sztorchan (later Cain), obtained a birth and baptismal certificate for their charge in the name of Marysia Kozłowska from Rev. Godlewski.³⁶⁹ According to Yad Vashem, who recognized the prelate as a Righteous Gentile in 2009, Rev. Godlewski was instrumental in rescuing at least 70 Jews.³⁷⁰ He is the subject of a monograph in Polish titled *The Pastor of the Ghetto*.³⁷¹

The assistance rendered by Rev. Marcei Godlewski and the priests from All Saints church is mentioned in many publications. Rev. Godlewski has been described as an anti-Semite. He was disliked for promoting Polish businesses, workers' unions and credit unions, which Jews believed undermined their economic position, and for his association with the right-wing National Democracy. The following description comes from Irene Tomaszewski and Teczka Werbowski, *Żegota: The Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1999), at page 36; *Code Name: Żegota: Rescuing Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945: The Most Dangerous Conspiracy in Wartime Europe* (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), at pages 27–28:

When the walls were erected around the Warsaw ghetto, All Saints' church was enclosed within them. Its parish priest [pastor] was Marcei Godlewski, known quite well before the war for his anti-Jewish views. However, once he witnessed the terrifying persecution of the Jews, Godlewski turned his energies to the task of helping as much as he could. He did so by remaining in the ghetto and ministering to the Jews who had been converted to Christianity. He also offered the shelter of his church to any others who turned to him.

Father Godlewski gave the Jews who came to him birth certificates of deceased parishioners, thus providing those ready to escape with an "authentic" document. He smuggled children out of the ghetto under his robes, and helped find shelter and provide food on the other side for those who did make it out.

Godlewski frequently had meetings with Adam Czerniaków, the chairman of the Judenrat, listening sympathetically

³⁶⁶ Ruta Pragier, *Żydzi czy Polacy* (Warsaw: Rytm, 1992), 80–81. Antoni Mokrzycki welcomed Bronisław Anlen into his home after his escape from the Warsaw ghetto, and found him a safe hideout. Together with his two sons, who were members of the far-right National Radical Camp, Mokrzycki was killed by the Germans for helping Jews.

³⁶⁷ One testimony refers to six children brought to Anin, all of whom survived. The mother of one of the children threatened to denounce Rev. Godlewski when the fur coat she had left in the waiting room while visiting her child was stolen by someone. See the testimony of NN, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5688.

³⁶⁸ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzielily się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekwowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at pp. 179–80, 188.

³⁶⁹ Matusz Szczepanik, "Ta ceremonia jest ukoronowaniem mojego ratowania," August 24, 2018, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/aktualnosci/ta-ceremonia-jest-ukoronowaniem-mojego-ratowania>>.

³⁷⁰ Marcei Godlewski, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4350098>>. The Jews rescued by Rev. Godlewski are listed by name.

³⁷¹ Karol Madaj and Małgorzata Żuławnik, *Proboszcz getta* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2010).

and trying to give hope. Caritas, a Catholic welfare organization, opened a soup kitchen in the ghetto operated by a Father Michał Kliszko, [vicar at the cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist]. It was open to anyone who came. Several hundred Jews were kept hidden with Godlewski's former parishioners on the Polish side and in a chapel at 49 Złota Street.

Father Godlewski and his young curates remained in the ghetto until they were expelled, but continued their work outside the walls.

One of the most famous Poles of Jewish origin who witnessed firsthand Rev. Marcei Godlewski's commitment to his parishioners and Jews in need of help in the Warsaw ghetto was the bacteriologist Ludwik Hirszfeld. Hirszfeld, who had converted to Catholicism long before the war for patriotic reasons, described his experiences in his memoir which he completed in 1944 and published in Polish in 1946. Together with his wife and daughter Hirszfeld found refuge in the rectory of All Saints church until they were able to escape from the ghetto. Hirszfeld survived on the Aryan side with the help of a number of Poles.³⁷² (Hirszfeld, *Ludwik Hirszfeld: The Story of One Life*, pp. 244–45, 260–61.)

[I]n September 1941, we received our own apartment in the rectory of the Church of All Saints on Grzybowski Square. Unlike the church on Leszno Street where it was primarily only priests who lived in the [much smaller] parochial house, in the rectory of the Church of All Saints, all rooms and apartments were given to the parishioners except for the apartment of the Reverend Prelate Godlewski. ...

Prelate Godlewski. When I utter his name, I am overcome with emotion. It was passion and love in one soul. He had once been a militant anti-Semite, a priest waging war by word and letter. But when fate brought him in touch with this abyss of misery, he discarded his attitude and devoted himself to the Jews with all the ardor of his priestly heart.

When his beautiful gray head appeared, reminiscent of [painter Jan] Matejko's [renowned Jesuit preacher Piotr] Skarga, heads bowed down before him in love and humility. We all loved him: children and old people alike and we would snatch him from one another for a few moments' talk. Nor did he spare himself. He taught the children catechism, headed the [charitable] Caritas movement in the district, and ordered that soup be handed out to all those who were hungry, regardless of whether they were Christians or Jews. He often came to see us, to comfort and hearten us.

We were not the only ones to think much of him. I would like to pass on for the records what the President of the [Jewish] Community [Adam] Czerniaków, thought of him. We got together at Docent [Juliusz] Zweibaum's to mark the first year of our courses. The president told us how the priest had shed tears in his office when speaking of the Jews' misery and how he was trying to help and ease that misery. He told us how much heart this priest—a former anti-Semite—was showing the Jews.

Father Antoni Czarnecki was prelate Godlewski's assistant and deputy. He was a young priest and did not have the prelate's passionate relationship with life, but he possessed the sweetness and goodness of a clergyman. He was liked and respected by all. And his pleasant and sincere manner had a soothing effect.

It was a strange life. Never had I had such close contact with the church as when I lived in the Jewish district. For a year, every day, morning and evening, I soaked up the atmosphere of quiet in the church. And I lived near people whose profession was a mission of goodness. On Sundays, all [Jewish] Christians—not only Catholics—went to mass. Every one participated: doctors, lawyers, those for whom baptism has been an act of faith, those for whom it was a symbol of national identity, as well as those who had at one point been baptized out of self-interest. But every one felt the need to assemble at least once a week in the church for worship. I observed many people who were not only believers but practicing: even daily mass attracted regular churchgoers. ...

Many people were baptized in the district—both older and younger people, sometimes even entire families. Among them were some of my students, both men and women. Sometimes I was invited to be godfather. What motives could they have had? No profit was to be had: the change of faith in no way changed their legal status. No—they were drawn by the charm of religion—the religion of a nation to which they felt they belonged. ... For Christianity came to power because it gave the unhappy and despised the right to equality and human dignity. Equality before God—so maybe ... before man as well.

³⁷² Among Hirszfeld's benefactors, Yad Vashem recognized Rev. Marcei Godlewski, Paweł Horbaczewski, Irena Janicka, Stanisław Kielbasiński, Aldona Lipszyc, Stanisław and Maria Popowski, Juliusz and Jadwiga Saloni, and Hanna Taborska. Hirszfeld mentions many others in his memoir. Ludwik Hirszfeld was one of eight members of the clandestine medical school in the Warsaw Ghetto known to have survived on the "Aryan" side with the help of Poles. The others were Emil Apfelbaum, Henryk Brokman, Ari Leo Heller, Henryk Lewenfisz Wojnarowski, Henryk Makower, Ludwik Stabholz, and Juliusz Zweibaum. See George M. Weisz, Andrzej Grzybowski, and William Randall Albury, "The Fate of the Warsaw Ghetto Medical Faculty," *The Israel Medicine Association Journal*, vol. 14 (April 2012): 209–13.

In the first half of July 1942, persons who had contact with the Germans warned the Community Board that the Jews were in danger of being deported from the ghetto. ... At the same time, the frequency of killings sharply increased. ... people belonging to the most diverse social strata were being murdered. Almost every day, men and women, Poles and Jews, were brought from the Aryan side and killed, usually in the door of houses in Orla [Orla] Street or in ruins. This was usually done in broad daylight. ... On July 20, the murders began to multiply in number. On July 21, so many murders were committed that on Chłodna Street, for example, there were twenty-six bodies ... Professor [Franciszek] Raszeja was killed on that day. He was summoned to a sick person's house, and he had a legal pass. His former assistant, Dr. Kazimierz Polak, a nurse, and relatives were all present. SS men broke into the apartment and murdered them all. Shortly thereafter, the order was given to close both churches and take the keys and the passes from the priests.

I remember the moment when Rev. Czarnecki, pale from emotion, came and communicated this dismal news to us. We had the impression that an abyss was opening before us. A friend of mine, the young lawyer Tadeusz Endelman, had long had the intention of being baptized. In view of the approaching death threat, he asked the priest to perform the ritual immediately. Rev. Czarnecki did not refuse him this last comfort. After the baptism, the priest went up to the altar and began to pray. A handful of parishioners were present. Everyone felt that the moment was a farewell to life; everyone cried. Later, Rev. Czarnecki visited all tenants of the parochial house to say good-bye and to encourage them. I came back from the city that day. He said good-bye to me with tears in his eyes, made the sign of the cross, and left.

After the liquidation of the so-called small ghetto, All Saints church was no longer within the enclosed ghetto and was allowed to reopen. Rev. Edward Gorczyca became the acting pastor. Assistance was once again provided to Jewish fugitives. Rev. Antoni Czarnecki, the vicar, arranged for Rudolf Hermelin to be smuggled out of the ghetto. In February 1943, two Poles brought Hermelin to the church rectory. Hermelin remained there for several weeks before moving on.³⁷³ His rescue involved the cooperation of a network of dedicated Poles. (Mateusz Szczepaniak, "Righteous Ceremony Held at Royal Castle in Warsaw," January 15, 2018, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/news/righteous-ceremony-held-royal-castle-warsaw>>.)

The engineer Rudolf Hermelin (born 1897) found himself in the Warsaw ghetto together with his wife and daughter. In April, they moved into the All Souls [Saints] parish church on Plac Grzybowski which was inside the ghetto grounds. During the large ghetto liquidation operation in 1942, his entire family ended up in the Treblinka extermination camp. He remained alone in the so-called "ghetto remains", keeping in contact with the parish priests.

At the beginning of February 1943, at the request of Father Godlewski, All Saints parish priest, Adam Świąder made contact with him. He helped him to cross into the so-called "Aryan side". For several months, Hermelin remained in hiding with the help of numerous Poles.

The first of these were Adam and Maria Świąder, who had earlier provided help to many Jews, as well as hiding Home Army weapons in their home. On one occasion, a Gestapo agent appeared at the Świąder home trying to arrest Hermelin and a Jewish boy who was also hiding there. They bribed him to leave.

Next, thanks to a friend of his sister, Hermelin turned for help to a single woman, Magdalena Miedziejewska. She was the housekeeper in the home of a certain German. The woman hid him in her small apartment. After a few days, Hermelin again turned to the Świąder couple who, this time, hid him with a group of Jews in the basement. Fearing discovery by the Germans, he would soon seek further help. In the summer of 1944, he was hidden by Franciszka Sętkowska, Adam Świąder's sister.

Following the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, Sętkowska moved to the countryside. She suggested that Hermelin join her, but he declined due to his bad health. The woman provided him with food supplies and entrusted his care to her neighbour, Marta Kielak (1905–1993). She also provided him with help. During a Gestapo search, she introduced him as her cousin and continued to care for him until liberation in January 1945. They remained in contact for many years thereafter.

The activities carried out on behalf of Jews, especially converts, in the three Catholic parishes located inside the Warsaw ghetto are described in Peter F. Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto: An Epitaph for the Unremembered* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), at pages 59–61, 63–65, 107–8, 115, 121–22, 125–27, 129–30.

³⁷³ Testimony of Rudolf Hermelin, March 8, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4151. Rev. Edward Gorczyca also assisted in the transfer of possessions belonging to Jews into the Warsaw ghetto. See Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1020.

Before the war, there was no specific Jewish district in Warsaw. Jews lived in all districts, but there was a higher concentration of poor Jews in the northern part of what would be called in the United States the downtown area. Thus the Germans created the Jewish living quarter in that area, where up to 40 percent of the population consisted of non-Jews. When the Jewish living quarter became the ghetto, it contained three Roman Catholic parishes within its boundaries: Saint Augustine, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (henceforth B.V.M.), and All Saints. The Church the Nativity of the B.V.M. has been sometimes referred to by its former name of "the Carmelite church." ...

Before the ghetto was sealed off [in November 1940], all three Roman Catholic parish churches served as regular places of Catholic worship, for both the "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" Christians. In Saint Augustine Church on Nowolipki Street, the nominal pastor was Rev. Karol Niemira, auxiliary bishop of Pińsk. After 1939 [when Pińsk was occupied by the Soviet Union], he was appointed to the head of the parish. His second in command and acting head was Rev. Franciszek Garncarek, who followed church laws requiring the pastor to remain with the church as long as he could. The other assistants were Rev. Zygmunt Kowalski and Rev. Leon Więckowicz [actually Więckiewicz]. A postwar copy of the regularly kept church register ... bears the following marginal note, obviously written after the war: "Sometimes after the sealing off of the ghetto, the church functioned as a place of worship for the Catholics of Jewish origin who lived in the ghetto. There were about five thousand of them. The priests lived outside the ghetto and commuted to the church with permanent passes. After some time, however, they were forbidden to enter and the services in the church ceased. This is according to the statement made by Rev. Zygmunt Kowalski, then the assistant in Saint Augustine parish." In July 1941, after the church was deactivated, a well-known Jewish-Christian director, Marek Arensztajn, acting in Polish and Yiddish under the name of Andrzej Marek, organized a theater in the church hall. He was baptized in the ghetto. After the Aktion, the Germans turned the church into a furniture warehouse.

We know that Rev. Garncarek and his assistant were active in providing all sorts of help to the ghetto dwellers, but we do not have any details concerning this help. We know that Janusz Korczak (pseudonym of Dr. Henryk Goldszmit), the director of a large orphanage next to Saint Augustine Church, a renowned educator, physician, and writer, addressed a letter to Rev. Garncarek in February 1942: "[Since] Providence has thrust upon you a missionary role, I urge you to attend a meeting of the personnel of our orphanage to discuss ways of saving the lives of the children from destruction. [You could] perhaps offer some good advice, perhaps an ardent prayer." ... We also know that Dr. Korczak maintained a friendly relationship with the priests of All Saints as well. Two priests of Saint Augustine did not survive the war: Rev. Garncarek died on December 20, 1943, outside the ghetto; he was shot on the steps of the presbytery of another church. His assistant, Rev. Więckowicz [Więckiewicz], was arrested for helping Jews on December 3, 1942, and died in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp on August 4, 1944. ...

The other two parishes, the Nativity of the B.V.M. on Leszno Street (now Solidarność Street) and All Saints on Grzybowski Square, were functioning places of Catholic worship until the first days of the Aktion [in July 1942]. The Nativity Church was in the middle of the ghetto and the All Saints Church in the southeast corner. The church on Leszno was mentioned often by Jewish diarists of the ghetto, probably because it was more or less in the center of the closed quarter. All Saints, on the other hand, was mentioned more often by the Christians, because many of them lived in the vicinity. ...

Throughout the existence of the ghetto, the curate of the Nativity of the B.V.M. Church was Monsignor Seweryn Poplawski, who was assisted by Rev. Henryk Komorowski, Rev. Teofil [in fact, Władysław] Głowacki, and Rev. [Aleksander] Zyberk-Plater. Rev. Poplawski remained at his post even after the Aktion. Rev. Komorowski would be remembered as a charismatic, well-loved priest. He was in charge of the young people of the parish. From the fall of 1942 until the spring of 1943, when the church was on the southern tip of the residual ghetto, many people used its large basement as an escape route to the partly destroyed parts of the former ghetto. ...

The pastor at All Saints [on Grzybowski Square] was Monsignor Marcei Godlewski. His assistant and second in command was Rev. Antoni Czarnecki. Rev. Tadeusz Nowotko also served in the parish. Rev. Godlewski lived outside the ghetto and came to his parish every day; Rev. Czarnecki lived permanently in the rectory of the church. He left a brief memorandum, "The All Saints Parish" ("Parafia Wszystkich Świętych") written in 1973. Obviously conscious that he was writing under an unfriendly political regime, he prudently cites published sources and concentrates on the pastoral aspect of his work. Rev. Czarnecki's caution was fully justified. Rev. Godlewski's successor at All Saints, Rev. Zygmunt Kaczyński, was arrested in 1949 and received a ten-year sentence for "political crimes." He was murdered in prison in 1953, and rehabilitated by the Communist regime in 1958. Despite its caution, Rev. Czarnecki's article is important for many details. He mentions the visits of Dr. Janusz Korczak and his orphans to the church grounds. He also writes briefly about baptisms in the ghetto and the reasons for them. His opinions here are quite realistic: "It is difficult to ascertain now how much these catechumens were inclined to embrace the teaching of Christ because of their desire for faith and their supernatural intention, or how much they were motivated by a secret hope that the Christian confession figuring in their identity card could save them from destruction in that inhuman epoch." ...

Rev. Godlewski was doubtless a key figure among the Christians in the ghetto. During the time of his ghetto activities, he was already an old man, having been born in 1865. ...

The All Saints parish was situated in a heavily Jewish neighborhood. Well before the war, Rev. Godlewski

organized the housemaids in his parish and elsewhere, seeing to it that their employers, who were often Jews, paid the health insurance rates. He also organized the local artisans, who were often in conflict with the more numerous Jewish artisans. He was active in journalism and in Christian labor organizations. He founded an interest-free loan association, apparently using the Jewish Interest-Free Loan Association, as a model; he took its constitution and substituted the word "Jews" with "Poles." He was a nationalist and an "Endek," a member of the National Democratic Party (*Stronictwo Narodowo Demokratyczne*, or ND).

In Godlewski's activities, he often came into conflict with local Jews and Jewish organizations and as a result acquired a reputation as an anti-Semite. It is important to note that this idea of anti-Semitism was based on the economic competition between [the two groups, i.e. Jews and Poles]. ...

The complexity of what can collectively be called anti-Semitism can be seen from [Judenrat chairman] Czerniaków's entry for July 24, 1941. He writes about meeting a priest: "I returned a visit to Rev. Popławski who called on me at one time on the subject of assistance to the Christians of Jewish origins. He proceeded to tell me that he sees God's hand in being placed in the ghetto, [but] that after the war he would leave as much an anti-Semite as he was when he arrived there." But "anti-Semitic" meant many things. Monsignor Seweryn Popławski headed the Nativity of the B.V.M. parish between 1934 and 1944. He refused to leave the ghetto and is known to have helped the persecuted Jews and saved many of them, particularly children. Just before the Polish uprising, the Germans removed him from the church, which they used for storage. He died at seventy-four years of age, during the fighting in August 1944, under the ruins of his church.

People like Rev. Popławski and Rev. Godlewski were profoundly shocked by the Nazis' savage persecutions of the Jews, and of course by the fact that the Nazis considered the baptized Jews to be Jews at all. I fully agree with Rev. Czarnecki's judgment concerning Rev. Godlewski, and probably Rev. Popławski: "Before the War [Rev. Godlewski] was known for his unfriendly [niechętny] attitude toward Jews, but when he saw all the sufferings, he threw himself with all his heart into helping those people."

My personal experiences have convinced me that in the face of persecutions and horrors, the attitude toward the victim was, in the final analysis, dictated not so much by prewar political convictions as by the mysterious quality of human decency.

... one of the former residents of the parish buildings at All Saints, Dr. Louis Christophe Zaleski-Zamenhof, ... is the grandson of Dr. Ludwik Lazar Zamenhof (1859–1917), the creator of Esperanto; the main street of what used to be the northern ghetto bears his name. ...

When he was fifteen, Zaleski-Zamenhof lived in the ghetto with his mother, who had just been released from Pawiak prison. His mother was a widow; her husband had been executed in Palmiry (a forest near Warsaw, the site of numerous executions carried out by the Gestapo), at the beginning of the occupation. His sister, a medical doctor and also a recent widow, lived with them. They were invited to live in the All Saints parish hall by the pastor, Rev. Godlewski. Later, the pastor helped the young Zamenhof to escape from the ghetto and to find a humble factory job in suburban Anin. ...

Dr. Zaleski-Zamenhof speaks in glowing terms of Rev. Godlewski. He does not consider him as an anti-Semite: "He did not ask me what was my religion, but whether I was hungry." On the contrary, he maintains that even from a purely theological point of view, the ideas propagated by Rev. Godlewski in the Warsaw ghetto were forerunners of the new ecumenical view, later accepted by Vatican II, that Jews were not the "rejectors of Christ" but "the older brothers of the Christians." ...

The All Saints Church was situated in the southern part of the ghetto, sometimes referred to as the small ghetto. Some details about the parish life at All Saints can be found in the short and cautious article by Rev. Antoni Czarnecki ... He gives some of the names of those who lived in the parish hall. Besides Professor Ludwik Hirszfeld and his wife and daughter, there were Rudolf Hermelin (engineer) and his family, Polkiewicz (lawyer) and his family, Feliks Drutowski (engineer) with his mother and sister, Zygmunt Pfau and his wife (Bronisława) and daughter, Dr. Fedorowski and his parents, Dr. Gelbard (later known as Gadomski), the Grynbergs, the Zamenhofs, and others. ... (Henryk) Nowogródzki, a lawyer, and Dr. Jakub Weinkiper-Antonowicz.

Rev. Czarnecki remembers that many people who were moved into the ghetto found homes by exchanging apartments in the vicinity of All Saints, "so that ... a considerable part of the population there was constituted by Catholics or Christians of other denomination, or of sympathizers with the Church. The great majority of the new parishioners belonged to the intelligentsia: they were scientists, doctors, artists and lawyers." Given this membership, the parish council naturally included members of the intelligentsia and "outstanding personalities such as Dr. Antonowicz, Dr. Górecki, Dr. Grausam, the lawyer Ettinger, the engineer Hermelin, Mrs. Bronisława Pfau and others." ...

Dr. Ludwik Hirszfeld is the most knowledgeable informant about the Christians in the ghetto and about many aspects of the daily life of the ghetto dwellers. His autobiography, *The Story of a Life* (2000)³⁷⁴ is the most important document by a Christian about the Christians of the Warsaw ghetto and about the Church of All Saints. ...

³⁷⁴ Ludwik Hirszfeld, *Historia jednego życia* (Warsaw: Czytelnik 1946; Pax, 1957), translated as *Ludwik Hirszfeld: The Story of One Life* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2010). See especially pages 244–46 and 261 of the English translation.

Hirszfeld's activities during his next year and a half in the ghetto were of two kinds: he offered [Judenrat chairman] Czerniaków his services as an expert on combating typhus, and he participated in organizing and offering important courses for medical practitioners (doctors, pharmacists, and dentists) and also collaborated in a semiclandestine course for medical students ...in fact it was a program of the first two years in medical school. ... His motivation was frankly spiritual and, as we have seen, often expressed in a clearly religious language. ...

His first lecture for medical practitioners met with some resistance because of his mekhes [convert] status: "The Chairman [Czerniaków] is present, evidently to prevent any demonstrations against me by the Jewish nationalists. At the door a woman doctor, a nationalist, urges the boycott of my lecture. ... My first words are a call to maintain dignity." ...

In the chapter entitled "In the Shadow of the All Saints Church," Hirszfeld describes Jewish Christian life in the ghetto. In August 1941 the Hirszfeld obtained living quarters at All Saints in the large church building containing the rectory and a church hall. After almost seven months of living on Twarda Street, in the midst of noise and filth and with constant exposure to the terrible street scenes, they found themselves in an oasis of relative peace. Hirszfeld describes this new place in terms similar to those Alina Brodzka Wald used about the Church of the Nativity of the B.V.M.: "The windows of our very small dwelling were facing a small but beautiful garden. These gardens surrounded by walls have a strange charm. We had an impression of finding ourselves in a recess of meditation, silence and goodwill, a recess preserved in the midst of hell. And the priest of this recess was Monsignor Godlewski."

Hirszfeld praises Rev. Godlewski in the highest terms. We have already seen the same homage offered by another survivor of the rectory of All Saints, Dr. Zaleski-Zamenhof. Hirszfeld, who insisted that he was not endowed with literary talent, always speaks lyrically about the monsignor. ... "Monsignor Godlewski. When I pronounce this name, I am seized with emotion. Passion and love dwelling in one soul. Once upon a time he was an anti-Semite ... But when fate made him encounter bottomless misery, he abandoned his previous attitudes and turned all the ardor of his priestly heart toward helping the Jews." ...

Hirszfeld says that his admiration for the pastor of the All Saints parish was shared by many: "Whenever his beautiful white-haired head ... appeared, the other heads bowed in admiration and love. We all loved him: children or old people fought for a moment of conversation. He did not spare himself. He taught catechism to the children. He was the head of Caritas for the whole ghetto, and ordered that soup be given whether the hungry person was a Christian or a Jew." Hirszfeld insists that this love and respect was shared by people outside the Jewish Christian group as well: "We [Christian Jews] were not alone in the appreciation of Rev. Godlewski. I would like to transmit to future generations the opinion of the Head of the Jewish Council [Czerniaków]. During a meeting that Dr. [Juliusz] Zweibaum called to observe the first anniversary of the medical courses, the Head of the Council told us how this Monsignor wept in his office when he spoke about the misery of the Jews, and how he tried to alleviate this misery. Czerniaków stressed the great assistance rendered by this former anti-Semite."

Rev. Godlewski lived in Anin, a nearby suburb of Warsaw, and commuted to the ghetto every day using a permanent pass. His relative freedom of movement was extremely important for making contacts, for smuggling small quantities of food and medicine, and, according to a well-established tradition, for smuggling out little children hidden in the fold of his large cassock. His assistant and second in command at All Saints was, as we know, a much younger Rev. Czarnecki, who lived permanently in the rectory and who apparently was not touched by prewar anti-Semitism. Hirszfeld speaks about him also in high terms: "The helper and deputy of the Monsignor was Rev. Antoni Czarnecki. He was a young priest, who did not have the same passionate approach to life as the Monsignor, but he was certainly endowed with a gentleness and goodness worthy of a priest. He was liked and respected by all. His pleasant and loving ways [sposób bycia] had a soothing and comforting effect."

This chapter is the only one in which Hirszfeld speaks about the Christian Jews as a group: "On Sunday all the Christians, not only the Catholics, attended Mass. Everybody was there: doctors, lawyers, those whose baptism was an expression of faith, those for whom it was a [Polish] national symbol, and those who, at a certain moment, accepted their baptism to further their own self-interests. But all felt the need to gather at least once a week in the church and to participate in the service." ...

Hirszfeld's reflections contradict the views of those Jewish writers who saw in the ghetto baptisms nothing but a search for some kind of material profit. ...

What struck me in reading these pages for the first time—many years ago—was the insistence on patriotism, on an inalienable union of God and Country. I remember that during the war in Poland this was precisely the common, accepted, and indisputable view.

Accounts gathered by Yad Vashem, which has recognized Rev. Władysław Głowacki as a Righteous Gentile, attest to the following. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 239.)

From October 1940 to August 1942, Wladyslaw Glowacki [Władysław Głowacki] exploited his position as priest of the Leszno Street church [of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary] in the Warsaw ghetto to provide a number of

Jews, including Amelia and Rudolf Arcichowski, Aleksander Bender, Tadeusz Seidenbeutel, and his father, Maksymilian, with Aryan papers. Glowacki also sheltered Helena Labeledz [Łabędź] in his apartment [in the parish rectory in the suburb of Służewiec where he was transferred in August 1942³⁷⁵] from the summer of 1942 until January 1945, when the area was liberated.

One of the parishioners of the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin was Alina Brodzka-Wald, who was born in Warsaw in 1929 to Nikodem and Helena Brodzki. Her mother was Russian. Alina lived in the Warsaw ghetto with her parents from November 1940 until her escape to the Aryan side, at age twelve, on July 22, 1942. She left the ghetto with a falsified baptismal certificate issued by Rev. Henryk Komorowski, a vicar at the church. She survived under the protection of Catholic nuns: the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Warsaw, and the Sisters of the Resurrection in Warsaw and Częstochowa. Alina's parents, as well as her older half brother, Jan, all survived the war.³⁷⁶ Her story is told in Dembowski, *Christians in the Warsaw Ghetto*, at pages 108–10.

She was baptized early in her life, following her mother's wishes. Her godfather was Stanisław Wiesel (or Wizel), a convert of long standing. ... Alina's parents went to the ghetto in November 1940 because of their deep attachment to their own parents, who were old and had refused to go into hiding, although they could have done so because their Polish was fluent and faultless. [Alina's grandparents] Salomon and Gustawa Brodzki died peacefully in the ghetto, before the Aktion ... One of Alina's aunts, Eugenia Brodzka Jakubowicz, was baptized in the ghetto ... As a little girl, Alina felt the antipathy of the ghetto population: "We were not loved, we were strangers."

The day that Alina's family arrived in the [Warsaw] ghetto he father took her to the Church of the Nativity of the B.V.M. For the next almost twenty months, she went to the parish every day to attend the school, taught by priests as well as lay teachers. She remembers the horror of those trips. Daily life in the ghetto was rendered particularly difficult because, among other things, of the incredibly crowded conditions in the streets. One especially dreaded street was the narrow Karmelicka, the only passage, until the fall of 1941, from the southern part (small ghetto) to the northern part (larger ghetto). Alina had to take this passage to reach the church on Leszno Street from her home on Orła Street. ...

For Alina, entering the small door into the church garden, after the horrors of Leszno and Karmelicka Streets, was like entering another world, a world of green nature, one of tranquillity and a sense of security. She knew the head of the parish, Monsignor [Seweryn] Popławski, Rev. Teofil [Władysław] Głowacki, and Rev. [Aleksander] Zyberk-Plater, whom she remembers as the "intellectuals of the parish." Alina belonged to the parish children's group, which had several dozen members. The leader of this group was Rev. Henryk Komorowski, the priest whom Alina remembers best. He played volleyball with "his" children, and Alina's most cherished souvenir that she managed to bring from the ghetto is a photograph of the parish volleyball team dedicated to her by Rev. Komorowski as "his dear player." He was truly a charismatic person, not only respected but loved. He enjoyed the total trust of his wards.

The school offered the usual subjects as well as a course of studies in the Christian tradition. Besides sports, the parish offered dancing and rhythmic gymnastics lessons given by Irena Prusicka. The parish had run an elementary school since the inception of the ghetto. At first it was a clandestine operation, but in October 1941 it became a legal Catholic school. Regular religious education was offered both in the school and outside it.

We know that the gardens of both the Nativity and All Saints churches were greatly admired, desired, and envied as the only islands of green in the sea of overcrowded and noisy streets. The Nativity parish garden was more substantial than the garden of All Saints or the deactivated Saint Augustine. ... the elite among the converts used to meet in the garden of the Nativity Church: doctors, professors, engineers, and teachers. ...

Alina left the ghetto on the first day of the Aktion, July 22, 1942, she simply walked through the checkpoint with slightly falsified papers, in which the Jewish name Brodzka was modified to the more "Aryan" spelling Brocka. But nobody asked her for papers. She explains it as a combination of luck, youth, and her "Slavic" looks. ...

Alina's first protectors was Jadwiga Bielecka, the wife of a well-known "Endek" who was at that time a prisoner of war in Germany. [Tadeusz Bielecki, a National Democrat leader, actually escaped to France, and then to England. M.P.] Alina spent the rest of the German occupation with the Sisters of the Family of Mary [on Hoża Street], and then with the Sisters of the Resurrection [at their boarding school on Mokotowska Street] in Warsaw. After the Polish uprising, during which this fourteen-year-old girl worked in a hospital, Alina was sent with the Sisters to Częstochowa in the western part of Poland. Both Alina's parents survived on the "Other Side." Her older

³⁷⁵ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 155.

³⁷⁶ Testimony of Alina Brodzka-Wald, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45905; Ewa Wilk, "Uśmiech do losu: O ludzkiej egzystencji ostatnia rozmowa z prof. Aliną Brodzką-Wald," *Polityka* (Warsaw), November 20, 2010.

brother, who left the ghetto well before her, was an active AK [Home Army] member and took part in the Polish uprising. ...

"I have received nothing but kindness from people. Who am I to speak about the Shoah? I do, of course, speak about the Shoah—I do not hide my past experiences. But I have received the grace and the good fortune to be always with good people. No blackmailer [szmalcownik] was ever on my trail.

A day-care was organized at Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Leszno Street in February 1941 for the children of parishioners. It was soon transformed into a clandestine school which accepted non-Catholics and engaged Jewish teachers. Approximately seventy percent of the students were non-Catholics. Because of the increasing number of students, the school was moved to 4 Wolność Street. The enclosed outdoor recreation yard in both buildings welcomed children regardless of their faith.³⁷⁷ After being forced to relocate to the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1940, Antoni Oppenheim, a lawyer, continued his underground activities for the Socialist Party. His wife, Franciszka Anna, continued working in her profession as a teacher. They lived near the Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Leszno Street and benefitted from the generosity of that parish. According to the testimony of their son, Ludwik Oppenheim (Sliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, pp. 126–27),

My father began his secret underground activities even before moving to the ghetto. In the ghetto, he formed a cell of the Organization of Polish Socialists, which reported to the governmental authorities of the Republic of Poland in London. ...

Our next apartment was in the gardener's house of the Church of Our Most Holy Lady Mary on Leszno Street (Catholic). It was thought to be safe from the conspiratorial point of view, and the organization acted as an intermediary in making the arrangements. ... Clandestine meetings were also held there. ...

Mama and her colleagues conducted a kindergarten on the grounds of the church garden from spring to fall of 1941, through the kindness of priests.

Rev. Karol Niemira, the auxiliary bishop of Pińsk, was forced to evacuate his home in Polesie (Polesia), in September 1939, after the Soviet invasion of Eastern Poland. He relocated to Warsaw, to St. Augustine's church, where previously he had served as a parish priest. The area around the church was now within the confines of the walled ghetto. According to his testimony, Bishop Niemira worked closely with the Security Corps (*Korpus Bezpieczeństwa*), an underground military organization of the Home Army which had ties with the right-wing Jewish Military Union (*Żydowski Związek Walki*) (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 331–32.)

As a curate of long standing of a parish which was directly adjacent to the former Warsaw Ghetto I was in contact with the organization called Armed Liberation Zbrojne Wyzwolenie and later with the Security Corps Korpus Bezpieczeństwa in the persons of the commander-in-chief General 'Tarnawa' (Andrzej Petrykowski), and Major 'Bystry' (Henryk Iwański) who was under his command. The aforementioned led a rescue operation to conceal Jews, from 1941 up to the liberation. This rescue operation, conducted in keeping with the Christian ideal of doing good to your neighbour, provided reassurance and real help for the terrorized Polish citizens of Jewish origin. I looked after Polish citizens of Jewish nationality, fed them and sent them to Major 'Bystry' who, with complete dedication, found shelter for them, thus saving them from the Nazi bestiality. Other priests also took part in this operation, including: Father [Zygmunt] Surdacki, who was the administrator of the Lublin diocese; Prelate Wiwczik [Witold Iwicki], himself of Jewish origin, director of the secondary school in Pińsk; Father [Franciszek] Garncarek, curate of St Augustyn parish, my successor; Friar Anicet [Wojciech Kopliński], a Capuchin from the Miodowa Street Monastery; and many, many others.

Some of Bishop Niemira's activities, based on a Jewish testimony, are described in Andrzej Chciuk, ed., *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945* (Clayton, Victoria: Wilke and Company, 1969), at page 50.

Henryk Szladkowski (Slade) ... was assisted by the Catholic Bishop Niemira of Warsaw. When the Jews were being ordered into the Ghetto he rang the diocesan offices and asked for "Mr. Bishop Niemira". The Bishop supplied him with a Certificate of Baptism and other falsified documents and before parting asked Mr. Szladkowski to refer to him any Jew who may need financial or other assistance.

³⁷⁷ Anna Natanblut, "Di shuln in varshevergeto," *Yivo Bleter: Hodesh-Shrift fun Yidishn Visnshafilekhn Institut*, vol. 30, no. 2 (1947): 173–85; Testimony of P. Landsbergowa and A. Górská Oppenheim, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4809.

Halina Kalmus (born in 1926, later Gorcewicz) was thirteen years old when the war broke out. Her mother was a Polish Catholic and her father a Jew, who had nominally converted to Catholicism to marry her mother, but retained a strong identification with his Jewish roots and traditions. Forced to live in the Warsaw ghetto, the Kalmus family were parishioners of St. Augustine's church on Nowolipki Street. Although the parish was formally closed, some priests remained, including Bishop Karol Niemira, the nominal pastor, and Rev. Franciszek Garncarek, the acting head of the parish. The priests of this parish were active in smuggling Jews, especially converts, out of the ghetto. Their work was continued later at the church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also within the ghetto, which remained open longer. It is there that Halina went for help after the revolt in the ghetto was crushed by the Germans in early May of 1943. (Halina Gorcewicz, *Why, Oh God, Why?*, Internet: <<http://whyohgodwhy.blogspot.com/p/about-halina-gorcewicz.html>>. See the chapters titled "Ghetto, end of September 1940," "Ghetto, the last days of April & May, 1943," and "Warsaw, end of May, 1943," previously found online at <<http://www.books-reborn.org/klinger/why/Why.html>>.³⁷⁸)

Early the next morning Mama went outside the wall on a special mission to the nuns ...

She had not been able to arrange anything with the nuns. The Germans had extended their attentions even to them. So she went to the Church of St. Augustyn [Augustine] at Nowolipki and found there not only the parish priest but also His Excellency, Bishop Niemira. She explained our situation to them. It was agreed that they would take the children. So she was comforted in this respect ...

We decided to ask engineer [Joachim] Jachimowicz what possibilities there were for the boys. Especially since they could be exposed to danger without Polish documents. They must accept that risk. And, of course, the condition that they take a vow not to give away how they found themselves on the other side.

Because I was still unable to give the boys any help I stood guard in the evening when they managed to get the children through the passage-way to the other side. Mosze came back happy and delighted, announcing that everything went off fine and the children were in a shelter beneath the church.

"So many children, oh boy!" he added. "I thought they wouldn't have room for ours. The nuns took them away at once. I told them I'd come for them when the storm had passed over our place. You know, Hana, that tall, older one ... well, I've forgotten his name. You know, that ... sort of rabbi of yours ... you know ..."

"Ah, you mean Bishop Niemira?" I put in.

"That's him!" Mosze picked up. "He patted me on the arm and said: 'I've heard about you! I've heard what a brave boy you are. Remember—we'll find a place for you here as well in case of need. Just come to me.' I thanked him as best I knew how and ran off because there wasn't much time left to get back through the passage-way." ...

On my way back to my room I looked in on Mama. ... She told me that she was very worried about the next day, especially about me and the boys. ... She began to explain further:

"Lala, my dear. For a long time now I've been trying to get papers—not only for you, but also for others—but it is not easy. ... Remember one thing always. In case of anything, sometime, about some need, or at a difficult moment—your last chance is to reach His Excellency Bishop Niemira. You are to remember that. But as long as I am by you and with you and I do whatever is within my means, it is not yet time to go to him. He has problems of helping others on his mind at the moment and the most important thing is to tear out of this hell at least some of the youngest children who can be saved." ...

[May 1943]: I was at Nowolipie and from here it was not far to the church [of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary] at Leszno. ... That was my one and only chance of escape. My old church of St. Augustyn at Nowolipki had ceased to exist as a church long since. ...

And so I moved off, alone and deserted, over holes, craters and burial grounds of embers and rubble in which people lay buried. ...

In this way I covered a good distance from the place of slaughter. Somewhere beyond the corner of Karmelicka St. I found a half-buried cellar. I did not know what I might find there. But it was from there that, in 1939, tunnels led to a larger shelter—and from there right under the church. I did not have a torch or light of any kind. The question was—would I find the way? Had the tunnels collapsed or been filled in? ...

A small hole at the entrance. I just managed to squeeze through. ... So, very carefully, I lowered myself bit by bit, finally to touch the ground with my feet. ...

Complete silence—a deathly hush. But suddenly it seemed to me that I could hear a murmur above this ceiling. I could not believe my ears. Should I call out? Try to find out if there was someone there? No. better not risk it. I had no weapon with which to defend myself if it came to that. ...

³⁷⁸ See also the testimony of Halina Gorcewicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 12829.

Using both my hands and my head, I exerted all my strength to find out whether this flap really could not be moved. It did move a little and I even saw a weak ray of light through the gap, but I did not have sufficient strength to lift the flap clear. It was heavy. ...

Finding one more cross-piece, I climbed higher by using it, bending down as I felt the flap against my head. ... I had to open it completely. But what if it fell with a crash? I could feel cold air coming through. Perhaps this really was a prison dungeon? Such thoughts raced through my brain. ... I could not go back—back to what? Where? So it was God's will. Whether to die there among the corpses in the dark—or here. Surely better here, even if it was a prison. ...

So ... One, Two, Three! The flap fell to the floor with a crash which echoed in all directions. I disentangled my arms and legs from the ladder. A weak ray of light was coming as if from a candle shimmering in the distance. It helped me to find a grip and pull myself up. ... Suddenly I felt someone's warm hand touch mine and help to pull me up. For a second I lacked the strength to look up and see who this could be. ... Stretched out on the floor, I saw a man's gray head leaning over me, the body draped in a dress reaching the ground. A warm voice—such a warm voice!—spoke to me quietly:

"Dear child, how did you get here? Are there many with you? We've waited so long!"

When the initial impression wore off I could not believe that I was alive, that my eyes were seeing a man who was a priest—and that the place I had reached was a church.

He put his protective arms round me and led me to the other end of the second cellar where the small candle was burning, asking about others for whom he had been waiting, who were supposed to come here. That was why the entrance had been blocked, because they knew the password which they were to use so that he would open the flap.

...
He was surprised by my appearance and although I was very tired I told him as concisely as I could how I had got there. I mentioned the bodies lying there, which I could not see in the darkness. ...

He stroked my hand and told me to sit down in a soft armchair. He excused himself for a moment, saying he would bring me some warm [grain] coffee. When he had gone I saw in the candlelight that the place was not large, but there was an altar. It was a small chapel in which this priest had sat waiting for those people from below the ground. He must have been a good man.

Deep in thought, I did not sit in the indicated armchair because I was too dirty. I knelt before the small altar, empty but for a Sacred Cross and the one candle. I lost myself in a prayer of thanksgiving ... I also prayed for those who had remained in that "Dante's Inferno" on earth and for all those who had not reached here. ...

I felt a soft touch on my arm although I had not heard approaching footsteps. And these words:

"Come, child. You need a wash and you must be hungry! And you are surely tired, so must rest.

"You are in a reasonably safe place, but not to the extent that you can feel completely free. Here is our other underground chamber."

I turned and saw two men in clerical clothes. I looked at them and rubbed my eyes, unable to believe what I was seeing. I fell on my knees again, saying:

"Praise be to our Lord. Is that His Excellency, Bishop Niemira?"

"Yes, child," came the reply. "We were arrested by the Gestapo at one time because of the children we rescued. But they released us. We have our chambers upstairs. They do not know about this hideaway, fortunately. That is why the new father, whom you did not know, is keeping vigil here. We only come here occasionally. It is not safe for us to be away from upstairs for long, or the Germans might discover this place.

"We have been waiting for several days for a larger group of those heroic ghetto fighters, then you came alone. Fr. Sebastian has told me everything. I have forgotten your name, child. I know you and your parents. Wait—just a minute, just a minute—especially your Mama. Ah, I know! After that Gestapo investigation my brain has dimmed a little. Yes, you're from Pawia, right? Oh yes, Mme. Zuzanna is your mother. A splendid woman!"

"Does your Excellency perhaps know something about my Mama? Is she alive?"

"Oh, yes. She has been very ill. She is with Mme. Oziembłowska [Oziembłowska] at present. She gazes at the burning ghetto in which she has long since buried you—and you are alive, thank God!"

"Yes," I replied. "Only thanks to the merciful Almighty, that is true, was I able to reach here. And for this favour I am grateful with all my heart."

"You will have to change your clothes before you can get out of here. Father Sebastian will give you anything at his disposal. I have, however, something in mind which I want to suggest to you, dear child. You were given the name Halina at your christening. That is not a Catholic name. I saw, however, how you prayed. ... Have you been confirmed?"

"No," I answered.

"Then, I will confirm you myself. But not today, only tomorrow—and not in the morning but here, at night. Later you will leave here with God and go to your mother. It is a great pity that those for whom we've waited have not reached here. And now goodnight with God, darling. Father Sebastian will tell the rest."

His Excellency Niemira blessed me, raising his worthy hands above my head, whispering a prayer. When he finished, he whispered:

"I am proud of you! You are a brave girl. May God be praised."

"Amen," I replied. I rose from my knees, but with such difficulty that if Fr. Sebastian had not supported me, I would have found myself on the floor. I had no strength left.

Fr. Sebastian led me down a similar shaft to the one which had brought me here to another, lower underground chamber. These were mattresses there and blankets for those who had been expected. There was a basin with water and a little soap, also a wash cloth and a lot of women's and men's clothing on a chair in the corner.

Fr. Sebastian told me to have a wash, choose something for myself from among the underwear and clothes to change into. When ready, I was to pull on a string in the corner which would ring a bell letting him know. He would then provide me with a meal. I now felt acutely how tired and hungry I was. There was a wooden ladder here coming down. There was a small shelf on one wall on which stood a Crucifix and a small candle shone. So it was not dark.

... A few moments later Fr. Sebastian came down, carrying a tray with a modest meal. Hot grain coffee, one slice of black, clay-like bread and an army biscuit. ...

"Eat, dear child, with a good appetite," said Fr. Sebastian. "There's not much of it, but our circumstances also are such that we must ration ourselves. And this is not supper, but breakfast—for it is morning now. You would not know it here, without a window. This is a special hideaway. ... You must sleep, for you are very tired. It is quiet here. Should anything unexpected happen I will wake you and let you know. Here are some matches. I will douse the candle as I go out. ... Good-night! Stay with God!"

... when I opened my eyes the candle burning on the shelf with the Crucifix again cast its soft light, penetrating the darkness. Father Sebastian was sitting by me, stroking my cheek.

"Come, child, get up! Before you get another meal you must offer yourself to God. Everything is ready for your confirmation, which His Excellency Niemira will administer to you himself. Here you are—here is a rosary if you would like to pray first. The ceremony will be upstairs."

"And my confession?" I asked.

Father Sebastian replied:

"Last night you confessed to us both the finest deeds of your life. You need not add anything more. You are as pure as snow and may you remain so always. I am going upstairs. You pray and come up right away. It is still and quiet underground now because it is night. ..."

I wanted to pray, say at least part of that rosary, but I could not. ...In place of prayer, my lips whispered once more: "What for? Why, oh God, why? I live, I have survived and they are all dead. Why?"

From upstairs came Fr. Sebastian's voice:

"Come up now, dear!"

I smoothed down my hair and my dress and went up. Fr. Sebastian was waiting and he led me to the altar before which I had knelt yesterday. Waiting there was His Excellency Bishop Niemira.

Although he administered the confirmation sacrament to me, my thoughts, strangely, were not here where I had received help, kind words, where I was fed, clothed and where I slept safely. I was still with all those ghetto fighters who had fallen. ...

Bishop Niemira's words broke into my thoughts:

"I name you Maria-Magdalena, who is your patron saint from this moment and through who you will address yourself to God." ...

Following Bishop Niemira's blessing I kissed the ring on his finger with great reverence. This was a very fine man, not only as a spiritual person, but in himself—a great man. I was very pleased that it was through him that I received the confirmation sacrament. Although I did not know it then, that was the last time I saw him alive.

That same night I was given a new pass from the PCK [Polski Czerwony Krzyż—Polish Red Cross] school and also the pass which I lost during the memorable fur search, confirming my employment in the Out-patient Clinic of the dept. of Social Security. No longer Smulikowski St., but now at Praga, at 34, Jagiellonska [Jagiellońska] St. I was to continue my work with Dr. [Henryk] Cetkowski, who was now employed there.

In the morning, after curfew, I was led out by Fr. Sebastian through a different section of underground passages with which I was not familiar to a tram stop. I was going to take a tram to Praga in order to reach Szeroka St., where my Mama was living with friends. Fr. Sebastian gave me money for the fare. While saying goodbye to me he became very emotional and could not control himself. Blessing me on my further, new, journey he told me:

"You must contact your old friend, the helpful Dr. Cetkowski, at once. Give him my regards. Go on being yourself as you have been up to now. Remember, Maria-Magdalena!"

"Yes, Father," I replied.

A tram came up and Fr. Sebastian told me to take it. I kissed him sincerely. What a pity that I did not know his full name. The name Sebastian was probably also not his own, only adopted with his priest's vows—possibly even that was different now? What a warm heart he had shown me. ...

Following the direction given to me by Fr. Sebastian I reached Szeroka St. at Praga safely and proceeded to the indicated address where my mother was staying. ...

During this initial period I continued to use the false documents provided by Fr. Sebastian. ...

Towards the end, I should stress the fact that the Polish Community—those true Poles—gave self-sacrificing help to the people locked in the ghetto. It is not relevant whether they did so altruistically (some did) or for large sums of money (they were risking their own lives and those of their families). But the fact itself that such help existed and that through it the lives of many Jews and Jewish children were saved—that should always be remembered.

It should also be stressed with what great self-sacrifice and devotion the convent sisterhood operated, as well as many priests. Among those who gave the greatest assistance were the clergy with His Excellency Bishop Niemira at the head, from the Church of St. Augustyn at Nowolipki. In the first phase many hundreds of Jewish children (the tiniest ones, the small ones and those older ones) went through their hands. ... Also the clergy from the ... Church of the Holiest Virgin Mary—and many, many others.

Miriam Chasson (née Finkielsztajn) survived the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Before her deportation to Majdanek, Miriam's mother obtained a baptismal certificate for her daughter under the name of Irena Lewandowska. According to one version, the document was provided by the Carmelite Sisters; however, according to another version, which is more likely the case, it came from the church of St. John of God on Bonifraterska Street, near the Warsaw ghetto, which was under the care of the Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God, known popularly as Bonifratrzy.³⁷⁹ Miriam turned to family friends and survived with the help of a number of Poles in the vicinity of Łowicz. Miriam confided in Rev. Zenon Ziemecki, the pastor of Belchów, and he assisted her in her ruse as a Catholic. She survived the war and settled in Israel. (The Laska Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-laska-family-0>>; <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-laska-family>>.)

In the late spring 1943 the family named Laska in the Belchów village (powiat Łowicz, voivodship Łódź) took in a ten-year-old girl, who introduced herself as Irena Lewandowska, an orphan from Przemyśl.

Miriam Chasson, nee Finkielsztajn, the only daughter of Roza [Róża] and Gustaw Finkielsztajn ... In the fall of 1941 the Jewish population of the town [of Łowicz] was resettled by Germans to the Warsaw ghetto.

In 1942 Gustaw was caught in a street round-up and taken to Umschlagplatz; he was killed in Treblinka. Roza managed to arrange for a fake baptismal certificate for her daughter with the help of Carmelite nuns from the convent bordering on the ghetto at Bonifraterska street. In spite of the famine they managed to survive until the April ghetto uprising. They sought shelter in one of the bunkers with 30 other people. On May 4, 1943, the Germans brought them all outside.

Ten-year-old Miriam showed her baptismal certificate to one of the German policemen and told him that her name was Irena Lewandowska, and that she was a Christian girl who found herself in the ghetto by accident. She was taken to a Gestapo station while all the other—including her mother—went to Umschlagplatz. In the general confusion the girl managed to leave the station and cross to the “Aryan side”.

She does not remember any more how she got Mr. Bobotek's address in Nieborów. Her aunt, who had escaped from the ghetto during the uprising and was hiding at the “Aryan side”, could not take her in, but gave her some money. Miriam bought a small cross and a train ticket. When she reached Mr. Bobotek's house and asked for help he placed her as a nanny with a family with four children.

Miriam did not complain, but she was not comfortable there. “... I took care of their children, but one beautiful day I went for a walk in that village. There was a farm of Stanisław Laska. Here was Nieborów, then a highway, the grass-covered fields. ... Belchów was two, maybe three kilometres further. And they were somewhere in the middle, just that house. They had orchards. I thought: ‘what's there to lose? I'll try.’ I went in and asked if maybe they need some help with the cows or pigs. Because they had a big farm.”

Józef and Marianna Laska, and their four children, worked their own farm in Belchów near Nieborów. They had four children. “... there was Stanisław, he was still a young man, 26 years old,” remembers Miriam Chasson. “Then there was his mother, Marianna, and his grandmother. There was his sister Helka and another one, Julka, born after Helka. The oldest one was Stacha, married to a railman, but she didn't live with them, she had a small house, close to them, but not together. There was no father, because he had also been a railman and died in a railway accident.” ...

“First they asked me if I was hungry. I said yes and at once they gave me something to eat, potatoes and sour milk, and they told me: ‘You can stay, if you like’. ... So I went back to that Mr. Bobotek and told him: ‘You know, I was really unhappy with those people [family with 4 children]. I was just walking around and I dropped in to Mr. Laska, and they need someone to help with the cows and housework. Could I move in with them? And he said ‘yes’, and I went to them.”

They accepted her as Irena Lewandowska, orphan from the Zamojskie [Zamość] district.

³⁷⁹ Katarzyna Piotrkiwicz, “Kto ratuje jedno życie—ratuje cały świat,” *Łowiczanie: Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 2 (41), July 2013: 1, 4.

“At that time they took those children in the Zamojskie district, and she came from there. She had the certificate.” recalls Stanisław Laska. His memory of her arrival differs from Miriam’s story: “She was brought by a lady who lived in Łowicz, they had a house there, she came here and brought that little Jewish girl,” he says.

Miriam gets emotional when she remembers her stay with the Laskas: “they took me in, put me in a tub, because I had lice from that bunker and everything ... and then I went to bed, the same as Helka. They didn’t treat me as if I dropped down from Mars or another planet. They were the people ... there are no such people in the whole world ... I found a home. ... I worked because everyone worked there. I slept together with Helka.” ...

“After a while I started going to school in the village. I attended religious instruction lessons. I was a good student and the priest even praised me from the pulpit. And they [the Laskas] were very proud of me.” Irena took her First Communion: “She was keen to do it because she had a friend and they took Communion together,” says Stanisław.

The girl told about her origin only to the priest [Rev. Zenon Ziemecki] during confession. The Laskas were guessing she was Jewish but it did not matter to them.

“I had quite forgotten I was Jewish,” remembers Miriam. “... when we were sitting together in winter weaving linen, there was talk about Jews. ... they talked about my grandpa. They had known him, bought ploughs from him and other staff ... those relatives of mine, Finkielsztajn-Adler, were very well known in Łowicz ... of course, I didn’t say anything ...

They never asked me about that certificate. I told them that Germans had killed my parents ... They never asked.” Miriam-Irena stayed with the Laskas for two years.

After being smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto with her brother in July 1942, Ada Rems (or Remz, born in 1930, later Stortz) and her younger brother, Eugeniusz (born in 1934), were sheltered by an unidentified Polish woman in Warsaw. Ada’s brother was sent to live with the woman’s mother, Kuszyńska, in Radość outside Warsaw. After giving himself away by wearing a hat in church, Ada’s brother was not allowed to venture out of the house. Ada’s benefactor was warned by the tenement building administrator where they lived to send Ada away because of the danger this exposed the residents to. A priest known as Fr. Albin arranged for temporary lodging for Ada in Warsaw, and then placed her with a woman named Neuman in Świątniki Górne near Kraków. Ada remained there as Adela Rosińska from May 1943 until June 1945. After the war, the children were reunited with their mother, Fania Rems, who was sheltered in Warsaw by Antonina Kerner. Their father had perished. Later, the family settled in Argentina.³⁸⁰

Rev. Henryk Hilchen, pastor of Our Lady of Częstochowa church, then located on Łazienkowska Street in Warsaw, provided Jews with false birth and baptismal certificates and helped them find hiding places. After leaving the Warsaw ghetto, Eugenia Kulczycka (Steinberg) turned to Rev. Hilchen, who was unknown to her. Rev. Hilchen directed her, with an endorsement, to Stanisława Kirst, the owner of an estate near Mogielnica near Grójec, where she remained in hiding for two years. According to Yad Vashem’s records, Rev. Hilchen also assisted in the rescue of Alicja Kirsztejn. He was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018.³⁸¹

After the failed revolt that broke out in the Warsaw ghetto in April 1943, the Polish underground attempted to rescue the small number of Jews who managed to escape deportation and remained hidden in bunkers and cellars in the ruins of the ghetto. The Polish underground turned to Catholic priests for assistance in hiding the fugitives. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 806–807.)

Zdzisław [Zdzisław] Szymczak and his wife, Jadwiga, lived in Warsaw during the war. In 1941, he began helping Jews. His brother, Józef [Józef], also actively assisted him in this endeavor. One of the many Jews who received help from the Szymczak brothers was Mieczysław [Mieczysław] Karol Dubiński [Dubiński], a schoolmate of Zdzisław’s from the Warsaw Polytechnic. They were also both involved in the Socialist Student Union group known as

³⁸⁰ Testimony of Ada Rems (Remz), November 21, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1221; Testimony of Ada Stortz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 23969; Testimony of Fanny Rems, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 11325.

³⁸¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1028–29; Testimony of Halina Lachs in Edmund Mazur, “Po prostu człowiek: Materiały dotyczące pomocy niesionej Żydom w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Warszawie,” *Palestra*, no. 11 (1968): 65–104, at pp. 92–93.

“Life” (OMS “Zycie” [“Życie]). They had met again at the turn of 1941, when Zdzisław helped Dubinski find a hiding in Piaseczno (near Warsaw) for a few days. At the same time, Jehuda Leibel (later Roman Malinowski)—who was also a prewar schoolmate from the Polytechnic—approached Zdzisław. In November 1942, the Szymczak brothers arranged the escape of Maria Malinowski from the Tarnow [Tarnów] ghetto. Maria (Rachel Markus) was Roman’s wife. The brothers brought her to Warsaw and helped her establish herself on the Aryan side. Zdzisław also hid Benjamin Leibel (Roman’s father) in his apartment for one week. He eventually found a hiding place for Roman’s father-in-law, Moshe Markus, as well. In December 1942, the Szymczak brothers helped Rachel’s sister, Felicia Markus (Izabelle Minz), escape from the Tarnow ghetto. They took her to Warsaw and put her up for a few days in their mother’s apartment. They also arranged Aryan papers for her and helped her find an apartment. Zdzisław also helped Roman’s sister, Lili Rosenblum, flee the ghetto. In July 1943, the teenager David Plonski escaped from the [Warsaw] ghetto through the sewage system. He tried to contact the Polish underground to arrange for the escape of the handful of fighters who had remained alive in the destroyed ghetto. The Szymczak brothers came to his aid and provided him with food and arms. They also helped him return to the ghetto through a manhole and then, for three nights, waited for him and his group of comrades to leave the ghetto. They kept in contact with the fighters after finding hiding places for all. In 1944, following the end of the Warsaw Uprising, Zdzisław helped Roman to relocate his family.

The aforementioned Zdzisław Szymczak provided additional details of his exploits in his own recollection of these events, including the assistance he received from Rev. Paweł Iliński of Zalesie Górne near Warsaw. (Richard C. Lukas, ed., *Out of the Inferno: Poles Remember the Holocaust* [Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989], pp. 166–68.)

The aid that I organized for the Jews had a three-fold character, first of all moving Jews to safe places. Often through my mediation, people found shelter with partisan units [who operated in the Kielce woods]. The point of contact for moving Jews was my own residence at 15 Granica [Graniczna] Street in Warsaw. During the occupation, nearly 100 people passed through my apartment. To avoid provocation of the Germans, those Jews who came to my home first called upon people whom I knew and in whom I had confidence. That same day or the following day, the Jews were moved to other apartments in City Center, Powiśle, or Wola. These apartments were specially prepared with secret tile stoves on rollers, in the event of a German search. The Jews were also moved often to the apartment of my in-laws at 43 Królewicz Jakub Street, where in a one-family dwelling two secret places to hide Jews—one in the cellar and one in the loft—had been built. ...

Second, I helped to provide food to Jews who lived in the ghetto, even during the Ghetto Uprising. After the end of the Ghetto Uprising, I received from Mieczysław Kadzielski (the name he used during the occupation) information about the location of a camouflaged bunker in the ghetto. I decided to help this group out of the ghetto. To gain entry to the ghetto, I hired myself out for several days with a group of transport workers who worked for the Germans. This groups’ [sic] task was to carry away industrial machinery from the ghetto. I assumed the risk, convinced that there was no other possibility to save the people in the bunker. During the time of my work in the ghetto, I detached myself from the other workers, with the agreement of the supervisor, and went to the address of the bunker. All I got there was information that Kadzielski had moved to another bunker and would indicate later where he was. After several weeks, a fifteen-year-old Jewish boy, Little Jurek [Jerzy Płoński], a member of Kadzielski’s group, came to my apartment. He had gotten out of the rubble of the ghetto through the sewers and he brought news of Kadzielski’s location. Together with my friends, we decided to help Kadzielski and the people who were with him get out through the sewers. At a designated manhole exactly at midnight we would take them out. We leased an apartment near the entrance to the sewer, where we would immediately be able to get to the survivors. We anticipated using armed guards. The escape was successful. Kadzielski stayed first in the apartment on Królewicz Jakub Street and found himself later in Zalesie Górne near Warsaw, where he was hidden by Father [Paweł] Iliński, a member of the Home Army, in the home of the Matysiak family.

In my third way of aiding Jews, it often happened that I traveled by train to escort Jews to Warsaw. On one of these trips I went to Częstochowa to escort the twelve-year-old niece of Mrs. Kadzielski. After several days, we moved her to the house in Zalesie Górne. The girl calls herself Ola Harland now and lives in Paris.

During the entire occupation, although I was registered as living at 15 Granica [Graniczna] Street, I tried to be there very rarely because I was being pursued by the Gestapo. The Gestapo possessed documents concerning my prewar Communist activities at the Warsaw Polytechnic. I succeeded in avoiding arrest three times. Since I myself was being pursued by the Nazis, it seemed reasonable for me to help the persecuted Jews.

Many other priests from Warsaw assisted Jews during the German occupation. The following members of the Society of the Catholic Apostolate, also known as the Pallottine Fathers, extended help to Jews in Warsaw: Rev. Franciszek Pauliński, the rector of the residence on Miodowa Street; Rev. Wiktor Bartkowiak, the chaplain of the transit camp on Skaryszewska Street; Rev. Jan Stefanowski, who assisted

both Polish and Jewish children; Rev. Jan Młyńczak, who was active in the Polus shelter for the homeless in the suburb of Praga.³⁸² Rev. Józef Dąbrowski, who lived in the Pallottine residence in Ołtarzew (Ożarów), is mentioned earlier in the account of Dr. Zofia Szymańska. Jews were also assisted by and sheltered in that institution.³⁸³

Fruma Bregman found shelters for herself, her husband, and her daughter, as did other Jews, thanks to contacts provided by the Jesuit Fr. Alojzy Chrobak and Rev. Michał Kliszko, the vicar of Warsaw's cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist. Fr. Chrobak was acquainted with Fruma Bregman's husband, at whose store he shopped before the Bregman family moved to the ghetto. Fr. Chrobak gave him his address in case his family needed help. For a time, Fruma and her daughter, Zosia, lived with Maria Szymczyk, with whom she made contact thanks to Fr. Chrobak. Fruma describes her as a "saintly woman" who would distribute money to the sick and those in need.³⁸⁴ Fr. Chrobak served as a Home Army chaplain and was seriously wounded during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. After the war, Fr. Chrobak was persecuted by the Communist authorities. He was arrested in 1949 and put on trial for alleged anti-Communist activities, and sentenced to a prison term of four years. The Bregman and Lubaczewski families, whom Fr. Chrobak had helped rescue during the war, sent unsuccessful pleas for clemency. He was released from prison in February 1952 in poor health.³⁸⁵

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Helena Kirjanow was helped by Maria and Andrzej Dobrodziej, who in turn directed her to Jan and Józefa Dziuba. The Dziubas sheltered Helena in their home in Warsaw until the Uprising broke out in August 1944. Afterwards, Józefa Dziuba took refuge in the Archbishop's residence on Miodowa Street, together with her charge. There, Rev. Zygmunt Choromański, the vicar general of the archdiocese, protected Helena Kirjanow, as did Rev. Józef Podbielski. (The Warsaw archdiocese was vacant at the time. Its previous Apostolic Administrator, Archbishop Stanisław Gall, had died in September 1942. The auxiliary bishop, Antoni Szlagowski, was interned by the Germans in September 1944. Rev. Choromański was appointed auxiliary bishop of Warsaw in May 1946.) After the war, Helena Kirjanow joined her husband in France and then immigrated to Argentina.³⁸⁶

Chana Gorodecka was hospitalized during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 under an assumed identity. The hospital was evacuated to the Okęcie suburb, where she remained for several weeks in a very poor state. She stuttered deliberately in order to disguise her faulty Polish speech. One of the priests who visited the patients at the hospital brought her extra food and warm clothing.³⁸⁷

After the suicide of her husband, Adam Czerniaków, the head of the Jewish Council, Felicja Czerniaków escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942. She was sheltered by several Poles, among them her former housekeeper, Anna Blum, her schoolmate, Dr. Grabowska, and Apolinary Rudnicki. During the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, the Germans evicted the residents from their homes. Felicja hid in a shelter together with Rev. Czesław Oraczewski from St. James church. She disclosed her true identity to

³⁸² Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 664.

³⁸³ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 664.

³⁸⁴ Testimony of Fruma Bregman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1984, noted in Michał Czajka, Marek Józwick, Teresa Mahorowska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 901–2000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 901–2000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2000), vol. 2, 370. See also Barbara Engelking and Dariusz Libionka, *Żydzi w powstańczej Warszawie* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2009), 219.

³⁸⁵ Stanisław Cieślak, "Jezuici ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at p. 151.

³⁸⁶ Paweł Rytel-Andrianik, "Nieznani bohaterowie," *Nasz Dziennik*, February 1, 2014.

³⁸⁷ Memoir of Chana Gorodecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 288; published as *Hana: Pamiętnik polskiej Żydówki* (Gdańsk: Arext, 1992), and translated as *Chana: A Memoir of Survival* (United Kingdom: n.p., 2010).

the priest and asked him to pray for her. Felicja survived the war.³⁸⁸

The Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) ran an orphanage in Chotomów outside Warsaw. The nuns were part of network composed of lay organizations, such as the Warsaw Department of Social Welfare headed by Jan Dobraczyński, who referred Jewish children to convents, and priests, such as Rev. Stefan Ugniewski, who headed the foundation responsible for the orphanage in Chotomów. During the German occupation some 80 to 90 girls, mostly orphans, were under the care of eight nuns, including the superior, Sister Teofila Kozłowska, and Sister Witolda (Bronisława) Krzemińska, an educator. Some ten Jewish girls were sheltered in the orphanage among them: Joanna (Joasia) Majerczyk (born in 1931, later Gomulka), who was referred in November 1940 by Mother Urszula Ledóchowska of the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus; Feliksa Brylant (born in 1931, later Gziut), who was later transferred to the orphanage of the Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) in Turkowice to join her brother Ludwik; Dalia Gołąb (born in 1938 as Taragin); Anna Paprocka (born in 1939 as Mendelson); Halina Węgiełek (born in 1938 as Halina Ajzner), who was placed there by Fr. Alojzy Chrobak; Jadwiga Czernik (born in 1931); the sisters Irena and Anna Michalska (born in 1933 and 1936, respectively, as Monat); Janina Luniów or Lesiów (Krakowecka, born in 1936); and Danuta Rolnik (born in 1937). Joanna Majerczyk's mother, Maria Majerczyk, arrived there when the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 broke out and remained with her daughter. In October 1944, the orphanage was evacuated to Modlin, then to Częstochowa, and finally to the nearby village of Krasice.³⁸⁹ Sisters Teofila Kozłowska and Bronisława Krzemińska were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2017.³⁹⁰

Ten-year-old Fejgele Inwentarz was placed in the Chotomów orphanage by her mother, Bella Inwentarz, but she was so attached to her mother that she left on her own without telling anyone. She and her mother then relocated to Warsaw ghetto where they perished.³⁹¹ However, Fejgele's older brother, Josek Inwentarz (born in 1930, later Josef Carmeli or Yosef Karmeli) survived with the assistance of many Poles, including his prewar neighbours, the Lisowski family, and an unidentified priest.³⁹² (Anna Kołacińska-Gałązka, ed., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5 [Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci

³⁸⁸ Basia Temkin-Bermanowa, *Dziennik z podziemia* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Twój Styl, 2000), 184, translated as Basia Temkin-Berman, *City Within a City* (New York: International Psychoanalytic Books and YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 2012). See also "Czerniaków Adam," Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sztetl.org.pl/en/biographies/5875-czerniakow-adam>>.

³⁸⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 805–7; Ajzner, *Hania's War*, 151 (Halina Ajzner). The daughter of Michał Mendelson and Bela Rochman was brought from the Warsaw ghetto to the home of Stanisław and Kazimiera Trzaskalski, and then transferred to their daughter, Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska, an employee of the Warsaw Social Welfare Department, who registered the child as Anna Paprocka, the daughter of her housekeeper. The child remained there until the end of 1943, at which time Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska had to hide from the Gestapo. The child was placed in the Chotomów orphanage by Jadwiga Piotrowska, another employee of the Warsaw Social Welfare Department. Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska also took in another Jewish girl, Halina Schumacher (Szumacher, born in 1931), who went by the name of Helena Matusiak. After she had to go into hiding, Jadwiga Piotrowska placed the child in a Catholic institution run by nuns in the Czerniaków district of Warsaw. After the 1944 Warsaw Uprising the older girls at that institution, including Helena Matusiak, were taken to Germany for forced labour. Both of Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska's charges survived the war. See the testimony of Izabella Kuczkowska-Trzaskalska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6340. See also the testimony of Feliksa Gziut (née Brylant), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 29004; and the testimony of Joanna Gomulka (née Majerczyk), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 30863.

³⁹⁰ Teofila Kozłowska and Bronisława Krzemińska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=12620142>> and <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4688065>>. The following persons are acknowledged as having been rescued at this institution: Joanna, Janina, Majerczyk, Gomulka; Anna Monat; Irena Monat Stern; Feliksa, Danuta Brylant Gziut; Dalia, Idalia Gołąb Taragin; Halina Węgiełek; Janina, Julianna Lesiów Krakowecka; Danuta Rolnik; Urszula Staros; Jadwiga Czernek; Maria Majerczyk.

³⁹¹ Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 16–17.

³⁹² Testimony of Yosef Karmeli, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 26371; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 461.

Holocaustu” w Polsce, 2013], 19.)

The fall of 1943 approached. Having no place to stay I went in the direction of the place of my birth which I knew from childhood—the area of Tarchomin, Winnica, Henryków, Wiśniew. During the day I hid in the brushwood near the Vistula River. At night, like a wolf, I approached farmsteads asking for a place to sleep and something to eat. Nowhere did anyone refuse me some food. Sometimes I was allowed to stay overnight in a house, barn or stable. Everywhere I got some bread and milk for the road. Often I would enter a stable or cowshed without the farmer’s knowledge. I ate the food that the farmer left for the horse (cereal) or pigs (boiled potatoes). For quite some time I lived in the attic of a parish rectory. The priest knew I was a Jew. He gave me shelter and fed me ... I had a warm place under a roof, a full stomach and was under the care of the priest. However, I couldn’t stay too long in anyone place. My instincts told me that I should change my whereabouts.

Aleksandra Mackiewicz-Niemczyk, a liaison officer for the Polish underground who was involved with Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, describes how she openly transported a Jewish girl with Semitic features in a crowded train from a railway station in Warsaw to the Chotomów orphanage of the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś). (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, p. 385.)

One Spring Sunday, I was to take a child (a 9-year-old girl) to a certain institution run by nuns in the vicinity of Nowy Dwór [in Chotomów³⁹³] ... The previous evening I had gone to the parents of the little girl—they were of the intelligentsia from Lvov [Lwów]—and discussed with them matters pertaining to her departure. They were very rich people and the clothing they were preparing for the little girl to take to the institution seemed to me to be too elaborate, to which I called their attention. Nonetheless, when I came for the child the next morning, I found her dressed in a manner that made her conspicuous among children on the Warsaw wartime street. Moreover, she was a child with marked Semitic features. There was no time, however, nor any sense in arguing about such details in view of the great despair of the parents, so I took the child and went to the station. The train we boarded was full of smugglers, women delivering milk, so tightly packed that the people were standing in the compartments and in the corridor. At the instant my—take note—very elegant and very Semitic ward shoved some woman away with both hands, crying out ‘Uff, ruffraff!’ The people in the compartment became silent and surged together, everyone turned their attention to us. I called her attention to us. I called her attention with a sharp tone to her discourtesy—and I must admit that in my heart I considered the case lost. The train was still standing at the station and it would not be difficult to summon the first representative of the authority through the window. Yet there was not a person in the whole packed compartment who considered it right to give away this Jewish child. At the institution to which we then came without further disturbance, I consigned the little one to the proper nun.

Ludwika Oberleder (born in 1920), her older sister and her mother, who were natives of Kraków, moved to Warsaw during the war. They assumed Christian identities using birth and baptismal certificates under the name of Piekarszewski provided to them by a priest in the Praga district of Warsaw. Ludwika’s father eventually joined them. While living in outlying Milanówek ostensibly as Polish Catholics, the family was protected by the pastor of the local parish (St. Hedwig), Rev. Jerzy Modzelewski, who assisted in their cover-up and performed marriage ceremonies for Ludwika’s sister, Irena, and for a cousin. Both priests were said to have been very helpful to Jews.³⁹⁴ After the war, Rev. Modzelewski was nominated an auxiliary bishop of the Archdiocese of Warsaw.

With the assistance of Rev. Edmund Krause from the Holy Cross parish in Warsaw, Lusja Polirsztok and her son Jerzy were sheltered at the retirement home for priests in Marki near Warsaw. They left the home in May 1943, after Rev. Krause’s death, to live with friends in the Praga suburb of Warsaw.³⁹⁵ Rev. Krause was the co-founder and chaplain of the Front for the Rebirth of Poland (*Front Odrodzenia Polski*),

³⁹³ See Krzysztof Jasiewicz, ed., *Świat niepożegnany: Żydzi na dawnych ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII–XX wieku* (Warsaw and London: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Rytm, and Polonia Aid Foundation Trust, 2004), 90. There are a number of recorded accounts, some of which are set out in this compilation, that mention the muted, yet tolerant, reaction of Polish passengers who became aware of the presence of Jews on their train.

³⁹⁴ Testimony of Ludwika Oberleder Haran, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5434.

³⁹⁵ Jerzy Lando, *Saved by My Face: A True Story of Courage and Escape in War-torn Poland* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream, 2002), 224.

which initiated the temporary committee that was later transformed into Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews.

Rev. Stefan Ulatowski, the vice-rector of the Archdiocesan Seminary in Warsaw, was approached by his friend, Aleksander Prażmowski, with a request to shelter Ignacy Zylberberg. Since the seminary was under surveillance after the arrest of its rector, Rev. Roman Archutowski, it was too dangerous to keep Zylberberg there. Rev. Ulatowski escorted him, after dusk, to the residence of Missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul at the nearby Holy Cross Church. While waiting to enter that residence, Zylberberg, who had distinctive Semitic features, was detected by the Polish police and arrested. He was able to secure his release with a bribe, and survived the war in hiding with the assistance of several Poles.³⁹⁶

Jewish converts were often assisted by the Catholic clergy. Aleksandra Śmietanowska (later Leliwa-Kopystyńska), born in 1937 to a Polish father and a Jewish mother who had converted to Catholicism, was sheltered by a priest in the Warsaw suburb of Grochów together with her mother and older brother.³⁹⁷ Jadwiga Keiferowicz (born in 1924), her younger sister, Teresa (born in 1925), and their widowed mother, Elżbieta Keiferowicz, converted to Catholicism in 1936 in their hometown of Lublin. They would come to help out at the convent of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union. Later during the German occupation, they relocated to Warsaw, with a reference from Mother Stanisława Manowarda. Mother Pia (Helena) Leśniewska, the Mother General of the Grey Ursulines (Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus) directed Elżbieta's mother and sister to a boarding school for girls, whose director was Sister Irena Szczepańska (Sister Augustine of the Cross). The boarding school was located at the order's premises at 30 Tamka Street, which was a hotbed of conspiratorial activity. The chaplain was Rev. Jan Wosiński, who later became the auxiliary bishop of Płock. Another Jewish convert, who was a postulant at the time, also resided there. Jadwiga found employed at an institution for children with tuberculosis. Afterwards she was employed at the Institution for Blind Children in Laski outside Warsaw, which was run by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross. Jadwiga's mother and sister had to leave the boarding school after a denunciation. They were taken in briefly by Rev. Jan Zieja, the nuns' chaplain. Sister Franciszka (Antonina) Popiel of the Grey Ursuline found them safe houses with Polish families, despite Jadwiga's mother's Jewish appearance. Afterwards, her mother resided in a home for nuns with tuberculosis. All three of the Keiferowicz family survived the war and remained in Poland. After becoming a medical doctor, Jadwiga joined the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), and was known as Sister Elżbieta.³⁹⁸

Dr. Eleonora Reicher, who had converted to Catholicism as a teenager, was a prominent educator who worked at a clinic at the University of Warsaw. Because of her Jewish appearance, from November 1940 she hid under an assumed name in the convent of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary on Raclawska Street in Warsaw, where she worked as a nurse in the children's home, and with the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross in Laski, outside Warsaw. Nonetheless, she was active in the underground, taught nursing, and managed to help several Jews survive the war. During the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, she worked as a doctor. After the Uprising, she stayed at the parish rectory in the Okęcie suburb of Warsaw.³⁹⁹

A Jewish woman from Rutki near Zambrów had converted when she married a Catholic Pole named Sznip. When she was arrested by the authorities, Rev. Czesław Dziondziak, the local pastor, presented

³⁹⁶ Testimony of Janusz Roszkowski, October 14, 1949, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3936.

³⁹⁷ *Gazeta: Newsletter of the American Association for Polish-Jewish Studies*, no. 2 (2009).

³⁹⁸ Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 4, 137–42; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 142.

³⁹⁹ Robert Gawkowski, "Zapomniana profesor i jej niebanalny życiorys," *Uniwersytet Warszawski*, no. 2 (62), March–April 2013.

falsified documents attesting to her Catholic origin. Together with a large bribe, she was released. She survived the war in hiding with her husband's relatives.⁴⁰⁰

With the assistance of her friend Princess Aniela Woroniecka and the latter's housekeeper, Jadwiga Turek, Eleonora Reicher arranged for Elżbieta, the five-year-old daughter of her cousin, Dr. Edward Reicher, who was not a convert, to be sheltered by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Międzyzylesie. Passing as Elżbieta Zofia Jankowska, the child remained there until the eve of the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, when she was reunited with her parents. The Reicher family survived the war, with the assistance of a number of Poles.⁴⁰¹

Through Fr. Jacek (Adam) Woroniecki, a renowned Dominican scholar and close family friend of Eleonora Reicher, several boys of Jewish origin were accepted at boarding school for boys run by the Marian Fathers in the Warsaw suburb of Bielany. Rescue was precarious because part of the premises had been taken over by Germans. One of the Jewish boys was Piotr Kormiol (born in 1932), who had characteristic Jewish features. Eleonora Reicher had weekly food parcels delivered to these Jewish boys.⁴⁰² Piotr Kormiol recalled the assistance he received from various persons, among them Fr. Woroniecki. (Testimony of Piotr Kormiol, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 489.)

The Majackis solved Aunt Basia's [Dr. Eleonora Reicher, who had converted to Catholicism] problem by agreeing to take me to their house [in 1942]. And that was what happened. It was very nice for me at the Majackis' house. My aunt and Miss Helenka [her housekeeper] came to see me every week. Even though the time I could spend outside was limited, I was not bored. I had a friend there, the Majackis' son, Janusz. ...

I also did not behave the way I should have at the Majackis'. I was very talkative. This irritated Mr. Majacki. Luckily at that time Father Jacek Woroniecki was in Warsaw, a Dominican, Mrs. Potocka's brother. It was he who helped my aunt put me in the dormitory run by the Marian Fathers in Bielany [a suburb of Warsaw].

Part of the dormitory was occupied by the Germans and that was very dangerous. The people there were also very unfriendly towards me. Because of my completely Semitic features, they would call me a Jew in front of everybody. Once I even had problems with a German. One of my friends from the dormitory told him straight out that I was a Jew. Who knows how badly everything might have ended, if the rector, a priest, had not calmed the situation down. But I could not stay there anymore. It was dangerous for me, and the rector was afraid. My aunt did not know where to put me. ... Finally, Mrs. [Jadwiga] Strzalecka came up with a solution. She inspected orphanages of the Polish Red Cross. She put me up in the orphanage founded by my aunt. ...

In July [1944], the entire orphanage was sent to the country for summer vacation. I was the only one who could not go [doubtless because of his appearance] and I had to stay behind. ... So I stayed with Mrs. Bilińska and with several people from the orphanage's staff. This was where I was when the uprising [of August 1944] broke out. ... The uprising was put down, and the Germans sent me to the camp in Pruszków. ...

When I was in Pruszków, I did not know what was happening to my aunt, or to Miss Helenka. After three days, they took me with a transport to Kielce. I did not know anyone in Kielce, so I got on a train and went to Kraków. Mrs. Potocka's brother lived in Kraków, Father Jacek Woroniecki, who put me in a municipal orphanage [actually this was a reformatory for delinquent boys] in Bronowice, near Kraków.⁴⁰³ Life was miserable [for all the children], and there was lots of work. ... no one knew about my background. A few weeks later, my aunt found me, but she could not take me out of the orphanage. ... This is how I survived until Poland was liberated, without any real

⁴⁰⁰ Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, "Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej," *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 375.

⁴⁰¹ Edward Reicher, *Country of Ash: A Jewish Doctor in Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2013), 159–60, 173–74, 211; Aniela Woroniecka, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9618552>>.

⁴⁰² Testimony of Aniela Reicher in Andrzej Chciuk, ed., *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945* (Clayton, Victoria: Wilke and Company, 1969), 37. See also Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 680.

⁴⁰³ Henryk Meller, born in Kraków in 1932, was another Jewish boy who stayed at home for boys in the Kraków suburb of Bronowice. He was transferred there after his identity became known at the main institution for homeless boys in Kraków, where he had been sent by the police as a street urchin. The authorities at the main institution assured the police that the boy's identity was in order, but evidently thought it best to shelter him elsewhere for his safety. Henryk Meller recalled conditions in Bronowice as "good and the work easy." See Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 75.

changes. ... When Kraków and Warsaw were taken over [by the Soviets] I returned to Warsaw and am living at my aunt's house again.

Another Jewish charge at the Marian Fathers' boarding school in Bielany was Jerzy Grossman (born in 1930), who was passing as Jerzy Jedlicki. He came from an assimilated family who had converted to Calvinism before the war. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 289.)

In 1940, when the Jews of Warsaw were interned in the ghetto, Wilhelm and Wanda Grossman and their two children, ten-year-old Jerzy and eight-year-old Witold, remained on the Aryan side of the city. Wilhelm managed to obtain Aryan papers for all four of them, enabling them to rent an apartment outside the ghetto. In early 1942, the Grossmans got to know Maria Jablonska [Jabłońska], who distributed the Biuletyn Informacyjny, an underground paper put out by the AK [Armia Krajowa—Home Army]. Jablonska, knowing they were Jewish, offered to help them. At Grossman's request, Jablonska entered the closed ghetto in 1942 and at great personal risk smuggled Grossman's nephew, ten-year-old Lucian Meszorer, and his four-year-old sister, Ludwika, out of the ghetto and took them to the home of acquaintances, where they remained until the area was liberated. In September 1943, when the four Grossmans' identity was discovered and they had to flee from their apartment, Jablonska immediately found alternative hiding places for all four of them. Wanda and Witold were sent out of town, Jerzy was placed in a monastery in the Bielany neighborhood, while Wilhelm Grossman stayed in Jablonska's apartment, even after she died from a malignant disease in October 1943.

The Marian Fathers also took in Zygmunt, the 13-year-old son of Stefania Pik-Szafrańska, who introduced herself to them as a Jewish woman. She came to collect her son shortly before the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 began.⁴⁰⁴

As mentioned elsewhere, Fr. Henryk Sulej, a Marian priest from Bielany, obtained a *Kennkarte* and found a guardian to care for the teenager, Regina Hądyńska.⁴⁰⁵ Maria Kann, who was decorated by Yad Vashem for her role with *Żegota*, the Council for Aid to Jews, recalled in her testimony that she obtained birth and baptismal certificates for Jewish charges, among them a child sheltered by Mrs. Garztecka, from Fr. Sudra, a priest in Bielany.⁴⁰⁶ This may refer to the aforesaid Fr. Henryk Sulej.

Rev. Władysław Kulczycki of Kraków agreed to marry Maria Gregorowicz and Ignacy Hirsch, an assimilated Jew who underwent baptism, which gave him the cover of being a Catholic Pole. (“The Gregorowicz Family, The Polish Righteous, Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/542,the-gregorowicz-family/>>, with corrections based on the Polish version.)

The Gregorowicz family came from Lwów. Leon was an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army. He died in 1919. In the 1930's, Mrs. Gregorowicz, with her daughters Maria and Leonia settled in Kraków.

In the first year of the war, Maria married Ignacy Hirsch, an assimilated Jew, who agreed who agreed to be baptised. The wedding was performed by the priest, Władysław Kulczycki, an activist in the resistance movement involved in helping Jews.

The young couple worked in a firm run by an Austrian, Wilhelm Faude, who knew of Hirsch's and supported the Gregorowicz family, both materially and morally. His affectionate nature distracted suspicion of any illegal activity.

Leonia joined the resistance. Helping Jews was only one aspect of her fighting against the occupiers, as well as an expression of her belief that every human being was equal. In 1942, she led Ignacy's mother, Zofia, out of the ghetto. She found a hiding place for her and, for safety, moved her to other places, among others, to Mrs. Mazur in the Olsza settlement, to Mrs. Krzyściak in the Officers' settlement, and to Mrs. Dąbrowicka on Moniuszko Street.

Sometimes, Ignacy's sister, Eugenia, would also hide in these places. However, she was recognised as a Jew on the street and was arrested. She spent the rest of the war in camps. When liberated, she was in Buchenwald.

⁴⁰⁴ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 338, based on the testimony of Stefania Pik-Szafrańska.

⁴⁰⁵ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 691– 92; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 295.

⁴⁰⁶ Testimony of Maria Kann, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2727.

Solecki, the father of Maria's friend, also benefitted from the overnight accomodation of the Gregorowicz family. The 8-9 year old Sztiegier girl spent a month in their home. Józef Bratter, a doctor friend from Lwów, spent a few weeks there.

The Hirsch family, the Sztiegier girl and Dr. Bratter all survived the war. Ignacy took his wife's surname. In the 1990s, Eugenia was present when Leonia was awarded the title "Righteous Among the Nations".

After leaving Lwów in August 1942, Anna Weissberg took refuge in Kraków where she posed as a Christian. In April 1943, she met a Polish acquaintance from Lwów whom she married. The priest who performed the ceremony, the groom's cousin, issued an antedated marriage certificate. In May 1944, Anna ran across Sylwia Szapiro, an employee of the Arbeitsamt in Lwów and a known Gestapo confidante. Szapiro wanted to know Anna's place of residence. Anna threatened Szapiro with retaliation from well-placed individuals, which was a bluff, and managed to get away safely.⁴⁰⁷

Rywka Kuberska from Kubra, a small village near Radziłów, and her four children decided to become Christians. They turned to Rev. Stanisław Skrodzki, the pastor of Przytuły, who baptized them in July 1941. Fifteen-year-old Sara Fajga Kuberska became Helena; her baptism entry was backdated to 1926, the date of her actual birth. Rywka, Helena and her brother, Icchak (Icek), survived with the help of a number of Polish families in various small nearby villages. but Helena's two older brothers, who lived on their own, were killed by the Germans. After the war, the Kuberskis lived in Jedwabne. Helena married Antoni Chrzanowski, a Pole, and remained in Jedwabne for the rest of her life.⁴⁰⁸

Not all conversions were genuine. Some Jews underwent conversion simply to help them survive, only to revert to Judaism after the war. Chaya and Yisrael Finkielsztejn were, at their own request, baptized by Rev. Aleksander Dołęgowski, the pastor of Radziłów, as were their four children. Under the name of Lipiński, the entire family survived as Christian Poles moving around from farmer to farmer in several small villages near Radziłów until the area was liberated in January 1945.⁴⁰⁹

Jewish converts—even those with a pronounced Jewish appearance—often lived openly among Poles and

⁴⁰⁷ Account of Anna Weissberg, July 2, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 432.

⁴⁰⁸ Marek Kozubal, "Zapomniani sprawiedliwi czekają," *Rzeczpospolita*, August 20, 2017; Anna Bikont, *My z Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Prószyński, 2004), 274, 299, 313–14, 374; Anna Bikont, *The Crime and the Silence: Confronting the Massacre of Jews in Wartime Jedwabne* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 477–78.

⁴⁰⁹ Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, "Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej," *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 365; Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2002), vol. 1, 317 n.58; Testimony of Chaya and Yisrael Finkielsztejn, Yad Vashem Archives, file 033033–2636/255, August 16, 1966; Bikont, *My z Jedwabnego*, 299–300, 307–11; Bikont, *The Crime and the Silence*, 478.

survived the occupation without being denounced.⁴¹⁰ The following account concerns the Herman family who lived in the Warsaw suburb of Włochy, where they had the support of the local Catholic priests. (Arnon Rubin, *Against All Odds: Facing Holocaust: My Personal Recollections* [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2005], p. 151.)

I had visited also the Herman family, father, mother, and a daughter Ewa, living in Włochy, a small town near Warsaw. I personally knew the family, because Ewa was a close friend of my sister; the two attended the same school and the same class during the Soviet rule in Lwów, they often met in our house. The Herman family occupied a small house in Włochy, all for themselves. They entertained me cordially. They all three had a very distinctive Semitic features each of them looked not like one Jew, but like ten Jews, together. I think that all the surrounding knew that they are Jews. It was impossible not to. They survived the war; I met them after the war in Kraków. Ewa told me that they had support of the local priest; by the way all Herman family had been converted Jews, and a very pious and devoted Christians.

Not all rescue efforts ended well. The four-member family of Dr. Artur Władysław Elmer, who had converted to Catholicism in the early 1920s, took refuge in the residence of the Archbishop of Lwów, Bolesław Twardowski, for a period of two years, having been brought there in July 1941 by Rev. Zygmunt Hałuniewicz, the chancellor of the metropolitan curia. They were cared for by the Notre Dame Sisters, among them Sister Urbana Lejawka. Unfortunately, when Dr. Elmer's youngest son, Janusz, went out on August 8, 1943 to collect the morning milk delivery from the caretaker's home, he was stopped by Gestapo men because of his distinctly Semitic features. Upon questioning, he informed them that he resided in the archbishop's palace. When the Germans arrived there to investigate, Dr. Elmer fled in panic and was shot. His family was arrested and executed on the outskirts of Lwów. Remarkably, Archbishop

⁴¹⁰ Henryk Palester, who was known to be a convert, continued to live openly in his apartment in Warsaw's Mokotów district. See Ewa Teleżyńska, "Po drugiej stronie bramy," in *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 7 (2011): 233–51, at p. 236. Wanda Likiernik, a Jewish woman who had married into an assimilated family of converts, survived in a small town outside Warsaw: "Mother was ostensibly Mrs. Malinowska, and her real name was supposed to be a closely guarded secret. In fact, all of Konstancin and its environs knew her true identity, but nobody had betrayed her to the Germans." See Stanisław Likiernik, *By Devil's Luck: A Tale of Resistance in Wartime Warsaw* (Edinburgh and London: Mainstream, 2001), 153. A similar account concerns the Herman family from Lwów, father, mother and a daughter Ewa, who converted and settled on the outskirts of Warsaw: "The Herman family occupied a small house in Włochy, all for themselves. ... They all three had a very distinctive Semitic features each of them looked not like one Jew, but like ten Jews, together. I think that all the surrounding knew that they are Jews, it was impossible not to. They survived the war ..." See Arnon Rubin, *Against All Odds: Facing Holocaust: My Personal Recollections* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2005), 151. Maria Turek (née Grunewald), a Catholic convert married to a Pole, lived openly in Kraków without being denounced or blackmailed. See Krystyna Samsonowska, "Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 852. In Sokoły near Białystok, there lived a convert named Meizner, with his wife and two children. "Meizner was circumcised; even the lines of his face bore witness to his obvious Jewishness. At first sight, his wife looked like a typical Jewess; her manner of speaking also could not hide her origins. ... Meizner's apostasy was a manner of livelihood and maintenance, and nothing else. He did not go to church, and he never went to the priest to confession. ... at the time of expulsion, Meizner found shelter in the villages, in spite of the fact that the farmers knew of his Jewish origins and the recognition that they would be given the most severe punishment for hiding a Jew. The Polish police also knew who Meizner was and were silent. The apostate went around freely, as if the entire matter of persecution did not relate to him." See Michael Maik, *Deliverance: The Diary of Michael Maik: A True Story* (Kedumim, Israel: Keterpress Enterprises, 2004), 181–82. Czesław Wala, then a young boy, lived with his mother, a Jewish woman who had converted to Catholicism, and his sister in Rudnik near Stalowa Wola. During the war the residents of Rudnik and the nearby village of Stróża protected the Wala family. See Interview with Czesław Wala, by Małgorzata Pabis and Franciszek Mróz, "Miejsce, które ukazuje piękno polskiej duszy," *Nasza Arka*, no. 1 (2010): 11. Shlomo Berger, who passed as a Pole in a small town near Czortków, working for Tadeusz Duchowski, the Polish director of a company, recalled: "I rented a room in Niżniów with one of the Polish workers. I learned from him that the man who was in charge of the office was the son of a judge who was a Jew who had converted to Catholicism. The son was probably raised as a Christian, but by German criteria he was still Jewish. The people at the office knew who he was, but nobody said anything." See Ronald J. Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust: A Life History of Two Brothers' Survival* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 55.

Twardowski did not suffer any repressive measures.⁴¹¹ However, since Dr. Elmer was in possession of a false document identifying him as an Armenian Catholic, this led to an investigation of the records of the Armenian-rite Roman Catholic archdiocese, which is described later in the text.

All interventions on behalf of Jewish converts proved to be futile, and indeed they were counterproductive. In July 1942, the Episcopal Curia of Przemyśl, at the direction of Bishop Franciszek Barda, petitioned the town's commissar Bernhard Giesselmann, through Monsignor Zygmunt Męski and Rev. Jan Kwolek, to allow Jewish converts to remain outside the ghetto. Giesselmann gave assurances that they would be allowed to do so and would not be required to wear distinctive armbands, on condition that he was provided with a list of Jewish converts. Upon furnishing this list, the converts, among them the Goldschmidt family, were arrested. Some of these Jews were executed immediately; the rest were sent to the ghetto.⁴¹² Bishop Barda also provided false birth certificates to non-converts, among them Stanley and Lusja Igel (Igiel) and their daughter Tonia (later Toni Rinde).⁴¹³

A young Jewish woman from Pruszków by the name of Balbina Synalewicz was taken to work as a labourer on a farm in Czerniaków outside Warsaw. One day she received word about the fate of her parents, who were confined in the Warsaw ghetto, from an unknown priest who had met her father by chance. (Elsa Thon, *I Wish It Were Fiction: Memories, 1939–1945* [Hamilton, Ontario: Merkel & Deahl, 1997], pp. 24–25.)

One day, as I was working in the field, someone came to tell me that a man was waiting for me. I brought the raft to the other side and ran to the kitchen, where I introduced myself to the man. He was about twenty or twenty-two years old. His face was round, he had dark blond hair and blue eyes. He wore a sport jacket and black trousers. He got up to greet me.

“I have a message for you from your father.”

“How are my parents?” I blurted. “How did you happen to meet them? Where are they?—A cascade of words, questions: I asked so many things. He couldn't answer some of these questions because he didn't know. Others, I suspected, he wouldn't answer because he knew too much.

“I saw your father in the place where he worked. He gave me your address, and asked me to see you.”

“How were you able to travel?”

“I'm a priest. The Germans don't allow us to wear our religious habits. I have to dress in civilian clothes.”

“What was my father doing when you saw him? Did you see my mother?”

“No, only your father. They are locked up in the ghetto. In the morning the SS take them out for different chores outside the ghetto. Your father wanted to know how you were. He asked if you had heard from his your sister.”

“Are you allowed to enter the ghetto in Warsaw?”

“I'm sorry, no, I can't. It has been sealed off.”

We talked for a while. Chana asked him to stay with us for supper. But he excused himself and left.

I tried to think of something to say that would help my parents in some way. But nothing occurred to me. I wrote a

⁴¹¹ Stanisław Bizuń, *Historia krzyżem znaczone: Wspomnienia z życia Kościoła katolickiego na Ziemi Lwowskiej 1939–1945*, Second revised and expanded edition (Lublin: Instytut Badań nad Polonią i Duszpasterstwem Polonijnym Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, and Oddział Lubelski Stowarzyszenia “Wspólnota Polska”, 1994), 123, 187–89; Grzegorz Chajko, *Arcybiskup Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944): Metropolita lwowski obrządku Łacińskiego* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2010), 386–88; Grzegorz Chwajko, “The Clergy of the Archdiocese of Lviv of the Latins in Aid of the Jewish Nation during the Years of the German Occupation from 1941–1944: An Outline of the Events,” *The Person and the Challenges*, vol. 3 (2013), no. 2: 143–55, at pp. 145–47; Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 153.

⁴¹² Marcin Janowski, “Polityka niemiecka władz okupacyjnych wobec ludności polskiej i żydowskiej w Przemyślu w latach 1939–1944,” in *Kresy Południowo-Wschodnie: Rocznik Przemyskiego Centrum Kultury i Nauki Zamek*, vol. 3/4, no. 1 (Przemyśl 2005–2006): 215; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 79; Rączy and Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 167; Sławomir Zych, *Diecezja przemyska obrządku łacińskiego w warunkach okupacji niemieckiej i sowieckiej 1939–1944/1945*. Przemyśl: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, 2011), 199–200.

⁴¹³ Oral history interview with Toni Rinde, October 7, 2010, Florida Holocaust Museum in conjunction with University of South Florida Tampa Library and Holocaust and Genocide Studies Center; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 76 n.80.

letter to my sister, telling her about the priest's visit. If Dad had been able to contact a priest, perhaps he was also able to do other things to ensure their safety, I said.

Later, with the help of the Polish underground, Balbina Synalewicz obtained false identity documents in the name of Elżbieta Orłański and moved to Kraków. An arrangement was set up by Irena Adamowicz, a member of the Polish underground, for Balbina to maintain contact with Warsaw through letters sent to a nun in Warsaw. (Ibid., pp. 31–32, 61.)

One day in the middle of summer of 1942, we were coming from the fields when someone said that Leah wanted to see me. She was in the kitchen with another woman, chatting. Leah introduced me to her as Irena Adamowicz.

Irena was a leader in the [Polish] Scout movement. Outraged by the injustice done to the Jews, she helped out however she could. Irena travelled across the country making contact with halutzim in the major ghettos and telling them about how the clandestine movement operated. ...

Irena talked to me for a while. She told me that I would be sent to Krakow [Kraków]. She asked me how I felt about the work and whether I knew how to pray. I told her I knew the prayers by heart after so many years of hearing the Catholic students saying their prayers every morning at school. She seemed satisfied with my answers. Irena gave me an address, and told me to send a letter there on the seventh day of every month as a sign that I was still alive. Whenever the underground needed me, they would let me know. She handed me a prayer book. "Be careful, and good luck," she said. ...

As Irena had instructed me, I addressed my monthly letters to the Mother Superior; absolutely no one else knew.

Jews who had acquaintances among the Catholic clergy turned to them for protection in the face of the unfolding terror and uncertainty. Alfred Szancer (later Królikowski), born in Kraków in 1928, recalled the efforts of his father, Zygmunt Szancer, to secure the family's future by turning to his former classmate, Rev. Stanisław Proszak, the pastor of the parish in the nearby village of Biały Kościół. (Account of Alfred Królikowski, "Helped by Żegota," in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, volume 2, pp. 134–35.)

It was impossible to live in the empty apartment on Rzeszowska Street [in Kraków] because of the expectation that it would later be included in the ghetto area, and my father was determined to avoid being enclosed in the ghetto. Thus he made contact with a former classmate, Father Stanisław Proszak, a parish priest in the village of Biały Kościół, eighteen kilometers from Kraków, in the direction of Ojców. This priest helped us a great deal, giving his guarantees on our behalf when we rented a room at a local farmer's, and later, by recording in the parish books a fictitious baptism of our entire threesome (Father, Mother [Zofia], and me) and issuing us certificates of baptism. At that time our given names were also changed for the first time—Father's to Stanisław Zygmunt, Mother's to Jadwiga Zofia, and mine to Jerzy Alfred. According to our thinking then—somewhat naive, as it turned out later—this was supposed to disorient the Germans in case they discovered our escape from Kraków.

On the basis of these documents and thanks to Father Proszak's connections, we received temporary indentification documents from the local administration—which we used as evidence of our identities for a brief period of time. For a time, Father, unable to make a living in the village, worked in Kraków at the Władysław Klimek Iron Foundry, owned by a friend of his, and on Sundays, he rode his bicycle to Biały Kościół. This lasted until the spring of 1941, when Father was warned—I don't know how and by whom—of the necessity to flee further.

Pauline Witriol, born in 1937, and her sister were sheltered by a long string of Polish families in the countryside around Kraków. In all likelihood, their presence was widely known to many other villagers. At various points their rescue was assisted by a priest and nuns. Their parents perished. (Pauline Witriol interviewed by Miriam Barrere, *California Holocaust Memorial Week, April 28–May 4, 2008*, April 2008, pp. 101–103.)

In the winter of 1942 my family already had been exiled from our town and my father, along with other male members of our family, was put into a labor camp in a neighboring town. My father and my mother's brother, Yaakov, made their way back to our town to ask the priest there for baptismal certificates for us, my sister and I. He thought the certificates would make it safer for us to live with Polish people. ...

Throughout the war my sister and I stayed with various Christian Polish families. These days I can't remember if it was seven or nine families all together. We couldn't stay with each family too long because they were so terrified of being found out and caught by the Gestapo, or the Polish police. Plus, it was war-time and no one had enough food to feed their own family, let alone extra people. ...

The family we stayed with next hid us under the kitchen floorboards, in a hole in the dirt. That family had a dog outside that would bark when people came to the house to visit. One day our mother came to the house and saw us

in the hole, all dirty, and she started crying. We asked her why she was crying, she said she was so happy to see us. We said, if you are so happy to see us why aren't you laughing. She replied I've forgotten how to laugh. We thought that was so funny, how could she forget to laugh? When it was time for her to go we refused to say good-bye.

Overnight between families again, once we stayed in an abandoned house. It was a Jewish house, who else would it have belonged to? We were given bread and water to eat, and told to stay under a table. There was a window above the table, and anyone passing would have seen us. We did go up to the attic though and found it filled with books, Hebrew books. At one point we saw a rat and gave it some bread. We were just like that rat, dirty, unwanted.

My sister and I had each other for company and when we were lying in our hiding places, when strangers were visiting, after a length of time it was easy to forget ourselves and start to play and whisper. Then the woman of the house would quickly stamp her feet and say something like, "Darn these mice!" This was a signal to us that we had been heard. If the visitors present were wise to the situation, they never let on, fortunately for us.

In one family we were hidden on top of their stove. They had a cooking oven and a brick oven that stuck out into the next room where there was space on top. We were hidden on top, with boxes all around us. One day the couple's two children started fighting right below us. The sister started crying and crying. As we peered around the boxes one fell. Someone walking by came into the house to see what was going on, and saw us on top of the oven. The father of the house ran in from the field terrified that the police were going to come. He marched us way out into the forest and hide us there without any food or water.

The people who kept us could not confide in any neighbor or friend for fear that they would be given away for the Gestapo and then, together with the whole family we would all be shot. The women in some of these families, because of their greater sympathy for little children, would sometimes take much abuse from their husbands and grown children because of this real and terrible fear. Some of the women would be able to confide in the nuns who came to visit. The nuns would nod and smile to us with gentle smiles, and sometimes bless us or give us religious medals to wear on pretty blue ribbons. At such times we were able to feel that it shouldn't be held against us that we were Jews.

A few months after the war we were taken from the Polish family by an aunt, who had been liberated from a concentration camp.

The Rozman family, consisting of parents, Edward and Stefania, and their three children, Leopold, Adam and Stanisława, remained in their home in Wyciąże near Kraków until 1942. When policemen showed up to deport them, they fled to the nearby village of Branice, where they found a place to hide. After someone informed on them, they were forced to leave the village and wandered about. During that time they were helped by Rev. Leon Katana, the pastor of Ruszcza, who provided them with food and allowed them to stay in his barn. Eventually, they were taken in by a former acquaintance, Julia Piękosz, who lived in the village of Borzęcin near Brzesko. At times, the Rozman family had to hide in the nearby forest to avoid German raids. The entire family survived the war and converted to the Catholic faith. Rev. Katana and his vicar, Rev. Jerzy Iżowski, also extended their protection to six Jews (four men and two women) who were evacuated from Warsaw to the village of Ruszcza after the failed uprising of August 1944. The priests instructed them on Catholic religious practices and assisted them in passing as Catholics.⁴¹⁴

Regina Kempieńska (née Riegelhaupt) and her newborn daughter survived the war with the help of a large number of villagers. When she returned to her native village of Wojakowa near Czchów after a deportation operation towards the end of 1942, she was greeted warmly by the villagers with whom she sought shelter. Soon the entire village learned that she had returned. Rev. Aleksander Budacz, the local pastor, called on his parishioners to help the fugitives. No one betrayed her. (Testimony of Regina Kempieńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3733.)

We travelled seven kilometres. ... The Germans realized that several Jews had not reported for deportation. They ordered a halt and started to search the area. It is then I decided that I had to escape at any cost, and despite my severe pains [due to her advanced pregnancy] I got off the wagon and disappeared into a crowd of school children. At one point I turned left and took a short cut in the direction of Wojakowa. After an hour I found myself in my village and entered the Jachnas' house. They were happy to see me, gave me bread and milk ... Mr. Jachna went immediately for the midwife and that evening I gave birth to a girl. The Jachnas were poor, but they did more for me than was possible for them. They gave me underwear and diapers for the child. ... Mrs. Jachna moved her children to the attic, even though it was September and already cool, so I wouldn't have to feel embarrasses. She carried out

⁴¹⁴ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 603–4; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 820–21.

all the tasks I needed. The next day my husband arrived and the Jachnas took care of him. Instantaneously, the entire village found out about me, but no one denounced me. The village priest, Leon Badacz [actually, Aleksander Budacz], called on his parishioners from the pulpit to help me. Several weeks later I left the Jachnas and moved to Maria Pajor, a peasant woman. Mrs. Jachna cried when she said goodbye, but I did not want to remain there longer because I realized that Mr. Jachna was afraid to keep me longer, even though he never said anything about that. After several months, I moved to another place. They were very poor people. They had seven children and very little to eat because it was before the harvest. I stayed there until the following May [1943].

Afterwards Kempieńska and her daughter took refuge with many other villagers, but did not identify all of those who helped her by name. Among their other benefactors were: Dr. Zygmunt Orzeł, Jan Jarzmik and his wife, Wincenty Tucznia, Maria Tucznia (Wincenty's sister), Mr. Trojanowski, Dorota Brzęk, Mr. Puchnik, Andrzej Figiel, the family's former housekeeper Różia, Bil, Katarzyna Kondras, Władysław Mleczek, Julian Mleczek, the Pająk family, Bronisława and her sister-in-law Julia Skrężyna, the Pajor family, who sheltered 15 Jews, Anna Błoniarczyk, and the Serafin family. Their final and longest place of refuge was in the nearby village of Stańkowa with the Jarosz family, who sheltered 19 Jews. Of all these rescuers (at least thirty), only the Jarosz family was awarded by Yad Vashem.⁴¹⁵

An entire network of Poles, including members of the clergy and the Home Army, took part in the rescue of Sabina Honigwachs (born in 1921, later Bruk). After escaping from the ghetto in Gorlice, Sabina and her family members hid for a brief period in an empty tomb in a cemetery, where they had been directed by the local pastor, Rev. Kazimierz Litwin. Sabina's family members returned to the ghetto and were deported in a subsequent German raid. Jan Benisz, a Home Army officer, placed Sabina with several trusted families connected with the Home Army (Wroński, Puchajda, Horodyński, and Tokarski). She was furnished with a false identity document in the name of Maria Wójcik. Both Jan Benisz and his wife, Helena, helped the Honigwachs family as well as other Jews, among them, Irena Aleksandrowicz, the daughter of a lawyer from Gorlice, who was placed in a convent in Warsaw where she survived the war. (Jan Benisz was arrested by the Germans in October 1943 together with some twenty Home Army members, including his two sons. They were all executed on October 19, 1943.) From early 1943, Sabina was sheltered by the Sisters Servants of the Virgin Mother of God Immaculately Conceived at their convent and orphanage in Dominikowice near Gorlice, where they ran an orphanage. So as not to raise suspicions, she was dressed in a nun's habit and shared a room with some of the nuns. The superior of the institution at the time was Sister Serapiona (Zofia Liszka), who died in May 1943. The nuns who were directly responsible for Sabina were Sister Czesława (Stefania Kądziaława) and Sister Chrystiana (Julia Mikoś). While at the convent Sabina was under the protection of the Missionaries of (Our Lady of) La Salette, who were in charge of the nearby parish in Kobylanka, and she received visits from Poles from the underground who continued to care for her. To maintain her cover as a nun, Rev. Stanisław Łach, the convent's confessor, visited her regularly, and the local pastor, Rev. Julian Filoda, allowed her to receive Communion when she attended mass even though she had not been baptized. After Sister Czesława's death in August 1943, Sabina left the convent and again stayed with various families connected with the Home Army (Habela, Stankowski, Tokarski, "Jurek"). Sabina returned to the convent towards the end of the summer of 1944. The new superior, Sister Ambrozja (Marcjanna Łączniak), entrusted Sabina to the care of Sister Atanazja (Zofia Śliwka). On her own insistence, Sabina was drawn into the activities of the Polish underground, delivering arms for the Home Army dressed as a nun. At the end of the occupation, in January 1945, Sabina was transferred to the order's mother house in Dębica. According to the order's chronicle, another unidentified Jewish woman was also sheltered at the convent in Dominikowice.⁴¹⁶ Of all Sabina's many benefactors, only Zofia Liszka (Sister Serapiona), Jan Benisz, and Marcjanna Łączniak (Sister Ambrozja) were recognized by Yad Vashem (in 2015 and 2017). Sabina Honigwachs deposited an

⁴¹⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 304.

⁴¹⁶ Michał Kalisz and Elżbieta Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2015), 105–10. See also the second revised edition (Rzeszów and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020). The testimony of Sabina Bruk (Honigwachs), April 1961, Yad Vashem Archive, file 03/1841, is reproduced, in part, in document 16, at pp. 153–55. See also the account of Sister Renata Pytko, May 10, 2014 (in the author's possession).

extensive testimony of her rescue with Yad Vashem. (Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, pp. 153–55.)

Apart from the superior [Sister Serapiona—Zofia Liszka], only two senior sisters, namely, Czesława [Stefania Kądziaława] and Chrystiana [Julia Mikoś], knew about me and were aware of my Jewish origin. The superior made them privy to everything. During the first few days of my stay at the convent I remained in the room where I was put when I first arrived there. There were many workers and novices at the convent, therefore appropriate preparations had to be made before I could be brought into that company. So I was confined in my room for several days. ...

After a few days, Sisters Czesława and Chrystiana came to my room and informed me that from then on I was to lead a normal life in the convent. They brought with them a nun's habit and told me that they were entrusting it to me, and that I should never sully or bring shame to it. From then on I was to behave like a good nun. At that time they placed the appropriate clothing on my head and allowed me to keep my hair. As I mentioned, all of the sisters except for the novices had their heads shaved. This was therefore a great distinction for me. My hair was cut very short, they then placed a coif on my head that held my hair tightly in place, and afterwards the veil and tunic.

A photographer accompanied the sisters into my room, and he was told to wait. (He was a member of the Home Army, the Polish underground.) When I was fully dressed, he took my photograph. Afterwards I put my fingerprints on the Kennkarte [an official German-issued identity card] I was presented. This time my Kennkarte bore the name Janina Bularska, a resident of Przemyśl. My previous Kennkarte was issued under the name of Marja Wójcik. When I came to the convent I hid it between some beams and I could no longer find it. The photographer made me a new Kennkarte as a nun under the name of Janina Bularska as well as a duplicate of the Kennkarte I had lost. I hid the duplicate Kennkarte, since in the convent I needed the new Kennkarte as a nun. ...

In the village of Kobylanka, [adjacent to Dominikowice] where the convent was located, there was a young priest from Krosno [Rev. Stanisław Łach (1914–1981)]. The nuns visited him from time to time and made their confessions to him. When the superior learned that I would be taken into the convent, she went to that priest for counsel as to how to act in this situation, not concealing the fact that I was a Jew. The priest counselled her to take me into convent at once. Thus this priest, the superior and the two senior sisters knew that I was Jewish. In time, the prelate [Rev. Julian Filoda (1899 – 1989)], who also served in the same parish and lived in the rectory in Kobylanka, also learned that I was Jewish. He was an elderly man, 73 years of age, who had been expelled from Poznań. His attitude towards me was especially cordial. He came to the convent every Sunday, he looked after me, and at every opportunity he demonstrated his heartfelt attitude towards me. Only these few individuals I mentioned knew about my true origin. For the rest of my surroundings I passed as a Pole who had entered the convent because she had been persecuted by the Germans for her political beliefs.

One day the local commander of the Home Army known as “Michał” [Mieczysław Przybylski] took shelter (in the convent). [This occurred after Sabina returned to the convent in late summer 1944.] ... Michał was a brave and wise person. During the period I had contact with him he tried to help Jews. He hid in the convent for two weeks. At that time [Jan] Benisz was no longer alive. New people were operating in the area whom I did not know—some new cell created within the Home Army, and yet these people, without anyone's command, continued to care for me and did not abandon me. ...

From the time I established contact with Michał in the convent, I could no longer sit idly and lead a tranquil convent life. I wanted to go into the forest in order to take an active part in fighting the Germans. I told Michał about this but he was categorically opposed to it. He said that there was no room in the forest for a girl. The tasks that one carries out there were suited only for men. Besides there were a lot of soldiers roaming around in the forest. When I kept insisting, the superior and senior sisters forbade me point-blank from leaving as they thought that I would surely waste myself away. Since I could no longer sit idly, I was given the task of delivering weapons.

It was then I found out that weapons were being stored in the convent. I received instructions from people in the resistance movement who were engaged in transporting weapons. Weapons were brought to the convent at night. Most often they were brought by unknown persons in carts with hay or wood. Weapons were also concealed in suitcases. There were thick forests surrounding Kobylanka. At night a wagon would come out of the forest and bring concealed weapons to the convent. The senior sisters were privy to everything and received the weapons.

So I started to travel together with Sister Chrystiana delivering weapons. Our most frequent destination was Ciężkowice. ... The weapons were either hidden on our persons or concealed in suitcases. We travelled in our convent habits usually during the day. Someone usually awaited us at the station that was our destination, and there we handed over the weapons. Sometimes we took weapons to a specified address in a particular locality, to some home or people we did not know. Occasionally we delivered weapons to a village near the train station. We would often deliver weapons to Dębica, where our main convent [mother house] was located. We usually travelled in a pair and in addition to weapons we took various brochures and notices. It also happened that we delivered some valuable packages whose content we did not know at all. In Dębica our parcels and instructions were always received by one and the same nun. It was a large convent and only a small part of the sisters knew about its underground activities.

I thus delivered weapons for several months. ... Our last delivery of weapons to Ciężkowice was two weeks before

the liberation [in January 1945].

A priest from the parish in Kobylanka, possibly the aforementioned Rev. Julian Filoda, also sheltered a young Jewish woman from Drohobycz known as Józia Kogut, whom he later entrusted to a Polish family in Gorlice.⁴¹⁷

The Sisters Servants of the Virgin Mother of God Immaculately Conceived (of Dębica) also sheltered some Jewish children in their orphanage in Dębica. The children were likely placed there by Dr. Aleksander Mikołajków and his wife, Leokadia, who sheltered 13 Jews, including 11 members of the Reich family, with the assistance of the local Home Army and Welfare Council. When the Germans began their retreat as the Soviet front advanced, these Jews were also taken in by the nuns. On the day of liberation, the Germans shot and killed Dr. Mikołajków.⁴¹⁸

Several Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) – Balbina Pieczara (Sister Seweryna), Julia Barnaś (Sister Frydolina), and Franciszka Hapońska (Sister Gertruda) – were employed as nurses in the hospital in Gorlice under Dr. Jan Rybicki, the director of the hospital. They accompanied Dr. Rybicki to perform operations on Jews in the ghetto.⁴¹⁹

Gusta Rück, a young girl from Jodłowa, was sheltered for a time in the rectory of a village priest near Brzostek, north of Jasło. The priest's housekeeper was fearful for their safety so Gusta's mother, Cyla, placed her with a peasant woman. Gusta was then passed on to other Polish farmers, as was her older sister, Regina (born in 1935), who lived nearby. The girls' mother reclaimed her daughters after the war.⁴²⁰

Eugenia Jare (later Gina Diamant), who was born in Frysztak near Jasło in 1915, received assistance from several priests. Rev. Gabriel Marszałek, the pastor of Borownica near Sanok, provided her with a false baptismal certificate and identity card and employed her as his housekeeper for several months; Rev. Jan Keller, the pastor of Sławęcín, provided her with temporary shelter; and Rev. Tadeusz Świrad of Barycz, provided her with references when she moved to Lwów, where she passed as a Catholic Pole. Rev. Gabriel Marszałek was awarded by Yad Vashem in 2015.⁴²¹

Rev. Jan Lewiarz, an ethnic Pole, was an Orthodox priest. From 1941, he served in the village of Ciechania near Krempana, south of Jasło, and from 1943, in the nearby village of Bartne near Gorlice. He sheltered Lila Flachs (later Zofia Trembska), a native of Lwów, who assumed the identity of Zofia Lewiar (sic), the priest's deceased sister. Lila's father, Jan Flachs, also stayed with Lewiarz in Ciechania for about a year before relocating to Warsaw, where he perished. After the arrival of the Red Army, Lila went to live with her fiancé, a Ukrainian, and later settled in Israel. A local Jew was also rescued in the village of

⁴¹⁷ Testimony of Adam Miksz, February 24, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3384.

⁴¹⁸ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 72 n.68; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 515–16; Testimony of Leokadia Mikołajków, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 35580; Tomasz Frydel, "Powiat dębicki," in Engelking and Grabowski, *Dalej jest noc*, vol. 2, 427.

⁴¹⁹ Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 112.

⁴²⁰ Testimony of Regina Rück, November 17, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4697. See also Yad Vashem Archive, file O.62/172A (renumbered as file 03/1841).

⁴²¹ Testimony of Eugenia Jare, January 16, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1406.

Ciechania, which was inhabited by a Lemko population, by moving from one farmer to another.⁴²² Another Orthodox priest who helped rescue Jews was Rev. Piotr Gutkiewicz of Białystok, who provided a baptismal certificate for Edik Ceytlin, a Jewish boy who was sheltered by Aleksandra Leonowicz, and afterwards by Jan and Maria Gonczar.⁴²³

Various forms of assistance were provided to Jews and Jewish converts throughout the entire war by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross (*Siostry Franciszkanki Służebnice Krzyża*), including sheltering Jews and finding Christians to take them in.⁴²⁴ Several accounts—gathered at Yad Vashem and elsewhere—attest to the assistance extended by the nuns, among them Sister Klara (Bronisława) Jaroszyńska, who was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. The Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross ran an institution for blind children in Laski near Warsaw where a number of Jews were sheltered.⁴²⁵ A large group of blind children from Laski was transferred to Żułów near Krasnystaw, where a branch of the institution was established at the outset of the war. Rev. Władysław Korniłowicz joined them in Żułów as their chaplain, having to flee Laski because of his public pronouncements directed at the German invaders at the outset of the war. After the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, the remaining children from Laski were transferred to the convent of the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) in Bukowina Tarzańska near Zakopane. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. 304–305; Jadwiga Luśniak, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-jadwiga-lusniak>>.)

[1] *In August 1942, during the liquidation of the Radom ghetto in the Kielce district, Jakub Lautenberg [also given as Jakob Lotenberg], his wife, Karola, and their eight-year-old daughter, Anita, fled to Warsaw. With the help of an acquaintance, Anita was taken in by Jozef Jaroszynski [Józef Jaroszyński], a teacher, and his wife, Halina, a former senior lecturer at the technical college. ... The Jaroszynskis agreed to shelter Karola in their apartment and found a hiding place for Jakub in a rented cellar in the Bielany suburb of Warsaw. During raids or visits by friends, Anita and her mother moved into the cellar until it was safe to return. In due course, Anita was sent to a home for the blind run by the [Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross, misidentified as the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth] in Laski Warszawskie, where the Jaroszynskis' daughter, Klara [Jaroszyńska], worked as a nun. Klara introduced Anita as a relative of hers [Halina] whose father worked as a pilot for the Polish Army-in-Exile. [This ruse was not necessary for the benefit of the nuns because, as we know from other accounts, a number of Jews were sheltered at Laski.—M.P.] Before leaving for the convent, Maria Furmanik, a close friend of the Jaroszynskis [in fact, Maria was their daughter] who lived with them, drilled Anita in the Christian prayers. Later, Maria visited Anita in the convent and took her out for walks in the local parks. The Jaroszynskis, meanwhile, continued to supply Anita with clothes, textbooks, and stationery, without expecting anything in return. On the eve of the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944, the Jaroszynskis sheltered Anita's parents until they arranged accommodation for the entire family with friends in the village of Bukowina Tatrzańska [Tatrzańska] in the Tatry Mountains, in the county of Nowy Targ, where they remained until the area was liberated in January 1945.*

[2] *During the Second World War the Scout instructor Jadwiga Luśniak used to hide Jews in the boarding house she was running in the Warsaw district of Żoliborz. The staff of the institution was involved in underground activity – due to this fact the place was often controlled by the Nazis. Among the people Jadwiga Luśniak helped were Tomasz Prot [born in 1930] and his mother [Zofia Prot née Deiches]. Before the war the Prots—an assimilated Jewish family—lived in the Warsaw district of Bielany. Towards the end of December 1939 they moved to the Center*

⁴²² Zuzanna Schnepf-Kołacz, “In the Ciechania Presbytery’: The Story of Saving Zofia Trembska: A Case Study,” *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* (Warsaw: Polish Center for Holocaust Research), vol. 2 (2010): 363–83; Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 93–94; Testimony of Jan Lewiarz, April 9, 1964, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6006.

⁴²³ Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 956; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 246.

⁴²⁴ Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 147.

⁴²⁵ One of their charges was a young Jewish woman named Hela, who worked in the kitchen. See Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 228.

for the Blind in Laski. They stayed there until 1942, when their presence became too dangerous for the institution.⁴²⁶

...
In June 1942 the mother of Prot took him to Nowinki near Warsaw, to the boarding school of the Central Welfare Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, RGO) for orphans and children of Polish soldiers who were killed or captured. The boarding school was ran [sic] by Jadwiga Luśniak and Jadwiga Żak. In July 1942 Prot was accepted to the Stefan Czarniecki Boarding School for Boys, which had its seat in Warsaw. He had a so-called “Semitic appearance” and his full name, which appeared in his documents, was Prot-Berlinerblau—Jadwiga Luśniak and her collaborators certainly guessed his descent. Other Jews were also hiding under false names in the boarding school. Prot stayed in the institution until the end of 1943, when due to security reasons he was transferred to boarding schools in Józefów, and then Konstancin. He later returned under the care of Jadwiga Luśniak and stayed there until June 1944. ...

After the defeat of the Warsaw Uprising, the Protts were sent to a camp in Pruszków, and later to Kraków and Bochnia. They remained there until the Soviet Army entered in January 1945.

Sister Klara (Bronisława Jaroszyńska) was instrumental in rescuing other Jewish children as well. She came to the aid of Ewa Kupferblum (born in 1940, later Eva Kuper), who managed to escape from the Warsaw ghetto with her father in the summer of 1942, after miraculously avoiding deportation to Treblinka with her mother. Dr. Lande, a family friend, arranged for Ewa to be taken in by Hanna Rembowska, a school teacher and illustrator of children’s books. Rembowska had tuberculosis, and when she became too sick to care for Ewa, she entrusted her to the care of Sister Klara. When Ewa first saw Sister Klara, she grabbed the nun’s leg and yelled, “Pick me up!” Sister Klara took little Ewa in her arms and continued to care for her for the duration of the war. Ewa spent the final years of the occupation in Bukowina Tatrzańska, together with evacuees from the Laski Institution for the Blind. Whenever the Germans came to the village, Ewa was removed to a shed, where she was hidden in a hole in the ground, covered with floorboards. (Eva Kuper, “A Beacon of Light” in Myrna Goldenberg, ed., *Before All Memory Is Lost: Women’s Voices from the Holocaust* [Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017], pp. 49–51, 56–57, 59–60.)

My father turned to Dr. Lande, who had been the pediatrician who looked after the children of the fur trade union members. He had known my parents since my birth, and my father was sure that he would be sympathetic to our plight. He begged Dr. Lande to find a safe place for me; since my father could not work and hide his remaining family while caring for a young child, I could not be safe with him. Dr. Lande agreed and told my father that he would be in touch with him in a few days. True to his word, he placed me with Hanka Rembowska, an artist and illustrator of children’s books who was a wonderful woman already caring for a little girl, Zosia, who, although not Jewish, had been orphaned by the events of the war. Hanka, who was suffering from tuberculosis, took care of us until she became too sick to do so. The antibiotics used to treat tuberculosis today were not yet known in 1942. Dr. Lande then took us to a farmhouse about 450 kilometres away in Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains, in the southernmost part of Poland.

My own somewhat vague memories begin in the farmhouse, which was located on a hill overlooking the town. There were many nuns, one priest and many blind children, all boys except for Zosia and me. Times were very hard and there was not much food. I remember potatoes. All the children sat in a large circle outside, peeling potatoes. Since the boys could not see, they would peel as best as they could, then pass the potatoes to Zosia and me to remove the missed spots before putting them into the big pot filled with water; in the middle of the circle. Potatoes were the staple of our diet. There was also a cow that I loved. I remember going to get the cow from the pasture at the end of the day when it was time to bring her home for milking. I would hold the thick cord around her neck and pat her soft fur. That milk and the bit of butter that could be made from it were the only wholesome parts of our diet. I also remember sitting around a long rectangular table at meal times with all the other children, the nuns and the priest. The priest sat at the head of the table with me on his left side. He was the only one who would get a small square of butter for his bread. He would butter a piece of bread, cut it in half and pass me one half under the table. He did not have enough to go around. I was the lucky one. I was always very small for my age, marked for life by those early years of hunger and deprivation.

Whenever the Nazis invaded the village to renew their supplies and take whatever they wanted, someone would run up the hill to warn the nuns. Perhaps it was not because they knew that a Jewish child was being hidden there. It was good to know when the Nazis were around so that anything of value, such as food and supplies, could be hidden before it was confiscated. Whenever this happened, I would also be hidden. I remember vaguely being outside in the pasture, in a hole that had been excavated for that purpose. I would climb in, a board would be placed over the

⁴²⁶ See also the testimony of Tomasz Prot in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 4, 41–42, and Tomasz Prot, “Moje wspomnienie o siostrze Klarze,” Internet: <https://dzieciholocaustu.org.pl/szab5.php?s=sprawiedliwi_10.php>.

opening and the sod would cover the board. I sat quietly in there until the danger passed. Strangely enough, I don't remember being frightened. I have no idea what might have been said to me to make it feel okay. I was used to being quiet. Somehow, I was made to feel safe, which is unbelievable to me now, since when I imagine placing my children or my grandchildren in such a situation, I am terrified at the psychological damage that would result. I lived in this farmhouse for three years and through to the end of the war. ...

Food was in scarce supply. Sister Klara recalled that once a week she would take an empty sack and walk twenty kilometres to the surrounding farms to ask for food for “her children.” The farmers would give her some carrots, onions, potatoes, whatever they could spare. After, Ewa was found by her Aunt Zofia, who reunited her with her father. (Ewa’s father, Abram/Antek Kupferblum, survived in hiding, as did two of his brothers, Leon and Stach/Tanchum.) In 2005, after 60 years of separation, Ewa was reunited with her rescuer. Accompanied by her entire family, she travelled from Canada to Poland to thank Sister Klara for saving her life and learned more about her wartime experiences.

Sister Klara validated many of my memories and corrected others. She told me that when news reached her that the Nazis were nearby, if time allowed, I had indeed been hidden in a hole, but one that had been excavated beneath the earthen floor of the cellar. A board and a mat covered the hole, and a small table was placed on top. If time did not allow, she would put me into bed together with her little niece who, along with her mother and two other siblings, had taken refuge in the convent to escape the bombardment of Warsaw. Sister Klara's sister had three children, two of whom had blond hair, but one had darker hair more like mine. The two of us would hide under her covers and pretend to be sleeping until the danger passed.

After meeting with Sister Klara again, Ewa wrote the following words of praise and gratitude: “I did not know that Sister Klara loved me so much! As a young woman, she had to take care of so many children and to take such responsibility in those difficult times. Her kindness, her warmth, love and beautiful smile, which I remember from my childhood, were something special for me.”⁴²⁷

From 1942 to 1945, Sister Klara (Bronisława Jaroszyńska) took under her care Sister Miriam (née Bronisława Wajngold), a nun of Jewish origin of the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross from Laski. Sister Miriam assumed the identity of Maria Gołębiowska, based on an identity document procured by Antoni Jaroszyński, Sister Klara’s brother. After leaving Laski in May 1942, these two nuns were taken in briefly by the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus in Zakopane (Jaszczurówka), where they had been directed by Mother Pia (Helena) Leśniewska, the Mother General of the Grey Ursulines. However, the local authorities refused to allow them to register in Zakopane, as that town had been designated for German settlement. They then took up residence with the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters) in Bukowina Tatrzańska near Zakopane for the remainder of the German occupation. Three other nuns of Jewish origin of the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross— Sister Teresa (Zofia Landy), Sister Bonifacja (Halina Goldman), and Sister Katarzyna (Zofia Steinberg)—also survived the war. Because their presence in Laski was widely known, they had to leave Laski and took refuge elsewhere. Mother Elżbieta (Róża) Czacka, the founder of the congregation, entrusted them to the care of Sisters Odylla (Anna) Czarlińska, Janina Borkowska, and Janina (Halina) Lossow. Sister Teresa (Zofia Landy) and Sister Bonifacja (Halina Goldman) moved to the estate of the Zamoyski family in Kozłówka near Lubartów, where some of the blind charges from Laski were housed, in the summer of 1940, and later to Żułów near Krasnystaw, where a branch of the institution for the blind had been established for evacuees from Laski in September 1939. Sister Bonifacja, who was blind, remained in Żułów, but Sister Teresa had to leave in January 1942. Sister Katarzyna (Zofia Steinberg) left Laski in May of 1942. Afterwards, the latter two endangered nuns were transferred to other convents. Sister Teresa was taken in by the Carmelites of the Infant Jesus in Czerna near Krzeszowice, where she

⁴²⁷ *Przywracanie pamięci Polakom ratującym Żydów w czasie Zagłady / Recalling Forgotten History For Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust:* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, The Teatr Wielki–Polish National Opera, and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2007), 51; Ewa Kupferblum, Photograph number 09348, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1039576>>; Testimony of Eva Kuper, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview codes 47111 and 54491; Maria Zawadzka, “Sister Klara Jaroszyńska Has Died,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/news/sister-klara-jaroszynska-has-died>>; Patrycja Bukalska, “Jak Bóg dał zadanie, to i dał odwać,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Kraków), January 25, 2007.

was also helped by the Discalced Carmelite Friars, who had a monastery nearby. Sister Teresa Sister Katarzyna, a pediatric ophthalmologist who worked with blind children, was sheltered by the Discalced Carmelite Sisters in Lwów. Along the way, these two nuns were also sheltered temporarily by several helpful Polish landlords.⁴²⁸

Nuns of Jewish origin were protected in other convents as well. Róża Margulies, the daughter of a Warsaw rabbi, survived as Sister Rozariana in the Dominican Sisters' cloister in Św. Anna outside Przyrów near Częstochowa. Her presence in the convent was common knowledge in the area.⁴²⁹ Chaja (Helena) Kalb (1899–1986), who converted to Catholicism in 1919 and joined the Congregation of the Sisters Canonesses of the Holy Spirit de Saxia (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Kanoniczek Ducha Świętego de Saxia*, commonly known as *Siostry Duchaczki*) in 1927 as Sister Emanuela, resided at the congregation's convent in Kraków, which also sheltered Jewish children, throughout the war. Sister Emanuela provided baptismal and birth certificates to a number of Jews. Her two youngest siblings, Rachel (Józefa) and Natan (Władysław), who converted to Catholicism, survived the war. Józefa Kalb became a nun in the Congregation of Sisters Servants of Jesus.⁴³⁰

When the war broke out in September 1939, Stefan Wyszyński, at that time a priest—after the war he was made a cardinal and Primate of Poland—taught at a seminary in Włocławek. He had to leave Włocławek because he was wanted by the Germans for his pastoral duties on behalf of workers. He took refuge at the institution for the blind in Żułów, which was run by the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross, serving as chaplain. While in Żułów, Rev. Wyszyński joined in the task of helping Jews. Jewish fugitives would come around asking for food. The nuns also took in Jews, some of whom who survived the war. Later, when Rev. Wyszyński relocated to Laski near Warsaw, where he urged the faithful to help those in need. The story is recorded by Rev. Paweł Rytel-Andrianik (“The Unknown Side of Cardinal Wyszyński: Documents Reveal Polish Prelate Helped Jewish People During Holocaust,” *Zenit*, January 20, 2015).

During World War II, Fr. Stefan Wyszyński [Wyszyński] had to hide from the German occupants. Between October 1941 and June 1942, he was staying in Żułów (District of Krasnystaw) at the center for aid to the blind, which was run by the Franciscan Sisters convent from Laski. At that time he was already involved in his pastoral care for the people staying at the Center, and for inhabitants of the surrounding villages, teaching children in secrecy and supporting the Home Army (AK) soldiers. In his free time, he helped on the farm. Jadwiga Karwowska (née Zalewska), whose parents worked at the aid Center, was a witness to the help Father Wyszyński gave to the Jewish family of three: a father [Józef] and two of his children, named Golda (born 1928) and Szmulek (born 1930).

Years later Karwowska recalls: “Fr. Wyszyński came to us constantly, literally each night, and we hid them [the Jewish family] at our attic. He helped my dad put a ladder and take it back to the garden so that there were no traces of anybody’s presence at the attic.” Franciscan Sisters, priests, and some workers at the aid center in Żułów knew that Golda and Szmulek were Jewish, yet despite the danger they decided to help them.

Esther Grinberg (Morgenstern) reveals other, previously unknown, facts about Fr. Stefan Wyszyński. The interview with her has been kept at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem (ref. O.3/V.T/862).

In her testimony she mentions the tragic history of her family. Born in 1918 in Międzyrzec Podlaski, she lost her parents, brother, and sister in the Holocaust. She survived thanks to the help of many people in various places, including some from the capital city, where she arrived during the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943. She was

⁴²⁸ Testimony of Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 74, 185–86, 188–91; Alicja Gościńska and Ryszard Kamiński, *Laski w czasie okupacji: 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1987); (Sister) Maria Krystyna Rottenberg, *Aby byli jedno: Pasja życia siostry Joanny Lossow* (Warsaw: Adam, 2005), 133–35.

⁴²⁹ Sławomir Sznurkowski, “Miejsce wybrane przez Boga—sanktuarium św. Anny k. Częstochowy,” *Magazyn Familia*, July 19, 2012.

⁴³⁰ Jan Machniak, *Śłużebnica Boża Siostra Emanuela Kalb* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo św. Stanisława BM, 2013); Immaculata Kraska, *Miłość chodzi zawsze za mną: O życiu czcigodnej służebnicy Bożej, siostry Emanuela Kalb CSS, 2nd revised edition* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Teologicznego Księży Misjonarzy, 2020); Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 127. At the request of Rev. Jan Mayer, Sister Emanuela Kalb prepared eleven Jews for baptism (they were baptized at St. Michael's church), and provided them with false baptismal certificates, some belonging to deceased nuns. Among those baptized were Bela Frejman; Janina Abrachamowicz and her daughter, Teresa; Czesława, Janina and Jerzy Steuer; Zofia Fenereisen and her mother, Krystyna; and Augustyna Jeschiwe. Only five of these persons survived the war. Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at 144.

concealed by Grażyna Winiarska, among others. In her memoirs she refers twice to the fact that Father Stefan Wyszyński, who at that time moved from Żułów to Laski (near Warsaw), was well known as he encouraged the faithful at his church to help all those who were escaping from the fire of war.

As Esther Grinberg mentioned, he did not specify exactly whom to help, mainly for safety reasons, but everyone knew he meant Jews who were at that time massively fleeing the ghetto and seeking refuge on the “Aryan” side.

The three-member family mentioned above was denounced by a Ukrainian and executed by the Germans in Kraśniczyn on October 31, 1942, notwithstanding the interventions of the nuns who attempted to rescue them. A Polish policeman who witnessed the execution described the tragic event to the nuns with tears in his eyes. According to Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow, who headed the institution in Żułów, another Jewish family by the name of Braunstein, then passing as Burzanowski, consisting of a mother and her three sons, survived the war at the institution. A 12-year-old Jewish girl was also sheltered there temporarily.⁴³¹

After being smuggled out of the Częstochowa ghetto by a former employee of their family business around September 1942, Bronisława (Bracha) Kozak and her two daughters, Dobra (Debora) Jenta (born in 1934) and Hadassa (born in 1937), assumed new identities as Stanisława, Maria and Jadwiga Kruszevska, respectively. They lived for a few months with a family of farmers in the village of Józefów before making their way to Warsaw. Cesia (Cecylia) Kozak, a relative of theirs who was passing as a Catholic Pole, found employment for Bronisława as a maid with a Polish family. She placed her nieces, Dobra and Hadassa, in a convent in or near Warsaw. Towards the end of 1943, Hadassa (Jadwiga or Wisia) was taken from the convent, in unclear circumstances, and went to live with Helena Sitkowska, a widow with a teenaged son and younger daughter. At some point, Dobra (Maria) was transferred to another convent where she remained until shortly before the Warsaw uprising of 1944, at which time she was removed by her aunt so that both sisters could be together with their mother. It is not clear what convents the girls stayed in, possibly with the Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross in Laski. All three were then sheltered by the Sitkowski family, who also cared for them when they were all expelled from Warsaw after the failed insurrection. Dobra (Debora) Kozak settled in England where she became Marion Miliband, the mother of British Labour Party politicians David and Edward Miliband.⁴³²

When the Warsaw Uprising broke out in August 1944, the lives of the civilian population, including Jews passing as Poles and those in hiding, were in state of turmoil as the city was being shelled relentlessly by the Germans. After their hiding place was destroyed, Franciszka Grünberg her husband Stefan took refuge on the grounds of St. Casimir church and residence of the Resurrectionist Fathers on Chełmska Street. In her memoir, Franciszka describes how attentively the priests, in particular a priest she identified as Fr. Romańczyk (Galderczyk), but probably Fr. Julian Kalbarczyk, cared for the needs of the hundreds of people who took shelter there. The priests showed great compassion toward the Jewish refugees. After the failed uprising, the Germans expelled all of the inhabitants of Warsaw, and then systematically destroyed what was left of the city. The Grünbergs survived in the countryside near Warsaw, moving from village to village with their son.⁴³³

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Maurycy (Moshe) Kestenberg, an industrialist (born in 1882), and his daughter, Irene Duell, were sheltered by Bolesław Kruze, a Home Army member, until the population was expelled from the city after the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. The expellees were sent to a

⁴³¹ Tomasz Pietrzak, “Nieznane oblicze kard. Wyszyńskiego,” *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), February 16, 2016. See also the testimony of Sister Joanna (Halina) Lossow in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 184–98, at pp. 192–97.

⁴³² Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 712; The Sitkowski Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-sitkowski-family-0>> and <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-sitkowski-family>>; Helena Sitkowska and Andrzej Sitkowski, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044133>>. The claim that the first convents where the girls stayed refused to keep them when it was discovered they were Jewish is not true.

⁴³³ Jacek Leociak, *Ratowanie: Opowieści Polaków i Żydów* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010), 168–69, 176–78, based on memoir of Franciszka Grünberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 97.

transit camp in Pruszków and then transported to various places. After jumping from a train and spraining his leg, Kestenberg was found by a guard who took him to a nearby parish rectory. A priest took Kestenberg in and cared for him until the arrival of the Soviet army the following year. Kestenberg and the priest remained friends after the war, until their deaths.⁴³⁴

Zofia Haas Roze, born in Przemyśl in 1906, was evacuated from Warsaw after the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. She arrived in the village of Gidle, northeast of Częstochowa, with the Zyskowskis, her Polish protectors. On the recommendation of a priest from Siedlce who knew the Zyskowski, Zofia, the going by the name of Panekiewicz and pretending to be a Catholic, was employed as a housekeeper at the parish rectory. When she asked the vicar, Rev. Maciej Lewiński, to visit her friends in Kraków to inquire about her mother and daughter who were hiding there, he discovered that Zofia was Jewish. The vicar brought Zofia's mother, Regina Roze, to Gidle and housed her with the church warden. Eventually, Rev. Zygmunt Lipa, the pastor, also learned that Zofia was Jewish. Zofia decided to move with her mother to another town when someone recognized her in Gidle. Zofia, her mother, and her daughter, Maria Alina, all survived the war.⁴³⁵

Helena Diamand, a native of Lwów (born there in 1899), moved to Warsaw in 1942 with her mother and sister. She assumed the name of Dobek. After the failed uprising of August 1944, they were evacuated from Warsaw. Posing as Christians, Helena, her mother and her sister were settled temporarily in the village of Rzędowice, in Niegardów parish, near Proszowice, where the villagers suspected them of being Jewish. They received help from Rev. Edward (?) Zemelka, a local priest.⁴³⁶

Pola Sternlicht Tur was able to remain outside the ghetto in her hometown of Lwów with the help of Kazimierz Koszutski, who arranged a place for her to stay and provided her with his sister's birth certificate. In 1943, she relocated to Warsaw with help of her friend, Andrzej Wydrzyński. The latter's friend, Józef Krasicki, arranged for a position for Pola in the township office in Jabłeczna. She then worked as a housekeeper for the local pastor. When the front was approaching, Pola was entrusted to the care of the Kaliski family in the village of Wyczółki, where she remained until the end of the war. She enjoyed the protection of the local priest, Rev. Jan Zaręba.⁴³⁷

Assistance for Jews was widespread in Wilno. In 1941, Rev. Romuald Jałbrzykowski, the archbishop of Wilno, issued an appeal to monasteries, convents and priests, urging them to hide fugitives from the ghettos.⁴³⁸ One of the many religious orders who responded to his plea were the Dominican Sisters, a contemplative order. During the round-ups of Jews in July 1941, about seventeen members of the Hashomer Hatzair, Abba Kovner and Arieh Wilner (who had arrived from Warsaw) among them, took shelter in their convent located in Kolonia Wileńska, on the outskirts of Wilno. Contact with the superior of the convent, Mother Bertranda (born Janina Siestrzewitowska, later Anna Borkowska), was made by Jadwiga Dudziec and Irena Adamowicz, members of the Polish scouting organization, who had ties to the Hashomer Hatzair and had already hidden other Jews in various convents and monasteries and had obtained documents for them. Dressed as nuns, the young Jews worked side by side with the nuns

⁴³⁴ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 407–8; Bolesław Kruze, *The Righteous Database*, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4015872>>; Ewa Kurek, *Polish-Jewish Relations 1939–1945: Beyond the Limits of Solidarity* (New York: iUniverse, 2012), 357–58 (as related by his son, Milton (Mieczysław) Kestenberg); Ewa Kurek, *Poza granicą solidarności: Stosunki polsko-żydowskie 1939–1945* (Kielce: Wyższa Szkoła Umiejętności, 2006), 216.

⁴³⁵ Testimony of Zofia Haas Roze, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2885.

⁴³⁶ Testimony of Helena Diamand (Dobek), June 2, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2561, reproduced in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 4, 244–48, at p. 247.

⁴³⁷ Testimony of Pola Tur, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1282.

⁴³⁸ Archbishop Jałbrzykowski's interventions on behalf of Jews are acknowledged in numerous sources. See Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 111–13; Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews*, 209. See also Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego*, 2nd ed., 499.

cultivating the fields near the convent. After nearly six months, they decided to return to the Wilno ghetto where they formed the nucleus of the armed underground. The Germans arrested Anna Borkowska in September 1943, closed the convent, and dispersed the nuns. Yad Vashem awarded Anna Borkowska (Sister Bertranda) and six other Dominican Sisters—Maria Ostreyko (Sister Jordana), Maria Janina Roszak (Sister Cecylia), Maria Neugebauer (Sister Imelda), Stanisława Bednarska (Sister Stefania), Irena Adamek (Sister Małgorzata), and Helena Frąckiewicz (Sister Diana)—for their part in the rescue mission. For some unknown reason, Julia Michrowska (Sister Bernadetta) was overlooked by Yad Vashem. The story was first told by Philip Friedman in his book *Their Brothers' Keepers*, at pages 16–17. The account below is based on the testimony of the ghetto fighter and poet Abraham Suckewer (Sutzkever), one of those rescued by the nuns.

The small nunnery was located not far from the Vilna Colony [Kolonja Wileńska] railroad station. During the German occupation there were only seven sisters in this Benedictine [actually, Dominican] convent, all from Cracow [Kraków]. The Mother Superior, a graduate of Cracow University, was a comparatively young woman of thirty-five at the time when the Jews were driven from their homes. Although the convent was too far removed from the ghetto for her to hear the cries of a tortured people, the Mother Superior seemed always to be gazing in that direction, as though she were waiting for a summons. She found it hard to keep her mind on the work which had previously claimed all her time and love, the ministering to the poor and the miserable.

One day she decided that the time had come to act. She summoned the other nuns and, after prayer, they discussed the subject of the ghetto. Not long afterward, as a result of this conversation, a few of the sisters appeared before the gate of the ghetto. The guards did not suspect the nuns of any conspiratorial designs. Eventually contact was established between the convent and the Vilna [Wilno] ghetto, and an underground railroad was formed. The seven nuns became experts in getting Jews out of the ghetto and hiding them at the convent and in other places. At one period it seemed as if the small nunnery were bulging with nuns, some with features unmistakably masculine.

Among those hidden in the convent were several Jewish writers and leaders of the ghetto Underground: Abraham Sutzkever, Abba Kovner, Edek Boraks, and Arie Wilner. Some stayed a long time, others returned to the ghetto to fight and die. When, in the winter of 1941, the Jewish Fighters' Organization [ŻOB] was formed, the Mother Superior became an indispensable ally. The Fighters needed arms, and the Mother Superior undertook to supply them. Assisted by the other nuns, she roamed the countryside in search of knives, daggers, bayonets, pistols, guns, grenades. The hands accustomed to the touch of rosary beads became expert with explosives. The first four grenades received gratefully by the Fighters were the gift of the Mother Superior, who instructed Abba Kovner in their proper use, as they were of a special brand unfamiliar to him. She later supplied other weapons. Although she worked selflessly, tirelessly, she felt not enough was being done. "I wish to come to the ghetto," she said to Abba Kovner, "to fight by your side, to die, if necessary. Your fight is a holy one. You are a noble people. Despite the fact that you are a Marxist [Kovner was a member of the Hashomer Hatsair, a leftist Zionist faction with pro-Communist leanings] and have no religion, you are closer to God than I."

Her ardent wish to enter the ghetto to fight and, in the end, to die the martyred death of the Jews was not realized. She was too valuable an ally, and was prevailed upon to remain on the Aryan side. In addition to supplying arms, she also acted as a liaison between the Jewish Fighters' Organization inside the ghetto and the Polish Underground

...

Mordecai Paldiel, a historian at the Yad Vashem Institute, records the rescue activities in *The Path of the Righteous*, at pages 216–17, and in his *Saving The Jews: Amazing Stories of Men and Women Who Defied the "Final Solution"* (Rockville, Maryland: Schreiber Publishing, 2000), at pages 208–10.

The story unfolds in Kolonia Wileńska [Wileńska], near Vilnius (or Vilna [Wilno], its former name under Polish rule, presently the capital of Lithuania), where Sister Anna Borkowska served as Mother Superior in a small group of Dominican nuns. Shocked by the horrible massacres of thousands of Jews [and Poles] in the Ponar [Ponary] forest, not far from her convent, in the summer months of 1941, she invited a group of 17 members of an illegal Jewish [Zionist] pioneering group to hide in the convent for brief spells of time. Soon thereafter, the convent of nine nuns was bustling with activity, for the youthful Jewish men and women were plotting, behind the secure walls of the Dominican convent, an eventual uprising in the Vilna Ghetto [which did not, however, take place].

"They called me Ima [mother]," Anna Borkowska fondly remembered. "I felt as if I were indeed their mother. I was pleased with the arrival of each new member, and was sorry that I could not shelter more of them." Recalling those who passed through the convent walls, Anna mentioned Arie Wilner: "I gave him the name 'Jurek'"—the code-name under which he was to be known for his exploits in Warsaw, where he eventually perished during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of April 1943. ... "In spirit 'Jurek' was the closest to me." Then, there was Abba Kovner, the moving spirit of the Vilna underground—"my right hand."

Kovner presided over the conclaves in the convent where plans were hatched for an uprising in the Vilna Ghetto.

Until these plans could mature, Kovner and his 16 colleagues worked side by side with the convent nuns in the fields. There was also Tauba ... Margalit ... Mrs. K. ... Michas ...

To conceal the group's activities ... all protégés were given nun habits and thus they cultivated the nearby fields. In this departure from monastic rules, it is reported that Mother Anna had the support of her superior in the Vilna archdiocese. ...

In the convent cells, Kovner issued his famous clarion call of rebellion, the first of its kind in Nazi-occupied Europe, which opened with the ringing words: "Let us not be led like sheep to the slaughter!" This manifesto, secretly printed in the convent and distributed inside the ghetto on January 1, 1942, served as inspiration to many ghetto and partisan fighters.

When the time came for Abba Kovner and his comrades to return to the ghetto (they told her, "If we are to die, let us die the death of free people, with arms in our hands"), Anna Borkowska rushed to join them. "I want to go with you to the ghetto," she pleaded with Abba; "to fight and fall with you." ... Kovner told her she could be of greater help by smuggling in weapons. The noted Yiddish poet Abraham Sutzkever relates: "the first four grenades ... were the gift of the Mother Superior, who instructed Abba Kovner in their proper use ... She later supplied other weapons." [According to the Path of the Righteous: Concealing the weapons inside her habit, she brought them to the ghetto gates and stealthily transferred them to Kovner's waiting and trembling hands. "I have come to join you," she repeated on this occasion, "for God is with you." With great difficulty, Kovner succeeded in dissuading her from that course. She returned to her convent and continued to aid those inside the ghetto from the outside.]

As suspicions mounted, the Germans eventually had Anna Borkowska arrested in September 1943, the convent closed, and the Sisters dispersed. One nun was dispatched to a labor camp. ...

During the [1984] ceremony in her honor ... [Kovner] turned to the audience gathered in her honor, and said: "In the days when the angels hid their faces from us, this woman was to us Anna of the Angels—not the angels that we invent for ourselves, but angels which help us build our lives for an eternity." He had dedicated a poem to her, which begins with the words: "My Little Sister! Nine Sisters look at you with anxiety, as one looks at the sands in the desert." A year later, Abba Kovner planted a tree in her honor at Yad Vashem.

In her account, Israeli historian Dina Porat mentions a chaplain, Rev. Józef Zawadzki,⁴³⁹ who assisted the Dominican Sisters in Kolonia Wileńska. (Dina Porat, *The Fall of a Sparrow: The Life and Times of Abba Kovner* [Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010], pp. 46–50, 62.)

... the mother superior and her nine nuns warmly accepted Kovner, Arieh Wilner (who had arrived from Warsaw), and others. In all, between fifteen and twenty individuals hid in wooden structures on the convent grounds. ... On occasion the nuns managed to find hiding places on neighboring farms and estates and took in other Jews, so that sometimes their number reached thirty. The convent grounds were surrounded by a high wall with but one iron gate, which was opened from the inside when the bell was rung. ... a priest named Zawecki [Rev. Józef Zawadzki], whose vows enabled him to come and go at will, aided the mother superior in running the convent and served as father confessor to the nuns.

In October, at the height of one of the *Aktionen*, Kovner's mother and brother Michael fled to this convent as well, taking with them Sala (Shulamit), Genia and Neuta's 4-year-old daughter; Genia and Neuta remained in the city and came for visits. In a short summary of her memoirs, the mother superior recounted how she herself brought the child to the convent on a sled and how, after long weeks in a melina, they could not convince her that she was finally allowed to speak. ... Rosa, Kovner's mother, and the mother superior spent long hours in deep conversation, especially discussing the question of a merciful God who permitted such events to take place. ... Kovner walked around dressed in a monk's habit or in an apron and kerchief, because his obviously Semitic features endangered them all. ... Those in hiding did their best to repay their hostesses by working in the convent fields and kitchen, taking care of the cows and pigs, and drawing water from the well. They ate little, sharing the nuns' simple meals, which consisted mainly of potatoes and milk ...

The nuns were young women in their 30s; the mother superior was a few years older. They were all educated, and some of them held academic degrees. None of them, including the priest, tried to convert those in hiding. Quite the opposite, Kovner taught the nuns Hebrew, and they regarded him as a man of letters. The mother superior conversed with him and the other Jews at length in an attempt to understand what a *kibbutz* and *Eretz Israel* were. ... In addition to taking care of Jews in hiding, the nuns [the Jewish charges?] exploited the mother superior's connections to obtain documents and money for them and to secure information and hiding places for their relatives in the city.

The handful of Jews stayed in the convent for nearly six months ... their presence increasingly endangered the nuns. Rumors swirled that the convent would be closed because the Germans had instituted an anti-Catholic

⁴³⁹ See also Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 117–18.

campaign, especially against the Polish clergy and its influence, and because the nuns were known to hide Jews and to coordinate their actions with the various underground organizations. ...

Kovner left the convent primarily because of the decision to organize a resistance movement in the ghettos. In December [1941] Kovner and Wilner told the mother superior that they had decided to return, Kovner to the Vilna [Wilno] ghetto and Wilner to the Warsaw ghetto ... In retrospect Kovner viewed the convent as the place where the idea for the ghetto uprising matured. Initially, the mother superior refused to permit them to leave, promising to hide them and all their friends either in the convent itself or in the neighborhood and to save them all. ...

Zawecki [Zawadzki], the priest who frequently visited the convent, told Kovner that masses of Jews were being taken out of the ghetto to be killed. In simple language and sure of his facts, he described how they went and he made Kovner realize it was a matter of mass murder.

The following account is based on testimonies gathered at Yad Vashem.⁴⁴⁰ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 108.)

In 1941, during the German occupation, Anna Borkowska (Sister Bertranda), mother superior of a Dominican convent in Kolonia Wilenska [Kolonia Wileńska], about 15 kilometers from Vilna [Wilno], together with six other nuns helped save a group of Hashomer Hatzair members looking for a hiding place in the area. Through the mediation of Jadwiga Dudziec, a representative of the Polish scouts, Borkowska offered them temporary shelter in the convent. Among the 15 Jews taken into the convent by the nuns were many who later became members of the underground in the Bialystok [Białystok], Warsaw, and Vilna ghettos, such as Arie Wilner, Abba Kovner, Israel Nagel, Chuma Godot, Haika Grosman, and Edek Boraks. Borkowska (who was affectionately known as "Mother") did all she could to ensure the safety of the Jews in her care. In the winter of 1942, a group of young activists left the convent and returned to the ghetto in order to organize an underground Resistance cell. During their stay, the young activists had turned the place into a hive of activity for the Jewish underground with the knowledge and agreement of Borkowska and six other nuns. Abba Kovner was subsequently to relate that the first manifesto calling for a ghetto revolt was drawn up in the convent. After leaving the convent, the members of the underground maintained close ties with Borkowska, their "mother," who visited them in the ghetto, helped them obtain weapons, and brought them their first handgrenades. After rumors reached the ears of the Gestapo, that Jews were hiding in the convent, Borkowska was interrogated and the convent was shut down. The ties between the surviving members of the underground and Borkowska continued after the war, until her death.

The following two accounts also refer to the rescue activity by Dominican nuns in Kolonia Wileńska outside Wilno. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. xliii–xliv, 377.)

Anna Borkowska was the mother superior of a Dominican convent in Kolonia Wilenska [Wileńska], in [near] Vilna, during the war. Emissaries of the Catholic Scouts in Warsaw, who before the war had contacts with some members of the Hashomer Zionist youth movement, asked Sister Bertranda to take a group of Vilna [Wilno] Jews into her convent. Among those who found shelter for some time in the convent were Aba Kovner, Abraham Sutzkover, Rozka Korczak, Arie Wilner, and others. In her memoirs, Borkowska wrote: The German terror enveloped the entire country. They made a ghetto. 'We have to save people', Dudziec told me, 'I'll bring you several guards, you have good conditions for hiding people.' They came...helped us work in the garden and on the farm, several girls came too-the walls of our small house expanded, we felt safe inside it. They were quiet and sad, and after an Aktion (maskowa) began in the ghetto, more people came, a four-year-old with a grandmother. Some had lost their dearest ones, and they were even more closed and silent. Only their eyes showed the pain." In fact, inside the convent, discussions were held and ideas put forth about opposition and the need to organize for this purpose. The Jewish group in the convent called the mother superior "mother," Ima in Hebrew. Many years later, Aba Kovner published a brief article entitled "Ima," in which he wrote about the day he left the convent. When they took leave of the mother superior and the nuns who had given them shelter, Borkowska said she would like to be with them in the ghetto. Kovner answered impatiently, isn't it enough that we have to go to the ghetto and to what awaits us there, does she too have to pay with her life? Borkowska replied that she believed that in those times, God himself is in the ghetto too. If she wants to help, Kovner told her, perhaps she could help by obtaining weapons, because that is what they need. Sutzkover wrote after the war, and Kovner also wrote in his article, that it was through Borkowska that the first hand grenades came to the ghetto. In the 1980s, Kovner and his friends in Israel learned that Anna Borkowska was living in Warsaw and was no longer the mother superior of a convent. They found her, a small woman, old and lonely, living in a small, unfurnished room, a large cross hanging on one wall. When an Israeli visited her on behalf of the survivors and asked if she needed anything, she replied that she would like to see one of the Jews she had

⁴⁴⁰ See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 355.

hidden in the convent, and needed nothing else. Aba Kovner traveled to Warsaw and, in the presence of many people, bestowed on her the award of the Righteous Among the Nations.

When Germany occupied Poland in 1939, Josef and Faiga Riter fled to Vilna [Wilno]. In 1941, when Vilna too was occupied by the Germans, Josef found shelter in a Dominican convent in the city. The Mother Superior of the convent, wishing to help Josef's wife, Faiga, too, urged her acquaintance Anna Koscialkowska [Kościalkowska] to hide Faiga on her estate in the village of Kolonia Wilenska [Wileńska], near Vilna. Koscialkowska, a patriotic Pole who was known for her humanitarian views, sheltered Faiga in her home without expecting anything in return. Koscialkowska's children, Maria and Witold, were let into the secret and together with their mother looked after Faiga and protected her ... In due course, Koscialkowska provided Faiga with Aryan papers, which enabled her to leave the house and meet her husband at the convent. One day the Germans decided to close the convent and ordered all its inhabitants out. Josef made his way to the Koscialkowskis, who, at great personal risk, took him in too, employing him as a night watchman. When the Germans began recruiting youngsters for work in Germany and submitted them to a medical examination, Koscialkowska and her children, fearing for Josef's safety, again came to the rescue by arranging for the Ritters to work in the local peat mine, which released them from the obligation to work in Germany. The Ritters were liberated in July 1944. After the war, they immigrated to Israel ...

The Benedictine Sisters provided help to Jews in various convents. Zenobia Krzyżanowska recalled the assistance she and her family received from the Benedictine Sisters in the village of Staniątki outside Kraków (Cracow). The prioress of the monastery, Mother Salezja (Irena) Terlikiewicz, made the decisions regarding the rescue activities. (Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, p. 284.)

I was born [in 1939] in Krakow [Kraków] to a Jewish working-class family. ... I am the youngest of eight siblings. During the period of occupation, Father worked as a carpenter in the Benedictine Cloister in Staniątki near Krakow. Mother was a seamstress, and in return for it, the cloister rented us an apartment and extended protection to our entire family.

One of my brothers, Jozef [Józef] Adamowski, was shot to death in 1943 (both my father and my remaining brothers belonged to the Home Army). ... My parents and my sisters survived the war. We lived in the building of the cloister until the end of the war.

After the war, my father built a house in this community, and I live here to this day.

Janina Ecker (née Leiman), another Jewish girl sheltered at the Benedictine monastery in Staniątki as a ward of the Felician Sisters, recalled that the Benedictine Sisters also sheltered a Jewish woman. (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, p. 184).

The convent in Staniątki [Staniątki] was a Benedictine convent. The Felician nuns who had been thrown out of their home in Cracow by the Germans were taken in by the Benedictine sisters. And it was there, in the Benedictine convent, that the Felician nuns ran the boarding school, where I found myself. The Benedictine sisters also had children, but no Jewish ones. There was only an adult Jewish woman, who was hidden behind a wardrobe. One had to take out her refuse, and nobody wanted to do this. Therefore I did it, for I apparently have it in my genes—I like to help.

After the evacuation of the population of Warsaw in the fall of 1944, some 200 children from Warsaw were relocated to the Benedictine monastery in Staniątki, among them many Jewish ones.⁴⁴¹

After leaving the ghetto on Chełm in the fall of 1943, Rywka Mastbojm (born in 1928) was sheltered by Helena Babiarcz for about a month, and then found work on a farm for two weeks. Some Poles took her to the Polish Welfare Committee in Chełm, where she claimed to be a Polish orphan by the name of Maria Wiśniewska. She was placed in the convent of the Felician Sisters in Chełm, where she remained for seven months. Afterwards, she was transferred to an educational institution in Kraków also run by the Felician Sisters. Probably after the war, she was sent to an educational institution in Romanów near Łódź,

⁴⁴¹ Jarosław Sellin, "Arcybiskup Adam Stefan Sapieha a Holokaust," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2014): 784.

where she was located by the Jewish Committee in September 1946.⁴⁴²

Esther Fairbloom was born in the Tarnopol ghetto in 1941. At the age of two months her mother entrusted her to the care of nuns in her hometown of Zbaraż. The Felician Sisters operated a shelter for children in that town, which was located in the monastery of the Bernardine Fathers. Esther's parents, the owners of a slaughterhouse, had provided meat to the orphanage before the war. Esther's mother turned to the head sister, who agreed to accept her newborn daughter, while placing her older daughter with farmers nearby. Although the nuns did their best to provide for the children and treated Esther well, there was little food and clean water, and many orphans suffered from poor health. Since Esther was the only redhead in the orphanage, and it was rare for an ethnic Pole to have red hair, she had to be hidden in the basement of the church during routine searches by German soldiers. Other Jewish children were also sheltered at the orphanage, and a priest assisted in the rescue. Esther's parents were killed by the Germans. After the war, Esther was claimed by her aunt and uncle who adopted her and brought her to Canada. Her older sister, who also survived, was taken to Israel by a different uncle. A Jewish girl a few years older than Esther, also at the orphanage, was reclaimed by her mother after the war.⁴⁴³

As a ten-year-old boy, Michael Kutz escaped from a death pit outside his hometown of Nieśwież, a town in the voivodship of Nowogródek near the interwar Polish-Soviet border, after the mass execution of Jews by the Germans in October 1941. He recalled the help he received from the sisters at the nearby Benedictine monastery, in particular, the prioress Idelfonsa Jaroń, and from Polish villagers, with whom he stayed until April 1942 when he was taken in by Soviet-Jewish partisans. (Debbie Parkes, "Life must go on—it's for the living says man who survived Holocaust." *The Gazette*, Montreal, September 25, 1988.)

Kutz was a young Jew of 10 in June 1941 when the German army invaded his town of Neswizh [Nieśwież] near the Polish-Soviet border. ...

Then came Oct. 29. The German commandant ordered all Jews to assemble at the town square. ...

... Jews were then marched to different areas around the city where, the night before, Jews had been forced to dig pits that would be used as mass graves. ...

There, the prisoners were made to undress, to jump into the pits one-by-one, and to lie down. ... The Germans threw grenades into the pits and shot at the people in them with machine-guns. Then more people were put through the same treatment.

"Many people were buried in these graves alive, wounded and unable to escape," Kutz says. "I happened to be one of the lucky ones."

Kutz wasn't seriously wounded, although he figures he must have been hit over the head with a rifle butt. He regained consciousness at the onset of dusk. ...

As small as he was, he pushed a few bodies on top of each other, stood on them and looked out. Seeing no one, he climbed out of the grave and ran some two kilometres to a convent. ...

At the convent, he rang the hand bell outside the building's gates. The mother superior [Idelfonsa Jaroń] answered.

"She immediately took off her robe and threw it over me because I was naked," Kutz says. Inside the convent, he was washed and dressed in the oversized clothes of the janitor.

But he couldn't stay. The religious told him that would be too dangerous. If he were caught, he would be killed. So, Kutz says, the nuns packed him a bag of food and directed him to a neighboring village. ...

There, Kutz went to the home of a gentile farmer, a friend of his father, who kept him through the winter. ...

The farmer, however, collaborated with the underground resistance movement. In the spring of 1942, he made contact with Jews in that movement who took Kutz to live in the forest.

Michael Kutz expands on his story in Alvin Abram, *The Light After the Dark* (Scarborough, Ontario: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997), at pages 57–60.

⁴⁴² Testimony of Rywka Mastbojm, October 8, 1946, Ghetto Fighters House Archives, Internet: <<http://www.infocenters.co.il/gfh/multimedia/Files/Idea%200036942.pdf>>. Although she claims the nuns were not aware that she was Jewish, this is highly unlikely since she grew up in a Jewish milieu until the age of fifteen and could not have acquired in a few short weeks the truisque level of religious knowledge to pass as a Catholic.

⁴⁴³ Esther Fairbloom, March of the Living Canada, February 28, 2014, Internet: <<http://marchoftheliving.org/2014/02/28/esther-fairbloom/>>; Esther Fairbloom, Interview, Crestwood, Internet: <<http://www.crestwood.on.ca/ohp/fairbloom-esther/>>.

As he ran, he looked for shelter ... In the distance, he made out the outline of a large building and recognized it as a convent. Michael ran towards it, remembering that the women in black clothes were the ones who took care of the poor and sick people on the streets of Nieswicz. Desperate for the warmth of a room, he pushed himself to the front gate, hoping they would help him escape from the Germans.

... When the door opened, with his last ounce of strength, Michael lunged inside and around the person blocking the door.

He turned to face a woman dressed in black. She appeared ageless, small, slightly bent in posture from the years of homage and she looked fragile. Surprise swept across her face, seeing a naked boy appear out of the night. She removed her cape and covered Michael with it. With quiet dignity, her voice soft and filled with kindness, she asked, "Who are you, my child? Where did you come from?"

Michael could not speak.

"Why are you here?"

Michael cried.

"I am the Mother Superior of this convent. How can I help you?"

With his tears flooding down his cheeks, Michael explained what had happened in Nieswicz and begged the Mother Superior for her help. Listening intently, she nodded her head a few times as Michael related what his tired and confused mind could remember. She led him into the inner recesses of the convent, along darkened, cold and forbidding corridors into the kitchen. In a locker by the door, she found clothes belonging to the janitor and gave them to Michael. Though much too big, he put them on, and cleaned himself by the sink, while the Mother Superior prepared hot food and administered to his cuts and bruises and doctored his head wound. After he had eaten, she sat across from him.

"You cannot stay."

"Why?"

"It is not safe for you here nor is it safe for those who cannot leave."

"Hide me. I will not be in anyone's way."

"It is not that. The risk is too great. If they find you, we will all suffer. Our lives are in danger if you stay."

"I have nowhere to go."

"I can direct you to those who may help you. I can do no more."

The fear of returning to the darkness overwhelmed him, but he was given no choice. The Mother Superior prepared a bag of food, and gave him directions to a neighbouring village. Quickly the Mother Superior ushered him out the convent gate, wishing him God's protection and locked the door after him. ...

... When he had almost reached his destination, Michael remembered the gentile farmer who showed his kindness when the family was in need of food. Aware he was near his farm, he decided to change directions, and seek out his help.

Upon reaching the farmer's home, Michael knocked on the door. When the surprised farmer saw Michael, he swept him into his arms crying with joy, that he had survived the massacre and was safe. He was ushered into the house ... Michael related his story, and when he was finished the farmer recounted to Michael what he knew.

"The Germans ordered several local farmers to the two sites days ago, he among them and had them dig the pits," he said. "They would return each day, and make the hole bigger until finally ordered to stop and leave the site. Before they left, Ukrainian and Lithuanian soldiers arrived in trucks filled with gypsies and cripples and killed them all. Their bodies were thrown into the pit as one would dispose of a worthless carcass. The farmers were unprepared for what they saw and some screamed hysterically. Others went into shock, their minds unable to accept the barbarism of what they had witnessed. One went mad. The Ukrainian and Lithuanian soldiers had blood on their uniforms, and appeared indifferent to their act. It was a horrible sight that will haunt him for the rest of his life." ...

The farmer offered to hide Michael in the stable until Spring. Since it was obvious he was not part of the family, it was imperative he not be discovered or all were doomed. Michael stayed hidden from October 1941 until April 1942, coming outside only at night when no one was around.

In his memoir, *If, By Miracle* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2013), at pages 31–32, Michael Kutz recalled:

I ran about two kilometres to a Catholic convent, approached the gate and pulled the bell cord. It didn't take long before a small window in the gate opened and a nun's face appeared. It was the Mother Ksieni [i.e., abbess], the convent's mother superior. She immediately opened the door and pulled me in; seeing that I was stark naked, she put her black robe around me and led me into a small, windowless room furnished with only a table, a chair and a picture of the Madonna hanging on the wall. She left me alone there for a few minutes, then returned with two nuns and told me to go with them to a bathroom, where they gave me a long towel, hot water and soap to wash the dried blood off my body. Mother Ksieni brought me underwear as well as a large pair of trousers, a pair of slippers and a peasant's coat and hat. All the clothes belonged to the convent's caretaker and were much too big for me, but I put them on. The nuns then offered me something to eat. Although I refused the food, I asked them for a glass of milk.

Mother Ksieni looked sad as she explained that I could not stay for very long because both the German and the Belorussian police were searching the area for escaped Jews. If they were to catch me there, everyone would be shot. I told them that my father was friends with a Polish-Catholic family who lived near the village of Rudawka and that if I could get there, the family would surely hide me. The nuns gave me directions for the five-kilometre trek through forest and fields. As I said goodbye, the nuns and the mother superior knelt down to give me a blessing to help me reach the Polish peasant safely.

The Germans deported the Berkowicz family to the ghetto in Kleck. In the spring of 1942, Sonia Berkowicz (later Liberman), then 9 years old, and her two siblings knocked on the door of Christian friends of her parents in the village of Jakszyce, begging for food. The Polish couple, Aleksandra and Kazimierz Cybulski, fed the Jewish children and allowed them to stay in their home. After a few days, Sonia's siblings returned to the ghetto, but Sonia stayed on with the Cybulskis as a family member. They obtained a false birth and baptismal certificate for her from Rev. Tadeusz Grzesiak, the local pastor, as Zofia Flejow. Meanwhile, by the end of August 1942, the remaining Jews were deported from the ghetto. There were also mass arrests of Poles. Rev. Grzesiak was arrested on June 28, 1942, and executed in Baranowicze on July 13, 1942. According to Israeli historian Leonid Smilovitskii (Smilovitsky), Rev. Grzesiak was killed for helping Jews.⁴⁴⁴ Sonia remained with the Cybulskis until the winter of 1943, when she was transferred to their relatives in a village near Pińsk. The Cybulskis stayed in touch with Sonia, and she later returned to them. She remained with them until 1946, when she was handed over to a Jewish organization for war orphans.⁴⁴⁵

Teresa Dołęga-Wrzosek, a native of Warsaw, lived in Stołowicze, near Baranowicze, during the war. She was entrusted with the care of a Jewish boy, Ryszard Węgiel (Richard Wanger, born in 1932), by his father before the liquidation of the local ghetto. She also took in Gittl, the daughter of the local rabbi, who was hidden in a barn. Gittl's presence was detected and she was executed by an SS officer, who was accompanied by two Belorussian policemen. Miraculously, Dołęga-Wrzosek was spared when her young daughter threw herself on her mother to protect her from being shot. Young Henryk Żdaniuk, as the boy was known, moved from house to house, staying with friends of Dołęga-Wrzosek and passing as Catholic. For about a month, he lived with the Szpakowski family, in the village of Zaosie, who taught him catechism and wanted him to be baptized. The priest from Stołowicze did not comply with their request, and told the boy he should make that decision on his own when he attained the age of 18. Dołęga-Wrzosek was recognized posthumously by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile.⁴⁴⁶

The Benedictine Sisters of Wilno are remembered for their courage and devotion to their Jewish charges. A number of Jews took refuge at various times in their monastery adjacent to St. Catherine's Church. The rescue activity had two distinct phases. The first chapter was initiated in September 1941, when the aged prioress, Mother Julia Milicz, agreed to take in a group of Jews. Since the convent was cloistered, she turned to Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski for permission to house the Jews. At first, Julia Milicz was assisted by her own sister, Jadwiga Milicz, who was also a nun at this monastery. However, since this large group of Jews occupied a room in one of the wings of the boarding school, their presence soon became known and all of the nuns assisted in the rescue operation. Among them was Sister Benedykta, or Maria Mikulska, who became prominent in the second part of this story. Mikulska refers to the Milicz sisters in her testimony as "saintly beings." The first group of nine Jews included Jonasz (Jonas) Bak, his

⁴⁴⁴ Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), 132.

⁴⁴⁵ Ofer Aderet, "Polish Woman, 100, Who Saved Jewish Girl During Holocaust Named Righteous Among the Nations," *Haaretz*, October 22, 2017; Patryk Szczerba, "100-letnia gdynianka otrzymała najwyższe odznaczenie Izraela," October 19, 2017, Internet: <<https://www.trojmiasto.pl/wiadomosci/100-letnia-gdynianka-otrzymala-najwyzsze-odznaczenie-Izraela-n117623.html>>; "Ks. Tadeusz Grzesiak—rycerz Chrystusa," May 12, 2017, Internet: <http://www.minsk.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/ks_tadeusz_grzesiak_rycerz_chrystusa>.

⁴⁴⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part One, 182 (Dolenga-Wrzosek); Oral history interview of Richard Wanger, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession Number 1995.A.1272.388, RG Number RG-50.120.0388; Testimony of Elzbieta Wrzosek, Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Internet: <https://audiohistoria.pl/nagranie/1056-AHM_PnW_0887>; Testimony of Elzbieta Dolega-Wrzosek, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39086.

wife Mitia (Mita or Mitzia, later Markowska), and their son, Samuel (born in 1933); Mitia Bak's sister, Jetta (Yetta), and her husband, Jasza (Yasha); and two other Jewish women. Mitia Bak's aunt, Janina Ruszkiewicz, a convert to Catholicism, was instrumental in arranging for the Baks reception at the monastery. Tragedy struck at the end of March 1942, when all of the convents and monasteries in Wilno were shut down and scores of members of the Polish clergy were arrested. On March 23, 1942, the Gestapo and their Lithuanian collaborators raided the Benedictine monastery, arrested the nuns, and imprisoned them in Łukiszki prison. Unlike the clergymen, who were sent to internment camps, the nuns were released two months later and ordered to remove their habits and disperse. Luckily, the Jewish charges were not detected by the Germans at that time and they returned safely to the Wilno ghetto. In the meantime, the building housing the Benedictine monastery was given over to the municipal archives. Rev. Juozas Stakauskas, a Lithuanian priest who had moved to Wilno from Lithuania, was appointed the director of the archives, and Vladas Žemaitis, a Lithuanian, became his assistant. The monastery now housed vast amounts of documents and items looted by the Germans in the city and surrounding areas. After her release from prison, Maria Mikulska returned to the former monastery in September 1942, and began to work in the archives. Among the labourers dispatched to the archives was a group of Jews from the ghetto, whom Rev. Stakauskas and Maria Mikulska befriended. A hiding place was constructed for them in the building that eventually held thirteen Jews, among them: Zofia (Sara) and Yakov Jaffe, and their daughter, Anna (Monika); Yakov Jaffe's mother, who died while in hiding; Yakov Jaffe's sister, Esther Kantarovich; Dr. Alexander (Samuel) Libo, his wife, Vera, and their daughter, Luba (later Gilon); Grigori (Grisha) Jaszunski and his wife, Irena; and Miriam (Mira) Rolnik. Mitia Bak (Markowska), and her son, Samuel, joined the others later on, through the intercession of Maria Mikulska. Mikulska cared for the needs of the hidden Jews. Two other nuns, Świeżawska and Sister Łucja (Joasia), who had also returned and worked in the archives, assisted Mikulska in caring for the Jews and bringing food for them. Sister Łucja (Joasia) helped Mikulska smuggle Samuel Bak into the building. Franciszek Rychłowski, an actor and theatre director, also helped with food. Both he and Amelia Zgajewska, the Jaffes' former employee, gradually sold off the belongings the Jaffes had entrusted to them and the proceeds were used for the Jaffes' upkeep. The Jews remained hidden in the building until the liberation of Wilno in July 1944. A Pole by the name of Łucznik happened to come across one of the Jews near the end of their stay, but did not betray them. (As luck would have it, he was killed during the bombing of the city.) Maria Mikulska (Sister Benedykta) was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, as was Rev. Juozas Stakauskas and Vladas Žemaitis.⁴⁴⁷ The Jaffes' daughter, Anna (born in 1939), had been hidden in several places before being brought to the monastery: with Amelia Zgajewska, the Jaffes' former employee; and with their friend Wanda's parents (in Wilno) and in-laws (outside Wilno). When Anna was brought to the monastery building, she lived in the separate lodging of two Polish women, Wanda and Antonina, who were employed there. Of the 14 Poles identified as part of this rescue effort, only one was officially recognized by Yad Vashem. The following account is from Gilbert, *The Righteous*, at pages 79–81.

Samuel Bak was only eight years old when the German army entered Vilna [Wilno]. A child prodigy, he had the first exhibition of his drawings a year later, inside the ghetto. After his father was sent to a labor camp, he and his mother were taken in by Sister Maria [Mikulska], the Mother Superior of the Benedictine convent just outside the ghetto. 'In time we became very good friends, Sister Maria and I,' he later wrote. 'I always waited impatiently for her daily visit. She supplied me with paper, coloured pencils, and old and worn children's books, gave me lessons from the Old and New Testament, and taught me the essential Christian prayer. After several days Mother's sister, Aunt Yetta, joined us; later her husband, Uncle Yasha, and Father, after they managed to escape the camp in which they had been long interned, were granted the same asylum.'

Only the Mother Superior and one other nun knew that there were men hiding in the convent. Eventually, as so

⁴⁴⁷ Testimony of Maria Mikulska, January 13, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2511; Maria Mikulska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4016446>>; Testimony of Sara Zofia Jaffe, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3026; Felicjan Paluszkiwicz, *Benedyktynki wileńskie* (Vilnius: Oja Druk, 2002); Leociak, *Ratowanie*, 167, 171–72, 220–54; Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy i Żydzi 1939–1945*, 320 (account of Dr. Alexander Libo); Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House; New York: The Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers, 1993), 241–44; Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2003), 79–81; Samuel Bak, *Painted in Words: A Memoir* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press; Boston: Pucker Art Publications, 2001), 335–46, 353–60; Hans-Jürgen Schultz, ed., *Mein Judentum* (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1978), 125–26 (account of Samuel Bak).

often, the threat of discovery or denunciation loomed, and a new hiding place had to be found. [This information is inaccurate. The entire convent became aware of the presence of the Jewish charges. They had to leave when the nuns were expelled during the massive raids on Catholic convents and monasteries carried out by the Germans and Lithuanian police in March 1942. M.P.] This was a former convent in which the Germans had housed the looted archives of a dozen museums and institutions in Vilna and the surrounding towns: 'Trucks loaded with confiscated riches arrived daily to be unloaded in the ancient building's courtyard,' Samuel Bak recalled. 'There the nuns, dressed now in civilian poverty, met a number of Jews who were sent every day from the ghetto to carry and pile the thousands of volumes, documents, and rare books that filled its rooms and corridors. One small group of them created a hiding place for the days that they foresaw would follow the final liquidation of the ghetto. The evening Mother and I arrived was a few months after the liquidation. Three families were now living buried under the books.'

Sister Maria and Father Stakauskas, a Catholic priest and former professor of history who was employed to supervise and sort the looted material, provided the hidden Jews with food and other necessities. 'Had the authorities discovered their selfless acts, they would have been tortured and executed,' Bak wrote. 'Their courage and devotion went beyond anything I have ever encountered. It was Maria who convinced the group in hiding to take in a woman and a child. She exclaimed to them our state of total despair. Sending us back would have meant our death. The nine people had a hard choice to make, and they vacillated, as clearly we would take up a part of their space as well as some of the very limited portions of available food. Moreover, a few of them were afraid our presence could increase their chance of being detected. But Maria made it clear how much she cared about us. The group could not afford to alienate her. All this came to our knowledge only later, but it provides one more link in our chain of miracles.'

Sister Maria visited every night. 'She would knock lightly on a wooden beam, three knocks that were the sign for us to dismantle the bundles of books inserted into our tunnel. She always came with some food, some necessary medications, and, most important, with good news that the German armies were losing on all fronts and that the days of our ordeal were numbered. Her optimism and her courage nourished the energies that were vital for our survival.'

Father Stakauskas visited once or twice a week. 'In his old black leather case that was stuffed with papers, he brought some hidden carrots, a few dried fruits, or a piece of cheese. But his main contribution to the boosting of our morale was his summary of the BBC news. A village friend allowed him to listen to a clandestine radio in the basement of his barn.'

The following account is from Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 516.

In 1942, Dr. Jozas [Juozas] Stakauskas and Vladas Zemaitis [Žemaitis] were employed sorting books, including some in Hebrew that had been brought to the Vilna [Wilno] archive. A group of 12 Jewish workers was brought from the Vilna ghetto to help sort the books in the archive and their employers treated them with kindness and respect. The Germans eventually expanded the archive, adding a building to it that had once been a monastery. Stakauskas and Zemaitis exploited the abundance of space in the building to create a hiding place for their Jewish employees, whom they had decided to save. They prepared a well-concealed room on one of the building's floors and in September 1943 hid the 12 Jews who worked in the archive along with a four-year-old girl smuggled out of the ghetto. Maria Mikulska, a nun, was included in the secret and, disguised as an archive employee, she took responsibility for the fugitives' care. Because Germans and Lithuanians also worked in the building, there was constant danger that the hiding place would be discovered, but this did not prevent Mikulska from continuing to care for the Jews hiding there, ignoring the very real danger to her life. Mikulska was motivated by the firm belief that she was doing the right thing and all the 13 Jews she cared for were liberated in July 1944. After the war Mikulska moved to Warsaw and most of the survivors eventually immigrated to Israel.

Spontaneous assistance for Jews was frequent in Wilno. Beginning in 1941, Sister Helena Zienowicz, from the Congregation of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the help of her sister Janina (not a nun), cared for three Jewish children: Wilinke Fink (born in 1938), Renana Gabaj (5 years old), and her 10-month-old brother, Benjamin. The Zienowicz sisters were assisted by other nuns from that congregation and by several priests: Rev. Władysław Kisiel, a vicar at the cathedral church, who provided material and moral assistance; Rev. Romuald Świrkowski, the chaplain of the Sisters of the Visitation,

who provided false baptismal certificates for these children and helped many other Jews⁴⁴⁸; and Rev. Antoni Jagodziński and Rev. Antoni Lewosz (Leosz) of St. Teresa's Church (adjacent to a gate to the old town, known as Ostra Brama, housing a revered icon of Our Lady), who taught catechism to the two older children and thereby assisted them to pass as Catholics. The Zienowicz sisters also helped other Jews.⁴⁴⁹ Helena Zienowicz and the couple, Jan and Zofia Kukolewski, were awarded by Yad Vashem. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 939–40.)

Following Helena Zienowicz's graduation from the Nazareth Nuns' [Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth] high school in Vilna [Wilno], she chose to live in the closed convent of the Wizytka [wizytki—Sisters of the Visitation] order and work as a teacher in Rabka (near Cracow [Kraków]). She left the convent when her mother became ill and returned to Vilna. In September 1941, Helena came upon three Jewish children: five-year-old Renana Gabaj, ten-month-old Benjamin Gabaj, and four-year-old Wilinke Fink (later Jozef Zienowicz), who had problems with his eyesight. Abel Gabaj, a doctor from Butrimoniai [Butrymańce] in Lithuania, was the father of Renana and Benjamin. Jakub Fink, Wilinke's father, was a friend of Dr. Gabaj's. One day in September 1941, Dr. Gabaj learned from a friend who worked as a policeman that a pogrom against the Jews of Butrimoniai was about to be carried out, and so the doctor decided to leave for Vilna. On the way out, the entire group of two adults and three children stopped for a rest in Angleniki, at Jan and Zofia Kukolewski's house. There they learned that the ghetto was closed, which ruled out the possibility of hiding in Vilna. The Kukolewskis agreed to let the adults stay with them and the children found shelter a few days later with Helena Zienowicz. Initially, they were only supposed to stay with her for a few days. But because no other solution could be found the children stayed under Helena's care until the war ended, and Wilinke, stayed under her care even after the war. The older children did not speak Polish; they only spoke Yiddish and Lithuanian, thus complicating the situation further. Hiding three young children was not an easy task under the difficult conditions of the war. Helena lived in a small apartment without hot water or a toilet. She constantly had to obtain food and fuel for heat, not to mention the constant threat of discovery. Moreover, the children were often sick and they missed their parents. Helena represented the fugitives as her brother's children, obtained Aryan papers from them, and taught them to speak and sing in Polish. She took care of their every need and brought them up as if they were her own children. Renana and Benjamin's father, Abel Gabaj, survived the war and emigrated with his children to Israel.

Another woman from Wilno, Aleksandra Drzewiecka (Drzewiecka), described as a nun (perhaps a tertiary), lived in one room in the basement of a building. Although very poor, she took in a number of orphans among them Getele Gitelman (born in 1942) and Grigory Shershnevsky (born in 1941). Drzewiecka registered Grigory as a foundling and obtained a birth certificate for him in the name of Stanisław Marian Kostka. She brought him up as her own child and had him baptized. She was awarded by Yad Vashem together with the Burlingis couple, who assisted in the rescue of the Gitelman family.⁴⁵⁰ (Mordecai Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996], pp. 117–18.)

Lea Gittelman gave birth to a girl in the Vilnius [Wilno] ghetto, and aptly named the child Getele ("of the ghetto"). In November, Lea's husband was transferred to a labor camp outside the ghetto, together with his wife and little girl. This momentarily saved them. In the course of his work, David met Viktoria Burlingis [Wiktoria was a Polish woman, her husband Paweł was Lithuanian]. After surviving another killing raid in the labor camp, David contacted Burlingis, who agreed to take the child with her. Lea stayed with the child for a few days, until she became sufficiently accustomed to Burlingis. One day, while visitors were in the house, Getele, at the other end of the house,

⁴⁴⁸ Rev. Świrkowski, the pastor of Holy Spirit parish located near the Wilno ghetto, was arrested by the Germans in January 1942 in a mass reprisal against the Polish Catholic clergy, and was executed in Ponary in May 1942. He assisted Jews in escaping from the ghetto and finding shelters for them. According to one source, he was betrayed by one of the Jews whom he had helped. See Tadeusz Krahel, "Ks. Romuald Świrkowski (1986–1942)," *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 2, February 2000; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 116, 225; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 651.

⁴⁴⁹ Their story is recorded at length in Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 307–22. See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 391–97.

⁴⁵⁰ See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 124–25; Testimony of Grigory Shershnevsky, Holocaust Resource Center of Buffalo, Internet: <<http://www.hrcbuffalo.org/grigory-shershnevsky>>.

suddenly began to sing a song in Yiddish ... “Viktoria and her husband came immediately to me; I started to weep, but they reassured me that no one had heard a word. Since the child spoke [only] Yiddish, however, they said they could no longer keep her. The next day, they told me they had found another hiding place for her.” It turned out to be a Polish nun by the name of Aleksandra Drzewecka [Drzewiecka].

In 1944, when Vilnius was still contested between the Germans and the Russians, with shells exploding everywhere, Lea and David managed to flee from the labor camp and reach Sister Drzewecka’s home to find Getele safe and sound. ... In the postwar years, Lea lost track of the Burlingis family. But she maintained contact with Sister Drzewecka for many years, and the Gittelmans supported the kindhearted nun (who also sheltered another Jewish child) with packages, medicine, and money.

Shulamit Bastacky was born in Wilno shortly after the Germans entered the city in mid-1941. She does not have any personal recollection of her rescuer, an unidentified Catholic nun, into whose care she had been entrusted by her parents. Shulamit was hidden in a cellar for almost three years. Her courageous rescuer is not identified by name. Shulamit’s parents also survived the war and reclaimed their daughter, who had been placed in an orphanage. (Anita Brostoff and Sheila Chamowitz, eds., *Flares of Memory: Stories of Childhood During the Holocaust* [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001], pp. 121–22.)

On Yom Hashoah each year I kindle the memorial candles. I kindle them in memory not only of my grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins who did not survive the Holocaust. I kindle them also for a Roman Catholic nun, a righteous gentile who risked her life to save mine.

These memorials stir in me the image of a little girl who huddled by herself for more than three long years in a small, dim cellar. While my family and the nun are blessedly recalled now at middle age, they do not lead to any real recollection of the quiet, frightened, curly-headed little girl. She is the figure that won’t come to mind, won’t allow herself to be a part of me now. She crouches forever in the recesses of a deeper cellar, the cellar of my mind.

I was born in August 1941, in Vilna [Wilno] ..., four weeks after the Germans entered the city. Our deadly game of hide and seek began that year and lasted until 1945. My mother and father who also survived the war, have had to tell me the story of my survival. They did so in the barest of terms, for any detailed narrative was too painful for them. We rarely mention the past at home, even now in America in 1996.

I don’t remember the nun, either. I know that she came as often as she could and brought me enough food to survive until she came the next time. I must have been overjoyed each time she appeared to interrupt the dark flow of hours. Now, I do not see her face; I cannot hear her voice; nor do I feel the touch of her hands. But somehow, even without memory, I know that she gave me more than food—she shared herself through a kind word, a show of affection.

I emerged from the cellar malnourished and sick when the Russian Army liberated Vilna [in July 1944]. The nun had placed me on the bank of a river, where I was found by a Lithuanian man who then placed me in a Catholic orphanage where I was given a Lithuanian name. My family found me in the orphanage by recognizing a birthmark on my body. After our reunion, we traveled by train to central Poland where I went to a rehabilitation center sponsored by the Joint Distribution Organization, a facility for Jewish children. There I was physically and emotionally rehabilitated. They gave me quartzlight treatments for sun deprivation and more importantly, a safe place where I could be a normal child.

I often wonder why I don’t remember. The answer I give myself is that my memory is blocked as a result of being deprived of family, of nurturing, and of the most basic human needs.

The feelings of a lost early childhood will remain with me the rest of my life. But my feelings of respect and gratitude for that nameless nun will remain with me, too.

When the Jews were forced to live in the Wilno ghetto, Abraham Foxman (Fuksman), then thirteen months old, was given over to be cared for by his nanny Bronisława Kurpi. She took the child into her own home, changed his name to Henryk Stanisław Kurpi and, with the collusion of an unidentified Polish priest, had him baptized as her own child. As a result, he survived the war in the care of his nanny.⁴⁵¹

Mojsze Kaufman (later Michał Bobrowski, born in 1935) and his father were part of a group Jews who escaped from the Wilno ghetto at dawn during its liquidation in 1943. With the permission of a priest, the Jewish fugitives entered a small church near the ghetto. They remained there until the streets became

⁴⁵¹ André Stein, *Hidden Children: Forgotten Survivors of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Viking/Penguin, 1993), 207; Jennifer Marlow, “Life in Hiding and Beyond,” in Joanna Beata Michlic, ed., *Jewish Families in Europe, 1939–Present: History, Representation, and Memory* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2017), 119–22.

crowded and it was safer for them to go on their way. The boy was separated from his father near the railway station. Several hours later, he was found by a complete stranger, Mrs. Bobrowska, who worked as a cleaner at the railway station. Mrs. Bobrowska took the boy to a small room in an attic near St. John's church where she lived with her teenage daughter. The boy did not speak or understand Polish. He was passed off as Mrs. Bobrowska's cousin from the countryside. Mrs. Bobrowska also helped a young Jewish couple, whom she sent to the countryside. She did not disclose to them the presence of the boy, who was hidden in times of danger. When the Germans set fire to the houses in the area, they found shelter in the crypt of a church. Disguised as a girl and pretending to be ill, he avoided the fate of many others in the cellar who were apprehended by the Germans and executed. He survived the war and was placed in a children's home because Mrs. Bobrowska was too poor to care for him.⁴⁵²

Fania Feldman (born in 1896) and her sister, Rebecca Feldman, were rescued by various persons in Wilno, among them the Tyryłło family (recognized by Yad Vashem for sheltering about 50 Jews), Aleksander Kreise, Tekla Dąbrowska, as well as her husband, daughter and son-in-law, Jerzy Pławiński, the Lithuanian author Jonas Ruzgys and his wife, Stanislava (they sheltered other Jews as well and were awarded by Yad Vashem), and Aniela Bajewska. While staying with Aniela Bajewska, a devout Polish Catholic widow (her only surviving son, Jan Antonin Bajewski, a Franciscan priest, perished in Auschwitz in May 1941), Fania Feldman fell gravely ill and was near death. She was treated by Dr. Grabowiecka (who came to the assistance of Jewish doctors) and Professor Aleksander Januszkiewicz. Concerned about how she would dispose of the body, Bajewska turned to Rev. Leopold Chomski, the pastor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny) parish in the Zwierzyniec district of Wilno. Rev. Chomski comforted Bajewska and praised her for her good deeds. He assured her that he would pray for the recovery of Fania Feldman and that, if she were to die, he would provide a death certificate attesting to her Catholic religion. Since Rev. Chomski was looking for hiding places for Jews, he asked Bajewska to take in a 13-year-old boy he was sheltering in the parish rectory. Bajewska, however, was unable to oblige because she was already sheltering several Jews in addition to the Feldman sisters. The 13-year-old boy survived under Rev. Chomski's care, as did several other Jewish charges.⁴⁵³

Rev. Wojciech Stanisław Tyszka, vicar at the parish of Nowe Troki near Wilno, came to the assistance of Jewish prisoners in the Zatrocze labour camp near Landwarów. Later, in mid-1943, he was wanted by the Germans and had to hide for the duration of the war.⁴⁵⁴ (Testimony of A. Ajzen, "Moshe Lerer," Meilech Bakalczuk-Felin, ed., *Yizker-bukh Khelm* [Johannesburg: Khelemer Landmanshaft, 1954], pp. 313–14; translated as *Commemoration Book Chelm*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/chelm/Chelm.html>>.)

During the years 1941 and 1942, Lerer [Moshe Lerer was a librarian at the YIVO Institute in Wilno] and I worked together in the Zatrocze concentration camp near Landwarow [Landwarów]. Here, I clearly sensed that inwardly he had made up his mind about everything and ultimately had made peace with death. Barely fifty and some years old, he looked like an old man who was already critically ill, with his bent body, extinguished eyes and deep, sunken cheeks. His resignation, it seems, was noticed by the rowdy element in the camp and they bullied him. Tears get stuck in my throat when I remember the heavy work that was intentionally placed on his bent shoulders. We all tried to make it easier for him and to take upon ourselves some of his duties; if this work was with peat or in unloading goods—the younger ones among us tried to make it easier for him everywhere and to take his place. He appreciated this very much and a sort of tender feeling to all of us was planted in him along with his resignation and he wanted to comfort and cheer us up.

⁴⁵² Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 257–61 (identified as Marian Bobrzyk); Testimony of Michal Bobrowski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 20515.

⁴⁵³ Testimony of Fania Feldman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1872. See also Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland*, 40; Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 124–25; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 116. Regarding Aniela Byszewska and her son, see "Wielki nienznany wilnianin," October 15–21, 2015, *Tygodnik Wileńszczyzny*, Internet: <<http://www.tygodnik.lt/201542/bliska2.html>>.

⁴⁵⁴ Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 118; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 436.

This love for us caused a series of changes in him and his character and ideology. A communist according to belief, he became tolerant of belief and took part in all religious meetings in the camp. As if by a magic wand, his former nervousness vanished and there appeared in him instead distinct signs of understanding, of fatherly devotion to his camp comrades and even hope. I still remember his enthusiasm when, due to my endeavors, Tiszka [Rev. Stanisław Tyszka], the Troker[Troki] priest, (later shot by the Germans) became a friend of the camp workers, warned about the dangers that threatened us and came to us in his free moments to study Hebrew. At first he [Lerer] was afraid that here the priest was somewhat of an outsider. Later, when everyone became convinced of Tiszka's pure, humanitarian intentions, Lerer seemed to have been revived. "There are still, it seems," he said, "virtuous non-Jews here in the land. If this is so, everything is not yet lost!!."

In her Yad Vashem testimony (Files O.3/2565 and O.93/18946), Czesława Czertok (later Czereśnia), born in Wilno in 1924, describes how she escaped from the Wilno ghetto and made her way to Wilejka. There, she turned to Rev. Rajmund Butrymowicz, an interwar army chaplain who was now serving as a parish priest in Wilejka. Rev. Butrymowicz kept her for several weeks until he found a Polish family, the Szwajkajzers, to take her in.⁴⁵⁵ Rev. Butrymowicz secured the cooperation of the German-appointed mayor of Kurzeniec, Maksymilian Matros, in providing Czesława false identity documents.⁴⁵⁶ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, p. 799.)

Before the war and until 1942, Teofila and Stefan Szwajkajzer, along with their nine children, lived in the village of Zymodry [Zimodry], near Kurzeniec, in the Vilna [Wilno] district. One day in 1941, the priest of Stara Wilejka asked Teofila to shelter a young Jewish girl named Czesława [Czesława] Czertok (later Czereńia [Czereśnia]) from Vilna. Czesława, aged 17, had remained alone in occupied Vilna. All of her family had been murdered in Ponary. Czesława had escaped from Vilna and after numerous experiences had found herself in Stara Wilejka and was completely at a loss as to where she could turn for help. Thus she turned to the local priest, who kept her for a couple of weeks until he found shelter for her at the home of a large and devoutly Catholic family—the Szwajkajzers of Zymodry. Three of the children, Wanda, Zbigniew, and Ewa, knew about Czesława's true identity. Together with their parents, they cared for her needs and safety. The head of the family obtained a document from the local municipality of Kurzeniec "proving" that Czesława was their relative. ... In the fall of 1942, when the Szwajkajzers moved to Kurzeniec, Czesława was detained because of an informer. In an attempt to release her, Zbigniew went to the police. Before he arrived, Czesława was lucky to flee and reach the home of Zbigniew's sister, Wanda. Wanda was a teacher and rented a room with a peasant family. Through Wanda, Czesława contacted the partisans and joined their ranks, fighting until the liberation of the area in 1944.

After escaping from the ghetto in Wilno with her sister Ruth Becker (Bekier) and nephew Alex, Blanca Grosman Pinsker went to the town of Miadzioł where she lived under a false identity. She was apprehended by a policeman in March 1943 and taken to the local German authorities. She managed to escape while being transported by train and hid in a shed. While walking through the fields toward Wilno, she came across a priest's home in the village of Wojstom. The priest allowed her to stay overnight, fed her, and provided her with a birth certificate with the name Maria Górska. Following the priest's directions, Blanca managed to get back to the Wilno ghetto where she was reunited with her brother, Marek. She left the ghetto again and managed to obtain employment on a farm as Maria

⁴⁵⁵ Church historian Tadeusz Krahel suggests that the priest who helped in the rescue was not Rev. Butrymowicz, but some other priest from Wilejka. See Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941-1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643-61, at p. 657. See also "Story of Rescue—The Szwajkajzer Family," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-szwajkajzer-family>>.

⁴⁵⁶ According to Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, "the Polish teacher Matoros [sic] ... was both the mayor appointed by the Germans and a friend of the Jews. ... Matoros not only helped youngsters from the underground group [to whom he issued bogus labour certificates] but also personally saved Nahum Alperovicz," and assisted his family. Matros "also aided Jewish refugees, exposing himself to considerable danger." Maksymilian Matros, a Pole from Karviná (Karwina) in Trans-Olza (Czechoslovakia), was executed in the summer of 1942, together with his wife and son, apparently because of his contacts with the Polish underground. See Yehuda Bauer, "Kurzeniec—A Jewish Shtetl in the Holocaust," *Yalkut Moreshet: Holocaust Documentation and Research* [Tel Aviv], no. 1 (Winter 2003): 143, 147, 151-52; Jerzy Kłistała, *Martyrologium mieszkańców Zaolzia w latach 1939-1945: Słownik biograficzny*, vol. 2 (Cieszyn: Stowarzyszenie "Wszechnica," 2013), 282.

Górska.⁴⁵⁷ Ruth Becker and her son Alex also survived with the help of several Poles.⁴⁵⁸

Dwora Winokur (later Rozencwaig) was born in Widze, north of Wilno, in August 1941. After the Germans entered the area in the summer of 1941, the Winokur family were moved from one ghetto to another. Dwora's father and older brother were shot by the Germans. Dwora's mother, Bela, managed to escape with her daughter. After wandering with her daughter and begging for food, Bela made her way back to Widze. She placed Dwora with an acquaintance, Anna Trapsza, who together with her husband looked after her well. They called her Danusia. Anna Trapsza took a priest into her confidence, but he advised her against baptizing the child in case her family returned for her after the war. Dwora's mother was taken in by another Polish woman, Leontyna Matejko, a widow. After the war front passed through, Bela came to collect her daughter. Danusia no longer recognized her biological mother and was reluctant to leave with her. Dwora and her mother eventually settled in Israel.⁴⁵⁹

Dawid Mogilnik and his three children took refuge on the farm of Paweł and Józefa Wojczys in the village of Mieleniszki near Widze. When Paweł Wojczys became concerned that their presence on his farm had been compromised, the Mogilniks asked him to turn to the local priest, Rev. Stanisław Szczemirski, the pastor of Widze, for guidance as to what he should do. The priest gave Wojczys a sum of money and urged them to continue sheltering their Jewish charges. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 632.)

Early in April 1943, Dawid Mogilnik and his three big children, Jakob, Sara, and Gira, fled from the Świąciany ghetto (Wilno District), which was soon to be liquidated, after his wife, Asna, his son, Boris, and other members of the family had been murdered. They wandered from village to village and hid in the forests throughout that spring and during the summer seeking a permanent hiding place. Finally, they came to the village of Mieleniszki, near the town of Widze in the same district, and found a haven in a bathhouse that belonged to one of the acquaintances, Paweł Wojczys. When they came to his place, the seasons had already changed and the fall had set in, with the days getting colder. In the evenings, the Mogilniks would go into the Wojczys' home to warm up a bit and to eat supper with them. However, when the Mogilniks asked for permission to dig a shelter in the yard before winter, the Wojczys refused at first, because they were afraid of endangering their family—Paweł and Józefa Wojczys had four children between the ages of 7 to 14. Poor, but compassionate and devout Catholics, they were moved to pity one evening when the Mogilniks came into their home. Józefa turned to her husband and said, "I cannot bear to see the Mogilniks suffering any more. Let them dig a helter in the barn and God will help us." Paweł agreed and allowed the Mogilniks to dig a camouflaged shelter inside the barn. His son, Kazimierz, who was 12 years old at the time, was put in charge of bringing them food, and he carried out this task faithfully. During that entire period, the Wojczys' neighbors suspected them of hiding Jews, and it made Paweł very anxious that they might inform on him. When spring came and the weather improved, he asked the Mogilniks to vacate the shelter, but they tarried. As a last resort, the Mogilniks gave Paweł a letter addressed to the community priest in Widze describing their plight and asked him to be the judge. The priest gave Paweł a sum of money and some flowers and instructed him to leave the Jews in the hideout and said he would pray for all of them, and that in the meantime the war would end. Paweł followed the priest's instructions and left the Mogilniks in the hideout until the liberation in July 1944.

A Jewish woman from Świąciany recalled her chance encounter with an unidentified Polish priest, who saved her life when she was seized by Lithuanian partisans. (Esther Feyge Furman Khayt (Chajt), "How I Was Saved from the Valley of Tears and Anxiety," in Kanc, *Svinzian Region*, column 956.)

⁴⁵⁷ Jacket of Blanca Pinsker, Montreal Holocaust Museum, Internet: <https://app.pch.gc.ca/application/artefacts_hum/detailliler_detailleraapp?d=ADET2011X.71.02&w=&t=1&i=false&n=0&p=a&o=&f=&k=&pID=3&r=10&s=1&in=Montreal+Holocaust+Museum+%2F+Mus%C3%A9+de+l%27Holocauste+Montr%C3%A9al&colId=&v=none&l=l&lang=en>.

⁴⁵⁸ Testimony of Alex Becker, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 41498; Jan Tarasewicz, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=12626342>>.

⁴⁵⁹ "Dwora Winokur-Rozencwaig and Her Mother Bela Winokur-Kantorowicz-Shechter—The Survivors," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/dwora-winokur-rozencwaig-and-her-mother-bela-winokur-kantorowicz-shechter-survivors>>.

I barely crossed the threshold into our house when the Lithuanian partisans arrived and forced us to leave. They took us to the fields not far from the church and kept us there all day. When it began to rain heavily, the Polish priest came and allowed us to go inside his barn. This is where we spent the night.

Among us was Ben-Zion Avtchinsky, who had a strange, comic face. The Lithuanian guards did not like him. They took him aside, and shot him.

At daybreak, we escaped from the barn and returned to town.

Rev. Piotr Pruński (Prunskis), the pastor of Połusze near Święciany, sheltered two Jews from Ignalino.⁴⁶⁰ The following account by Shmuel Gilinsky describes his stay in Połusze, where he was helped by Rev. Pruński and several Polish villagers with ties to the local parish (Shmuel Gilinski, “Human Animals and Human Angels,” in *Kanc, Svinzian Region*, columns 1157–1160.)

Once again I had to resume my wandering. At night I sailed back to the village and from there, back to the forest.

I wandered until I arrived in the town where I was born, Paliush (Palūšė) [Połusze]. There were no Jews there. I went to a neighbour who had served the priest in the local church.

He took me to the priest’s barn. It was too cold there to sleep. All the gates were open and the wind blew into every corner. My teeth were chattering.

One night, I was so cold I thought I would freeze to death. Realizing I had nothing to lose I knocked on a door not knowing who lived there.

I did well. It was the house of the organist from the church, a good friend of mine. I had gone to school with his wife and we were good friends. When they saw how cold I was they gave me tea with raspberry juice. I was delighted.

My joy was short lived. They told me they had no place to hide me. Everyone passed their house to go to church and I will be seen.

When it was light I left their home. I went to the priest’s garden and sat under an apple tree to try and decide what to do.

A strong wind blew in my face and snow began to fall. I decide to be a God’s mercy. I arrived at a Christian cemetery. I sat down beside a grave, took out the food they gave me and began to eat. I then decided to go to the bell ringer. He worked for us in the forest and was a good person. What did I have to lose? He would certainly not turn me in.

I went to him. When I knocked in the window, he himself asked what I wanted. When I told him who I was I immediately told his wife that I was standing outside.

Obviously, they were very surprised. I noticed through the window they both crossed themselves. When they opened the door I saw how happy they were that I was alive. I quickly recounted my experiences and asked for a place to sleep. They prepared a place for me on top the oven and I slept until 4:00 that afternoon.

When I awoke, I put on my torn coat and wanted to say goodbye. His wife came to me and really begged for mercy:

“Where do you want to go? The weather is terrible. We will not let you go. Don’t be afraid. No one will notice that you are here.”

So I took off my coat and climbed back up to my spot above the oven. I spent over 3 months with them.

During this time I had to withstand difficult days. For weeks I lay in a ditch of manure in their barn. They placed a pig on top of me. They did this because the Germans were searching everywhere for partisans. If the searches subsided I moved to the attic of the barn and the bell ringer’s wife brought me food.

It is important to remember that the priest at the church in Paliush was a great friend to the Jews. The bell ringer’s wife was a devout Christian and in confession told the priest they were hiding a Jew. He told her they should hide me as long as they can. He said it was a great deed and God would help them.

She returned very happy and told me the whole story. From that day on, the priest would send me newspapers. I thought that Christians like them belonged to the righteous people of the world.

Even after those searches I experienced a few difficult days. One fine morning, 500 Ukrainians and Germans came to town. When heard about it, I wanted to run away. I took food, said goodbye to the good people and was prepared to leave.

When I opened the door I noticed a rider was heading straight toward us, into the house. I immediately climbed back on top of the oven. Four more joined him in our house.

I lay on that spot as if in a fever. I told myself, this was going to be my end. If they searched the house, they would surely find me. That is exactly what occurred. But as if a miracle happened, they thought I was a Pole who was

⁴⁶⁰ Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell’arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in *Mikrut, Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 657.

hiding from deportation. Together with other Christians, they sent me to Germany and then to Stutthoff [concentration camp].

Fr. Adam Sztark, a Jesuit, was the administrator of the parish in Żyrowice near Słonim. He also served as the chaplain of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at the hospital in Słonim. Rev. Sztark raised money among parishioners to help pay the tax imposed by the Germans on the Jewish community; he brought food to Jews in the ghetto; he issued false baptismal certificates to Jews; and he urged his parishioners to extend help to Jews. Rev. Sztark brought abandoned Jewish children to the presbytery and then transferred them to the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with whom he worked closely, and found hiding places for them with parishioners. Józef Mikuczyn, a gardener, sheltered Jerzy Glikson (later Jerry Glickson), a Jewish boy entrusted to him by Rev. Sztark.⁴⁶¹ Sister Bogumiła Noiszewska (Sister Maria Ewa of Providence), a medical doctor in charge of the local hospital, sheltered the young son of her colleague, Dr. Henryk Kagan. She permitted Dr. Czesława Orlińska (Czeslava Orliński) to remove medicines and medical instruments from the hospital; they were then provided to her husband, Abraham Orliński, who had joined the Soviet partisans.⁴⁶² These activities eventually cost Fr. Sztark, Sister Bogumiła Noiszewska, and Sister Kazimiera Wołowska (Sister Maria Marta of Jesus), the superior of the convent, their lives. They were executed in a mass execution of prisoners on December 19, 1942, in Pietralewicze (Góra Pietralewicka, Petrolowicze) outside Słonim. In 2001, Fr. Sztark was recognized posthumously by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. Rev. Michał Michniak, who resided in Słonim and assisted Fr. Sztark in issuing false baptismal certificates, managed to flee and avoid arrest.⁴⁶³ (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 623–24.)

Adam Sztark was 32 years old when, on the eve of the outbreak of the war, he was appointed as priest of the Catholic community in Żyrowice near Słonim (Nowogródek County, today Belarus) and rector of the Jesuit Church in Słonim. When the region was occupied by the Germans in the summer of 1941, and they began the murder of the Jews, he came out unequivocally in support of the Jews not only in his sermons from the pulpit but also in his personal activity. When the Germans demanded a “contribution” from the Jewish community of Słonim, he collected valuables and money from his congregation in order to participate in this tax and his demonstrated openly his and his flocks’ [sic] solidarity with their persecuted Jewish neighbors. He appealed to his congregation to help the Jews in their distress. He provided “Aryan” papers to Jews in hiding and sent Jewish children to hide with Christian families and in the orphanage. He personally took care to arrange for a Jewish orphan named Jerzy [Glikson] to hide in the home of a Polish gardener, one Józef Mikuczyn, and thanks to Adam’s efforts, the boy survived. Adam was an exemplary man who worked fearlessly out of his deep religious conviction that it was his duty to help the weak and the persecuted and to rescue people regardless of what ethnicity they were or what beliefs they adhered to. He did not differentiate between Christians and Jews, and for his attitude and work he paid with his life. In December 1942, when the last of the Jews of the Słonim ghetto were exterminated, the Germans also murdered Adam Sztark.

⁴⁶¹ See Jerry Glickson, *The Hill at Petrolowicze: Memoirs of a Child Hidden During the Holocaust* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: SkillBites, 2017), with a dedication to Rev. Adam Sztark and Sisters Ewa Noiszewska and Marta Wołowska.

⁴⁶² Sarah Shner-Nishmit, *The 51st Brigade: The History of the Jewish Partisan Group from the Słonim Ghetto* (New York: JewishGen, 2015), 104–5.

⁴⁶³ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 217–18; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 814–15; Felicjan Paluszkiewicz, “Chasidei Ummot ha-Olam,” *Przegląd Powszechny*, no. 9 (September 2001): 266–71; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 124–26; Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Aleksandra Namysło, eds., *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019), 247–49, 311–12; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 601–602.

In their study, *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews During World War II*,⁴⁶⁴ Yisrael Gutman and Shmuel Krakowski record, at pages 236–37, the assistance provided by Fr. Adam Sztark and by nuns in the town of Słonim.

Rafal Charlap recalls: A priest named Stark [actually, Adam Sztark], still a young man of about thirty, was doing his utmost to provide the Jews with free forged “Aryan” documents. He called upon his parishioners to extend help to

⁴⁶⁴ Unfortunately, this widely cited study is rather one-sided and terribly flawed, especially those chapters authored by Shmuel Krakowski. Although there are relatively few documented examples of improper behaviour on the part of the Polish Catholic clergy, the authors state: “As the recorded evidence shows, the attitudes of the priests towards the Jewish fugitives varied; and their influence upon the local population reflected the lack of unanimity.” The authors then set out in their survey three examples of unfavourable conduct and four positive ones, as if both types of conduct were almost equally prevalent. See Yisrael Gutman and Shmuel Krakowski, *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews During World War II* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1986), 244–25. There is no mention, for example, of the extensive assistance provided by nuns, yet this book is treated by many Western historians as the leading text on the issue of wartime Polish-Jewish relations. Shmuel Krakowski also refers to a “report originating with the Polish Catholic Church,” covering the period from June 1 to July 15, 1941, which was transmitted to the Polish government in London by the Delegate’s Office (*Delegatura*), as exhibiting “anti-Semitic sentiments in their most extreme form.” The report is cited seemingly to corroborate the existence of widespread hostility toward Jews on the part of the Catholic Church. *Ibid.*, 52–53. Relying on Krakowski, that same document has been referred to recently by Israeli historian Saul Friedländer in his *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939–1945* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 184–85. Friedländer stresses that it is “a report originating with the Polish church itself” and makes much of “its quasiofficial nature.” While conceding that it did not represent the general attitude of Polish Catholics toward Jews, he argues it indicated “some measure of concurrence” among the underground leadership with regard to the so-called Jewish question, which was supposedly characterized by “extreme anti-Jewish hatred,” as manifested in this report. British historian Richard J. Evans goes even further in his *The Third Reich at War*, where, at p.64, he states: “As a semi-official report of the Polish Church to the exiled government declared in the summer of 1941, the Germans ‘have shown the liberation of Polish society from the Jewish plague is possible’.” He then concludes that the Polish Catholic Church not only did not take a clear stance against the Germans’ murderous policies towards Polish Jews, “if anything, the opposite was the case.” Another historian who has jumped on this bandwagon is Alexander Prusin, who claims that the “Polish clergyman” who wrote this report “praised the genocide,” and that “such views were not necessarily the ravings of a religious fanatic” but were representative of the Polish underground, as “attested to by a report sent to London in September 1941 by the AK [*Armia Krajowa*—Home Army] commander Stefan Rowecki.” See Alexander V. Prusin, *The Lands Between: Conflict in the East European Borderlands, 1870–1992* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 173. The document in question is reproduced in its entirety in Krzysztof Jasiewicz, *Pierwsi po diable: Elity sowieckie w okupowanej Polsce 1939–1941 (Białostoczczyzna, Nowogródzczyzna, Polesie, Wileńszczyzna)* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN and Rytm, 2001), 1195–1203. The report does not set out the name of its author (a reading of the text indicates it was written by one person); the author may not even have been a member of the clergy; and, on its face, the report does not purport to be an official document of the Church in Poland or to express the views of its leadership. It is difficult to understand how leading Holocaust historians could manage to overlook these obvious problems and attribute the document to the Church as a whole. The report was analyzed incisively by Polish historian Tomasz Szarota, who points out these obvious facts and provides some valuable context and perspective. Szarota surmises that the author may not have been a member of the clergy at all, but notes that he did have access to some members of the Episcopate. The author’s personal views gravitate toward the extreme elements within the Church such as Rev. Stanisław Trzeciak. When he wrote the report, the Holocaust was not yet underway and therefore the author clearly did not have in mind the physical annihilation of the Jews. In any event, the mainstream factions of the Polish underground did not share the author’s extremist views. The author’s call for the mass emigration of Polish Jews was something that was in fact being championed at that time by Zionist circles and their supporters in the West, who called for the creation of a national Jewish state in Palestine populated by two million Jews from Poland. See Tomasz Szarota, “Sprawozdanie kościelne z Polski za czerwiec i połowę lipca 1941go roku: Próba analizy dokumentu,” in Julian Warzecha, ed., *Słowo pojednania: Księga pamiątkowa z okazji siedemdziesiątych urodzin Księdza Michała Czajkowskiego* (Warsaw: Biblioteka “Więzi,” 2004), 669–82; the article also appeared in Tomasz Szarota, *Karuzela na Placu Krasińskich: Studia i szkice z lat wojny i okupacji*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw: Rytm, and Fundacja “Historia i Kultura,” 2007), 200–18, and was translated, with revisions, as “A Church Report from Poland for June and Half of July 1941,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 30 (Liverpool: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization in association with Liverpool University Press, 2018), 441–54. As for General Rowecki’s report, which Prusin manipulates (like Abraham Brumberg does), British historian Norman Davies points out that “the quotation takes on a new slant, and might seem to imply either that Polish attitudes were based on fixed prejudice, or even that the Poles approved of the Nazis’ genocidal policies. Significantly, and very conveniently, Mr. Brumberg keeps quiet about the second half of the quotation. The original text of the report, in describing the factors influencing Polish opinion at the time, goes on to say three things: firstly, that virtually nobody approved of German actions; secondly, that Nazi persecution of the Jews was causing a backlash of sympathy; and thirdly, that pro-Jewish sympathies were inhibited by knowledge of Jewish activities in the Soviet zone.” Like Brumberg, Prusin mistranslates the report to read “the country is overwhelmingly anti-Semitic,” thus wrongly implying that anti-Semitism was a fixed attribute of the Polish population. General Rowecki, however, used the phrase “*nastawiona antysemicko*,” which is rather different, implying a *nastawienie*, an “attitude,” “adjustment,” “disposition,” or “inclination” that can change according to circumstances. It is important to bear in mind that General Rowecki’s report was written *before* the Holocaust got underway and that news of the widespread killings of Jews in Eastern Poland was not widely known in central Poland. See “Poles and Jews: An Exchange,” *The New York Review of Books*, April 9, 1987.

the Jews, and persuaded the Poles he trusted to shelter Jewish fugitives. One of the Jews he saved was a young boy, Jureczek [now Jerry David Glickson, whom he had first hidden in the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary], for whom Stark found a hiding place with a gardener, Josef [Józef] Mikuczyn. The orphaned boy survived the war there, and was later picked up by his uncle. In the summer of 1941, the Germans exacted from the Jews of Slonim [Slonim] ghetto a “contribution” of gold. As the deadline approached, the Jews were still 1/2 kilogram short of the quota which the Germans demanded. In order to enable the Jews to fill the quota, Father Stark organized the collection of golden crosses from his parishioners. When the Germans learned of Stark’s activities, they arrested and shot him together with the Slonim Jews, in their mass execution in Petrolowicze [Petrolowicze or Pietralewice].

In the same town of Slonim, the Jews received much help from Dr. Nojszewska [actually, Bogumila Nojszewska—Sister Maria Ewa of Providence from the above-mentioned order, who is incorrectly described as a “former nun”], the director of the municipal hospital. She sheltered the small son of her Jewish colleague, Dr. Kagan. The Germans were notified and shot her together with the child.

The following account of the last days of Fr. Sztark’s like was authored by the Jesuit priest Vincent A. Lapomarda.⁴⁶⁵ (*Inside the Vatican*, May 2000, pp. 52–53.)

It was in the final phase of their “final solution” that the Gestapo broke into the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on December 19, 1942. The convent was in the [prewar Polish] provincial area of Nowogrodek [Nowogródek], in Slonim [Slonim]. The religious community was under Mother Superior Kazimiera Wolowska [Wolowska] (1879–1942) whose religious name was Sister Maria Marta. She was assisted by Bogumila [Bogumila] Nojszewska (1885–1942) who was known in religious life as Sister Maria Ewa. Both had been hiding and caring for orphaned Jewish children, whom Father Sztark had been rescuing and bringing to them. The children had been hidden in the attic of the convent of the nuns.

Though the sisters lived in fear of a Nazi search, they were completely surprised when armed men broke into their convent. A thorough search soon located the Jewish children in the attic. Since hiding Jews was a crime punishable by death, the Gestapo tortured the sisters to extract any information they could use to continue their campaign against the Jews. When the sisters refused to betray any of those helping them in their clandestine activities, the Nazis, that very day, took both sisters out to a nearby execution site, a place called Gorki Pantalowickie [Góra Pietrolowicka]. There they forced the nuns into a pit and shot them.

Within ten days of the execution of Blessed Maria Marta and Blessed Maria Ewa, the Gestapo caught up with Father Sztark. The priest’s life had been in danger for years. First during the hostile occupation by the Soviets and then by the Nazis. He never hesitated to serve as a shepherd for the defenseless, first as the pastor for parishioners in Zyrowice [Żyrowice], then for Jewish children who had managed to survive the round up and slaughter of their parents. The priest repeatedly risked his life by collecting the children and concealing them in his rectory until he was able to secretly take them to the relative safety of the Immaculate Conception Convent. He fully knew that keeping these Jewish children out of the hands of the Nazis would cost him his life if he should be discovered. It is clear that he began this work and continued to carry it out in respect to the Gospel command to “love your neighbor.”

Just as the Gestapo came in suddenly on the sisters in the convent on December 19th, so on December 27th their command car appeared without warning in front of the priest’s house in Zyrowice. The startled priest was immediately ordered to leave without taking anything with him. He asked if he could take bread in order to say Mass. The Gestapo agent leading the Jesuit away sardonically said: “Where you are going, there’s plenty of bread!” This merciless tone of the SS man told Father Sztark that his end was near. He submitted, simply saying: “It is my martyrdom.”

Father Sztark still had one more night to live, however. It was not until the following day that he was packed into a truck filled with others who had defied the laws of the Nazi occupation. They were taken to the same place, Gorki Pantalowickie, where the two Sisters of the Immaculate Conception had been killed just a few days previously, the same site which the Nazis used for their executions of the Jews in that area. When they arrived there, Father Sztark, like his fellow victims, was ordered to undress himself. He was prepared to meet his Maker, but he wanted to do so in the black robe of the Jesuit Order of which he was such a faithful member. So he told his executioners he would not undress, saying he wanted to die in his robe. For some reason his killers granted him his last wish.

The Nazis forced him along with all their victims into a pit, and began riddling them with bullets. The priest, though mortally wounded, was not immediately killed. In one last great display of will and in excruciating pain he managed to stand and gasp out these final, glorious words: “All for Christ the King! Long Live Poland!”

⁴⁶⁵ According to another version, Fr. Sztark was arrested along with the two Sisters and murdered the following day, December 19, 1942.

Another account of the rescue activities of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Rev. Sztark was prepared for the Polish Righteous website of POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews (Karolina Dzieciolowska, "I Looked After His Spirit, You Look After His Body," May 25, 2018, Internet: < <https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/i-looked-after-his-spirit-you-look-after-his-body> >).

From the moment the war broke out, Sister Marta [Kazimiera Wołowska] opened the Slonim convent to fugitives. She organised secret education classes and help for the hungry, especially for the families of those who had been imprisoned or murdered. She worked in the town's gardens and in the digging up of potatoes.

In April 1940, the Soviet authorities removed Sister Ewa [Bogumila Noiszewska] from the hospital, suspecting her of illegal activities. Fearing deportation to Siberia or Kazakhstan, she left Slonim. She returned in 1941, after the city was occupied by the Germans. She treated patients privately and, in September, she became the director of the Slonim polyclinic. With the help of Sister Marta, she hid Jewish children and, sometimes, entire families in the convent. She provided medicines and wrote prescriptions for the Jews. With her knowledge, one of the doctors, Dr [Czesława] Orlińska smuggled polyclinic medicines to the partisans, after her husband had joined them.

The nuns worked together with a priest, Adam Sztark, a Jesuit from a parish in Albertyna [Albertyn], 6 kms from Slonim. He was the Congregation's chaplain. Father Sztark hid Jews in private homes within his parish. Together with his parishioners, he gave up a gold cross in order to help the Jews pay a tax demanded by the Germans.

The nuns continued to provide help despite the warnings of a German priest. He said that the convent was under observation and that denunciations had been made. Sister Marta, who was being investigated, was interrogated by the Gestapo. Even this did not stop her activities. Jews were being hidden in the attic, in the orangery and in the cowshed.

Jakub and Helena Glikson found work in the Slonim polyclinic after fleeing from the Germans in Warsaw. He was a bacteriologist and she a pharmacologist, both having studied at Warsaw University. Jakub brought his brother Józef east. He was an actor in the Yiddish theatre. Józef and his wife Cypora, also an actor, became active in the Yiddish theatre in Vilnius [Wilno].

In June 1941, Helena Glikson was seven months pregnant. Józef and Cypora fled the Germans and headed to Uzbekistan. In mid-August, Helena gave birth to a son, Jerzy. Dr Henryk Kagan delivered the baby in the polyclinic. The parents did not circumsize the boy.

The Gliksons joined the partisans. In all probability, they perished in 1942, during a German raid. Through the polyclinic, their son went into the convent, where he spent a year. Father Sztark then placed him with a family who ran a plant nursery on the outskirts of Slonim. According to the records of the Congregation's sisters, in the winter, he went to the Mikuczyn family. From under his cloak, he took out the child, handed him to Mrs Mikuczyn, saying, "I looked after his spirit, you look after his body."

Also, Dr Henryk Kagan, who had delivered Helena Glikson's baby, gave his own son into the care of the nuns and then he also joined the partisans. Another family, with the surname of Kagan, also found itself in the convent—two dentists with their nine-year-old daughter, for whom Father Sztark prepared a false baptism certificate.

On 18th December 1942, the Gestapo arrested Father Sztark in his parish in Albertyn. They took him to Slonim. At around 11:00pm, the prisoner was taken to the convent where they demanded to see Sister Marta. One of the nuns delayed the officer, pretending that she did not understand German. However, he entered Sister Marta's cell and forced her to get dressed. Sister Ewa had just returned from the polyclinic. She told the Germans that she wanted to accompany Sister Marta. They checked her identity and discovered that the arrest warrant also included her. The nuns' activities came to light when, during the capture of a Jew, the Germans found her signature on a prescription.

Both nuns and Father Sztark were taken to the Gestapo station. At around 2:00am, the German police searched them, demanding that they hand over any valuables. According to the convent's records, Sister Marta asked that she be allowed to retain a cross. A policeman ripped it from her hand, threw it on the ground and then kicked the nun.

At around 5:00 am, they were loaded onto a truck and taken to Góra Pietralewicka, 2 kms from Slonim. Years later, Zofia Poczbyt, a resident of Slonim, said, "Before the execution, the victims were ordered to undress. Father Sztark obeyed the order. However, the nuns waited, embarrassed. When the priest (...) said, 'The Lord Jesus was also exposed', the nuns also undressed. People were told about this by eye-witnesses to the event – local policemen, assisting in the execution." Altogether, there were eighty-four people. Among them were the two Kagan dentists and their daughter.

An eight-year-old Jewish boy by the name of Marat Zaltsman was taken in by the Ciechanowicz family, who lived in Wojciechowo near the village of Pietryłowicze, in the area of Naliboki forest. A priest from the parish in nearby Kamień agreed to baptize the boy and give him a Christian identity as the Ciechanowicz's son. Rev. Leopold Aulich, the pastor of Kamień, and his vicar, Rev. Kazimierz Rybałtowski, a Belorussian, were executed by the Germans on July 24, 1943, on suspicion of aiding Jews

and partisans.⁴⁶⁶ (Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 8: *Europe (Part II)* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011], p. 102.)

The Polish couple Wincenty and Anna Ciechanowicz lived with their three children, 18-year-old Stanisława, 15-year-old Aleksandr [Aleksander], and Maria, the youngest, in the village of Pietryłowicze, Nowogródek District (today Pyatrovichy, Minsk District), where they owned a small plot of land. One day in 1941, when Aleksandr was wandering in the forest, he met eight-year-old Marat Zaltsman, who had escaped from the Minsk ghetto. Aleksandr brought the child, who was lightly wounded in the head, back to his parents' home, where he was hidden on their farm. Although Zaltsman did not reveal his identity, the Ciechanowicz family soon realized that he was Jewish. In order to conceal this, they baptized him in a Catholic church in the nearby village, adopted him, and gave him their family name. Zaltsman became an integral part of their family and he worked with them on their land for the following 18 months. In spring 1943, when the Germans began to suspect the Ciechanowicz family of being involved with the partisans, their property was razed and they were sent to forced labor. Wincenty, Anna and Maria were sent to a labor camp in Minsk, and Aleksandr, Stanisława and Zaltsman were sent to Germany. Their time in Germany was fraught with danger, particularly because Zaltsman looked Jewish and the Germans suspected that he was not Aleksandr and Stanisława's brother. However, the siblings never revealed the truth and the three of them became very close. After the war, they parted ways: Zaltsman returned to Belarus, Aleksandr and Stanisława stayed in Germany and later immigrated to Canada. Their parents and sister did not survive the war. After the war, Zaltsman was reunited with his parents who had fled east prior to the occupation of Minsk. He established a family and settled in L'viv [Lwów], Ukraine. His contact with the Ciechanowicz family was renewed in the 1980s. On November 21, 1993, Yad Vashem recognized Wincenty and Anna Ciechanowicz and their children, Aleksandr Ciechanowicz and Stanisława Weryk, as Righteous Among the Nations.

The rescue efforts of Rev. Franciszek Smorzewski of Stolin in Polesie (Polesia), who has been recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, are described in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, at pages 728–29.

On Rosh Hashanah 5703 (September 11, 1942), during the Aktion in the Stolin ghetto in the Polesie district, the Germans left a number of Jews and their families behind to run the local hospital. The Jews—Dr. Hersh Rotter (later Henry Reed), his wife, Ewa, and their three-year-old son, Aleksander, Dr. Marian Poznanski and his wife, Gina, Dr. Ernberg, a veterinarian, and his wife, Erna, and two Jewish nurses—were housed in the service quarters inside the hospital precinct. Since it was clear that sooner or later they would share the fate of the Jews in the ghetto, they began to plan their escape. Dr. Rotter turned to his friend Franciszek Smorzewski, the local priest, who encouraged him to escape, supplied his wife with a Christian birth certificate, and began enlisting the aid of local Poles to help the Jews in the hospital escape. The escape was planned for November 26, 1942. On the morning of that fateful day, a Polish girl warned the group that an SS detachment had arrived in Stolin. Toward evening, the Rotters escaped from the hospital to the home of a local Polish doctor, where Maria Kijowska, the wife of Władysław [Władysław] Kijowski, the forester, was waiting for them in a horse-drawn wagon. Kijowska took them to her home in the forest, where they hid for a few days until her husband accompanied them to [the home of Baptists] Stiepan and Agap Mozol, where the Jewish refugees stayed until February 1943, at which time they joined the [Soviet] partisans. The other Jews who were left in the hospital were smuggled out in a similar fashion and found their way to partisan units in the forest.

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Janów Poleski in Polesie (Polesia) in 1942, Fanya Gonsky (née Nowoszycka) and her sister, Paula, both teenagers at the time, escaped and hid in the woods. They approached a small convent where they were welcomed and given food by kindly nuns. Several days later, the girls' mother arrived in the forest. They then moved to a larger forest where they joined a group of some thirty Jews who had built bunkers.⁴⁶⁷

Leopold Brajnes, who was born in Lwów in 1940, was living in Kraków with his mother. When he broke his leg, he was taken to St. Lazarus Hospital in Kraków for medical care. Since the boy was circumcised, the doctors and hospital personnel became aware of his Jewish origin. Fearing for his safety, he was transferred to a convent in Miechów run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately

⁴⁶⁶ Zajczkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 202 (Entry 379).

⁴⁶⁷ Testimony of Fanya Gonsky, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 41837.

Conceived (of Stara Wieś). After the war, the boy was taken from the convent by his aunt.⁴⁶⁸ (Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers*, pp. 16–17.)

There are known cases of hospital personnel hiding Jewish women. On occasion, even a Jewish male desperate for shelter was accommodated in a hospital bed, although the presence of a circumcised patient imperiled the whole staff. During the Nazi reign of terror in Cracow [Kraków], a Jewish mother brought her small boy to St. Lazarus Hospital. The boy had a broken leg. Both mother and child had "Aryan" documents, but Dr. Lachowicz, the chief physician, and the admitting nurse both took note of the fact that the prospective patient was circumcised. His presence at the hospital would be deemed by the Germans as a crime punishable by death. However, the doctor and nurse admitted the boy but sent the mother away. The boy's leg was treated, and his belly bandaged as a precaution against Gestapo visits. During one such raid, Dr. Lachowicz refused to remove his young patient's bandages, pleading with the Gestapo that the boy was a Christian, assuring the Germans that on their next visit he would show them proof. Two weeks later the Gestapo returned, but the boy was no longer on the premises. The staff had removed him to a convent in the neighborhood of Miechow [Miechów]. The Germans, who did not neglect making periodic searches among the nuns also, found the boy and threatened to execute him. The nuns insisted the boy was a Christian. They presented an official statement, signed by Dr. Lachowicz, explaining that a bad fall had so injured the boy's foreskin and his leg that an operation was later performed to save his life.

An undisclosed orphanage near Kraków became the home of Mike (Mieczysław) Ryczke from Konin. He was placed there by a Catholic uncle with the knowledge of the chaplain of that institution. (Mira Ryczke Kimmelman, *Life Beyond the Holocaust: Memories and Realities* [Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 2005], pp. 225–26.)

Mike Ryczke from Toronto ... was born in Poland in 1939, a few months before the outbreak of World War II. His father, Aaron Ryczke, was a wealthy lumber merchant in Konin and owner of a sawmill. Both he and Mike's mother, Janka, were quite assimilated. In 1941 Aaron Ryczke was killed by the Nazis. Mike (Mietek as he was called) was placed by a Polish uncle (not Jewish) in a Catholic orphanage near Kraków. Only the priest in the orphanage knew of Mike's Jewish origin, but he never disclosed the secret. Until the war ended Mike did not know that he was Jewish. His mother, Janka, was hiding during the war years with Aryan papers. After the war, she and Mike left for Israel, where one of her sisters lived.

Assistance came from nuns near a work camp for Jews in Bielany, a suburb of Warsaw, as related by George Topas in *The Iron Furnace: A Holocaust Survivor's Story* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990), at pages 85–86.

Once, assigned to a work detail in the surrounding wooded area, I helped load liquid containers aboard trucks. During the lunch break, I wandered within sight of a Catholic cloister, which was apparently still allowed to function. Two nuns were outside the building, washing kitchenware. When they saw me, one of them motioned for me to come closer; the other disappeared hastily behind the door and in a moment emerged with a pot of soup.

"Please sit down and eat."

I took the pot from her hand and ate the best meal I had had in many months. I heard one say, "Lord, they starve you."

I thanked them for their kindness and quickly retreated to my work.

Clemens Loew (born in 1937 as Klemak Neustein) came to Warsaw in early 1943 with his mother, Carol Neustein, bearing false identity documents they had obtained with the assistance of an unidentified priest in their hometown of Stanisławów, in Eastern Galicia. His mother turned to an unidentified bishop (perhaps Rev. Marcei Godlewski) for a shelter for her six-year-old son who had a Jewish appearance. He was placed with nuns in an orphanage in Otwock, on the outskirts of Warsaw, where he remained hidden for two years. In his memoir, Loew identifies the nuns as the Sisters of the Family of Mary. However, the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary did not have an orphanage in Otwock, but did maintain two orphanages in nearby Anin, closer to Warsaw, where 20 Jewish boys were sheltered. (Three religious

⁴⁶⁸ According to the testimony of Helena Lindzinowa, the boy's aunt, the Gestapo came looking for him at the convent, but when he was brought to the Gestapo headquarters in Kraków accompanied by a nun, a Gestapo officer released him after declaring that his circumcision had been performed for medical reasons. The boy returned to the convent, where he survived the war. He was claimed by his aunt in July 1946. See the testimony of Helena Lindzinowa, July 11, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4573

orders that sheltered Jewish children in Otwock: the Sisters of St. Elizabeth, the Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Felician Sisters.) One of the orphanages in Anin, which housed boys, was located in a house that belonged to Monsignor Marcelli Godlewski. Rev. Godlewski resided there from 1942, after he left All Saints church located in the Warsaw ghetto, until his death in December 1945, at the age of eighty. Monsignor Godlewski took about one dozen Jewish boys out of the Warsaw ghetto and placed them in his home in Anin, which had been turned into an orphanage.⁴⁶⁹ (Monsignor Goldlewski's exploits in the Wasaw ghetto are described earlier on.) Clemens identifies Sister Leonia as the nun who was directly responsible for his care. In fact, there was a young nun, Maria Graczyk (born in 1922), who went by the name of Sister Leonia, at the home for boys in Anin. Clemens also vividly recalled some close encounters during surprise German raids on the convent. In one case, an unidentified elderly priest, possibly Monsignor Godlewski, put his life on the line to save him and, by some miracle, succeeded in doing so. Clemens was reunited with his mother after the Soviets "liberated" the city that they idly watched the Germans destroy. (Jane Marks, ed., *The Hidden Children: The Secret Survivors of the Holocaust* [New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993], pp. 142–43.⁴⁷⁰)

"I had several close calls. One time I was outside playing in the sandbox when a nun rushed over to me, grabbed me, and dragged me inside. She slid me under a bed, whispering, 'The Gestapo are coming to search for Jews.' I lay there terrified until the coast was clear. Another time the Gestapo did find me. The officers were actually dragging me away! One was yanking me out the door when a retired bishop [actually, an elderly priest] living in the convent hobbled down the wide steps and yelled, 'If you take him, then you have to take me too.' He put his life on the line for me! The Nazis could easily have taken both of us, but for whatever reason they left me alone."

Clemens Loew's story is given in much more detail in his memoir *When the Birds Stopped Singing: Living with the Wounds of War: Personal Essays* (U.S.A.: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2014), at pages 5, 21–22, 15–18, 22–25, 34–36.⁴⁷¹

... it was my father's ingenuity that got me, my mother, and my grandmother the Catholic papers that would enable us to escape the ghetto. To insure authenticity, he asked a sympathetic priest for the name of a boy in his parish who had recently emigrated out of our town. My father then gave that name to the forger to make up the papers. The name on my new birth certificate said "Klemak Nowicki."

... My mother had heard about a bishop there [i.e., in Warsaw] who was sympathetic to Jews. She went to his church, asked to see him in his study, revealed her true identity, and pleaded for him to find a place for me in a monastery. Much later, she explained it to me. "The bishop was a very kind man. I was lucky to have met him. He found a place for you in Otwock, and he didn't ask for any money."

When I asked her why she took such a risk, she said, "I was desperate. I had no place to go and didn't know anybody. I was alone and only twenty-six years old. Where could we hide?" To me, Mother's warm eyes, small nose, and sweet mouth were so perfectly placed on her face that she looked very appealing and friendly. She wouldn't admit this to me, but I thought that since she had been pretty, spoke fluent Polish, and looked Christian, she could

⁴⁶⁹ Some 40 children resided in each of the two orphanages run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Anin, and about half of the children were Jewish. The director of the home for boys, located in a house that belonged to Rev. Marcelli Godlewski, was Sister Apolonia Sawicka; the director of the home for young children, known as Żłóbek, was Sister Anna Skotnicka. When a Jewish woman was asked to remove her son, who had pronounced Jewish features, temporarily from the home for boys because of the risk he posed to the other children, she threatened to denounce the nuns. One of the children at that orphanage was a girl going by the name of Hanka Sokołowska, who was provided with false documents by a priest (misidentified as Rev. Zygmunt Kaczyński, who was outside Poland at the time) who was sheltering Hanka's sister, Janina, in Warsaw. Zygmunt Zdzisław Kulas, one of the children from the home for young children (these children were not baptized but simply given baptismal certificates), kept the identity he was given there after the war even when he settled in Israel. See Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzylesiu i Aninie*, 66–79; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć," Part 2, March 12, 2008.

⁴⁷⁰ In this account, the location of the orphanage is misidentified as Olsztyn.

⁴⁷¹ See also the testimony of Clemens Loew, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 22594. Characteristically, Clemens Loew considered himself to be Jewish, not Polish, and notwithstanding the extensive help he received from Poles, he confided in a German woman he met long after the war, "It may seem strange to you, but I have more hostility toward Poles than Germans." See Clemens Loew, *When the Birds Stopped Singing: Living with the Wounds of War: Personal Essays* (U.S.A.: CreateSpace, 2014), 128, 135.

have easily blended into the Polish society without a Jewish-looking son by her side. I had been “unfavorable” for both of us.

...
The nun introduced herself as Sister Leonia. “All the sisters here belong to the Order of Sisters of Maria’s Family,” she said, looking into my mother’s eyes. Sister Leonia was eighteen years old. She had soft blue eyes and a warm smile, with pinkish cheeks. Her head was covered by a white cornette that hid her ears and exposed a pretty and gentle face. A dark blue habit covered the rest of her.

In the spring of 1943, as the young nun was showing us around the convent, I clutched my mother’s hand as we stood on the doorway of a large, immaculate hall. The floor glistened from the light shining through the small windows, high on the walls, and ten bunk beds were on each side, evenly arranged about three feet apart, lined up against the walls. Each bed was covered with white sheets, so that from my height, standing at the entrance of the hall, I saw white carpets floating in the air. My mother turned toward me as if to say something, but all I could see were her watery eyes. The Nazi war had been raging in our eastern Poland for two years.

Sister Leonia turned to my silent mother. “What’s the matter? Don’t you like it here?” “Oh, yes,” my mother answered quickly. Her voice stammered. “It’s so clean here. It looks so safe. It’s more than ... than I expected.”

The orphanage, a two-storey, white stucco building, was located in Otwock, a small town on the eastern side of Warsaw. Green grass surrounded the building, which was framed by a white stone fence. The five-foot wall, with a wrought-iron gate, gave the illusion of safety from the outside world.

My mother wiped her tears with a handkerchief. And after a long pause, she asked, “Will you take my son?” Her voice sounded tired and scared, not like the mother I knew.

Sister Leonia reassured her. “You have come highly recommended by our bishop in Warsaw. He asked us to take care of your boy. And we will.”

“Did the bishop tell you about us?” my mother asked. I knew that “us” meant that we were Jewish.

“We know about you, and I understand your situation,” the nun responded. “We take care of thirty boys. There are two others like your son, also about six years old. We will do whatever we can to keep him safe.”

“Oh, thank you, thank you. I am forever indebted to you. God bless you and the bishop.”

The sister patted her on her shoulder and asked, “Do you have any baggage for him or anything?”

My mother explained that she had no baggage because she didn’t want to look suspicious to the Germans. The sister looked at me with curiosity. She saw what I had already seen in the mirror: a skinny, six-year-old boy with dark hair and eyes, long neck, and a big nose. It was the nose that always gave me away, and I wish I didn’t have it. I had, what one Polish lady had called, and “unfavorable look,” meaning I didn’t look Aryan.

I also felt embarrassed about the sister looking at my bulky clothes. Instead of packing my clothes, my mother had made me wear two of everything—two underpants, two pairs of pants, and two shirts. I also wore two pairs of socks, and they were making my feet sweat inside my brown, ankle-high shoes. I looked down at my shoes to avoid the nun’s eyes, hoping she wouldn’t find me strange.

The nun’s soft voice comforted me. “Don’t worry, we will find things for him to wear; As you can imagine, we have limited food and resources, but rest assured that we will treat your son like any other boy here. Now, how can we get in touch with you, and will you be coming to visit?”

“It will be impossible to reach me. It’s best that I contact you,” I heard my mother say. “But I will visit on Sunday, my day off, as often as I can. Is that all right with you?”

“Yes. Of course. I understand.” the nun said, nodding. ...

My mother kissed me on the head, said goodbye, and went out the door. I didn’t hear the front door close. I focused on the other children coming in from playing outside. Sister Leonia took my hand and showed me my bed ...

...
I learned the way of the convent of the Order of Maria’s Family. Before each meal, I took my turn at blessing all the children and adults. Sometimes I was asked to make the blessing out of turn. Sister Leonia would give me the signal with a warm smile, and I would stand up and recite, “Thank you God for this daily bread, and please forgive us for our sins.”

The sisters made it clear that the man I saw on the cross when I first entered the convent was Jesus, the son of God, and that all their prayers were devoted equally to him and to his father. I attended chapel every morning. In the aisle, before I went to my seat, I made the sign of the cross ...

The chapel felt like the safest and most secure place in the convent. Here, the man hung on a dark wood cross on a white wall overlooking the entire chapel. Mary, his mother, stood under him and to the right on a pedestal. I sensed in her a sweetness and kindness that were enchanting. I felt happy because I had someone to say things to, and I felt that they would listen. Jesus and his mother were always waiting for me. ...

The blow to my routine life came out of the blue. I was playing in back of the convent. Sister Leonia charged out of the building toward me and whispered, “The Gestapo is here.” She grabbed me by my arm, and we swiftly ran into the nuns’ sleeping section. She raised the cover of a bed against the wall and told me to get under it. I slid back toward the wall as far as I could, my pulse pounding in my head. The mattress was so low that I had to lie on my stomach. I turned my head toward the open end and waited. With my tight ear resting on the cool wooden floor, I

could feel and hear the vibration of heavy boots becoming louder and moving closer. The thuds of Gestapo boots dazed my mind and stiffened my body. Strange voices echoed outside the room. I was afraid to move, except for my fingers: on both hands, counting one, two, three, four. The hurried beat of boots stopped by my bed. A hand lifted the bedcover and an upside-down face, framed by the white cover, riveted its blue eyes on me and commanded, "Raus da!" ["Get out of there!"] Before I could move, his arm reached in and slid me out. My head hit the bed. He dragged me behind me, pulling me on the floor, as if I were a dead animal. All the nuns and boys watched.

The two agents were about to open the front door when a voice from somewhere above me echoed, "Wait!" The Gestapo agent who held me lightened his grip around my wrist and turned to see whose voice he heard. Standing on top of the stairs and bracing himself on the railing was the tall, balding resident priest, dressed in a black soutane. His face looked pale, as if he'd been hiding from the sun. Small, round glasses were sitting on his nose and thin, white patches of hair grew above his ears. With his mellow voice, he said with authority, "Don't take him. Please leave him here. If you arrest him, you'll have to take me, too." I heard a long silence while the Gestapo agents scrutinized the priest. Then the two Nazis looked at each other, and for reasons I still don't understand to this day, the one who had me let go of my wrist. I fell to the floor. They left without me. The sisters and boys stood frozen, watching me slowly get up.

Sister Leonia was the first to come over. She placed both hands on my head and pulled me toward her, saying, "Thank the Lord and our priest. Thank God." We walked up the stairs to the priest, and I kissed the back of his hand and repeatedly said, "Thank you, thank you, Father."

...

I was in my dormitory when I heard a voice in the distance ... My mother rushed toward me and embraced me ... Sister Leonia stood nearby, smiling. I saw tears in her eyes for the first time.

That afternoon, I said goodbye to the boys who were still waiting. I felt bad for them, for they still didn't know the fate of their parents. I said goodbye to all the nuns and kissed the priest's hand for the second time. My mother thanked the nuns profoundly and promised to stay in contact and to help them. Before we left, Sister Leonia asked if she could see me alone. She took my hand and led me to the chapel.

As always, Mary and her son on the wall waited inside. Sister Leonia knelt and prayed out loud, thanking the Lord for my mother's arrival and blessing me to have a good life. Her eyes watered again. I, too, knelt and prayed. Deep sadness overcame me. I didn't want to leave.

Sister Leonia stood up, wiped her eyes with a handkerchief she pulled from inside her sleeve, took my hand, and led me out of the chapel. She asked me if I would visit her sometime. "Yes, yes," I said, not knowing where I was going or where I would live. ...

Maria's Family did not ask my mother for any remuneration. ... the nuns and priests who resided in these convents risked their lives by hiding Jewish children. The mortal risk to the sisters for protecting a Jew transcended their vows.

Assistance from priests in Częstochowa, who were encouraged to extend help to Jews by their bishop, Rev. Teodor Kubina, is documented in a number of sources. Bishop Kubina instructed his priests to issue false baptismal certificates to Jews and to find them hiding places. On his instructions, Rev. Wojciech Mondry, the pastor of St. James parish and local dean, transported Jewish children to shelters in Kraków.⁴⁷² The following accounts are found in Waclaw Zajaczkowski, *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), pp. 143–45, Entries 124, 129 and 131.⁴⁷³

June [16], 1943. Early in the morning German Schutzpolizei (security police), under the command of a Gestapo officer, Wilhelm Laubner, surrounded the rectory of St. Barbara's parish. Its leader, accompanied by two gunmen and a Jew who was previously caught with an identification card forged in that parish, entered the building and, with a burst of bullets, killed Rev. Teodor Popczyk, 33, who was pointed out by the Jewish informer as the person guilty of providing him with false papers.

[August] 1943. Bolesław Grzeliński, an organist at the parish of St. Zygmunt [Sigismund], was engaged in the preparation of false identification papers for the Jews. It involved searching for an appropriate name of a deceased parishioner, marking the entry in the parochial books to prevent more than one ID for the same name and

⁴⁷² Jan Pietrzykowski, *Walka i męczeństwo: Z wojennych dziejów duchowieństwa diecezji częstochowskiej (1939–1945)* (Warsaw: Pax, 1981), 90–91, 99–100; Jan Związek, "Niezapomniany biskup częstochowski Teodor Kubina," *Częstochowskie Studia Teologiczne*, vol. 25 (1997): 249–52; Aleksandra Klich, "Teodor Kubina: Czerwony biskup od Żydów," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, March 1, 2008.

⁴⁷³ See also Jan Pietrzykowski, "Księża diecezji częstochowskiej w walce z okupantem," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolików*, May 10, 1970.

distributing the papers among the Jewish refugees. The organist was promptly arrested after several such documents were discovered in the ghetto. He was tortured to disclose the names of his beneficiaries.

1944. Since the formation of the ghetto on April 19, 1941, the rector of the cathedral parish, Rev. Bolesław Wróblewski, took care of more than 60 Jewish children by placing them in various Catholic institutions [among them the home for abandoned children and orphans on Piotrowska Street operated by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś)]. Finally, sometime in 1944, the Germans became suspicious of his activities and of his entire household. After the intensive search disclosed no children present at the rectory, the 74-year-old priest [actually 77] was pistol-whipped [but survived] and his sister, Miss Wróblewska, was struck by the Gestapo officer Hintze with a rifle butt on the head and died a few days later. Their maid who had a broken arm was pushed into a cellar and the bed-ridden aunt of the priest, Mrs. Wielowieyska, was severely beaten.

Confirmation of the assistance provided by Rev. Tadeusz Wiśniewski of St. Sigismund (Zygmunt) parish in Częstochowa is found in the accounts of the Albertine Sisters (*infra*); Jewish charges at the Albertine Sisters' hostel at 14 Wesoła Street in Częstochowa received baptismal certificates from that parish. The parish of St. Joseph also furnished false identity documents to Jews in Częstochowa.⁴⁷⁴

Confirmation of the assistance provided by Rev. Bolesław Wróblewski can be found in a number of Jewish testimonies. Miriam Rubin (later Rothschild), who was born in March 1942, was taken out of the Częstochowa ghetto in early 1943 by a Polish woman named Kwiatkowska. With the assistance of Rev. Wróblewski, she obtained identity documents in the name of Jolanta Maria Dobosz. Her mother perished during the liquidation of the ghetto, but her father hid in a bunker and survived. After the war he reclaimed his daughter.⁴⁷⁵ Celina Alter (later Kristine Magidsohn) was initially sheltered by the Bednarek family, who then entrusted her to Rev. Wróblewski. Rev. Wróblewski provided her with false identity documents in the name of Krystyna Maliniak and placed her in an unidentified Catholic orphanage. After the war, she was taken by her aunt and uncle and they settled in Toronto.⁴⁷⁶

Aleksandra Dargiel, who ran the children's section of the Central Welfare Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza) in Warsaw, turned to her cousin, a priest in Częstochowa, for a statement attesting that Adela Bugajer, a Częstochowa native who was passing as a Christian in Warsaw, was his parishioner (which she was not). Adela Bugajer, who worked as a housekeeper, was thus able to maintain her cover as a Christian.⁴⁷⁷ Dargiel extended help to a number of Jewish children. She placed Roman Becher (born in 1929) in an orphanage in Miedzeszyn, a suburb of Warsaw, staffed by the Sisters of the Gratification of the Most Holy Face (*Siostry Wynagrodzicielek Najświętszego Oblicza*, commonly known as *Siostry Obliczanki*). After the war, Roman was reunited with his mother, who also survived in Warsaw.⁴⁷⁸

Maria Widawska's five-year-old son and four-year-old niece were placed by Rev. Bolesław Wróblewski in Catholic children's institutions in Częstochowa. Previously, after leaving the ghetto in Częstochowa in September 1942, Maria Widawska and her son had received assistance from a number of Poles, including priests and nuns, as they moved from village to village, ostensibly passing as Christians. Living near the Dominican Sisters' cloister in Św. Anna near Przyrów, they received food from the sisters through the intervention of their confessor, identified as Rev. Księżyk, but probably Rev. Józef Krzyżanowski, the pastor of Przyrów. The local vicar, who was also aware of their true identity, was also very helpful. Widawska had stored some of her belongings with a priest, likely the pastor, Rev. Marian Kubowicz, in her native village of Kłomnice, which she retrieved as necessary and sometimes spent the night in the priest's barn. Mrs. Borczyk obtained a birth and baptismal certificate for her from the local organist and vicar. After returning to Częstochowa, a priest at the Pauline monastery of Jasna Góra directed her to a

⁴⁷⁴ Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 106.

⁴⁷⁵ Miriam Rubin, Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel), catalog no. 3155, registry no. 11505.

⁴⁷⁶ Jon Magidsohn "Mom's Eulogy," Internet: <<http://www.jonmagidsohn.com/home/moms-eulogy/>>.

⁴⁷⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 173.

⁴⁷⁸ Testimony of Roman Becher, of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 131. Other Jewish children were also sheltered at this orphanage known as the Institute of Physical Hygiene.

nursery on St. Barbara Street. After speaking with the head sister, the lay director advised her to leave her son at the doorsteps as a foundling, since they could not officially accept him from a parent. Since a woman whom Widawska knew started to blackmail that institution, the child was transferred to an institution run by the Albertine Sisters. He was accepted by the superior, Sister Vita (Józefa Pawłowska) as a foundling and was treated very well. When his Jewish origin became known, he had to be sent to another institution for boys, again as a foundling. Unfortunately, he was denounced and seized by the Germans and shot. Widawska continued to roam the surrounding countryside. For a period of time, she stayed with nuns, possibly at a convent in Kielce run by the Albertine Sisters.⁴⁷⁹

Paula and Hannah Kornblum, sisters from Kałuszyn, were employed by Mieczysław Rylski, the owner of a glass manufacturing factory in Częstochowa, under false Christian identities. Paula Kornblum, later Popowski, born in 1923, went by the name of Apolonia Borkowska; her younger sister became Anna Borkowska. These two sisters were two of many Jews sheltered by the Albertine Sisters. The superior, Sister Vita (Józefa Pawłowska), was described as being “like an angel” to them. Sister Vita was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2014, together with Mieczysław Rylski. The rescue is described in the Yad Vashem records as follows (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10576728>>):

Paula (b. 1923) and Hanna (b. 1922) Kornblum were sisters born to a respected family in Kałuszyn, a small town near Warsaw, Poland. Theirs was a family of millers. They had some means, and at the beginning of the war their father was able to hide a fair amount of money in the yard of his house and sew some into the girls' clothes as well. However, no money could help the deteriorating position of the Jews in Poland, and it was suggested that the girls obtain Aryan identification and move to Warsaw to find work. With the help of a Polish family friend, they managed to do that, and they spent some time in Warsaw until the uprising in the ghetto broke out on April 19, 1943.

While in Warsaw they met Mieczysław Rylski, a glass manufacturer from Częstochowa. Finding themselves out of a job and in danger because of the uprising, the girls approached him for help. They told him honestly that they were Jewish, but Rylski said that if they could get fake work permits, he would employ them. Not only that but they would also be able to stay in the factory. When the factory received a rationing of clothes, they could have first pick (winter was approaching, and their garments were quite inadequate for the upcoming cold). Indeed, that is what happened for the next several months, until their presence in Rylski's factory began to arouse suspicion.

At this juncture Rylski reached out to the Albertine convent in the city, where he had some connections. He explained the situation to the mother superior, Sister Vita (nee Józefa Pawłowska), and she permitted the girls to move into the nuns' house. It was a forty-five-minute walk away from the factory, and they made the trek every morning at seven o'clock and back every afternoon at four, when the factory closed.

All of the nuns lived together in one room with ten beds, and all treated the girls very fairly. Sister Vita was particularly angelic to them, and she was the only one who knew they were Jewish. [Even if they did not know, surely the other nuns must have suspected it because it would have been highly unusual to simply allow two young women to stay in the nuns' dormitory. M.P.] They kept up appearances by going to church every Sunday and learning their catechisms. They crafted a back story for themselves, posing as Polish orphans who had no relatives remaining. Once, in 1944, a Polish SS collaborator came looking for them at the convent, but they managed to convince him of the truth of their story.

In January 1945, when Częstochowa was liberated, Paula and Hanna, uncertain what to do next, remained at the convent for several additional weeks, after which they decided to leave Poland and go to the United States.

Another account of the rescue is found in The Holocaust Quilt: Commemorating Charleston's Survivors: Paula Popowski (Internet: <<http://holocaustarchives.cofc.edu/panels/popowski/fulltext.html>>):

Paula stayed in Warsaw from November 1942 to April 1943. In April 1943, Paula heard the first shot of the Warsaw uprising. From the Polish side, she saw Jews being taken away from the ghetto. She saw trucks and shootings going on day and night, and the situation became dangerous for Paula and Hannah. The sisters discussed the situation with their boarder, who suggested they move to Częstochowa [Częstochowa]. ...

In Częstochowa, they met a man [Mieczysław Rylski] who owned a glass factory. They had to tell him they were Jewish, but he told them that if they found work permission they could stay with him. After a couple of months, they had to leave because there were suspicions about why the girls were staying there. Their boss had a connection with

⁴⁷⁹ Testimony of Maria Widawska (assumed name), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1698. See also the accounts of the Albertine Sisters found later in the text, regarding a five-year-old boy named Jędrus who was sheltered in Częstochowa.

a convent in the city, so they talked to the Mother Superior, and explained that they were Jewish. They stayed at the convent until the end of the war, but continued to work at the glass factory. Work began at 7 am, and it was a 45-minute walk. The factory had to close every day at 4 pm so that the workers would have time to get home before martial law, which took effect at 8 pm. Nobody was allowed to go out past 8 o'clock, but sometimes during the winter Paula and Hannah would sneak out to see some Jewish people that they had contact with in hiding.

The nuns lived in a house together on 14 Wesola Street. They all shared a room. There were ten single beds; the nuns each had their own and Paula and Hannah shared one. The nuns were very fair, in particular the Mother Superior, Sister Vita, who was "like an angel." She was the only one that knew they were Jewish. Every Sunday, Paula and Hannah went to church and learned the catechism. Paula's neighbors in Kaluszyn [Kaluszyn] were all Catholics, along with the workers in her family's flourmill, but they did not socialize with them often, and were not familiar with the religion. Everything was new.

Paula and Hannah could not maintain any sense of their Jewish identity during this time; they were extremely afraid of any "slip of the tongue." They went to great lengths to disguise themselves, writing fictional letters to fictional relatives, to "keep in touch" with their family. They concocted stories, that they were orphans, and their parents had been killed during a bombardment, and they only had distant relatives left. They knew very little about what was happening to Jews outside of Czestochowa. ...

In the beginning of 1944, some sisters visited Paula and Hannah at the glass factory to inform them that SS soldiers had been looking for them at the convent, and would return later when they came home from work. It turned out that the officer was not an SS man, but a Pole who was serving the Germans. After debating about what to do, the girls decided to tell him the same story they had told everyone else. There was nowhere to run, and if they could convince him that they were not Jewish, it would confirm their Polish identity. For some reason he believed them, and the Germans never bothered them again.

In January 1945, the Russians liberated Czestochowa ... Paula and her sister stayed at the convent for a few weeks after liberation, because they were uncertain what to do next.

Other religious orders also provided assistance to Jews in Czestochowa. The Pauline Fathers from the Jasna Góra ("Bright Hill") monastery, which housed the revered icon of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa, smuggled food to Jews confined in the ghetto despite the constant surveillance of the German authorities, and assisted the Jews in other ways. Their activities are mentioned in several Jewish accounts, including the rescue of Jewish children by nuns referred to earlier on. Abraham Jabłoński served as an altar boy at the monastery in 1943–1944 under the assumed identity of Bogdan Bloch, and survived the war with the assistance of Father Polikarp Sawicki and Brother Benedykt Karp. Decades later he expressed his gratitude to the Pauline Fathers in the following words: "I felt safe here and believed in the Divine Providence that watched over me. I survived the Shoah thanks to that..." At the behest of Brother Kazimierz Paśnik, who resided in Budapest, Father Pius Przeździecki, the order's general, directed Father Marian Paszkiewicz, the Pauline prior in Leśniów near Żarki, to procure a baptismal certificate for Salomon Bleier, who was then residing in Hungary. The Pauline Fathers also secretly cared for an ancient flag entrusted to them by the elders at the local synagogue.⁴⁸⁰ A Jew by the name of Proskurowski, who had converted to Catholicism, took refuge in the Pauline monastery. Against their instructions, he ventured out into the city peddling goods and was caught by the Germans and shot. After the war, the monks reported the person who had denounced Proskurowski to the authorities. He was tried and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.⁴⁸¹

Elżbieta Fiszhaut (later Górska) was twelve years old when the war broke out. She and her mother, Helena Fiszhaut, escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in August 1942. Elżbieta, who went by the name Stanisława Matusik, was placed in a convent in Czestochowa. She left the convent after about a year, when the person who placed her there was arrested by the Germans. Elżbieta returned to the convent after the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 and remained there until the end of the war. Elżbieta was also helped by a priest while in Czestochowa. ("Elżbieta Fiszhaut (Stanisława Matusik), Elżbieta Górska, Elisabeth Gorski and her mother Helena Fiszhaut (Józefa Kalińska)," Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/elzbieta-fiszhaut-stanislaw-matusik-elzbieta->

⁴⁸⁰ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 373–76.

⁴⁸¹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 687; Bolesława Proskurowska, "Memories," in Jerzy Mizgalski and Jerzy Sielski, eds., *The Jews of Czestochowa: The Fate of Czestochowa Jews 1945–2009* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2012), 356–57.

gorska-elisabeth-gorski-i-jej-matka-helena-fiszhaut>.)

In August 1942, Helena obtained false documents for herself and her daughter. Ela became Stanisława Matusik and Helena became Józefa Kalińska. They managed to escape from the ghetto and headed to Bielany (a suburb of Warsaw), to the home of Aldona Lipszyc, Helena's friend from high school. Aldona took them in. After a few weeks, Ela was placed into a convent orphanage in Częstochowa. Helena remained with Aldona until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising.

Ela had been in Częstochowa for about a year, when her mother received news that the person in Częstochowa, who had been looking after Ela and who had placed her into the convent, had been arrested and accused of helping Jews. She was worried that, under torture, the woman (known to Ela only as Jadzia) would reveal details of whom she had helped and where they were. Helena immediately went to Częstochowa and brought her daughter back to Aldona's home. Later, it turned out that Jadzia had been executed without betraying anyone.

Over the following months, Ela remained in Warsaw, repeatedly changing where she lived. In August 1944, when the uprising broke out ... Ela remained in the Lipszyc home over the first weeks of the Uprising, after which she again set off looking for her mother. Along the way, she was caught and thrown into a truck. The truck driver, an Austrian in the German army, stopped the truck in a forest and told Ela to run away. She was caught a second time and ended up in the camp in Pruszków. There, she met her aunt, Dr Anna Margolis who, pretending to be a nurse, could move freely amongst the prisoners. Her aunt managed to extract Ela from the camp and place her into a crowded apartment in Grodzisk. ...

Counting on the fact that danger to the orphanage had passed, Ela headed to Częstochowa. After many troubles and adventures, she arrived there after a few days. Within the convent, she waited for the German army to retreat. On foot, she went to Warsaw, but found no family or friends. Her pre-war family home had been requisitioned by the Polish army. So she went to Łódź, to the home of her aunt Margolis. A few weeks later, Helena also arrived there. Following the Uprising, she had been transported to a work camp in Goerlitz [Görlitz]. ...

For many years, Elisabeth Gorski (almost 90 years old), together with many others of the Rescued, visits schools in the state of Victoria, Australia. Their visits include a presentation about the Holocaust, prepared by the Courage to Care educational program, aimed at younger high school students. ... During meetings with the young people, Elżbieta talks about the heroic people, thanks to whom she survived. She recalls Aldona Lipszyc, a priest in Częstochowa, the Austrian soldier in the German army, as well as Jadzia from Częstochowa, murdered by the Gestapo for helping Jews. ...

Among those who had saved Elżbieta and her mother, only Aldona Lipszyc was posthumously awarded the medal of the Righteous Among the Nations in 1996. Elżbieta could never manage to establish details of the others who also deserved to be awarded that title.

After escaping from the ghetto in Częstochowa, Ignacy Jakobson and his colleagues from the Jewish underground formed a partisan group which had its base near Koniecpol. Among those who came to their assistance was a priest whose identity has not been established. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 588–89.)

I, Wlodek Chajutin, an actor by profession, and his brother Jurek went on a scouting patrol. We reached the village of Kościelna near Koniecpol, but the German gendarmes were stationed there. At night I approached the village church with the utmost care. In the presbytery I found a young priest, whose name I do not know. He offered us assistance, gave us three bags of food, showed us the way across the Pilica River and gave us his blessing; a farmer then led us across the river (the farmers in that village were most favourably disposed to us).

In 1942 Ruth Schwarz (later Pardess), born in 1940, was entrusted by her parents, then in the Sambor ghetto, to Alojzy Plewa, a prewar acquaintance, while they hid separately. Being a single man, Alojzy took the little girl to his parents' home in the village of Kliny near Kępno, in western Poland. The local residents were informed by his parents, Antoni and Anna Plewa, that this was their son's illegitimate child. They gave the child a new name, Antośka. In order to maintain her cover, she was baptized and attended church services with the Plewas. In spite of her young age, Ruth remembers the local priest, who called her a "holy daughter." After the war, when her mother came for her, Ruth did not recognize her.

The Plewas “were very good, good-natured, and gave the child back.”⁴⁸²

After leaving her home in Lwów, for a period of time Henryka Trauber lived in Rudki near Sambor. She stayed with Mrs. Szubert, the wife of a dentist, who was also sheltering Mrs. Berkowicz, and then with her own sister, who was a convert. A local priest used to visit Henryka when she was at her sister’s house, thus enabling her to maintain her cover as a Christian. (Her sister survived the war.) Henryka later stayed with her son, who was living in Dębica on Aryan papers, for several months, before relocating to Kraków, where she survived the war.⁴⁸³

The following account is based on the testimony of Artur Dreifinger, originally from Lwów, who moved to Warsaw with his mother during the occupation and he went by the name of Tadeusz (Tadzik) Stenawka. He was separated from his mother during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. Young Tadzik was taken in and assisted by many Poles, who were afraid of keeping him for long because of his Jewish appearance. He was eventually taken to Częstochowa, where he was cared for by Rev. Antoni Marchewka and, possibly, Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, who resided in Częstochowa at that time. Afterwards, he was placed in an orphanage in Kraków. After the war he was reunited with his mother and moved to Argentina.⁴⁸⁴ (Ireneusz Skubiś, “Wiem, że to Bóg mnie uratowała” / “I Know That It Was God Who Saved Me,” *Niedziela*, no. 46, November 12, 2006.)

When I was seven the Warsaw Uprising broke out. After its fall and the bombardment of Warsaw my mother and I found shelter in a basement for twenty days. Suddenly, the Germans appeared and made us all leave our shelter. Children under 10 were to stand facing the street and those over 10 were to face the walls of the buildings. So were their fathers. After a second all those men and boys were shot.

I was only with my mother and I was separated from her. On that day I was left alone in the world. From the place of the shooting some people took me to the Red Cross, which was just two hundred meters away. There somebody put me in a car and took to Włochy near Warsaw. I was alone there. I did not know where to go and did not have anything to eat. It was dark. I was sitting in the street and crying. One person passed by, and another one, asking why I was crying. I did not know what to answer. I said I did not have mother, I lost her, and I was by myself and had nowhere to go. Some people took me to their house. I had a chubby face and it was providential because people often were afraid of taking emaciated kids thinking they were ill. I was perhaps one day in that house and the next day I was taken to another. They simple said, “Tadzik, you must go.” I asked why, not understanding anything.

“You know why,” they said. They were afraid of speaking straight, “Because you are Jewish.” And then I went from home to home. I heard various things, “If you do not leave they will kill me, my wife, children and you. You must go. And do not tell anyone that you were here. Have some underwear, food and go.” And that was every day. One day someone took me to Pruszków. I felt very well there, they treated me as their son. From there I was taken to Częstochowa.

When I arrived there some people waited for me: some 30-year-old man, a woman and a girl who could be of my age. The woman who had brought me there gave me to that man and left without saying anything. And we went home. There I met a boy who was my age. The next day a priest came and it turned out that it was Fr. Antoni Marchewka. He asked, “Are you Tadzik?”

During the occupation my mother decided that I would be called Tadeusz Stenawka. The priest took me to a small room. There were a bed, a toilet, a ladder and a table in the room. The priest told me not to go out and approached the balcony. So I stayed all day inside the room and waited for him. The priest left in the morning and came back in the evening. One day he took me to the church [St. Barbara’s]. From that day I went to the church with him every day. Some day he gave me a white robe, a surplice, which was needed to bring the incense. ...

The day came when the priest said, “Tadzik, we must go.” I still remember that morning. It was dark, raining and no people in the street. We went to Kraków. The priest took me to a large house, where there were little ladders and numerous children, at the age of 4 to 15. I was given some food, but older kids came and took the food from me. I

⁴⁸² The Plewa Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-plewa-family>>; “Rescued Ruth Pardess Visits Her Former Hiding Place,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/news/rescued-ruth-pardess-visits-her-former-hiding-place>>.

⁴⁸³ Testimony of Henryka Trauber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1385. Trauber states that, while in Rudki, she approached the episcopal office in Przemyśl for permission to be baptized but was informed that she needed permission from the German authorities to do so.

⁴⁸⁴ See also Mercedes Fernández, *El niño roto* (Mendoza: Zeta, 2009).

was scared ... In the gate the priest told me to pray to Lord God every day. I know that it was God that saved me. The priest took my hand and kissed it. He was weeping. He left me with those children and went away. I did not see him afterwards.

Assistance was provided to Sonia Games (then Zofia Róża Sieradzka) of Praszka near Wieluń by Rev. Mieczysław Krzemiński, a Vincentian Missionary. The Sieradzki and Krzemiński families were acquaintances. Rev. Krzemiński was a member and chaplain of the Home Army.⁴⁸⁵ After leaving the ghetto in Częstochowa, Sonia Games turned to Rev. Krzemiński to seek his help to get Aryan documents. He was then staying in the suburb of Grosz, where he lived under Gestapo surveillance. (Sonia Games, *Escape Into Darkness: The True Story of a Young Woman's Extraordinary Survival During World War II* [New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1991], pp. 102–104, 120–21.)

The housekeeper opened the door ...

I told her... that I was looking for a priest from Praszka. She immediately ushered me in and asked my name. I told her and her hand flew to her mouth "Zofia Sieradzki!" she exclaimed in alarm and hurried off to get the priest. He came in looking very grim.

"My God, child, you could not have come here at a worse time! We are under surveillance at this very moment. We are being watched by the Gestapo!"

My heart sank. The priest introduced himself as Father Krzeminski [Mieczysław Krzemiński] and anxiously asked about my parents and what had happened. ...

There was a furtive knock on the door and the housekeeper answered it, then came running back to us.

"They are coming," she stuttered frantically. "Gestapo!"

They both grabbed me by my arms and opened a floor trap door leading into the basement. The housekeeper and I descended down the ladder into the musty interior. ...

The housekeeper pulled me toward an empty barrel and made me crawl in. It smelled of pickles. Then she poured cucumbers over me until my head was covered and loosely placed a round wooden top cover over it. We could already hear the pounding at the door upstairs. Then the housekeeper ran up the ladder and I vaguely heard the trap door being shut. ...

From above came the sound of boots stamping and loud voices. I heard the trap door being lifted and someone coming down the ladder. I held my very breath. Footsteps again very near to me, noises of movement, banging ... Then I heard the trap door again. Were they leaving? Again stomping upstairs reverberated dimly in my ears. Voices I could not make out and after a considerable while silence again.

They came and left! I felt a powerful surge of relief and waited. The cucumbers were lifted from my head and the housekeeper whispered loudly "It's alright Zosia" I wiggled out of the barrel and wearily followed her upstairs again. Father Krzeminski was sitting at a wooden table by a kerosene lamp.

"This was close ..." he said, "very close. You see we were tipped off that they were coming. We knew it." Now he needed to decide what to do with me and immediately told me that I could not stay the night, it was too dangerous. They could always come back.

... I was to stay with Aunt Hela for two weeks and then I was to return to Father Krzeminski's.

He had no way of providing me with the proper papers but would make out a false christening and birth certificate which would be better than having nothing at all. But I must not come back sooner because Father Krzeminski was having problems with the Gestapo. They had nothing on him but suspicions thus far but if they found me here it would be the end for all of us. The housekeeper gave me a piece of bread but I could not even stay long enough to eat it. I had to leave immediately regardless of the curfew. The country road should be empty and I should sleep in the fields. ...

Today he is not nearly as nervous, and true to his word, he has a typed out certificate of Birth and Christening waiting for me. It is made out on yellowing, aged paper to give it a genuine appearance. He has made me three years older than I really am. People would be less suspicious if I am a little older, especially if I need to find work. ... Fortunately I am developed enough to appear older.

... I am given a small prayer book and Father Krzeminski instructs me to learn everything in it by heart. It is well worn but has a lovely mother of pearl binding. He also gives me a silver crucifix on a chain.

I explain that I have attended catechism classes as a child, but he actually knows this part of my history. Father Krzeminski seems to know my family well. I am extremely touched by this and ask him if he would wish to christen me. But even there he surprises me. He remembers my mother's wishes. It is to be done when I am sixteen, and he will give it due respect. I am under stress now, and this is a very serious decision to make. ...

"If you are ever caught," he tells me, "the Gestapo will trace these papers to me, you know. You will not be able to

⁴⁸⁵ Zbigniew Szczerbik and Zdzisław Włodarczyk, eds., *Wieluński słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (Wieluń: Wieluńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2012), 70–71.

withhold the information from them ... They have a way ... They torture people. They will get it out of you. If ever this happens and you should suffer guilt,—do not on account of me. I have done for others what I am doing for you. Those are the chances I have to take. Zosia, I want to give you absolution now in advance and my full forgiveness. Save yourself from torture with my blessing. Nobody can withstand it anyway ...”

Afterwards, a priest known to her only as Father Jan was Sonia Games’s contact in a Home Army cell for which she worked as a courier.⁴⁸⁶

Władysław and Anna Jaguścik sheltered four-year-old Anna Borys, her uncle Henryk Borys, and her grandmother on their farm in the village of Łęg, near Radomsko. During a German raid on the village in July 1943, about 20 Jews who were being hidden by Poles were captured and executed, including Anna Borys’s uncle and grandmother. Earlier, Anna Jaguścik had obtained a false baptismal certificate for the Jewish girl from Rev. Aleksander Bielawski, the pastor of Radziechowice, under the name of Maria Jaguścik, and claimed that the child was hers. Anna Borys was thus spared. However, Władysław Jaguścik and several other farmers were beaten and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. Władysław Jaguścik was later transferred to Buchenwald, and survived the war. The girl’s parents reclaimed Anna after the war. She settled in Israel under her married name, Maria Goland.⁴⁸⁷

Priests from Zawiercie, southeast of Częstochowa, also provided false birth and baptismal certificates to Jews. Mariusz Opalko recalls (Internet: <www.shavei.org>):

Opalko’s parents both grew up in Zawiercie, a small Polish city in the south of the country near Silesia. When the Germans invaded, two local priests took enormous risks by writing their names into the books of official baptisms. “We weren’t actually baptized,” Opalko stresses. One of the priests also doctored Opalko’s mother’s birth certificate to use the more German sounding “Leder” instead of her birth name of “Lederman,” which Opalko says “was recognizably Jewish.” These brave acts allowed Opalko’s parents to pass as non-Jews.

Opalko’s grandfather also had a personal connection with one of the priests—the two had known each other when the grandfather had been imprisoned a number of times for being a communist, Opalko explains. The priest came to visit him and the two became friends.

Although Opalko’s parents knew each other growing up, there was a 7-year difference between them. Near the end of the war, though, when Opalko’s mother had turned 18, they decided to get married. They had a Jewish ceremony but were written down as “Catholic” in the official marriage registry by the priests who had already done so much to save them.

Priwa Grinkraut also obtained false documents from a priest in Zawiercie, which helped her pass as a Catholic Pole and survive the war.⁴⁸⁸ Her principal benefactors, Antoni and Leokadia Jastrzab have been recognized by Yad Vashem. (Ceremony of Presenting the Righteous Among the Nations Awards, Warsaw, December 4th, 2012, Internet: <http://embassies.gov.il/warsaw/Departments/Sprawiedliwych/Documents/2012-12-04_ENG.pdf>.)

Antoni Jastrzab [Jastrzab] and Joel Grinkraut knew each other well before the war. They both were tailors and lived in Zawiercie. When a ghetto was established in their home town, and all the Jewish population of Zawiercie was resettled into the ghetto, Leokadia and Antoni Jastrzab convinced Priwa Grinkraut, their friend’s wife, to get out to the Aryan side. They were hiding her in their house for six weeks. At that time, they arranged forged documents for her; issued for the name Zofia Jabłońska, whereas Leokadia and Antoni’s children taught Priwa some Catholic prayers. Then, thanks to some contacts in the employment office, Antoni Jastrzab fixed Priwa up with a job for a German farmer in the Sudetes. The whole time he remained in contact with her, and helped to deliver the correspondence between Priwa and Joel.

In her wanderings in the vicinity of her native village of Bolesławiec near Wieluń in the summer of 1942, Mala Brandsdorfer (then Goldrat) encountered many friendly Polish villagers who were prepared to help her. Their help was short term because of their fear of the severe punishment meted out by the Germans,

⁴⁸⁶ Games, *Escape Into Darkness*, 141–67.

⁴⁸⁷ Testimony of Alojzy Jaguścik, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7043.

⁴⁸⁸ Testimony of Priwa Grinkraut, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3283.

and not because of malice. On occasion, the villagers would turn to their parish priest for guidance. (Mala Brandsdorfer, as told to Louis Brandsdorfer, *The Bleeding Sky: My Mothers's Recollections of the Shoah*, Internet: <<http://www.brandsdorfer.com/podcast/>>; also <<http://www.theverylongview.com/WATH/mothers/skyintro.htm>>.)

I remember growing up in Boleslawiec [Bolesławiec] very happy. The town had about 500 families, with about 2500 people. Jews made up about a quarter of the population. ... We lived and traded together in peace. There were some Poles in our town who were openly anti-Semitic, but very few. ...

One of the farmers who dealt with my uncle was a Christian named Pannek. He was a very nice man, and he liked my sister because of how honest she was. ... After the war started he said to her that if she or her family ever had to hide from the Germans they should come to him, and he'd hide them at his farm.

Pannek's farm was about one kilometer from our town. My daughter and I went there to hide. Pannek let us in and made a place for us in the attic of the stall. ... Living with him were his wife and his wife's sister. He also had two children, a son 14 or 15 years old, and a daughter about 20. They were both living at home.

The next day a woman came to Pannek's and told us that the Germans had surrounded the town. They were ordering all the Jews to assemble in the market square. She had met my sister Eudel in a field outside of town. She told my sister to run and hide, but my sister said her parents were home all alone and that she must go back to them. And so my sister returned to the town.

The following day Pannek's sister-in-law went into the town to find out what had happened. She returned and told me that all the Jews were being held in the church, and the Germans were ordering all those Jews still in hiding to come out. My parents and one sister were with the other Jews, but one of my sisters was still hiding in the attic of my neighbor's house. It was my sister Fay. She was sick, and my father took her over to the neighbors. He didn't want her taken by the Germans while she was ill. There were rumors that the Germans were killing the sick right away.

The neighbor who was hiding my sister was very scared and wanted her to either go to the church with the other Jews or go into hiding with me. The next day I paid Pannek's sister-in-law 50 marks to smuggle my sister out of the town and bring her to me.

Pannek's sister-in-law dressed Fay up as a field hand going to work in the fields outside of town. Fay was very sick when she brought her. She was running a fever. When she saw me she started crying and banging her head against the wall. She kept saying that we should go with our parents. That we would not survive anyway. The Germans had put up notices that they would shoot any Jews they found, and they would also shoot any Poles that helped a Jew hide. But I said, "No, we would not walk voluntarily into their hands," and I dragged her up to the attic.

For the next few days the Germans kept the Jews in the church. A few of the Jews who were still in hiding were caught, some had given themselves up. Then all the Jews were taken to Wielun [Wieluń]. I had a terrible feeling that the three of us were the only Jews left in the entire district. ...

Fay's illness was getting worse. Late at night I took her into town to see the doctor. ... He was a very fine man. ... He gave her some medicine that made her better. He refused to take any money from us saying we would need it more than he would.

As we were leaving, Dr. Taren said, "Go hide in small villages. There you will find less anti-Semitism than in the cities." We thanked him and left. ...

Pannek was too scared to hide us near the house during the day. Since a lot of people came to his house he was afraid we would be seen. During the day, when it wasn't raining, he told us to hide in the nearby fields. ...

Once when we were hiding in the field we heard someone coming. We crawled into a stack of wheat. I looked out and saw 2 women walking towards us. It was Mrs. Jakobovich and her daughter, Estarka. Estarka was about 20 years old. They were neighbors of ours before the war. ... Estarka got out [of the ghetto] and got to village a few kilometers from our home. ... There she was able to hide out with a Christian family until the end of the war. ...

One day Pannek said that we would have to leave. He was too afraid to hide us any longer. ... Pannek's wife was truly a wonderful human being. She pleaded with her husband to let us stay. ... But still he said no. So after two weeks of hiding at Pannek's we were sent away.

We went to a village near Wojcin [Wójcin]. Wojcin was the town my mother was born in. We went to a family that had done business with my father. In the house lived an old woman with her daughter and son-in-law. The old woman had gone to school with my mother. She asked us why we didn't bring our mother with us. She would have helped her hide too.

We stayed there a short while hiding in their attic. One day two Germans came into their yard. Both the old woman's daughter and I saw them come in. We got very frightened. I was sure that someone had told on us until I saw they had bicycles and one was broken. They stopped to fix it and then went on their way.

We had such a bad fright that a few days later Fay noticed a patch of hair on my head had turned white. The young woman was pregnant then. She had been married for five years and this was going to be her first child. A few days after we had seen the Germans come into the yard she lost the child. It may have been because of the fright she had.

The next day the husband came up to the attic and told us we would have to leave. He was very sorry about it, but they felt that they couldn't keep us anymore.

From there we went to another village called Drzdkowitz [Dzietrzkowice], to a Christian farmer named Urbonek [Urbanek?]. My husband knew him from doing business with him and felt he was a good man. My husband wrote that if I had to hide I should go to this man's house, tell him who I was, and he would surely let me hide there.

When I got there I found out that Urbonek was a leader in the village, appointed by the Germans. We came to his house at night. He let us in, gave us some food, and took us up to the attic.

Urbonek was in his middle 20s. He had a wife and some young children. His wife was very scared to have us in the house. We would sometimes hear them arguing about us being there. Since he was working for the Germans some of them would come to the house. Also they had a lot of enemies in the village because of the work they were doing. His wife was afraid of us being found there. It would have cost them their lives if we were.

Once I heard him say to his wife that if he was destined to die, he would, whether he was hiding Jews or not. But his wife prevailed and we were sent away. ...

Urbonek sent us to his brother in another village, but they were also afraid. As soon as we came to their door Urbonek's sister-in-law started yelling that the village was surrounded, and that the Germans were looking for us. None of this was true, but the woman was hysterical. We could not stay there. They sent us somewhere else.

For a time we were just sent from village to village. A Christian once said to me, "Why do you risk our lives? No Jews will survive anyway."

In one place we came to, as soon as we walked in, the man there said that he was sure we were spotted and made us leave right away. Another place we came to late at night. We were allowed to stay the night but no more. In the morning we had to leave. After a while there was no place for us to go, so we decided we had to go to the Jewish ghetto in Czestochowa [Częstochowa].

We went to another village, named Toplin. It was the village in which Alter was born. Toplin was 28 kilometers from Boleslawiec. There we went to a Christian named Antos Krzyzos [Antoś Krzyżoś]. He was the same man who took the money to my cousin in Wielun when I tried to rescue my husband.

As soon as we came to his house we told him we only wanted to stay for a short while. We told him of our wanting to get into the ghetto. Antos' family tried talking him out of letting us stay. They were afraid. But he said he would help us and took us up to the attic.

We couldn't just walk into the ghetto. If we were caught outside we would be shot. We had to be smuggled into it. I had a cousin in the ghetto named Rachel Liss. Rachel ran away from Wielun when her husband was taken away to labor camp. I knew that she had ended up in the Czestochowa ghetto. Antos helped me get a letter to her. We were taking a chance writing a letter to someone in the ghetto. If the letter had been read by the Germans we would have been caught, but Antos agreed to take the chance.

In the letter I asked her to find out how we could get into the ghetto. This was in September 1942. It was on Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, that we sent the letter. We spent the holiday up in the Krzyzos' attic. Two weeks later a letter came back from my cousin.

My cousin told us to go to the Ponow [Panów(?), i.e., the Lords'] woods. The Ponow woods were near Wielun. There we would find a man whose name I can't remember now. She said that this man could smuggle us into the ghetto.

The next day we said good-bye to Antos Krzyzos and headed for the Ponow woods. We walked all day until we got to the woods. I remember it was a beautiful day. A number of Poles spotted us for Jews as we traveled there. Some were kind to us; some were not; but none of them turned us in. One told us that just the day before we came there the Germans had finished a large "operation". For 2 weeks they searched the woods for Jews. Over 30 were caught hiding there. The Germans took them all to Wielun where they were all executed.

We came to the man my cousin told us see. He said that he could not get us into the ghetto anymore. Once he used to lead animals into the ghetto to be slaughtered for food. Then he was able to smuggle someone in by dressing them up as a helper. But the Germans stopped letting meat into the ghetto since they started taking Jews out of there. ...

In the morning we were able to see a village in the distance. We went there, and we looked for a house that was run down. We knew that the people living in poor houses were not Germans or collaborating with them.

We came into a house. We told the people the truth about who we were and what had happened to us. They said not to fear. They would talk to the village priest, and he would know what to do. The priest was a very fine man. He advised that we go to the city of Klobuck [Kłobuck] which was not far from there. There were still some Jews in Klobuck. One of them was the dentist. We were to go to the dentist, and he'd be able to help us get into a Jewish work camp nearby.

During the round-up of Jews in a village near Olkusz, northwest of Kraków, an old woman became frightened by the sudden appearance of an unknown Jewish girl at her door and, without thinking it through, alerted a nearby German soldier nearby who shot the child on the spot. The woman's confession to a priest was recorded in Chava (Gerszonowicz) Kwinta, *I'm Still Living* (Toronto: Simon & Pierre Publishing Company, 1974), at pages 159–60.

Not far from the little town of Olkush [Olkusz] the Germans rounded up all the Jews to have them sent away. One mother, desperately wanting to save her child, told her to run away, to go as far as she could and then ask some Polish family to take her in as their daughter. She was a clever little girl of eight, and she managed to steal away. She was wearing a nice summer dress. In a village she knocked on one of the doors. An old woman appeared. "Grandma," the child appealed to her, "will you take me for your daughter?" The old woman did not think; automatically she called a Nazi soldier. ... she said to him, "Here's a Jewish girl." The German shot the child on the spot. The old woman did not expect that, she thought he would simply take the child away; and she could find no peace. She went to her priest for confession.

"You did a very bad thing," he told her. "You should have given the child the refuge she was looking for, or at least you should have let her go to look for it elsewhere. You did a very wicked thing. Jesus will not forgive you and I cannot take your guilt on my conscience." The old woman went home and, after a short time, she died.

Throughout occupied Poland, Poles were encouraged to purchase or, less often, simply take Jewish property after the Germans had deported the Jews from the town. Sabina Rachel Kałowska, a Jewish woman passing as a Pole, recalled how Rev. Stanisław Marchewka, the pastor of the former Cistercian monastery church in Jędrzejów near Kielce, implored the faithful in his sermons not to acquire property confiscated from the Jews: "People, do not go there. Don't buy any of those things. Don't take anything, because it is stained with blood."⁴⁸⁹ A priest in Głowno near Łódź implored impoverished Christians not to cut trees down in a Jewish cemetery during the cold winter months, although they were in need of wood to heat their cottages.⁴⁹⁰

A Polish family sheltered Goldie Szachter, a Jewish girl, on their farm near Świętomarz near Bodzentyn. They confided in the village priest, who assisted in the pretence that the child was a member of the family—their niece—and a Catholic. This Jewish girl would later write, "I nevertheless recognized the beauty of the spirituality of the church services as well as its sanctifying influence on the Polish peasant household in general."⁴⁹¹

An unidentified priest from Koszyce, probably Rev. Bolesław Kastek, the local pastor, provided the sisters Dina Minberg (born in 1924, later Dina Drori) and Hanka Minberg (born in 1922) with the baptismal and birth certificates of two young women who had left for Germany as labourers. These documents were the basis for the identity documents (*Kennkarte*) that the sisters obtained from their friend, Jan Młynarczyk, a member of the underground. They used these documents to pass as Poles after leaving their hometown of Koszyce, a village northeast of Kraków, in 1942, just before the expulsion of the Jewish population. The two sisters moved from place to place—Kraków, Stalowa Wola and Warsaw—and were eventually deported to Germany as slave labourers after the failed Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. Throughout the war, they, their mother and another Jewish family from Koszyce were assisted by various Polish benefactors, two of whom—Jan Młynarczyk and Zofia Stefko—were awarded by Yad

⁴⁸⁹ Sabina Rachel Kałowska, *Uciekać, aby żyć* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 2000), 93–94; translated as Sabina Rachel Kałowska, *No Place for Tears: From Jędrzejów to Denmark* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2012).

⁴⁹⁰ Aleksandra Bańkowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawskiego*, vol. 6: *Generalne Gubernatorstwo: Relacje i dokumenty* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2012), 474.

⁴⁹¹ Goldie Szachter Kalib, with Sylvan Kalib and Ken Wachsberger, *The Last Selection: A Child's Journey Through the Holocaust* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 161, 163–64.

Vashem.⁴⁹² (Dina Drori and Erez Grinboim, *Dina, Surviving Undercover: From the Darkness of the Holocaust to the Light of the Future* [Lexington, Kentucky: CreateSpace, 2018], chapter 1.)

As I said earlier, the Jewish boys did not study in the gymnasium [i.e., high school; they went to the yeshiva]. And we girls, obviously would never date boys our age, so we were three to four girls who usually went with Polish boys, because they attended the gymnasium. So, our young make friends were Polish, and they held one line, which was anti-German and pro-Jewish. They were all members of the underground. They all prepared themselves for the moment they would need to act. And they did, and later they left and went into the forests.

I will tell you for example about a friend of mine. They wanted to save her, but her parents did not agree. The Polish boyfriend of my girlfriend wanted to save her, but her mother said, “No, you are leaving with us,” because she did not want to leave her in the hands of a Pole.

In 1942, when searches were carried out in the Jewish houses, we used to hide at times in Polish houses. ...

A young Polish man by the name of Janek Młynarczyk [Młynarczyk] lived in Koszyce. He provided the inhabitants with coal for the winter months. ... In the autumn of 1942, when Janek arrived to ask about the requested supplies for the coming winter ... Janek was very fond of [my sister Hanka]. ... [Hanka] asked him, “Do you have any possibility in the underground, to arrange Arian [sic] certificates for us?” “Yes. If I am to receive two genuine birth certificates. Based on them, I could arrange it,” he said.

That evening, my mother went to the town’s priest. ... He used to buy from us. There were times when he could afford to pay, and others when he would buy on credit. [The latter was a common practice to encourage customers to purchase.] He used to play chess with my father, and so he was like one of the family. She went to the priest and said to him: “O need to save my two daughters. If you can give me two birth certificates, you will rescue me.” He never asked a single question. He had two Polish girls who had gone willingly to work in Germany, and of course their birth certificates were in the church, and he gave her both. A few days later, Janek arranged two genuine certificates for my sister and me. In the certificates, Hanka was called Matilda [Matylda] Krzczowska, and my name was Eugenia (Genia) Krzczowska.

We could now travel across Poland with our new identities; two young girls without parents. Janek arranged for my mother a forged, and not genuine, certificate that had no background; that had no foundation. He also organized documents for my cousin, her two children and by aunt. He organized Arian documents for seven people. When he arranged the certificates, I arranged one for a Jewish friend of mine. I gave him as well a forged certificate, and so, altogether there were eight. My sister went as well to my uncle, who was in the Judenrat, and told him that she could arrange forged certificates for his children, but he said he would not send his children to a forced conversion from Judaism. They were fourteen and sixteen years old. “I have experienced war, The First World War; you did not,” he said to her. “It was difficult, but we survived. We will survive this time as well. The worst that can happen is that they will send us to forced labor camps. After the war we will return, and I will have Jewish children rather than goyim.” My sister said to him, “”But we will not return; we will not survive, because these forced labor camps are concentration camps.” But he said he did not believe that anything bad would happen.

Several unidentified priests were involved in the rescue of Irene Bau (née Irena Landesdorfer) and her mother, Regina Landesdorfer, who hailed from Kraków. They were able to pass as Christians with the help of Poles. After relocating to Koszyce, a village northeast of Kraków, they went into hiding in November 1942, when the Germans began deporting Jews from that area. With the assistance of Zbigniew Bolt, Regina obtained a false birth and baptismal certificate from a priest in Koszyce—probably the pastor, Rev. Bolesław Kastek. They then relocated to the village of Kalembina near Strzyżów, where they stayed in lodging rented by Stanisław Kwieciński, Bolt’s uncle. Aware of her situation, a priest furnished Irene with a false birth and baptismal certificate, which Kwieciński then used to procure a

⁴⁹² Testimony of Dina Drori, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 27672; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 525, and vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 752. After relocating to Warsaw, where their mother and aunt were hiding with the help of Zofia Stefko, Dina and her sister obtained new false identity documents from the Polish underground and again passed as Poles. After the collapse of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, Dina was rounded up together with other Poles and taken to a transit camp in Pruszków. The Germans took her green leather coat leaving her without a jacket. They also demanded her ring, but since her hand was swollen she could not remove it from her finger. She recalled, “the German was about to cut my finger off. At the very last moment, I put my finger inside my mouth and began to suck it powerfully, and finally managed to take it off.” Before transporting the prisoners onward, “They ordered us, the women, into a line; a German officer approached us and said, ‘You see, I only have nine fingers. One of my fingers was cut off by a woman, a member of the underground, and now I shoot every tenth woman because of thing finer.’” He then proceeded to carry out this grisly deed. “We sat down, and he started counting. I was the eighth. Then came the ninth, and then the tenth, ‘traach.’ Each time, the tenth was shot down, just like that.” Dina and her sister survived as slave labourers in Germany. After the war, they were reunited with their mother, who had been in hiding in occupied Poland, and her father and older brother, who had escaped to the Soviet Union.

Kennkarte for her. Regina decided to leave for Germany to work as a labourer, while Irene remained behind with Kwieciński. Suspecting that she was Jewish, the local police detained Irene and seized her identity card. Irene turned to the local priest for help, confiding in him that she was Jewish. The priest vouched for her as a Catholic, claiming that he was acquainted with her parents. The police chief returned her documents. With her papers back, Irene was able to find a job in a store and continued working until the area was liberated by the Soviet army. After the war, she was reunited with her mother. Two of their benefactors, Stanisław Kwieciński and Zbigniew Bolt, were awarded by Yad Vashem.⁴⁹³ Part of the story is set out in Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland During the Holocaust* (Columbia, Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009), at pages 28–31.

Stanislaw [Stanisław Kwieciński] located another house for them to rent in a village west of Kalembina, [near] Wiśniowa. The people from whom they eventually rented had no idea they were Jewish. That was a secret that Stanislaw kept as he helped them in various ways.

In their new rental situation, their disguise was aided by the fact that they spoke fluent Polish. In addition, they had false identity papers. Regina's, which a priest in Koszyce helped her get, said she was Zofia Glowacz [Głowacz]. Irene's, which Stanislaw obtained for her, said she was Irene Glowacz [Irena Głowacz].

In reality Irene was, originally, Irena Landesdorfer, born November 9, 1929, in Kraków, the only child of Regina and Samuel Landesdorfer. ...

Irene and Regina Landesdorfer not only pretended to be Irene and Zofia Glowacz, they also regularly went to church, pretending not to be Jews. And they were helped with this by the fiancé of Zbigniew's [Bolt] cousin, with whom they hid for a time at Stanislaw's house. Although Jewish he knew a lot about Catholicism—indeed, he later married Zbigniew's cousin and became a Catholic. ...

And when she attended church, she regularly took Communion and went to confession. In fact, she said, she came to be a believer, at least for a time ...

But one day when they came home from church, the people at whose house they lived told Regina that "people are saying that you don't know how to pray and you don't know how to use the rosary." But Regina credibly [?] dismissed the complaints, saying that in the big city of Kraków, where she came from, they did things differently. Regina had other explaining to do, too, such as why they had left Kraków. She told people who asked that her family was active in the Polish underground and that several family members had been arrested, so they left to find a safer place to live. ...

After a time in their new place, Regina was deported to Germany and employed as a Polish forced laborer. Left alone, Irene would make more regular visits to Stanislaw's house [in the nearby village of Kalembina]. ...

Once in the middle of the night, while Irene was sleeping at Stanislaw's, two Polish policemen came and took her away to the police station on suspicion of being Jewish. Stanislaw came running after them, yelling, "What do you want? She's just a little girl. She's not Jewish."

But the police hit him in the head with a rifle and said, "Go back home if you don't want your house to be burned and you end up in a concentration camp."

One of the arresting officers then left to look for Polish people the Germans wanted for forced laborers. The other officer stayed with Irene and prepared to take her to the police station. But he offered her a way out.

"Look, little girl," he said. "I will look this way and if you want to go I won't see you."

Irene, however, refused. This girl, now fourteen, already understood clearly what she would be required to do if she hoped to survive.

"I'm not going," she told him. "I have nothing to hide."

She knew that if she ran away, he would know for sure she was Jewish and not only would her life be in even more danger but authorities would come after Stanislaw, too. So Irene and the officer went to the police station, which was little more than chicken coop, with live chickens and with bars on the windows. There they began to interrogate her at length.

... Next, however, a German soldier was brought in to question her. Because he was a Volksdeutsch, he spoke to her in Polish, but he finally concluded that Irene was not Jewish.

... after being in jail for two days, she said to [the police chief], "I cannot just sit here, Either you do something or let me go."

"You can go, he replied. "I have all your papers. You can go, but come every morning at 10 o'clock and report to me and I'll see if those papers are real."

They were not real, of course, and all the man had to do to discover that was to pick up a phone and trace them,

⁴⁹³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 536; The Bolt Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org/pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-bolt-family>>.

but he never did. Something kept him from deciding to end Irene's life, and she attributed it to her own spunkiness and her lack of fear in his presence. In fact, one day she came to the police station as ordered and found it full of Germans.

When the police chief saw her, he quickly and quietly said to her, "What are you doing here? Get out." ...

However, without her mother and without her papers, she was stuck. She had no way to buy food or to compensate the people from whom they rented the room for feeding her—to say nothing of not being able to pay the rent. Those people, however, had grown fond of Irene and even called her their baby. But she did not want to live there without money, completely beholden to them. Unsure what else to do, Irene went to confession at church and told the priest that she was a Jew in hiding.

... the priest went to the police station. There he said to this police chief, "Give the girl back her papers. I knew her parents. The girl is not Jewish."

After that, Irene returned to see the police chief, who said to her, "I don't know what it is with you and that priest. But he came here and he told me that he knew your parents and that you are not Jewish. So here are your papers. Go." ...

With her papers back, Irene found a job in a grocery store stocking shelves. She continued working there until the area was liberated by the Soviet Union in the fall of 1944. And although she lost her rented room because others needed it more, the family from whom she rented simply took her in and let her continue living in the same house.

The rescue of Rozalia (Róża) Allerhand (born in 1930) also involved the assistance of priests. Rozalia had to leave her hiding place in Monasterzyska near Buczacz, where she had been placed by the Kowalczyk family. She travelled by train to Kraków, her hometown, accompanied by Rev. Alfons Walkiewicz, a vicar from the town of Barysz near Buczacz. She was able to pass a German inspection without documents with the assistance of Rev. Walkiewicz, who pretended to be her brother. Rev. Walkiewicz placed Rozalia with the Kłosowski family in Kocmyrzów, a village near Kraków, where she survived the war going by the name of Kasia. She enjoyed the protection of Rev. Ignacy Czabański, a seminary colleague of Rev. Walkiewicz's who served as a vicar at the local parish in nearby Luborzyca. There, Rozalia met Mina Malz (or Maltz, later Schwinger, born in 1924), a Jewish girl from Bukowsko near Sanok. Having obtained a birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Czesława Sokołowska from a Ukrainian priest in her village, Mina set out for Tarnów, and then Kraków. In Kraków, she happened to meet a Jew, passing as a Pole, who was sheltering four Jewish girls. One of those girls directed Mina to a baker in Kocmyrzów. The baker, in turn, directed Mina to the Kłosowski family, who ran a snack bar at the railway station.⁴⁹⁴ The Jewish girls' true identities were not known to each other at the time. Rozalia's brother, Aleksander Allerhand,⁴⁹⁵ relates this story in Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, at pages 76–77 and 81.

Meanwhile, there was no news about my other sister. We thought she had perished. But after some time Mr [Franciszek] and Mrs [Maria] Kwiatek let me know in the camp that she had come back, and that she was at Kocmyrzów, near Kraków. What had happened? Those people she used to stay with—a Polish woman and a Ukrainian—after a year, more or less, told her, 'You may go to Kraków.'

She was going by train. In the compartment with her, there was a priest wearing a cassock, whom she knew from Monasterzyska [where she had been sheltered] and who escorted her to Kraków. She had no papers, and all of a sudden the Germans were there to check documents.

'Documents, papers,' they demanded.

The priest said, 'This is my sister.' And they left.

My sister had already told the priest that her daddy was a Polish officer in captivity, and Mummy was at Auschwitz for selling pork fat. She said she was now going to Kraków where she did not know anyone, as she came from Bydgoszcz. And the priest took her to his friends from Bydgoszcz (Bydgoszcz had been incorporated into the Third Reich as soon as the war had started), who were moving to a small town—Kocmyrzów.

The priest's name was Alfons Walkiewicz.

The priest's friends had a buffet in Kocmyrzów. They were Genowefa Kunegunda and Roman Kłosowski. They immediately treated my sister as if she were one of the family. She even began to go to school. She shared a bed with the family servant, Czesia. At one point Czesia started doubting my sister's history, as some of the facts did not fit. Anyway, they deduced that they were both Jewish, but they did not give it away to one another. They were both ready to deny it, because you couldn't be sure who was a spy and who wasn't. They did not tell each other the truth until

⁴⁹⁴ Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 71–72; Testimony of Mina Malz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1950.

⁴⁹⁵ See also Aleksander and Krystyna Allerhand, *Polsko-izraelskie losy jednej rodziny* (Kraków: Aleksander B. Skotnicki, 2010).

after the war. Nowadays, Czesia, then some twenty years old, lives in Jerusalem. She comes from Sanok. ... My sister stayed in touch with Father Walkiewicz till he died, which was in the 1980s.

Rozalia Allerhand's twin sister, Anna (Szosana) Allerhand, also relocated from Monasterzyska to her hometown of Kraków, where she was sheltered by Helena Przebindowska, a widow. Her host turned to Rev. Faustyn Żelski, who provided Anna with a false baptismal certificate under the name of Maria Malinowska in order to pass as a Catholic Pole. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 386–87.)

In October 1942, during the first deportation from the Cracow [Kraków] ghetto, 12-year-old Anna Allerhand fled after her mother was taken to a death camp. ... Anna had no choice but to return to Cracow where she turned to Salomea Kowalczyk, a seamstress who before the war had had business ties with her parents, who owned a fabricstore. Salomea, her husband, Stanislaw [Stanisław], and their sons, Czeslaw [Czesław], Jerzy, and Bronislaw [Bronisław], agreed to hide Anna in their home and did all they could to make her feel welcome. When the neighbors became suspicious, the Kowalczyks transferred Anna to a vegetable plot they owned outside the city, where she masqueraded as gardener and custodian. Meanwhile, the Kowalczyks continued looking for a safer place for Anna and finally arranged for her to stay with Helena Przebindowska, Salomea's sister-in-law, who knew Anna's parents. Przebindowska, a poor widow who lived with her three children in a one-room apartment, welcomed Anna, and she and her two daughters, Urszula and Mirosława [Mirosława], who were let into the secret, treated Anna like one of the family. Przebindowska enlisted the help of the local priest [Rev. Faustyn Żelski⁴⁹⁶] to obtain Aryan papers for Anna and enrolled her in the local school [under the name of Marysia Malinowska]. Meanwhile, a Polish friend of Anna's parents paid Przebindowska for Anna's upkeep from assets Anna's mother had entrusted to her. ... After the war, Anna's father, an officer in the Polish army, returned from captivity, reclaimed his daughter, and took her with him to Israel.

Henryk Erenreich (born in 1939, later Henry Briggs) survived in his hometown of Kraków with the help of two families, while his mother passed as a Christian. First, he stayed with the Leginowicz family. Jan Leginowicz, a trusted former employee of the family, and his wife held the boy out as a relative from the countryside. When his mother visited him, she was his “Aunt Zosia.” Because of rumours that there was a Jewish child in the building, the Leginowiczes turned to their friends, Jadwiga Gebauer and her mother, for help. These women were deeply religious and sought reassurance from a young priest as to the life-threatening course of action they were contemplating.⁴⁹⁷ (Henry Briggs, *To Life L'Chaim: A Story of Courage, Commitment and Continuity* [U.S.A.: CreateSpace, 2017], pp. 12–13.)

These ladies were extremely worried about the idea of caring for a Jewish child but as very devout Catholics they knew how important it was to help. First though, they needed to ask their priest whether they should take on this responsibility.

The Gebauers regularly attended services at the church in the famous Wawel Castle, and they asked the priest whether or not they should save a Jewish child. After some deliberation the priest said it was their duty as good Catholics to save an innocent child despite that they may lose their lives should they be discovered. They agreed to take me in. I was very blonde and it was decided I would be their long lost cousin from the country come to stay after my parents had been killed in the war. ...

I soon became my carers loved and very pampered child and life, as I recalled it, was relatively good. ... The Gebauers were very good to me and for their own survival they had to integrate me into their lives. Like other Poles that sheltered Jewish children during the Holocaust they felt it safer to raise me Catholic and took me to church daily to attend services. I took part in the full Catholic religion, just as they did, becoming a very devout Catholic for a youngster. I enjoyed the routine of walking to and from church and I remember there were lots of other children going to church. I loved the church atmosphere and carol singing and I knew all the routines and details of church

⁴⁹⁶ *Polscy Bohaterowie: Ci, którzy ratowali Żydów: Wystawa w holdzie Sprawiedliwych Wśród Narodów Świata, prezentuje sylwetki osób odznaczonych, mieszkających w Krakowie i okolicach / Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews: A Tribute to the Righteous Among the Nations, Featuring Those Who Live in the Kraków Region Today* (Kraków: Muzeum Galicja/Galicia Jewish Museum, 2006), 22; *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, and Institute of National Remembrance, 2016), 97.

⁴⁹⁷ See also the testimony of Henry Briggs, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 14025.

life. ... It all seemed quite natural and I was very accepting of the situation, not knowing anything different. ...

Poland [Kraków] was liberated in January 1945 and by the time it came for me to safely return to my mother I had spent about three years with Mamcia and Jadwiga. They were very attached to me, as I was to them, and were resistant for me to go.

Rev. Aleksander Osiecki was instrumental in rescuing Oscar (Oskar) and Frieda (Fryda) Haber from Brzeźnica, a village near Dębica, where he was the pastor, together with a network of Poles consisting of three families. Rev. Osiecki was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile in 1990, together with some of the rescuers. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 567.)

In 1940, Oscar and Frieda Haber were sent to a forced-labor camp in Pustków [Pustków], near Brzeźnica [Brzeźnica], the village where they were born in Dębica [Dębica] county, Rzeszów [Rzeszów] district. Oscar, a dentist, had treated many of the people in his village and he and Father Aleksander Osiecki, the local priest and one of his patients, had become fast friends. To help them, Osiecki issued Haber and his wife Christian birth and marriage certificates, which they used to obtain Aryan papers. In August 1942, when the Germans were about to liquidate the camp, the Habers decided to flee. The priest directed them to the home of relatives of his [Michał and Stanisława Osiecki⁴⁹⁸] who lived in the nearby village of Jurków [Jurków], and they remained there, working on the farm, until May 1943. Following information provided by informers, the Gestapo raided the village, but the Habers spotted them in time and managed to escape to the forest. At this point, Haber and his wife realized that they could no longer hide out in the village and in their distress returned to Franciszek Musiał [Musiał], a Polish laborer who had worked alongside them on the farm and with whom they had become friendly. Musiał empathized with the Jewish fugitives' suffering and [after residing in the home of Franciszek and Bronisława Musiał for a while⁴⁹⁹] took the Habers to the home of Jan and Anna Stalmach, his sister and brother-in-law, who lived with their son, Adam [a future priest⁵⁰⁰], in Tworkowa, a remote village in Brzesko county, in the Cracow [Kraków] district. Motivated by pure altruism, the Stalmach family received the Habers warmly and hid them in their home for a year and a half, providing them with all their needs until their liberation, without asking for or receiving anything in return.

Rev. Florian Moryl, the pastor and dean of Pilzno near Dębica, provided a false birth and baptismal certificate to Jozek (Józef) Wurzel, the son of an estate owner in nearby Pilźnionek. Wurzel was thus able to survive the German occupation passing as a Catholic Pole. The priest was offended when Wurzel asked him how much he should pay for the document and wished him luck. Wurzel survived the war with the help of the Jabłonowski family from Przyborów and the Rudzki family from Skałbia.⁵⁰¹

Józefa Rysińska, a native of Pilzno who served as a liaison officer for the Żegota underground organization, spirited Jews to safety. Just before the deportation of Jews from Pilzno, in July 1942, Helena Reich entrusted her nine-year-old daughter Hania (Anna) to Rysińska. Hania was hidden in the attic of Rysińska's home and cared for by her mother, Zofia Skaza, until Rysińska was able to transport the child to Kraków, where she was given over to her aunt, Miriam Peleg-Mariańska. Peleg-Mariańska placed her niece with several Polish families, among the Jadwiga Kruczkowska, before she was taken in by the Albertine Sisters in Rząska the following year. She remained with the nuns until the retreat of the German army from the area in January 1945.⁵⁰² Another of Rysińska's missions was to take a three-year-old

⁴⁹⁸ Emilia Chmura, et al., eds., *Jurków: Historia i Współczesność* (Czchów: Urząd Miejski, 2015), 43–44.

⁴⁹⁹ Chmura, *Jurków*, 43–44.

⁵⁰⁰ The Stelmach Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-stelmach-family>>.

⁵⁰¹ Testimony of Jakob Jehoszua Herzig, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/193; "Names of Jews of Pilzno Who Survived the Occupation Thanks to the Help of Poles," Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sztetl.org.pl/en/towns/p/134-pilzno/107-lists-of-names/84864-nazwiska-pilznienskich-zydow-ktorzy-przetrwali-lata-okupacji-dzieki-pomocy-polakow>>.

⁵⁰² Miriam Peleg-Mariańska and Mordecai Peleg, *Witnesses: Life in Occupied Kraków* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 54–56, 165–66; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 404–5, and vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 688.

Jewish girl to Tarnów. The Poles of Pilzno showed empathy for the plight of the Jews. Father Mateusz Holewa, the former prior of the Carmelite monastery, then an elderly man, offered to harbour Jews in the monastery church. (“Account of Józefa Rysińska, pseudonym “Ziuta,” a messenger working for the Rada Pomocy Żydom (Committee for the Assistance of Jews) who, in 1979, was awarded the Righteous among the Nations medal,” Virtual Shtetl, Internet: <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/pilzno/16,accounts-memories/15908,relacja-jozefy-rysinckiej-pseudonim-ziuta-laczniczki-pracujacej-dla-rady-pomocy-zydom-odznaczonej-medalem-sprawiedliwych-wsrod-narodow-swiata-w-1979-r-/>>.)

In the morning, the news spread in the town that something was going to happen judging by the number of carts gathered in the market place. When the mother came back from church, we went to the market place where our Jews from the ghetto were gathered. I can remember the place full of carts, some of the Jews already sitting in them. Many of the Pilzno inhabitants came out, I can remember Marcei Drobiński, they came up and said goodbye. The Jews were crying and the Poles were wiping their tears. I went to my friends, Hela Abraham, Ilonka, Hania Baum, Chilowiczówna, Hajcia Nord and consoled them that that was not the end. Some fathers and mothers turned to me asking, Dziuniu, help her, she is young, just like you, and many other words and spells ...

Mateusz Holewa, the prior of the Carmelite Fathers monastery was walking down the pavement, I greeted him, and he said that we needed to save the poor people, that the church and the choir were open, and that, later on, we would hide them somewhere. And again, I came and spread the words of the hope for an instant escape. But nobody decided to do it. Some had second thoughts, but the reaction was unanimous. If anybody were going to die, they would die together.

At the request of Józef Laska, the Polish police commander in Bobowa near Gorlice, Rev. Stanisław Warchałowski, the local pastor, forged seven baptismal certificates for Jews from Bobowa who were confined in the ghetto in Bochnia. As a result, several members of the family of Rabbi Ben Zion Halberstam survived the German occupation with these documents.⁵⁰³

Rev. Jan Patrzyk, the pastor of Medenice near Drohobycz, rescued the teenage daughter of his acquaintance, Dr. Meir Eisenberg, by taking her to his native village, Lipinki near Gorlice, where she survived the war. Rev. Patrzyk’s brother, Władysław, escorted Judyta Eisenberg from Drohobycz to Lipinki, barely surviving a German inspection. Rev. Patrzyk obtained a false baptismal certificate for Judyta from Rev. Franciszek Zmarzły, the pastor of Raclawice, under the name of Anna Maziarz. Judyta lived with the Patrzyk family openly, passing as a cousin. Rev. Patrzyk’s sister, Barbara, cared for her solicitously. A local landowner, Waław Byszewski, employed Judyta as a maid so as to prevent her from being sent to Germany as a labourer. Rev. Patrzyk made plans for Dr. Eisenberg to come to Lipniki, but he was executed in Drohobycz, where had been working for the Germans as a specialist.⁵⁰⁴ Rev. Patrzyk and his sister, Barbara, were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, p. 590.)

Dr. Meir Eisenberg, a Jewish doctor, and Jan Patrzyk, a priest, had become friends before the war when they both served in Medenice, near Drohobycz, in Eastern Galicia. During the occupation, Patrzyk was transferred to the village of Lipinki in Gorlice country, Cracow [Kraków] district, and Eisenberg was deported with his family to the Drohobycz ghetto. In 1942, after losing his wife in an Aktion, Eisenberg decided to try to save at least his 15-year-old daughter, Judit. He turned to his friend Father Patrzyk and smuggled the girl into his home. Patrzyk took the Jewish girl under his wing and obtained Aryan papers for her [from Rev. Franciszek Zmarzły of Raclawice, under the name of Anna Maziarz]. She became a part of his family, and his sister, Barbara Patrzyk, cared for her as if she were her own sister. After the war, when Patrzyk discovered that his friend Meir Eisenberg, the girl’s father, had perished, Judit remained under his care and continued her studies in the local high school. Only after a year, when an aunt of the girl’s was found, was she handed over to her, all without asking for or receiving anything in return. Judit eventually immigrated to Israel ...

Rev. Andrzej Osikowicz (sometimes given as Osikiewicz), the pastor of Drohobycz parish, in

⁵⁰³ Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 101, 110; *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, and Institute of National Remembrance, 2016), 79.

⁵⁰⁴ Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 110–11.

southeastern Poland, exhorted his parishioners to help Jews, provided many Jews with false documents, looked for shelters for them, and intervened on their behalf with the German authorities. Rev. Osikowicz destroyed the parish records to prevent the Germans from identifying false documents he had issued to Jews. Rev. Osikowicz was arrested by the Germans in January 1943. The following month, 1943, he was deported to the Majdanek concentration camp. He perished there on December 29, 1943, having been infected with typhus, which he contracted while attending to sick prisoners.⁵⁰⁵ Rev. Osikowicz was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, together with Stanisława Fedorcio. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 568.)

On August 2, 1942, on the eve of the Aktion in the city of Boryslaw [Boryslaw], in Eastern Galicia, Berta Brawer gave birth to her son, Dani, and decided to do everything in her power to save his life. She heard that a Catholic priest, Father Osikiewicz [Andrzej Osikowicz], was hiding Jewish children, and Brawer appealed to him for help. After he explained that he had no place for infants, the priest suggested that she look for a Christian woman willing to hide the baby and take care of him. He also promised to provide the baby with a Christian birth certificate. In her distress, Brawer appealed to Stanisława [Stanisława] Fedorcio, with whom she had become acquainted before the war when she had done housework for Brawer's neighbors. At first, Fedorcio hesitated, fearing for her life, but after the priest found out that she had been approached he invited Fedorcio to be the baby's godmother at his baptism ceremony. After the ceremony, he convinced her that as the baby's Catholic godmother she was required to safeguard the baby's life, otherwise God would not forgive her. Convinced, Fedorcio took the baby home and for three years raised him as her own, taking care of all his needs. Brawer survived and after the war Fedorcio returned the baby to her safe and sound.

In her memoir, *Shedding Light on Dark Times*, Dr. Bella Brawer-Tepper writes: "I also have definite proof that some of her (i.e., Fedorcio's) neighbors knew about this but did not tell the police." She also mentions another "worthy Polish lady who entered the ghetto during a pogrom. She came to warn us and smuggle a Jewish child out of a ghetto surrounded by police. I don't know her surname and am therefore unable to ensure that she receives the deserved title of Righteous of the Nations from Yad Vashem."⁵⁰⁶ At the behest of the boy's guardians, Maria Leszczyńska and Aniela Christ, Rev. Osikowicz baptized Marcin Monis (born in 1924), the son of Dr. Juliusz Monis. Rev. Osikowicz provided him with two baptismal certificates: one in his own name, the other as Marcin Leszczyński.⁵⁰⁷ At least two other survivors, Blima Hamerman and Anna Wilf (Thau), state that Rev. Osikowicz helped them and many other Jews by providing them with Christian documents and shelter.⁵⁰⁸

Before placing his daughter Serafina (born in 1930, later Charlotte Hacker Elmowitz) with a Polish couple named Sobkowicz, her father, Max Strasser, obtained a birth certificate for her under the name of Janina Kozłowska from a priest he knew. The Sobkowiczes treated Serafina very well, and she became friendly with their two children. While attending mass with them, Serafina was spotted as a Jew and had to flee. Her father gave the Sobkowiczes money to build an underground hiding place, and she remained with them now totally hidden from view. However, rumours spread that Jews were hidden in the neighbourhood, and during a German search Serafina was found and arrested. She was released after her father, who was working for the Germans, pleaded for her. Serafina then moved from place to place, at

⁵⁰⁵ Aleksandra Namysło and Grzegorz Berendt, eds., *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2014), 409; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 254–55; Józef Krętosz and Maria Pawłowiczowa, eds., *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945* (Opole: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Świętego Krzyża, 2007), 110–11; Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 111–12.

⁵⁰⁶ Dr. Bella Brawer-Tepper *Shedding Light on Dark Times*, Internet: <<http://landsmen1.org/menuengmemoirs/Brawer-02-Eng.html>>.

⁵⁰⁷ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 172, 288, 343; Martin Monis, *Nigdy się nie poddaj* (Warsaw: Agawa, 2012), 40–42. Marcin Monis had already decided to convert to Catholicism before the outbreak of the war, and had taken religious instruction of his own accord. He survived the war as a Catholic with the help of a number of persons.

⁵⁰⁸ Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 227; Testimony of Anna Wilf, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2567.

times living in the woods. She would forage from sympathetic farmers, including the Sobkowicz family who always willingly gave her food. After the arrival of the Soviet army, Serafina was in an orphanage, from which she escaped. She went to Kraków to look for any surviving family members and found only some uncles. She eventually settled in the United States.⁵⁰⁹

Krystyna Libera, born in 1915, was a school teacher in Borysław. During the various German operations directed against the Jews in Borysław, she, her husband, her young daughter, and her sister were sheltered by Polish neighbours. After her husband's death, Krystyna Libera turned to her husband's former Polish work colleague for help. She decided to convert in an attempt to save herself and her daughter. The Polish colleague took her to a priest, who provided them with false baptismal certificates. Krystyna Libera and her daughter were then sent to the home of a friend of her husband's colleague who lived in a village near Sambor. She lived there openly posing as his sister. The Polish family treated them well, even though Krystyna Libera had no money to pay for their upkeep.⁵¹⁰

Izabela (Zula) Hass (born in 1929), a native of Białystok, took refuge with her aunt in Borysław. A Polish couple named Sophie and Emil Kowicki agreed to take her in, ostensibly as their niece. Before sending her to live with their relatives in Sanok, Hass was secretly baptized and given another identity, as the daughter of Poles exiled to Siberia. Although recognized by an acquaintance, she was not betrayed. She survived the war in Sanok, and remained a Catholic.⁵¹¹

According to Jewish testimonies, assistance from priests and nuns in Drohobycz was extensive. (Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, p. 48.)

In a letter from a Drohobyczian Mrs. Lola Getlinger received from Brazil in 1959 ... she refers to cases where the Polish Roman Catholic and also the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic clergy issued literally hundreds of false birth certificates to Jewish people, so as to enable them to be regarded as Aryans. Among others, Mrs. Getlinger's whole family was issued with such papers.

Extremely helpful in this task were Fathers Dr. Kazimierz Kotula and Banaszak [actually Rev. Stanisław Banaś, who provided false baptismal certificates and shelter to Jews]. The monasteries of the Capuchin and Bazylian [Basilian] Brothers gave refuge to a large number of Jewish children.

Professor Juliusz Kleiner, a renowned scholar of Polish literature, whose family had converted to Catholicism when he was 12-year-old boy, survived the war as Jan Żalutyński with the help of a number of Poles, including the clergy. For a time, he and his wife, Maria, resided at the Conventual Franciscan monastery in Sanok. Later, he was sheltered by Kazimierz Fudakowski, an interwar Polish senator, in Podzamek near Krasnobród, and by Fudakowski's estate manager, Tadeusz Teleżyński, in Leśniczówka near Wilkołaz and Kraśnik. (Colonel Henryk Eile, a high ranking public servant of Jewish origin, also hid there under a false name. Both he and Kleiner had pronounced Semitic features and their presence was known to others.) Afterwards, Kleiner relocated to the estate of the Żółtowski family in Milejów near Łęczna, also in the Lublin region.

⁵⁰⁹ Portrait of Serafina Strasser, Photograph number 44847, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1130543>>; Testimony of Charlotte Hacker Elmowitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 3296.

⁵¹⁰ Testimony of Krystyna Libera, April 2, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2285.

⁵¹¹ Taitz, *Holocaust Survivors*, vol. 1, 214–15.

Zdzisław Gogola, "Franciszkanie pomagali ludności żydowskiej," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 162–171, at p. 170; Testimony of Józef Rodak, January 27, 2002, *Chronicles of Terror*, Witold Pilecki Institute of Solidarity and Valor, Internet: <<https://www.zapisyterroru.pl>>; "Marian Małowist on History and Historians," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 13 (2000): 338. "Marian Małowist on History and Historians," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 13 (2000): 338.

A number of Polish Jesuits came to the aid of Jews as well as other endangered persons.⁵¹² The assistance provided by Fathers Tomasz Rostworowski, Józef Warszawski and Jerzy Mirewicz is described in Vincent A. Lapomarda, *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (Lewiston/Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), at pages 124–25 and 129–31.

Father [Tomasz] Rostworowski entered the Jesuit Order at the age of nineteen and was ordained a priest on 23 June 1935. Engaged in the fight for Warsaw under the title of Ojciec Tomasz (Father Tomasz), he served as chaplain in the main command. With the setback of the revolt, he was originally believed to have perished until he was found very heroically helping the wounded in the underground. Tragically, his sorrow at the failure of the uprising was compounded by helplessly witnessing the slaughter by the Nazis of the wounded prisoners shortly after he had distributed Holy Communion to them. At the same time, his heroic activities included that of providing secret shelter for Jews hunted by the Gestapo.

Fr. Tomasz Rostworowski found a shelter for Zofia Ołomucka, who was being blackmailed, and provided her with false documents with which she survived the war. After the war, she converted to Catholicism and resided in Łódź. She was arrested by the security police in connection with the false charges brought against Fr. Rostworowski for alleged anti-state activity. Fr. Rostworowski was imprisoned from January 1950 until his release in 1956. Zofia Ołomucka later settled in Israel.⁵¹³ Fr. Rostworowski directed four Jewish women to the the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Szymanów, according to Sister Amata (Zofia Mineyko), a nun at that convent.⁵¹⁴

As for Father [Józef] Warszawski, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1924 and was ordained a priest on 18 June 1933. He was known as Ojciec Paweł (Father Paul) in the underground which he joined in October of 1941 where he served under the command of Colonel Radosław (Jan Mazurkiewicz) in a unit that had at least fifty Jews engaged in the uprising. Despite the Gestapo's constant surveillance of the two Jesuit houses in Warsaw, Father Warszawski was able to warn some Jews about the Nazis and to help those rescued from the Warsaw Ghetto find lodging and even escape death. ... After the capitulation of Warsaw, he escaped for a short time from the Gestapo with a number of others in the Polish underground. When he was caught, he was imprisoned first in the Gestapo Center (Aleje Szucha) in Warsaw and, then, taken to various places until he ended up in Germany where he was freed as a prisoner of war during the liberation, on 29 April 1945, of Stalag XB at Sandbötsel by the Canadians. ...

Father [Jerzy] Mirewicz was ordained a priest on 24 June 1938 and was caught up in the turmoil of events that overwhelmed Poland during the war. The Nazis had imprisoned Jews in the temporary camp on Lipowa Street in Lublin shortly after the invasion of Poland before Majdanek, the major concentration camp in the Lublin area, was built. It was in these circumstances that Father Mirewicz was instrumental in rescuing seventeen Jews in 1940.

The Jews had served in the Polish Army and were separated as captives from other Polish soldiers with the defeat of Poland. Since they were expected to be transported to the death camp [actually a gravel pit at the time, which was later transformed into a hard labour camp for Poles and then a death camp for Jews—M.P.] at Treblinka, northeast of Warsaw, Father Mirewicz risked his life in rescuing them. This involved hiding the Jews and obtaining fabricated documents for them as well as transportation. Through various means, the Jesuit was instrumental in having the seventeen Jews transported to the relative safety of the Russian front [actually Soviet-occupied Eastern Poland—M.P.].

Moreover, in 1942 Father Mirewicz had occasion to escort a Jewish fugitive by train from Biłgoraj in the Lublin area to Milanówek in the Warsaw area where the fugitive could join the members of his family who were being hidden by a Christian family. Even though the Jesuit had permission to travel, officials were constantly checking the

⁵¹² See Stanisław Cieślak, “Jezuici ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55; Kamil Hewelt, “Salvare gli indifesi a tutti i costi: Adam Sztark SJ, un Giusto tra la nazioni del mondo, e altri al servizio della salvaguarda degli ebrei,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 701–16. The following Jesuits are mentioned by name: Stanisław Bajko, Czesław Białek (seminarian), Jan Charytański, Alojzy Chrobak, Edward Czermiński (seminarian), Stefan Dzierżek (seminarian), Czesław Fabisiak, Antoni Grzybowski, Julian Haniszewski (seminarian), Stanisław Karuga, Stanisław Kiałka (cleric), Kazimierz Kucharski, Stanisław Leśniak (seminarian), Władysław Markucki, Ambroży Miosga (seminarian), Stanisław Mirek, Jerzy Mirewicz, Marian Morawski, Bernard Mrozek (brother), Józef Obacz, Jan Przygoda, Jan Rostworowski, Tomasz Rostworowski, Stanisław Skudrzyk, Henryk Sokołowski, Adam Sztark, Bogusław Waczyński, Józef Warszawski, Stefan Weigel, Marian Wierzbowski (seminarian), Bogusław Wilczyński, and Jan Wojciechowski.

⁵¹³ Stanisław Cieślak, “Jezuici ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at pp. 151–52.

⁵¹⁴ Account of Sister Zofia Mineyko, February 15, 1984.

papers of passengers. When the train reached Dęblin, within the district of Warsaw, a policeman came into the car and demanded to know if Mirewicz's companion was a Jew. Fortunately for the priest and the fugitive, the whole compartment came to their rescue by insisting that Mirewicz was escorting a "lunatic" to a hospital asylum.

During the war, Father Mirewicz had cooperated with the Council for Aid to the Jews in Poland. Known as "ŻEGOTA," its code name, it had originated among Catholics ... Despite these dangers, never did Mirewicz find any Christians who refused to cooperate with him in helping the Jews.

Father Mirewicz referred to the obstacles that were encountered in trying to rescue the Jews. At times not only did their appearance and their speech betray them, but there were cases of Jews who had lost their nerve in those trying circumstances and even revealed to the Nazis the identity of those Poles who had given them shelter. The Jesuit found that, in the case of rescuing those seventeen Jews from Lipowa Street, the Jews whom he had helped did not wish to risk their own lives even though they were happy to be liberated. In 1944, when at least three of them returned to Lublin with the liberation forces of the Russians, Mirewicz was disappointed to learn that two of those whom he had rescued wanted nothing to do with him lest they be exiled to Siberia by the Lublin Government on the suspicion of having collaborated with a sympathizer of the exiled Polish Government.

After escaping from the Janowska Street concentration camp in Lwów, Karol Frurgang travelled to Kraków. There, his friend purchased a train ticket for him to go to Warsaw, where his wife was in hiding. In Warsaw, the artist Jacek Żuławski took Karol to an empty dwelling for a night, and then entrusted him to Janina Stefańska, the wife of Professor Witold Stefański, who was living outside of Warsaw. Mrs. Stefańska took Karol in as a boarder. Two Jewish women were already residing there, as well as Mrs. Stefańska's Jewish maid. Mrs. Stefańska was in contact with the Jesuit, Rev. Jan Kanty Rostworowski, to whom she gave the small sums she collected from her boarders to help the poor. Rev. Rostworowski provided Karol with a birth and baptismal certificate from a church in Lwów in the name of Antoni Adamowicz.⁵¹⁵ Rev. Rostworowski, the administrator of the Jesuit house of studies and novitiate in Otwock, sheltered four-year-old Róża Grinberg for several weeks in Otwock, at the behest of her guardian, Tadeusz Pniewski. The young girl survived the war.⁵¹⁶ After the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, Rev. Rostworowski was expelled to the transit camp in Pruszków. From there, he was sent to Auschwitz and then to the Leitmeritz (Litoměřice) concentration camp in Bohemia.

There are many accounts of priests providing guidance and encouragement to the faithful who assisted Jews. The reason that Polish rescuers turned to priests is not because they thought that helping a Jew was wrong—indeed according to their religion it was a sin to harm one's neighbour, including a Jew, but rather for assurance that they should persevere despite their fear and the grave danger that they were exposing their own families to. In his memoirs *A Warsaw Diary*, *supra*, at pages 87–88, Michael Zylberberg describes how his Polish benefactors in the Czerniaków district of Warsaw (St. Anthony's parish), turned to their parish priest for guidance.

Our poor family were keen to have us without rent at a time when people were taking enormous sums to hide Jews. They had no previous knowledge of us but felt they had a sacred duty to shelter anyone in need. Of course, our existence had to be a closely-guarded secret. ... Both the grandmother and her daughter prayed frequently that God would help them and us. When we were worried that something might happen, they always assured us that they would stand by us and protect us. Their compassion was outstanding.

Easter was getting closer and a new problem arose for us. Mrs. Klima said she had to go to confession and that she had to tell the whole truth. That included telling about us. She was afraid that the priest might not approve and regard this procedure as dangerous; she was at a loss what to do, and asked me for advice. I begged her to let us know what day she was going to confession, so that we could stay out of the house all day. Thus she would not need to mention us and would have a clear conscience. We kept out of the house that day, as promised, but Mrs. Klima confessed everything to the priest! Happily for us and for her, however, the priest assured her that she was performing a noble service on helping those in danger. She returned home overjoyed.

Esther Kimchi, a native of the town of Złoczew near Wieluń, was a little girl when the war broke out. The family moved to Warsaw. One day they escaped from the ghetto where they had been forced to move into.

⁵¹⁵ Testimony of Antoni Adamowicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 20750.

⁵¹⁶ Felicjan Paluszkiwicz, "Chasidei Ummot ha-Olam," *Przegląd Powszechny*, no. 9 (September 2001): 266–71, based on the testimony of Tadeusz Pniewski.

Her parents turned to Polish acquaintances who agreed to take the child in. She survived the war protected by this pious Polish Catholic family, encouraged in their resolve by their parish priest. After the war young Esther was reunited with some uncles who had also survived. Her parents perished. (Esther Kimchi, "Due to the Merits of the Righteous of the World," in *Sefer Zloczew* [Tel Aviv: Committee of Former Residents of Zloczew, 1971], pp. 272–75.)

My parents also faced this decision and decided to use their connections. I was left outside the ghetto in a safe hidden place. To tell the truth, a hiding place was also found for my mother, but she preferred to stay in the ghetto in order to save me, for she feared that if she was discovered she might reveal my hideaway. Thus, she sacrificed herself for me.

My parents left and I remained with Polish acquaintances from before the war. They consented to keep and protect me in their house in order to avoid being captured by the German killers ...

At first, I was not completely isolated from my family since my father took risky chances to see me. He would dress up as a sanitation worker and reach my hiding place or he would smuggle something to the "Aryan side" and use the opportunity to visit me. These activities were very dangerous. Once, I even heard his injured call when he encountered German guards that fired at him while crossing the ghetto passage.

Towards the end of 1941, the visits stopped and I stopped seeing him. Slowly, I began to realize what was happening there in the ghetto and what was happening to my protective family. I saw on the horizon the flames that were rising from the burning ghetto. This was a picture that I will never forget.

A new chapter began in my life. I erased my youth, so to speak, from my memory and all it stood for. I became an inseparable part of the adopted family, although I had certain reservations in my heart. I understood that I am not like everybody in the family for I had something to hide.

My adopted parents had families and when somebody asked the husband who I was, he pointed to his wife and said she belonged to them and vice-versa. My stay in the flat was also irregular since I had a hiding place in a box of straw near the fireplace. I did not attend school but received lessons from the oldest daughter of the family who had just turned 18. All the children in the family were warned to keep my presence a secret and to reveal nothing about me to friends or relatives.

My luck was that the children were older and could be trusted. But I was still a small girl and had to be drilled about the fact that I was no longer Jewish and not to say something that might reveal my identity or lead to insinuations ...

In order to provide me with an absolute hidden identity, the family decided to convert me to Christianity. Thus, when the family went to mass on Sunday I was part of the family and prayed with them. In retrospect, it appears that my conversion to Christianity was of great importance and would play an important role later on in my life. The days of the terrible rule seemed to prolong themselves. The Germans were victorious on the battlefields and seemed invincible, and there was not even a spark of hope for change. This situation depressed everybody, especially my savior family for they were in constant mortal danger. The lack of change and the constant fear of hiding a Jewish child in their home began to wear thin in the house. The husband especially began to show signs of despair, but the wife, who was a devout Catholic, went to consult the priest about the situation. He gave her spiritual strength to hold fast in her belief of saving a soul. From then on, not only was I protected by the lady of the house but also by the Catholic Church. Needless to say, the husband and wife squabbles on the subject ended with the husband's submission to the wife's decision to continue to hide the girl. ...

The family treated me very well. They liked me and spoiled me by providing me with everything that I needed in spite of the hardships due to the war situation and the shortages. They sometimes even treated me better than their own children so that I did not feel underprivileged. Following the Polish uprising in Warsaw, the city lacked food and to a certain extent water, but I hardly felt it as I was provided by the savior family with the necessary needs.

Since I did not attend school for fear of being exposed, the daughters of the family taught me how to read and write. They also escorted me to church and instructed me how to pray. Sometimes I joined the church choir. I was always escorted by one of the girls when I visited the priest at the church and he always stressed the importance of religion and adherence to it. As for myself, I was still rather young to understand the importance of religion. The home atmosphere however was one of warmth and reception. I received and gave gifts, participated in family celebrations, and felt as though I belonged to the family.

Meanwhile, the war was nearing its end. The pressure on the Germans grew by the day and they prepared for the final battle in the city. They ordered the entire civilian population to abandon the city. There were no cars, so we started to walk in the direction of Lodz [Łódź]. We walked for about two weeks until we reached some abandoned camp that became our temporary abode.

Halina Neuberg (now Zylberman), a native of Kraków, moved to Warsaw with her parents during the occupation where they passed as Christians under an assumed identity. At one point she confided in an unknown priest at the Church of the Holy Saviour (Najświętszego Zbawiciela) where she and her mother

would meet her father, who lived on his own for safety's sake. (Halina Zylberman, *Swimming Under Water* [Caulfield South, Victoria: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2001], pp. 38–39.)

One afternoon after meeting my father in the church, I had an overwhelming urge to talk to the priest. I entered the Confessional Box and in a few short sentences I told the priest how I felt. It all came tumbling out, that I was Jewish, that I felt inferior to the whole human race, that I couldn't bear it any longer. I had a naïve trust in priests because they were often Polish patriots. That didn't necessarily mean that they were sympathetic to Jews, but this time, I was in safe hands.

He listened to me patiently and seemed moved by my confession. He said: "I sympathise with you my child. You must never consider yourself an inferior being. You are not. It's just the times and this dreadful was that are responsible for the injustices and cruelties that are inflicted on people. Please believe that this will pass eventually, and you must have the patience and stamina to survive it. Our God is everywhere. He watches over his children and helps them. It doesn't matter what their skin colour is, or their religion. As long as you are a good human being then he will be with you, my child."

His words were so important to me that I remember them, word for word, to this day. They lifted my fear and depression and as I left the church, I became aware of the sunshine and the first signs of autumn approaching.

During the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, Halina and her mother were captured by the Germans and given jobs as cooks at a German army base. Eventually, with the help of a priest, they were released from their service in the German army. They survived in a Red Cross camp in Pionki until the withdrawal of the Germans. (Ibid., pp. 88–120.)

Stefan Chaskielewicz, who was in hiding in Warsaw, recalled how a priest at the Church of the Holy Saviour (Najświętszego Zbawiciela) counselled a Polish woman, who had broken down out of fear of announced German reprisals, to continue to shelter a Jewish family in her home.⁵¹⁷ Chaskielewicz also noted in his memoir the reactions of the Poles to the plight of the Jews and the beneficial role played by religion. (The following excerpt from Chaskielewicz's memoir was translated in Władysław T. Bartoszewski, "Four Jewish Memoirs from Occupied Poland," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1990], volume 5, p. 391.)

Many Poles helped Jews in a variety of ways, sheltering them or supporting them financially, risking a great deal in doing so and exposing themselves to various dangers. The majority of Poles undoubtedly felt great sympathy for the Jews and categorically condemned the humiliation of their Jewish fellow-citizens. But there were others who emphasized with pride that they were not Jews and that German treatment of the Jews was a matter of indifference to them. Some felt deep compassion for the Jews, but were subconsciously glad of the benefits their destruction brought. There were also Poles—but surely few in number—who actively collaborated with the Germans and it is difficult now to ascertain whether they did this out of conviction, because of direct material benefits, or whether they were forced to do so by German blackmail.

Can the Polish population of Warsaw therefore be categorically described as anti-semitic or philosemitic? Can the population as a whole be characterized through the actions of individuals? No, the people behaved in the same way as anyone would probably have behaved in similar circumstances, including the Jewish population. There were good people, there were evil people, there were indifferent people. Just as there always are all over the world.

I must make one observation here. In hiding, I realized how deeply humanitarian the role of religion was, how much the teachings of the Catholic Church influenced the development of what was most beautiful and noble among believers. Just as in critical moments the majority of people turn to God for help—even if their faith is not particularly strong—so the very thought of God dictates to them the need to help their neighbour who is in danger.

Chaskielewicz also records that, after escaping from the Warsaw ghetto with her daughter, Dr. Orlikowska, the mother found employment as a housekeeper with a priest near Warsaw. The priest suspected that she was of Jewish origin all along.⁵¹⁸

Blanca Rosenberg, who passed as a Christian in Warsaw, resided in the vicinity of St. Alexander's Church in Three Crosses Square (Plac Trzech Krzyży). Her curiosity about the true attitude of priests toward Jews led her to conduct the following experiment: "I wondered what Jews could expect in the privacy of the

⁵¹⁷ Stefan Chaskielewicz, *Ukrywałem się w Warszawie: Styczeń 1943–styczeń 1945* (Kraków: Znak, 1988), 34.

⁵¹⁸ Chaskielewicz, *Ukrywałem się w Warszawie*, 137.

confessional, and one Sunday at mass, I decided to find out. As seemingly good Catholics, we went regularly, and at the end of mass that morning I impulsively entered the confessional. ‘Father I’m breaking the law. I’m hiding a Jew.’ It was as close as I dared get to the truth. The voice that answered was young. ‘It is no sin, my child. In the sight of God it is a good deed.’”⁵¹⁹

Janet Applefield, born Gittel or Gustawa Singer, was just four when the war broke out. She was cared for by a number of Poles in her hometown of Nowy Targ and Kraków, including members of the clergy. Her father acquired from a priest a birth certificate of a deceased Polish girl which enabled his daughter to assume the identity of Krystyna Antoszkiewicz. After being left by her cousin in a church in Kraków, the young Jewish girl was found roaming the streets of Kraków by Alicja Gołąb, a member of the Polish underground. Alicja Gołąb brought her to a farm owned by the Catholic Church that was administered by Jan Gołąb, her brother-in-law. The latter’s brother, Rev. Julian Gołąb, the pastor of St. Nicholas’ parish in the Wesola district of Kraków and professor of canon law at the Jagiellonian University, sheltered Alfred Überall, an architect from Lwów, in his rectory for the duration of the war. Überall had marked Semitic features and was disguised as a priest. After the war, he converted to Catholicism and went by the name of Wodzinowski. Alicja’s husband, Ludwik, a judge, collaborated with his brother, the priest, in providing more than two hundred baptismal certificates to Jews. Janet Singer Applefield’s recollections, “Lost Childhood,” were published in John J. Michalczyk, ed., *Resisters, Rescuers, and Refugees: Historical and Ethical Issues* (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1997), at pages 204–205.

While still in the ghetto, my father knew my stay with the Polish woman had to be temporary, and he had to figure out what to do with me. He was able to buy [likely through a voluntary offering to the church] the birth certificate of a deceased Polish girl from a Catholic priest, and I became that girl. I had a new identity, a new name: Krystyna Antoszkiewicz. He also contacted our cousin, a young woman, who also had falsified Polish papers with the name Halina Walkowska [Walkowska]. She agreed to take me, and we went to live in Mysłenice [Myślenice], a town close to Kraków.

One day she told me she was going to meet her Polish boyfriend in a Krakow cafe. She instructed me to wait for her in the church across the street. Though I waited for hours, she did not return. When I walked out to the street, I saw that the street was cordoned off. The Gestapo had arrested everyone in the cafe. It was May 21, 1943. There I was, seven years old, walking the streets and crying, completely bewildered and terrified, not knowing what to do. I was alone in the world. (I have learned that this cafe was a famous meeting place for the Polish resistance movement, and that my cousin and his friend belonged to the Armja [Armia] Krajowa. ...)

An older woman came to me and asked what was the matter. She looked around, making sure no one was looking, placed me under her large cape, and quickly whisked me into the building housing the cafe. She was the caretaker of the building and took me upstairs to a woman named Alicja Golob [Gołąb]. Alicja asked me, “Who are you, where do you come from?” I repeated a well-rehearsed phrase [likely with a non-Varsovian accent]: “I come from Warsaw, my parents were killed in a bombing raid, my father was an officer in the Polish army.” That night Alicja’s son, Stashek [Staszek] took me to the farm, a four-kilometre walk. It was too dangerous to remain in that apartment, for the Gestapo always returned to the scene.

Alicja’s mother was an active member of the Polish resistance. She housed ammunition and shortwave radios and maintained an in-house hospital for wounded men and women of the resistance. ... She was eventually arrested as a political prisoner. Because of the torture she endured, she died only a few days after her release from prison.

The farm was owned by the Catholic Church and administered by Jan Golob, Alicja’s brother-in-law. Another brother, Julius Golob [actually Julian Gołąb, the pastor of St. Nicholas’ Parish in the Wesola district of Kraków], a priest, hid a Jewish engineer in his rectory for the duration of the war. The man survived and, after the war, converted to Catholicism. Alicja’s husband, Ludvig [Ludwik], was a judge. He and Julius saved two hundred Jews by giving them baptismal papers (I saw the records on a recent visit to Poland). They treated me like one of the family and asked me no more questions, since it was safer not to know my true identity. I could not go to school because people might get suspicious and ask too many questions. How could my presence be explained? I did not have my identification papers. ...

I remained with the Polish family until the end of the war, when my cousin’s father came to take me. I was sad to leave, and the family wanted to keep me but felt that ethically and morally it was the wrong thing to do.

In fact, the girl’s relatives forbade her to have any further contact with her rescuers, on the pretext that Poles were allegedly anti-Semites and could not be trusted. Later, she was reunited with her father, who

⁵¹⁹ Blanca Rosenberg, *To Tell at Last: Survival under False Identity, 1941–45* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 133.

survived several concentration camps. In addition to the aforementioned engineer, Rev. Julian Gołąb also sheltered in his rectory the surgeon, Dr. Józef B., later a professor of the Medical Academy in Kraków. He survived the war and converted to Catholicism. As mentioned earlier, Rev. Gołąb also provided baptismal certificates to many Jews.⁵²⁰

Rev. Jan Wójcik, the administrator of the parish in Grywałd near Nowy Targ, issued false baptismal certificates to Izaak Wild and his wife Helena, which allowed them to pass as Christians. He also provided material assistance to Hersh Gelb, who testified that, after his escape from an execution site in September 1942, he often came to the parish in Grywałd from his forest hideout. Rev. Wójcik provided him with food, clothes and money.⁵²¹

Under the direction of the pastor, Rev. Stanisław Czartoryski, who organized a soup kitchen for the needy in Maków Podhalański near Wadowice, parishioners provided food to Jews interned in Marysin.⁵²²

After his parents were killed, a young Jewish boy from Lwów known as Jurek (Jerzy) Górski was brought to Tarnów by his aunt, who entrusted him to a man. The man took the boy to a church and left him there. A priest found the boy and took him to a Catholic nursery. After the war, the boy was taken to a Jewish children's home in Kraków. The boy recalled his happy stay in the nursery: he played with other children and was well fed.⁵²³

Upon being apprehended by the Germans, a Jewish woman named Jersawitz was found to have in her possession a birth and baptismal certificate issued by Rev. Władysław Świder, a vicar at the parish in Mościce on the outskirts of Tarnów. The woman was executed and Rev. Świder was arrested on March 5, 1943. He was transferred from the prison in Tarnów to Auschwitz concentration camp on May 26, 1943, and then to Dachau concentration camp on September 4, 1943. Fortunately, he survived and saw the liberation of Dachau on April 29, 1945.⁵²⁴

After separating from her parents and brother (who did not survive the war), Elżbieta Zwiak (born in 1931) and her aunt hid with a farmer named Orłowski and, she alone, with a school teacher in Izdebki, near Brzozów. The teacher directed Elżbieta to the parish rectory in Brzozowa, southeast of Tarnów, where she was to introduce herself as the teacher's niece. Upon arrival there, Elżbieta disclosed the entire story. The pastor at the time was Rev. Józef Boduch. The priest's sister, Mrs. Krzywonos, who lived with him and had three children of her own, took Elżbieta under her wing, treating her as a member of the family. Elżbieta lived at the rectory openly and went to school. Since there were partisans in the area, the rectory was frequently visited by the Germans. Elżbieta's aunt was also directed to Brzozowa by the priest's brother, who lived in Brzozów. The aunt stayed at the rectory for several weeks. After being issued false documents, she went to live with the priest's mother. Afterwards, the aunt registered for work in Germany, where she survived as a Christian Pole. She would send letters to the rectory to enhance her cover. An uncle who resided in France wanted Elżbieta to join him there after the war, but she was too attached to her new family to leave Poland.⁵²⁵ According to Rev. Boduch's own testimony, he baptized

⁵²⁰ Jan Żaryn, "The Catholic Church Hierarchy vis-à-vis Polish-Jewish Relations Between 1945 and 1947," in Łukasz Kamiński and Jan Żaryn, eds., *Reflections on the Kielce Pogrom* (Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance, 2006), 86; Żaryn and Sudol, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 66, 251–53.

⁵²¹ Filip Musiał, "Milsza mi śmierć niż współpraca," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 7 (July 2009): 45–48, at p. 46.

⁵²² Engelking and Grabowski, *Dalej jest noc*, vol. 2, 281, 335.

⁵²³ Testimony of Jurek Górski, November 9, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5326.

⁵²⁴ Stanisław Sojka, "Śp. Ks. Rektor Władysław Świder (1907–1995)," *Currenda: Pismo Urzędowe Diecezji Tarnowskiej*, no. 4 (1995).

⁵²⁵ Testimony of Elżbieta Zwiak, August 26, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2746.

and helped save two Jewish families.⁵²⁶

A young Jewish boy by the name of Izaak Wasserlauf was abandoned by his mother as they were led from the ghetto in Nowy Sącz to be shot. He was found half-dead in the forest by villagers who brought him to the parish rectory in Przydonica. Rev. Konstanty Cabaj nursed the boy back to health and sheltered him for about half a year later. The boy was later given over to the chancery in Tarnów and housed in the diocesan country estate outside Tarnów, where he survived the war.⁵²⁷

After escaping from the ghetto in Nowy Sącz with her mother in 1942, Jadwiga Fiszbain-Tokarz (born in 1935) found shelter with a number of Poles. Among their benefactors were nuns in Nowy Sącz and Poor Clares of Perpetual Adoration in Stary Sącz.⁵²⁸ (Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, pp. 46–47.)

We hid at many people's homes. First, we were given shelter by Mr. and Mrs. Antoni Ptaszowski at 20 Kunegunda Street [ul. Św. Kunegundy] (my uncle, Stan Fiszbain, had already been staying with them for some time). Then we moved to the home of the couple Joseph [Józef] and Janina Mazurek, at 25 Sikorski Street [then ulica Poprzeczna, now Sikorskiego] (in the Piekło area). Finally, a helping hand was extended to us by Professor Giesing of 29 Kollątaj Street, at whose home we also spent a little time.

We had to frequently change where we were staying. I did not have "good looks"; Semitic features and black curly hair attracted attention. It made it more difficult to maintain safety. I was being hidden in a variety of the least expected places: in a beehive, in a bread-baking oven, in a made-up bed covered with a bedspread, in cellars, in small gardens, and in haystacks. I spent six weeks underground in a hideout, especially dug out for me in a little garden, on top of which was placed a beehive. For a certain time, Helena Mossoczy, a nun in a convent near Święty Duch Street [ul. Świętego Ducha or Holy Spirit], was hiding me and teaching me. Next, Mama placed me in Stary Sącz in a flour mill, next to the Klaryski Convent, at the Michalaks. During roundups, the nuns would hide me, along with other children, in a crypt in the chapel.

Toward the end of the war, Mama and I were both hiding (we already had false papers) in Chabówka [near Rabka] at the home of the Palarczyk family. It was there, in fact, that liberation found us.

Dr. Helena Regina Stuchły was born into a Jewish family by the name of Mszel (Mischel) in Lwów in 1897. She married Dr. Stanisław Stuchły (Stuchly), a Catholic Pole, in 1924. They had two sons, Stanisław Szczęsny and Janusz. The family relocated to Nowy Sącz before the war. For a short period, Helena worked as a doctor at a school run by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was located in the so-called Biały Klasztor (White Convent). Owing to her Semitic appearance, she took shelter in that convent in 1941. She was assisted as well by Fr. Antoni Kuśmierz, a Jesuit. Later, she resided with her sister-in-law in Warsaw until the uprising of August 1944. Afterwards, she was sheltered by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska.⁵²⁹

A number of Poles came to the assistance of Maria Kowalska, who was Jewish but had married a Catholic Pole, and her daughter, Stanisława (born in 1924). Under the German occupation, both mother and daughter were regarded as Jews. One of those who assisted them was Rev. Piotr Poręba, the vicar of Podegrodzie near Nowy Sącz. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 631–32.)

During the Nazi occupation Józefa Włodarz (née Kwarcińska), in her forties, lived in the small village of Wojnarowa near Korzenna (Nowy Sącz County, Kraków District) with her two youngest children, Julian and Wiktoria, and her terminally ill husband who had lost an eye in World War I. The family was very poor, living in an isolated small wooden house near the forest in the mountains. She agreed to shelter Józef Kowalski and his daughter, Stanisława, whose mother Maria (Miriam, née Gross) was Jewish. Under the German occupation, Stanisława was in mortal

⁵²⁶ Anna Kuczera, *Ks. Józef Boduch w świetle wspomnień i źródeł* (Tuchów: Mała Poligrafia Redemptorystów, 2011), 71–74.

⁵²⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 86–87; Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 349.

⁵²⁸ According to another source, a unidentified Jewish woman, who wore a nun's habit, was sheltered in the Poor Clares' convent in Stary Sącz. See Józef Bieniek, "Fakty z jednego powiatu," *Wieści*, no. 18, May 5, 1968.

⁵²⁹ Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 349; various references are provided in the Wikipedia entry for Helena Stuchłowa, Internet: <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Helena_Stuch%C5%82owa>.

danger as a proscribed Jew. ... [After June 1941] Maria with her daughter were briefly reunited with Józef in the area of Nowy Sącz [where he had grown up]. With the assistance of the priest, Piotr Poręba, they lived at first in the village of Podgrodzie [Podegrodzie], and later Maria was placed by Father Poręba with his own sister Helena and parents [Marcin and Katarzyna Poręba] in the village of Mystków, while Stanisława was placed with her father's sister Helena Kasprzyk in the village of Niecew near Korzenna (Nowy Sącz County). Missing her daughter, Maria visited Stanisława in September 1942, but they were both arrested after most probably having been betrayed by a neighbor. Maria and Stanisława were taken first to the police station in Korzenna and then to Gestapo headquarters in Nowy Sącz. While her mother was being taken away, Stanisława managed to escape to Father Poręba who then took her to Mystków. Józef Kowalski had business dealings with Józef Sus, who was a tailor in Wojnarowa near Nowy Sącz. They were also reportedly members of the Polish underground. Józef Sus' apprentice was Julian Włodarz, and he later visited Julian's mother Józefa Włodarz and asked her to accept Józef Kowalski and his daughter into her house. The Włodarz family agreed. Her husband unfortunately died a few days after that decision. Józefa's children were unaware of the danger involved during the war. Despite the relative safety of the location, Stanisława left the house only in the evenings. During the day, she helped around the house or played with the children. Father Poręba visited them and taught Stanisława the material of her grade in high school. In 1946, following the liberation, Stanisława left with her father, Józefa Włodarz, and her son for Western Poland and settled in the town of Gorce near Wałbrzych. In 1947, Józefa's other children joined them: Julian, Edward, and Wiktoria. Wiktoria Włodarz married Józef Kowalski with whom she had a son, Leszek.

Józefa Anna Bogusz (later Korzennik) enlisted the support of her brother—a priest—to help her rescue her Jewish boyfriend, Józef Korzennik, and eight of his family members. (Korzennik Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6731197>>.)

Ruth Lichtig was born in Kutno, Poland, in 1937. She lived with her parents (her mother, Bertha, was a teacher). In 1939 the Lichtigs moved to Mielec, where they had more relatives, among them Józef Korzennik, Bertha's brother. In 1941 Ruth's brother, Józef, was born in Mielec.

The situation was becoming more dangerous, and soon Józef Korzennik found it necessary to seek help from his Polish Catholic girlfriend, Ziuta (her full name was Józefa Anna Bogusz), who was 20 years old at the time. She set about obtaining Polish baptismal certificates for the entire family (Ruth, her brother and parents, her grandmother Anna Korzennik, uncle Józef, aunt Helen Korzennik, and her aunt Ester, uncle Szaja Altman, and their son Emmanuel). This was done with the aid of Ziuta's brother, a Catholic priest.

Unfortunately, when the papers were not yet ready, the Nazis occupied Mielec, took Ruth's father away to Auschwitz, and placed the rest of the family in a transit location to be taken to a death camp. Ziuta came to that location with the newly minted false papers and smuggled everyone out. For Ruth this involved a long bicycle ride with Ziuta, who sang to the child most of the way, trying to keep her awake.

The family rented a room in a remote village and began to live as Catholics. Luckily, Polish was already the language spoken in their home, but it was difficult to teach the elderly grandmother and the little girl how to behave in church so as not give away their secret. However, with Ziuta's help all dangers were avoided, and the family survived in the village between 1941 and 1945.

According to Szaje (Szaja) Altman, one of those rescued by Józefa Bogusz, it was their rescuer's uncle—a priest in Tarnów—who provided her with a number of birth and baptismal certificates.⁵³⁰ There was a vicar in Mielec, Rev. Józef Bogusz, with the same surname as the rescuer. Was he a relative? Perhaps it was he who turned to another priest in Tarnów in order to secure certificates from a large city, rather than from a small town. Altman gives three examples of Polish policemen who came to his assistance, and to the assistance of his family members. When Altman was caught by the Germans illegally teaching Jewish children in the ghetto in Mielec, a Polish policeman intervened to sweep the matter under the rug. When Altman's mother-in-law and her daughters were arrested by the German police near Połaniec and handed over to the Polish police for investigation, the local police commander asked them to find witnesses to attest to their being Catholics. They turned to a Polish friend, who was a policeman in Dębica, and he agreed to vouch for them and thus secured their release.⁵³¹ Afterwards, Altman worked in various German

⁵³⁰ Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, Second revised edition (Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne w Mielcu, 2013), 184, based on the testimony of Szaje Altman, October 17, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2973.

⁵³¹ Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, 177, 184.

enterprises in Lwów, passing as a Christian Pole. At his last place of employment, there were two other Polish Jews passing as Poles, a man and a woman. The Jewish woman's behaviour often betrayed her identity, but her Polish co-workers disregarded this. All three of these Jews survived.⁵³²

Several priests in the vicinity of Dąbrowa Tarnowska near Tarnów rendered assistance to Jews, among them Rev. Franciszek Okoński, the pastor of Luszowice, and Rev. Wojciech Dybiec, the pastor of Bolesław. (Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, pp. 344–45.)

A great deal was done for the Jews by the priests of various parishes, who in addition to finding shelters issued the necessary Aryan documents. ... Rev. Franciszek Okoński, (a chaplain of the Home Army whose nom de guerre was "Nawa"), the pastor of Luszowice, assisted both Poles and Jews. He sheltered, among others, a Jewish lawyer from Kraków. Word of this reached Tomasz Madura, a confidant of the Germans who was later executed by the underground. The German police raid on the rectory did not incriminate anyone as the Jew who was hiding there jumped out of the window and simply walked away while the 'Blue' police stood around. ... The enraged Germans found two servants and, without verifying their identities, shot them. The two priests who were arrested at the time were released after a few days because nothing could be proved against them.

The pastor of the parish in Bolesław, Rev. Wojciech Dybiec ... saved the lives of two Jewish brothers from Bolesław—Dolek and Roman Kegl. He issued birth certificates in the names they had chosen—the surname assumed by the former was Bernat, and the latter Ciepiera. A third brother, Moniek, moved to Dubno [in Volhynia] where he was sheltered by a Polish school teacher. All three of them survived the war. ... Dolek Bernat, who lives in Brooklyn, in the United States, wrote in a letter dated December 19, 1965: "... one evening my brother and I went the rectory and asked to speak to Rev. Dybiec. He invited us in asking what we wanted. We requested that he issue us Aryan documents ... His reply was, 'How can I issue such documents, but on the other hand how can I not?' He looked through the register of births and asked us to choose names that more or less corresponded to our ages ... After providing us with the necessary documents he asked us not to disclose where we got them from should the Germans capture us and discover that the documents were not ours ... We thanked the priest with tears in our eyes and left. ... And indeed the documents did assist us, and to this day we bear the surnames given to us by Rev. Dybiec."

Rev. Franciszek Okoński engaged Lea Anmuth, then passing as Helena Podgórska, as a housekeeper. She was introduced to him by his friend, Czesław Wojewoda, a school inspector, who, together with his wife, Maria, had sheltered Lea in the village of Lubcza near Jasło, at home of Czesław's parents. As the frontline approached and more Germans were encountered daily, it became more dangerous for all concerned for Lea to stay there any longer so she was brought to Luszowice.⁵³³ (Wojewoda Family, The Database of Righteous Among the Nations, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4035439>>.)

Before the war, Czesław and Maria Wojewoda lived in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski. Maria was a teacher and Czesław was a school inspector. In 1940, Czesław was forced to run away from the Gestapo. He moved to his parents' village of Lubcza, in the county of Jasło, with his eight-year-old son. Maria joined them soon afterward, leaving behind their apartment.

In 1942, Lea Anmuth, who introduced herself as Helena Podgórska, an evacuee from Stanisławów, turned to them with a request for help and for a place to stay. "Since she aroused trust, she stayed with us, and after some time she grew so much accustomed to us and felt so much at home that we treated her like a member of the family," wrote Maria in her testimony. She added that "when Helena got to know us better and got our full trust, she confided, in great secrecy, to me and my husband (even our parents-in-law did not know) that she was Jewish. This did not change our attitude, we only surrounded her with even greater care."

As the frontline was getting closer to Jasło and as more German soldiers were being encountered daily, it became dangerous for Helena and all people involved to stay together in Lubcza for any longer. Knowing that, Czesław talked to a friend of his, priest Franciszek Okoński, who lived in Luszowice (near Tarnów). Franciszek agreed to provide Helena (Lea) with a shelter. She started working as a maid in the parish house and awaited liberation there.

Lea Anmuth emphasized in her testimony that the Wojewodas gave her material as well as spiritual help during the war and afterwards. "They implanted in me a belief in the existence of noble, fair-minded people."

⁵³² Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, 194.

⁵³³ Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2: *Dystrykt krakowski Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020), account 86.

Rozalia Połanecka, a Jewish woman from the village of Ujście Jezuickie near Gręboszów who had been hiding in the village of Wola Przemysłowska, was arrested in September 1942 and held in police custody in Wietrzychowice. She managed to smuggle a short note from her cell addressed to Rev. Zygmunt Jakus, the pastor of Gręboszów. The letter, dated September 18, 1942, survived the war. It reads: “This letter is written by Rozalia Połanecka (née Berl) from Ujście Jezuickie, parish Gręboszów, who has been sentenced to death. I leave this world grateful to people who dared to act decently. I thank you, Reverend Father (pastor), for all the good you have done. Perhaps, by chance, one of the Połaneckis will survive? Please, let them have this last whisper of mine. ...”⁵³⁴

Rev. Jan Curyłło, the pastor of Radomyśl Wielki near Tarnów, sheltered a local Jewish family by the name of Schaji (Szmaji). The testimony of Szymon Leibowicz, which follows, is found in Jan Ziobroń, *Dzieje Gminy Żydowskiej w Radomyślu Wielkim* (Radomyśl Wielki: n.p., 2009), at page 177.

I was eleven-and-a-half years old when the war broke out. I remember Rev. Jan Curyłło very well, as he was a friend of my father's. ... My father used to make contributions to help expand the church. In return, the priest promoted my father's company among the inhabitants of the town. Rev. Curyłło sheltered a Jewish family named Szmaji, who owned a confectionary in the town square.

Miriam Winter (born in 1933) was snuck out of the Ożarów ghetto and taken into custody by a family friend, Cesia. Cesia, in turn, passed Miriam on to Maria (Maryla) Dudek (later Oracz), who initially was not aware that the child was Jewish. Dudek took Miriam to Lwów, where they resided for a time. Afterwards, Miriam moved to the town of Czudec and then to the village of Wola Rzędzińska near Tarnów, where she lived with a Catholic family, passing as Marysia Kowalska. She attended a local school run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś). Miriam wanted to be baptized and receive Communion, but the pastor, Rev. Jan Węgrzyn, suspected her true background and would not baptize her. Nonetheless, he allowed her to make her First Holy Communion with the other children in order to maintain the ruse that she was a Catholic child. Miriam later stayed with other Polish families, among them Dudek's sister, Zofia Rumak, in Hucisko, until the end of the war. After immigrating to the United States in 1969 as Maria Orłowska,⁵³⁵ she raised her two sons, fathered by a Christian Pole, as Jews. (Miriam Winter, *Trains: A Memoir of a Hidden Childhood during and after World War II* [Jackson, Michigan: Kelton Press, 1997], pp. 54–66.)

Although the priest promised to baptize me and I underwent the required preparation, my first communion didn't happen because the priest had religious scruples.

In November of 1941 Maryla brought me to stay with Masłowa in Wola Rzedzinska [Rzędzińska]. Masłowa, a widow, lived with her three children in a house in the middle of the village. ...

I went to the school run by the Catholic nuns. They were called Siostry Służebniczki [służebniczki] “Sisters of Service.” ... One of them, Klara, had shining dark eyes and was often kind to me. ... Sister Klara had given me this book.

“This is a catechism; study it every day,” she said. ...

The Christian children from the village didn't have to hide. Despite the war they still lived with their families. I wanted to become Christian and also feel safe. I didn't want to be Jewish anymore. I memorized the prayers from the catechism. ...

In the classroom I was praised for my quick memory. Sister Klara, the nun who was good to me, sometimes talked with me after class. ...

“The priest will baptize you soon. Then you'll go to the first communion with the rest of the children.” ...

Two weeks before the scheduled first communion, the priest sent for me. I went to the church. ...

“Praised be Jesus Christ,” I said, curtsying in front of the priest when I entered the sacristy. He extended his hand for me to kiss. ...

⁵³⁴ Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 113, based on a letter in the Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1365.

⁵³⁵ Testimony of Maria Orłowski, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 42472; Maria O. [Orłowski] Holocaust testimony (HVT-2584), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University. Maria Oracz was recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 563–64.

"I will not baptize you," he began looking at the ring on his finger, and I froze in place. "You may ask for it later, after the war..." His words caught me unaware. He talked in a solemn voice, clearly articulating his words, but I couldn't understand them. I waited a long time.

"*But prosze Ksiedza [proszę Księdza] ...*" I tried politely to argue, but he raised his hand and I stopped. His voice was cold. I looked at him with panic, but his eyes were still on the ring as he explained his plan.

"After the war, any priest will do it for you," he said slowly, as if he feared that I didn't understand. "I will not baptize you now when you may think that I am forcing my religion on you. ... You have to wait for your baptism and for your first communion until after the war."

I sat motionless while he explained:

"You must pretend that you are making the confession."

My heart sank when I realized what he was saying. "I will be sitting in the confessional, so it should be easy for you. But you must be very careful."

His large gray eyes were now looking straight into mine. ...

"On Sunday you will not take the communion, but you must pretend that you are doing it. You must be careful and do exactly as I say."

His words bit deep into my memory: "All you need to do is to imitate the motions of other children. You shall come to me for the confession, and I shall pretend to give you absolution. Then I shall pass you over at the communion. The sexton is prepared and will go along. ...

Saturday came, and I went to church to fake my confession. ...

On Sunday I went to the church early. ... I did everything exactly the way the priest told me to do ...

I saw the priest coming. The sexton followed him with a small round silver tray. I opened my mouth and relaxed my tongue. ... No one noticed that the priest had omitted one child. I pretended to swallow, bowed my head, walked back with my palms joined together, fingers unified in a praying gesture. ...

In a borrowed white dress I went with Maryla to Tarnow. ...

The photographer put a white silk lily into my hand and carefully arranged a picture of Saint Anthony [actually, it was a picture of Jesus—M.P.] on a small brown table. ...

The camera clicked; he removed the picture and the silk lily. ... Maryla paid, and we went back to Wola Rzedzinska.

The priest's refusal had serious consequences. It put me and those around me in danger. I had to pretend to be a Christian girl. Now it was harder for me to pretend. I was bound to make mistakes.

In Kolbuszowa near Rzeszów, the local pastor, Rev. Antoni Dunajecki, also responded to a call for help by Naftali Saleschutz (later Norman Salsitz) by providing him and his brother, Leibush, with false birth and baptismal certificates.⁵³⁶ Rev. Dunajecki was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2019. Previously, Yad Vashem recognized three members of the Chodor family who had come to their assistance. (Norman Salsitz, as told to Richard Skolnik, *A Jewish Boyhood in Poland: Remembering Kolbuszowa* [Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992], pp. 292–94.)

I now remembered [Helena] Kotulova [Kotulowa or Kotula], the Polish widow whom I had visited just before I left Kolbuszowa to be with my family in Rzeszow [Rzeszów], and with whom I had left some belongings and merchandise. Her house was right behind the fence that surrounded the ghetto I resolved to see her at once. After nightfall I left the camp without telling anyone, not even my brother. I climbed the fence and knocked on Kotulova's door.

"Pani [Mrs.] Kotulova, I have to run away. I need forged papers, and I may need a place to hide."

"I will help you," she said.

"Where can I get papers?"

"I'll have to talk to the priest."

"Do I know him?"

"You should; Monsignor [Antoni] Dunajecki has been our parish priest for nearly twenty years."

"Yes, I know of the Monsignor."

"He has all the birth records of the parish, and he may be able to give you the birth record of someone who died during the war."

"I had a friend in grade school, about my age, who was killed at the front in 1939. His name is Tadeusz Jadach. Maybe I could use his birth certificate."

"I'll see what I can do. Come back tomorrow night."

... When I returned the next evening, Kotulova handed me something more precious than gold: the birth certificate

⁵³⁶ See also also Norman Salsitz and Amalie Petranker Salsitz, *Against All Odds: A Tale of Two Survivors* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1990), 249–52; "'You would have done the same for me'," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet : <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/you-would-have-done-same-me>>.

of Tadeusz Jadach, a Roman Catholic Pole. With that paper I might survive the war. I put my arms around the ample frame of my saving angel, and hugged her until she protested she couldn't breathe.

"I will be indebted to you as long as I live," I told her.

"You would have done the same for me."

"Just one more thing, my brother Leibush; I need a certificate for him. Could you possibly get one for him, too?"

"I'll talk to the Monsignor."

The next day I had a birth certificate for Leibush: a Ludwig [Ludwik] Kunefal [born in 1904, a Capuchin who died in 1936]. As she handed it over, she mentioned that the Monsignor wanted to meet Leibush and me. A few days later we went to her house to meet the Monsignor. When we saw him, neither of us knew what to do or say; we had never in our lives spoken to a priest, and we were overwhelmed by the man's appearance. He was tall and majestic-looking, with an inscrutable face. We stood there embarrassed, but he quickly realized our discomfort and extended his hand to us in greeting.

"I am Proboszcz [pastor] Dunajecki," he said in a warm, disarming voice. "I am pleased to meet both of you."

We shook his hand, after which our hostess invited us to share some food she had prepared for us. Soon we were immersed in lively conversation.

"I would like to suggest something," Father Dunajecki said after we had been chatting a while. "You, Tadeusz, you speak Polish like a Pole. But Leibush's Polish is a dead giveaway. I would suggest that Leibush not use the certificate that I have made available to him. You don't have to decide now, but think about it."

We told him we would reconsider. As it turned out, we realized that the Monsignor was correct; we never used that certificate.

With Leibush in the other room talking to Kotulova, the Monsignor and I began to talk. The priest grew pensive.

"You know, Tadeusz" he said, "I have been a priest here in Kolbuszowa for nearly twenty years, and I have never gotten to know a single Jew.⁵³⁷ I have never had any dealings with any Jewish organizations, and I have never had the slightest idea what was going on in the Jewish community. I have never even met your rabbi. Now, in view of what's happened to the Jews here, I deeply regret not having made the effort to know your people better. What's most upsetting to me is the thought that I could have saved scores of Jewish children by placing them among my parishioners; it would have been an easy thing to do. But no one said anything to me, and I myself have been remiss for neglecting what was going on under my very nose. I can't tell you how sorry I am."

I could tell he was really sincere. I didn't know how to respond. He was blaming himself, but who really was to blame? As we were about to leave, he shook our hands and wished us luck. Then he made the sign of the cross over us and bade us goodbye.

Rev. Dunajecki of Kolbuszowa is mentioned in another rescue story, as is the bishop of Tarnów. In April 1942, seven-year-old Rachela Gross (born in 1934) was left near the convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph in Trzęsówka near Kolbuszowa by a farmer who was afraid to keep the child any longer. The nuns used to run a shelter for children before the war, but it had been closed by the German authorities. After taking Rachela in, Sister Roberta Sutkowska, the superior, went to consult with Rev. Dunajecki, who in turn directed her to the bishop of Tarnów. Sister Roberta identifies the bishop as Franciszek Lisowski; in actual fact, Bishop Lisowski had died in June 1939, and the apostolic administrator of the diocese of Tarnów was Edward Komar, the diocese's auxiliary bishop, who died in September 1943. In any event, the bishop encouraged the rescue effort and provided counsel. Rachela remained with the nuns even after the war, refusing repeatedly to go with representatives of the Jewish Committee despite the urging of the nuns to do so. The nuns saw to Rachela's education and she became a physician; she married and retained the Catholic faith.⁵³⁸ (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 185–88.)

I was taken to Trzesowka [Trzęsówka]. The convent was visible from a distance, for it was the only two-storied building in the village. The farmer left me in the field, and said:

"Go there; they will take you in."

It was Palm Sunday. Like an automaton I went to the convent. Sister Roberta [Sutkowska] was not there at the time. Sister Adolfina was the nun in charge. She was so fat and—well, strict—but she greeted me warmly and had me say a prayer. Of course, I knew how to pray. I rattled off a prayer, and then I heard:

"You can stay here."

This was an intelligent woman. She was aware of the truth, and the following day baptized me with water. People began to take an interest in who I was and how I came to be in the convent. But nobody ever suspected that I was

⁵³⁷ Earlier in *A Jewish Boyhood in Poland*, at p.244, Salsitz stated that his father, a merchant in Kolbuszowa, supplied Catholic churches in the area with candles and other items used in religious ceremonies.

⁵³⁸ See also Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 211–15, 232–34.

Jewish. (After all, I had blonde hair and blue eyes). They thought I was the child of some acquaintance, or an orphan—and it was left at that.

In the convent I was treated like a normal village child. I worked at everything and even enjoyed it. After all I had gone through, my stay in the convent was stabilizing. I knew that I would remain there, that it was good for me there, that I was safe. I even knew that should the Germans come, nothing would happen to me because the nuns would be able to take care of everything.

None of the nuns ever tried to set me against Jews. God forbid. The nuns did not talk on this subject.

I liked the Christian religion because it is attractive to a child. The sisters sent me to First Communion, they dressed me in white—a child is influenced by these things. Besides, I was growing up among Polish children, I had a lot of friends—even before the war. I had Polish girlfriends. I came from an assimilated family. My parents were Polish in their sensibilities—that I remember. I always loved Christmas and Christmas trees. As a child, I used to visit families that celebrated Christmas. I also went to church with my girlfriends, though, of course, I went to the synagogue with my parents.

But all this was before the war:

When I found myself in the convent, among the nuns, in that Catholic environment, I liked it a lot. Besides, I considered it a miracle that I was alive. I was a very religious child. I observed Lent and fasted, I went through the Way of the Cross. I read the Old and New Testament, and cried at the suffering of Christ. By the way, I never had the feeling that the Jews were bad because they were responsible for His death. That attitude was not present in the convent.

The reason I chose to stay with the nuns was, above all, that I liked Christianity. ...

Also, I have to admit, I chose to stay because of fear. I thought it was a miracle that I knew how to pray, that my parents had taught me how to pray before we parted. So I thought that God had managed things in such a way to save me. That is, I thought, that it was a sign from God that I should remain among Christians, for they had saved me. I felt I owed it to the Christian religion to stay with it.

I did not want to return to something that had been so tragic for me.

Being a part of Christianity, of Poland, gave me a sense of safety. ... In the convent I felt safe, although I also saw Poles die. ...

But to return to the convent—I felt at home there. I treated the nuns—particularly Sister Roberta—as my mothers.

There was more to the rescue story that Rachela Gross was not aware of. Indeed, one of the serious shortcomings of the literature on Holocaust survivors is the general tendency to ignore the perspective of the rescuers, who often have an equally compelling story to relate. The following account is that of Sister Roberta Sutkowska. (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 166–69.)

During the war I worked in [Trzęsówka], which is near Kolbuszow [Kolbuszowa]. On April 12, 1942, Palm Sunday, a girl came to us. The weather was horrible, the child was poorly dressed—shabby boots, a crumpled dress of shepherd's cloth, a coat made from a blanket. She said she came to work for us, and would do whatever we liked, if we would only keep her. ...

She came to us between ten and eleven in the morning—tired and dirty. We took pity on her. Before the war, we ran a nursery in the village. We couldn't do that during the war. Older sisters arrived from Lwow [Lwów] to be with us, so there was a good number of nuns, from ten to twelve. I went to seek the advice of Father Dunajewski [actually, Rev. Antoni Dunajecki] in Kolbuszow. The priest advised me to go to Bishop Lisowski [actually, Bishop Edward Komar] in Tarnow [Tarnów], who said: "You are not the first person to show up here on such a matter. It is good that you took this child in. God will take care of this, so that nothing will happen and no one will interfere. One has to gradually learn from this child her history, and then later we will have to deal with the issue—for it's possible that we will have to baptize the child. In the future the child has to go to school. But let's take things a step at a time. Somehow everything will work itself out. One just has to make certain that the girl does not contact anyone and talk. Of someone takes an interest in the child, tell them she has been accepted into the convent, and that's that."

Three, four years went by. To the end of the war. The girl constantly demanded we give her some chores. I laughed—she helped us in all our chores.

After the war, Father Dunajewski went with Rachela to Białystok [Białystok]. It turned out that the child had spoken the truth. The priest at the notary took out all the documents on the girl. Today I refer to her as Rachela, though we never called her by that name—she had a different first and last name, but I don't know if she'd want me to reveal it.

Bishop Edward Komar also provided material assistance to Helena Jabłonowska, the owner of an estate near the Pustków labour camp near Dębica, where many Jews were held in addition to Poles and French

and Soviet prisoners of war. She in turn supplied food and clothing for the inmates.⁵³⁹

After escaping from the Rzeszów ghetto in the summer of 1942, Salomea Krygier (born in 1909, later Gemrot) was helped by several Polish families, with whom she had been friends before the war. [Testimony of Salomea Gemrot, 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/salomea-gemrot>>.]

But my friends, who risked their life for me, helped me. So after Janka's family [Stachowicz] it was the Wisniowski family who kept me, also neighbors from Staroniwa. This Mr. Wisniowski was a farmer; a very decent man. They carried me out in a basket at night to the barn and that's where I slept for two months, on these stacks of straw. But it was good for me there. Very good. They took care of me, they loved me. Well. They prayed for me. They went to holy places. Yes. They were such caring friends that they went to the presbytery and they found a birth certificate for me. ... After the Wisniowski family, an acquaintance of mine, Wiktoria [Szalacha], whose children I had minded at the beginning of the war, helped me. She took me to her family [Dybek]. It was quite a distance from Jaslo [Jasło], in some village [Skolyszyn].

Salomea moved from place to place under her false identity. While working for the Gemrot family in Niepołomice near Kraków, she happened to meet their son, Wilhelm, and they immediately took a liking to each other. Wilhelm suggested that they marry in order to help her avoid detection. Salomea recalled, “those friends of mine from my home village, the Wisniowski [Wiśniowski] family, changed my documents to say I was married and my last name was Gemrot, they managed to get an official stamp saying that I was a wife and they even went to the local priest for this.” Salomea spent the duration of the war in Tarnów, posing as Wilhelm's wife. After the war they married legally and remained married until Wilhelm's death in 1985.

Rev. Dominik Litwiński, the pastor of Ostrowy Tuszowskie near Kolbuszowa, provided false documents to a Jew, thus enabling him to pass as a Pole. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 394.)

In the summer of 1941, after the Germans occupied the town of Lwow [Lwów], Samuel Blasenstein left Lwow and returned to Tuchow [Tuchów], his hometown, in the Cracow [Kraków] district, where he discovered, to his dismay, that all the Jews had been deported. Not knowing what to do, Blasenstein turned to Genowefa Koziol [Koziol], a former school friend of his, who, with the help of the local priest [Rev. Dominik Litwiński from Tuchów⁵⁴⁰], provided him with a birth certificate in the name of a Catholic who had passed away. Equipped with this certificate, Blasenstein moved to the village of Dobieslawice [Dobiesławice], in the Kielce district, where no one knew him. After renting a room from a Polish family, Blasenstein found work as a secretary in the village council. Blasenstein stayed in the village until January 1945, when the area was liberated.

Several Redemptorists from Tuchów were active in helping Jews. Fr. Stanisław Wójcik placed Maria Rotwein, a young Jewish woman from Kraków, with Janina Jaskólska, a teacher. She obtained an identity card in the name of Maria Rotnicka from Stefania Broda, who was employed by the local authorities. Maria Rotwein's carelessness and outgoing behaviour upset her benefactors so she decided to move to Tarnów where she made the acquaintance of a Gestapo man. After divulging information about her benefactors, Maria was shot. Her benefactors were arrested in August 1941. Miraculously, Janina Jaskólska and Fr. Wójcik were released following their interrogation, but Stefania Broda was imprisoned for a year. Fr. Wójcik baptized 70-year-old Sara Beila Hirsch in January 1941. Fr. Kazimierz Smoroński and Fr. Józef Puchalik sheltered the daughters of Józef Jakubowicz, a Jewish convert from the nearby village of Siedliska. Fr. Smoroński was arrested by the Gestapo in February 1942 and sent to Auschwitz,

⁵³⁹ Jarosław Sellin, “Arcybiskup Adam Stefan Sapieha a Holokaust,” *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2014): 783.

⁵⁴⁰ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 266.

where he perished in May 1942.⁵⁴¹

Rev. Jan Kuźniar, the pastor of Chmielnik near Rzeszów, provided Jews with false baptismal certificates, food and clothing. He enlisted the help of his sister and housekeeper, Maria Krzywonos, to care for Elżbieta (Ela) Zwick, a teenaged girl who escaped from the ghetto in Brzozów. She assumed the identity of their niece, Zofia Koźniak, and survived the war in the parish rectory. The priest's mother sheltered the girl's aunt for a period of time. (Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, pp. 53–54.)

In their wanderings some of the children encountered caring people who, even though they did not know them, took them in and saved them. This was how Zofia Kozniak [Koźniak] from the town of Brzozow [Brzowów] survived. Zofia was twelve when she was separated from her family during an Aktion and was left on her own. Lacking an alternative, she went to her Polish teacher, who lived in a nearby village, as she knew she liked her and would probably be prepared to help her. The teacher agreed to let her stay for the night. The next day the teacher took the girl to the home of her priest [Rev. Jan Kuźniar⁵⁴²] and advised her to ask him for shelter. Zofia described to the priest the ordeals she had undergone. The priest's sister, Mrs. [Maria] Krzywonosowa, who was present, took pity on her and took her to her home. She had three children of her own, but found place for Zofia as well. But the girl longed for her parents and was desperate to know what had become of them. After learning that both her parents had perished, she decided to stay with the family that had taken her in and treated her like a daughter.

The following account written down in August 1947 appears to pertain to the above rescue. (Sofia Kuzniew, "My Polish Parents," in Yosef Chrust and Yosef Frankel, eds., *Katowits: Perihatah ve-shekiyatah shel ha-kehila ha-yehudit: sefer zikaron* [Tel Aviv: The Society to Commemorate the Jews of Katowice, 1996], pp. 317–18, translated as *Katowice: The Rise and Decline of the Jewish Community: Memorial Book*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Katowice/Katowice.html>>.)

Our family owned a grocery shop, and there were two of us: my brother who's 2 years older than me, and myself. I was 8 when war broke, and was already a second-grade student. My brother and I travelled to our grandmother's village for the summer vacation. The roads were then blocked and we had to stay at grandma's. My parents lost each other and most of their belongings during the bombing on Katowice. My father ended up on the Russian side, and my mother returned to Katowice. We resumed going to school in 1940, but had to stop 6 months later because Jewish children were no longer allowed to do that.

We missed our parents very much, and were depressed by the distance. In the meanwhile, we wrote to our mother and she wrote back. 8 months later she was informed that our father was alive on the Soviet side. Until 1941 our area was rather peaceful, and most definitely calmer than in Katowice. Mother tried hard to get to us, and finally she made it. Around that time our father had managed to cross the border, and our family was re-united. We all lived together until we were thrown out of our apartment in 1943.

We were banished to the next village with our little belongings bundled on our backs. For months, we lived in strange Jews' houses and then lived with my uncle in Bdzozow [Brzozów] for a week. One day, all of the Jews were ordered to gather in the stadium at 6 am. We didn't go. Something told us that death lay there. We hid in the house of villagers we knew, a day here and a day there. We had to split up—I remained with my aunt, and my brother was with my parents since no peasant was willing to hide such a big group of Jews. I spent two weeks with my aunt in the house of a peasant named Orłowsky [Orłowski]. He was a good man and gave us food, but he was too scared to keep us and we had to leave.

I missed my mother badly, so I left my aunt and went solely to look for my parents. An action took place that day. I couldn't find my parents who were hiding in the woods and didn't return to the peasant's house until nightfall. We slept in the attic together that night, but in the morning we were asked to leave. I returned to my aunt with my father and I said goodbye to my mother. She and my brother took off, and I haven't seen her again since.

I could no longer stay in the same place. We split up again: my father moved forward, and I went to my teacher's house. I stayed overnight, and the next day she sent me to the house of the priest in Bdzozow, where she advised me

⁵⁴¹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 717; Stanisław Derus, *Tuchów: Miasto i gmina do roku 1945* (Tuchów: Urząd Gminy w Tuchowie, 1992), 134–35. According to one source, Jakub Jakubowicz was denounced by a rabbi, and he was arrested by the Gestapo. See Iwo Cyprian Pogonowski, "Przykra prawda historyczna," *Nasz Dziennik*, February 3, 2005.

Jarosław Sellin, "Arcybiskup Adam Stefan Sapieha a Holokaust," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, no. 4 (2014): 783.

⁵⁴² Zbigniew K. Wójcik, *Rzeszów w latach drugiej wojny światowej: Okupacja i konspiracja 1939–1944–1945* (Rzeszów and Kraków: Instytut Europejskich Studiów Społecznych w Rzeszowie and Towarzystwo Sympatyków Historii w Krakowie, 1998), 163; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 77, 315, 317.

to request shelter as the priest's "niece." I had some 40 kilometers to walk. I got lost, but had no choice but to move on. The hope of finding shelter kept me going.

I reached the priest's house in the evening. I told them everything, and the priest's sister took me in. There were 3 more children staying in her house. It felt like heaven, being there after all the wandering. They treated me like their own child, taught me to speak Polish and sent me to school. I was also taught the principles of the Christian religion. When I wanted to know what had become of my parents, they sent a messenger to Bdzowow. That's how I heard that they were shot to death by the Germans.

I mourned their death greatly, but buried my grief inside me. The Gestapo paid frequent visits to the priest's house, because a few Germans were killed in the woods nearby at that time. I had to appear very calm, so as not to turn myself in through showing anxiety or excitement. I went through hell.

After a long time on the road, my aunt has also managed to get to the priest's house, and then she drove by wagon to where I stayed. She lived with us for a couple of weeks, but then my guardians gave her an Aryan [Aryan] ID and sent her to the priest's mother.

They did all these things without second thoughts or calculations, but my aunt left after a while on her own and registered to work in Germany, hoping there she won't need to fear that someone will recognize her. She would write to me frequently from Germany.

This was my life until the arrival of the Soviet army. After we were released, I was registered for high school. My aunt left for Switzerland and managed to contact my uncle who was in Lyon, France. He wrote to me and sent me souvenirs. He even came to Poland to take me to him.

I can't leave the people who took care of me with all their might and were second parents to me, who risked their lives for me and shared with me everything they had. I love them a great deal, and has [sic] befriended their older daughter, 21 year old Janka. I don't wish to return to Judaism. I'm good the way I am now, and I am happy. My adopting family isn't anti-Semitic, and they'll never speak ill of Jews in my presence.

My soul is peaceful, after I've found support in my religion. I love the Christian religion. My name today is Sofia Kuzniew. I will not go to France with my uncle. I live in Chmijelnik [Chmielnik] and attend the fourth grade in high school.

In 1940, Rev. Eugeniusz Okoń of Radomyśl nad Sanem, near Stalowa Wola, started up a local committee to assist Jews consisting of nine members of the community, three of them priests: himself, the local pastor Rev. Canon Feliks Chudy, and Rev. Janusz Geneja. Rev. Okoń came to the assistance of a number of Jews deported from nearby villages. In particular, he cared for the elderly Dr. Reich from Rozwadów and his 75-year-old sister, who eventually committed suicide in despair. Rev. Okoń also provided false baptismal certificates and identities to the family of American author Jerzy Kosinski, consisting of Jerzy (then a nine-year old boy), his father Moishe (Mieczysław) Lewinkopf, his mother Elżbieta, and Henryk, an adopted brother. He brought the Lewinkopf family, now the Kosińskis, who hailed from Łódź, from Sandomierz, where they first took refuge, to the village of Dąbrowa Rzeczycka. The Kosińskis survived the war in Dąbrowa Rzeczycka posing as Catholics, living openly among villagers who were aware of their Jewish origin and under the protection of the village headman. The villagers were known to help other Jews as well. Rev. Tadeusz Sebastyański, the parish priest of the nearby village of Wola Rzeczycka, was aware of their ruse, as was the village headman, and assisted the Lewinkopf/Kosiński family in maintaining it. Even though he had never converted, Jerzy was allowed to make his communion and served as an altar boy. Rev. Okoń continued to visit the Lewinkopfs until he too had to hide from the Gestapo. He urged his parishioners not to turn Jews in, as decreed by the Germans under penalty of death. For many years Jerzy Kosinski passed off his scurrilous 1965 novel *The Painted Bird*, which depicted a boy enduring unspeakable mistreatment at the hands of cruel and primitive peasants, as autobiographical. Eventually, the book was exposed as a hoax by Polish investigative journalist Joanna Siedlecka.⁵⁴³ The true story of Jerzy Kosinski's wartime experience was revealed to North American audiences by James Park Sloan in his book *Jerzy Kosinski: A Biography* (New York: Dutton/Penguin, 1996), at pages 27–35.

⁵⁴³ Joanna Siedlecka, *Czarny ptasiór* (Gdańsk: Marabut; Warsaw: CIS, 1994), translated as *The Ugly Black Bird* ([Washington, D.C.:] Leopolis Press, 2018). See also Tadeusz Rek, *Ksiądz Eugeniusz Okoń 1881–1949* (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1962), 182–83; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 534–37 (account of Janina Dembowa, a Jewish woman who exposed Jerzy Kosinski's allegedly autobiographical novel *The Painted Bird* as a slanderous hoax as early as June 1968); Stanisław Myszka, *Radomyśl nad Sanem: Dzieje miasta i parafii* (Stalowa Wola: Muzeum Regionalne, 2003), 184–88. Later in life (1988), Kosiński appeared to have had a change of heart. He decried rampant anti-Polish sentiment within the Jewish community, arguing that Poles—overwhelmed by fear for their own and their families' safety—had no obligation to protect Jews during the war, given the consequence of death for doing so. See Barbara Tępa Lupack and Kiki Kosinski, eds., *Oral Pleasure: Kosinski as Storyteller* (New York: Grove Press, 2012), 215–16.

One night in the fall of 1942, Waclaw [Waclaw] Skobel loaded the Lewinkopf family into his cart [in Sandomierz] and drove them across the Vistula ... to the smaller town of Radomysl-on-San [Radomyśl nad Sanem]. ...

At Radomysl, Skobel passed the Kosinski [Kosiński] group, now five in number, into the hands of the local priest, one Eugeniusz Okon [Okoni]. ...

Father Okon had arranged for the Kosinskis—for that was now their name—to come to the small village of Dabrowa [Dąbrowa] Rzeczycka, located just west of the San River. Using his ecclesiastical authority, he had enlisted the help of Jozef Stepak [Józef Stępak], the administrator of Dabrowa and nearby Kepa [Kepa]; the two men acting together were then able to enlist the villagers in a conspiracy of silence. The home Okon found for the Kosinskis was in a semidetached apartment owned by a Polish Catholic farmer, Andrzej Warchol [Warchol]. ...

During the first months the Kosinski spent in Dabrowa, Father Okon periodically bicycled from Radomysl to inquire about them. ... But within a few months Okon stopped coming, having himself become a fugitive from the Gestapo. ...

The Kosinskis settled in cautiously. At first, Mieczyslaw [Mieczysław] Kosinski—the name by which Moses Lewinkopf would henceforth be known—ventured out in public only when absolutely necessary, and with his collar turned up. Never speaking to passersby, he made the short walk to nearby Kepa to buy food. Slowly he probed for the response of the villagers.

Gradually a way of life began to take shape. Elzbieta [Elżbieta] Kosinska, who had the “worst”—the most Jewish—looks, stayed inside the apartment. ... Young Jerzy/Jurek also played in the yard, his dark hair cropped short ...

Little by little, Mieczyslaw Kosinski began to go out among the villagers. ... The secret to survival, after all, was to blend in and become a part of things. He began giving lessons to children who wished to go beyond the level of the local four-year school; he was qualified to teach all the high-school subjects. The villagers took to calling him “professor” and referring to Elzbieta as “the professor’s wife.”

... [Mieczysław] was, to the simple villagers of Dabrowa, “the professor,” ... As he had with the Lipinski [Lipiński] in Sandomierz, the elder Kosinski knew how to use his knowledge and manner to position himself among the villagers. The honorific encapsulated their sense of him as a man of refinement, but a man whose attainments they did not resent. They took pride in their role in saving such a man. At the market in Kepa, some of the vendors reduced their prices in deference to a man of standing. To the peasants, the Kosinskis offered a connection to the great world outside the village. ...

While the Battle of Stalingrad raged, the Kosinskis were invited to celebrate Christmas in Dabrowa—a celebration new to their experience and deeply ironic, but useful. Their hosts were the Migdaleks [Migdalek] ... Mr. Migdalek taught in the local elementary school. ...

Mrs. Migdalek’s invitation was a statement at several levels. More than a neighbourly gesture, it was a way of saying to the rest of the village that the Migdaleks—who would themselves later take in two Jewish children related by marriage—were unafraid of associating with a family known to be Jewish. And at another level, there was the matter of class; the Migdaleks thought of themselves as educated people like the Kosinskis, people who stood apart from the ordinary citizenry of places like Dabrowa.

It was a meagre Christmas Eve dinner when compared with normal times. There was only bread, and a sour soup with potatoes. The occupying Germans imposed steep levies on foodstuffs, and the soil of Dabrowa was sandier than that of surrounding villages. Daily fare during the war years included pigweed, of which a soup could be made, potatoes, and beetroot, which was used in soup and to make marmalade. ...

Part of the Kosinski/Lewinkopf strategy was camouflage, and simply living in the village was not enough. ... Their apartment was decorated with crucifixes and images of the Virgin—too many, some of the locals thought. ... And they attended church fairly regularly at nearby Wola Rzeczycka, or at least the father and son did, with the mother attending occasionally. ...

But one more step was necessary. During the winter of 1943 little Jurek began confirmation classes along with Andrzej Migdalek and other boys his age. The parish priest, Father Sebastianski [Sebastyański], had been briefed by Father Okon and was sympathetic. ...

Jurek and Andrzej did well in the confirmation classes, and as a result they were selected to serve as altar boys during evening masses. ...

The culmination of this religious training took place in May of 1943 when Jurek Kosinski, along with Andrzej Migdalek and the other local boys of his age, received Holy Communion for the first time. To celebrate the occasion the Kosinskis gave a party, not only for Jurek but for all the children taking First Communion. ...

The party was held in the churchyard at Wola Rzeczycka, and benches were set out for the children with cookies and cups of hot cocoa—an unheard-of luxury.

Two rescue stories involve assistance from clergymen in Baranów Sandomierski, located near Sandomierz and Tarnobrzeg. It is not clear whether they pertain to the same child. The local pastor issued a baptismal certificate for a Jewish girl who was adopted by Franciszka Surowiec in 1942. The girl

survived the war and was taken by relatives after the war.⁵⁴⁴ The daughter of Mala Perlmutter from Tarnobrzeg was abandoned with a note stating she was the daughter of a Polish army officer who had been killed by the Germans and that her mother could not look after her. Although widely suspected of being Jewish, the child was protected by Karol Wawrzycki, a local high school teacher. She was sheltered in the parish rectory where she was cared for by the priest's housekeeper. An aunt came to claim the child after the war.⁵⁴⁵

Karolina Jus (née Frist) and her Gentile husband Andrzej Jus described the assistance they received from Eugeniusz Baziak, auxiliary bishop of Lwów, and various priests in southeastern Poland, in their published memoirs, *Our Journey in the Valley of Tears* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). (Tonia Desiato, "Faith and love guided couple through 'valley of tears,'" *The Catholic Register*, Toronto, November 9, 1991.)

In June 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union and soon after Lwów was also occupied by the Nazis. The young couple had planned to marry but the occupation made their marriage a dangerous one. ...

"My husband is a hero, he saved me," she said. "People don't understand that Poles were risking their lives; he was not obliged to marry me, nor help me.

"If a Pole was found giving a glass of water to a Jew his penalty was death and that would also be Andrzej's penalty for loving me." ...

It was in their deep despair that they turned to the Catholic Church for help.

Mrs. Jus and her family were very faithful to their religion and she never considered converting to Catholicism. She knew, however, that by following the Jewish religion she placed not only herself but her future husband and his family in danger.

The distraught young woman thought and prayed all night before making a decision ...

The bishop of Lwów [Eugeniusz Baziak] began preparations not only for Mrs. Jus's baptism and marriage but also to conceal her Jewish identity. Changing her past was the only way to save her from death ...

It was no easy task and Mr. Jus risked his life in making all the necessary arrangements and countless trips to give his future wife a new birth certificate and a recorded baptism.

He did this with the help of Father Alojzy Palus. During the day, the young priest studied the archdiocesan records looking for the proper spot to place Mrs. Jus's birth and baptismal dates.

Painstakingly, the two men entered the new dates and names using thinned ink, to make the writing seem worn.

Her place and date of birth and the names of her parents were changed. Her date of baptism and her godparents were created and the couple's marriage date was entered as December 1938 before the outbreak of the war. ...

Mrs. Jus's family did not accept the offer of the local Catholic church and bishop to hide in a nearby convent. The offer was made with no strings attached, the Church was not looking for conversions, said Mr. Jus, just to give them refuge.

But her father [who was murdered by the Gestapo, along with Mrs. Jus's mother and only sister, on April 22, 1942] believed that the danger was overdramatized ...

The memoirs of Andrzej and Karolina Jus, which are dedicated to the memory of the "many ... Poles, among them many Catholic priests and nuns, who, risking their own lives, enabled Karolina, and others like her, to survive the times of contempt," detail the couple's many encounters with the Catholic clergy during the German occupation. Karolina eventually survived the war in the village of Uherce, sheltered by her husband's aunt. (Ibid., pp. 74, 78, 79, 80, 84, 90, 93, 106, 108, 131–32, 169.)

When Andrzej returned to Karolina ... he met [Sister] Filomena at Karolina's place ... She was dressed already in her traditional nun's habit with the medieval 'corner hat' of the Sisters of Charity. She brought food for Karolina and her family. Her convent was not far from Karolina's apartment. She intended from now on to pay frequent visits to Karolina, and had asked other nuns to be of assistance to them. Her organizing was already evident as nuns from the convent of Holy Sacrament [Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament] had brought fruit and vegetables from their garden to Zosia [Karolina's sister]. They, at once, took a great liking to her and promised to bring fresh fruit and vegetables every day. Before Andrzej's second visit on this day, Filomena had a chat with all the members of Karolina's family, and she fully understood their sufferings. She came to comfort them

⁵⁴⁴ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 117.

⁵⁴⁵ Testimony of Zelman Baum (Wacław Kozieniec), May 12, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, testimony 2425.

and diminish their isolation. ...

... In his most hopeful dreams, he could not imagine how open-minded, understanding, and helpful the bishop [Eugeniusz Baziak] was. ...

The bishop discussed with his secretary the choice of the priest who would be the best person to baptize Karolina, marry the couple, and, after the wedding, have them under his constant vigilance to advise them what to do in the case of imminent danger. After a while, they agreed on one of the priests from the Bernardine Monastery. His name was Father Aloisius (Alojzy), and the secretary promised to arrange an appointment with him for the couple next day at 10.00 a.m. in the office of the Bernardine Monastery in Lwów.

The bishop added: 'Father Alojzy will take care of all the documents that will be needed. He is a very courageous and shrewd person. In the fight against Evil we have to use sophisticated methods and act quickly to save decent people. He knows how to fight and what methods are appropriate. He is under my jurisdiction, and I will personally watch over your situation and always be of assistance.' ...

There was still the matter of protection for Karolina's family. ... The bishop [Eugeniusz Baziak] thought for a while, and said: 'Tell them that my advice is to hide all three of them: the father in one of our monasteries, the mother and Karolina's sister in a convent with nuns. The sooner, the better. Any day something might happen to them. ... They will be protected by all the means available to the church. Of course, our means are not unlimited, and our greatest concern is that we cannot help all people who need protection. Our help is unfortunately a drop in the big ocean of human needs. This help must be kept in the strictest secrecy. One false step and everybody might be lost.'

He paused and then continued: 'Do not forget to tell Karolina's parents that we do not expect them to convert. Nor will we exercise any pressure in this direction. Although the mission of the church is to expand the Catholic faith, above all our mission is to help, in Jesus's name, any needy human being. As I just told you, our greatest concern is that we can do it only for a limited number of people who, in this country, are in grave danger.'

At the end of the conversation, the bishop added: 'We consider the Nazis' anti-Semitism as racism and crime. The German nation was educated to feel superior to all the nations in the world. In general, any anti-Semitism, not only theirs, is considered by us to be against the teaching of Jesus.' His voice was very sad now: 'Unfortunately, some of our priests before the war preached in a way that was not always consistent with the conception of love for all human beings, whatever their nationality and religion might be, not in a way that Jesus taught us.' ...

Then, [Father Alojzy] explained to them that the certificates of baptism and marriage had to be written on old forms, that of baptism on a form used in or around the time of Karolina's birth, the certificate of marriage on a form used before the Second World War. In the Lwów monastery [of the Bernardines], they had neither form. He knew that they still had the marriage forms in the village parish about 20 kilometres from Lwów. Andrzej would have to go there with a message from Father Alojzy, and bring the forms to him.

It was much more complicated to get the form for baptism. Each baptism was entered in the parochial books of baptism. In addition, at the end of the calendar year, the parson sent a register of all baptisms in his parish to the archdiocese, where each baptism was entered in the archdiocesan books. Both the parochial and the archdiocesan offices were, at the same time, offices of the civil state, providing data on the population to state registers. Therefore, even with the access to the archdiocesan books, it was dangerous to enter Karolina's name into them because it could be easily discovered that her baptism had not been registered in the parochial books. To avoid this danger, it was necessary to find a church in which the parochial books of the period close to her birth had been destroyed, burnt during the First World War, between the two wars, or at the beginning of the Second World War. ...

After telling the bishop how grateful Karolina's family was for his generous offer, Ludwik [Andrzej's father] asked for a short delay before giving a definite answer. After a lapse of two weeks, he went to the diocese with a negative answer, carrying the message of immense gratitude of Karolina's family and trying to explain the attitude of Juliusz [Karolina's father]. The bishop was sad, but not surprised: 'Unfortunately it is not the first time that we have seen such an attitude. We will pray for them with the hope that they will accept our offer and that when this happens it will not be too late. Sometimes just one hour, one minute, means life or death. As long as there exists such a possibility, our doors stay open for them.' ...

The parson [of a small village close to Glinna Nawaria, about 20 kilometres from Lwów] welcomed him [Andrzej] warmly when he mentioned that he had been sent by Father Alojzy. The parson was in his seventies but still in good shape and agile. He handed Andrzej baptism and marriage forms printed before the outbreak of war in 1939. He did not ask any questions, but, as he passed to Andrzej a bunch of forms, mentioned: 'Father Alojzy might need more. God bless you, young man. Take care when travelling.' ...

Juliusz and his family had the same problems [with food and heating materials]. Great help was given to them by [Sister] Filomena. She became their frequent guest, always bringing vegetables and fruit from the convent garden. Some other nuns, from the nearby Convent of Sisters of the Holy Sacrament, were also bringing food from their garden. Andrzej never learned who had told them about Juliusz's family, whether it was Filomena or Father Alojzy.

...

... They discussed with him [Juliusz] many times the proposal of Bishop Baziak. Ludwik went again to see Juliusz and told him that the proposal was still valid. But Juliusz did not revise his former decision ...

They [Andrzej and Karolina] went to see Father Alojzy before their departure. He was in a very depressed state, having been seriously affected by stories of Nazi atrocities. They discussed with him many problems, and they saw how open-minded this priest was. They discussed with him the problem of informers, those who betrayed because of their profound anti-Semitism. Father Alojzy blamed the situation not only on the Germans. 'We have to admit,' he said, 'that we have bred our own kind of anti-Semitism in Poland a long time before the war. It was advocated by our own pre-war government—taught by some teachers in the schools and universities, by some physicians in the hospitals, by some lawyers in the courts, by some industrialists in factories, merchants in shops, and, we have to confess, by some of our priests in offering public or private advice, even in the church. This was not what Jesus taught us to do. We need a better society after the war. We have to recognize what mistakes we made and never repeat them again. Our true Polish patriotism has nothing in common with hatred of other nations. Our Catholic religion has nothing to do with the hatred of other religions. The free will given by God means a good will, full of love for other human beings, whatever their religion, whatever their race, colour of skin or social class. Our God does not want false patriots whose principal program is to hate people of other religions or other nations. For the actions of some informers, we have to take partial responsibility. It is our sin that we have not fought hard enough against the hatred in human hearts.' He appeared to them to be inspired by God. He blessed them and promised to be in contact: 'Do not forget to notify me if you feel in danger. Remember that I am praying for you and I will act for you in any capacity that could be helpful.' ...

... Andrzej went to see Father Alojzy in the monastery. The terrible story of Karolina's family was an awful shock for him. He could not conceal his tears. He knelt and prayed for a long while. Then he told Andrzej about the terrible events that were taking place in the ghetto of Lwów. ...

Andrzej then went to the convent of Filomena. She was terribly moved by the story of the tragedy in Orelec.

On the way home from a village parish located about 150 kilometres distant from Lwów, Andrzej witnessed on the train in which he was travelling a betrayal of a Jewish man by a young woman. (Ibid., pp. 95–96.)

After a short time the train stopped in a small railway station. The [German] policeman kicked the already unconscious old man out of the train and shot him.

There was silence, full of fear and terror, in the train. Even the informer did not say a word. After a while, when the train began to move, a peasant in the corridor between Andrzej and the informer asked: 'Why did you do this? How could you be so cruel?' 'Shut up,' she shrieked. 'I will ask the policeman to check you. Perhaps you are also a disguised Jew.' The peasant did not say a word and moved towards the end of the corridor. The train was moving slowly, leaving on the platform the body of the massacred man.

The informer returned to her compartment. Opposite her sat a young priest. After a while, he said: 'God will never forgive you. You, and not the policeman, you yourself killed this innocent, poor man. Even when, after confession, some priests might absolve you and forgive on this earth, I can assure you that God has condemned you already for ever. You will suffer for ever, because you are not a human being. You are an Evil. For Evil there is only one place—hell.'

The young woman started at once to cry. The priest returned to his breviary.

The Weingrün and Lewkowicz families—consisting of Józef Weingrün, his wife Gustawa, and their daughter, Felicja, and Leon Lewkowicz, his parents and sister—were able to survive with the assistance of Rev. Bolesław Grudzieński, a Lwów prelate with ties to the right-wing National Party (Stronnictwo Narodowe). Rev. Grudzieński also helped other Jews. After the war, in 1947, the Communist regime staged a show trial in Warsaw at which Rev. Grudzieński and other members of the Committee of the Eastern Lands (Komitet Ziemi Wschodnich) were prosecuted for crimes against the state. Two Jewish witnesses, Stefania Weingrün Westreich (Józef Weingrün's daughter) and Leon Lewkowicz, came forward in defence of Rev. Grudzieński, attesting to the assistance he provided to Jews without any compensation and his compassion towards them.⁵⁴⁶

While still in Lwów, Józef Mützenmacher (born in 1921) received from a Polish acquaintance a birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Jan Kot, who had enlisted in the Polish Army in September 1939 and was missing in action. Józef was informed that both the parents of the missing man and the priest who issued the certificate knew about the deception and, if needed, would testify that Kot had been found and was working for the Germans. After escaping from the Lwów ghetto, Józef and a friend, who also had

⁵⁴⁶ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 210. The sworn statements of Leon Lewkowicz and Stefania Weingrün Westreich, August 16, 1947, are found in the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Archives, sygnatura 1021/167, vol. 3, k. 319, 322.

Polish identity papers, obtained employment in German factories in Dnepropetrovsk, and then in Kharkov and Poltava.⁵⁴⁷

Rachel Kupferberg had befriended some Catholic nuns while working in a hospital during the Soviet occupation of Lwów. After the Germans invaded Lwów in the summer of 1941, she placed her young daughter, Edna (Alma), who was the seven years old, in the care of those nuns. When the Germans threatened to expel the nuns from their convent, Kupferberg, who was passing as an Arab from Palestine and secured employment at a German military hospital, intervened successfully with her superior to prevent this from happening.⁵⁴⁸

Adela Fiszer found employment in the kitchen of a Catholic convent in Lwów thanks to the help of a priest, Rev. Jan Sokołowski, to whom she had been introduced by her Polish Catholic friend. She describes the nuns as Franciscans. (Rev. Sokołowski was the chaplain of the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.) Adela Fiszer lived in the convent for about one year. In November 1943, she was arrested by the Gestapo and Ukrainian police after Bronia Dimand, a Jewish friend to whom she had confided her whereabouts, was herself arrested and under torture betrayed the hiding places of other Jews. The nuns' insistence that she was a Catholic was to no avail. Adela Fiszer was sent to a work camp in Austria, where she met a Pole who smuggled her out and took her to Hungary. In Hungary, she met the brother of another Polish friend of hers from Lwów who provided her with his deceased sister's Soviet passport. Adela Fiszer was then registered as a Pole. She survived the war and returned to Poland.⁵⁴⁹ The Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament sheltered some Jewish converts for a period of three months, and a young Jewish woman for three years. Rev. Jan Nowicki tended to their spiritual needs.⁵⁵⁰

Wanda Mehr (née Ida Spiegler), whose husband was killed in German captivity at the beginning of the war, and her daughter, Frieda (born in 1939), were able to survive the war with the assistance of several Poles including priests. While living in Lwów, Ida and her sisters were helped by the Polish caretakers of the buildings in which they resided. A Polish benefactor obtained birth certificates for Ida (as Wanda Grabowieńska), Frieda, and Wanda's sister, Ela (as Krystyna Pawlik), from a Catholic parish. With those birth certificates, Ida and Ela allowed themselves to be rounded up on the street for forced labour on Germany. Before being taken to Germany in 1943, Ida and her daughter taken in by Józefa Głębocka, a poor single mother of two young children who lived in a small one-room hovel with her two young children. When Ida's daughter fell ill, nuns at the hospital allowed Frieda to stay there for some time despite the fact that they knew she was Jewish. Ida was arrested in a sweep of black marketers and held for six months in the prison on Łącki Street. She was released after a priest, whom she did not know, convinced the German officials that she was his parishioner when he visited the prison. After her release from prison, Ida was followed by plainclothes policemen who suspected she was Jewish. In order to shake them, Ida entered St. Anne's church. She was still there when the priest wanted to close the church for the night. Surmising her predicament, the priest allowed Ida to remain on the church premises until the following morning. Ida's daughter, Frieda, survived the war in Lwów with Józefa Głębocka, and later

⁵⁴⁷ Jan Kot, *Ruleta kasztanów: Wierna opowieść o młodości dorosłej w burzliwą dojrzałość podczas światowego kataklizmu* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2003), 132; translated as *Chestnut Roulette: The Amazing Story of a Lvov Jewish Youth Who Triumphs Over Adversity, Outwitting the Nazis and Luftwaffe!* (Jerusalem: Mazo Publishers, 2008).

⁵⁴⁸ Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 184–85.

⁵⁴⁹ Testimony of Adela Fiszer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2525, noted in Michał Czajka, Maria Młodkowska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 2001–3000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 2001–3000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2001), vol. 3, 216.

⁵⁵⁰ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 121.

was reunited with her mother.⁵⁵¹

Lala Fishman (née Klara Weintraub) recalled the assistance that she and her Jewish friend Mila received from their Polish friends in Lwów when they decided that they would attempt to pass as Christians. They needed to become acquainted with Catholic prayers and rituals and secure birth certificates, which were furnished by an unidentified priest. (Lala Fishman and Steven Weingartner, *Lala's Story: A Memoir of the Holocaust* [Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997], pp. 173–75.)

It was time to leave Lvov [Lwów]. ... Mila also felt as I did. When I broached the idea of leaving to her, she enthusiastically endorsed it. The success of the plan hinged on fulfilling two requirements obtaining "Aryan papers," counterfeit documents that identified us as Poles; and learning how to pass ourselves off as Polish Catholics. We straightaway embarked upon a crash course in Catholic prayer and ritual. Our instructors were sympathetic Gentiles, boys and girls around my age. Several of them had been friends of Fima [her brother]; now they were my friends too. Occasionally, they dropped by the apartment to drink tea and talk about the war and finally to help transform us into believable if not believing Catholics.

... Our friends taught us how to genuflect and make the sign of the cross with a convincing display of piety. They provided us with copies of the catechism, and we memorized all the material therein. They also gave us silver crucifixes to wear on chains around our necks, just like the ones every Gentile in Poland seemed to wear. I secretly resolved, however, that although I would attend mass and kneel and appear to pray like a Catholic, I would not take Holy Communion, I would go through all the motions of being a Catholic save this one; and when I prayed, I would make up my own prayer, silently asking God for his aid and protection. I meant no disrespect to the Catholic Church and Christians by these actions. Rather, I felt that it would be both sacrilegious [sic] and blasphemous for me to do otherwise. I believed that for a Jew to willingly accept what Catholics believed was literally the body and blood of Christ would be a sin, an insult both to my Jewish heritage and to the Christians who were doing so much—and placing themselves in such danger—on my behalf.

At any rate, Mila and I engaged in our Christian studies with the diligence of nuns preparing to take their vows, and I daresay that before long we could have gone into any church in Poland and played the role of devout Catholics without arousing any suspicions whatsoever among the genuine Christians. Sadly, the same could not be said for my mother and sister. Rysia was just nine years old, and therefore too young to learn Catholic rites and prayers, much less comprehend the urgent necessity for doing so. And my mother, devastated by grief, had undergone what amounted to a nervous breakdown and was incapable of the intense effort that even a false conversion to Catholicism demanded from her.

Nevertheless, we pressed forward with the scheme. Getting Aryan papers would have to be our next step. But how? This problem was solved when some of Fima's friends brought a Catholic boy named Staszek to the apartment for one of our evening get-togethers. Staszek had been told about our plans and wanted to help. He mentioned that he could get four blank birth certificates (metrycas [metryka]) from his parish priest. ...

Staszek got us the birth certificates. ... We filled out the certificates with false names but with our actual birthdays. I decided that my name would be Urszula Krzyzanowska [Krzyżanowska]. A very Christian name. My mother, Mila, and Rysia each took a different name. We did not want to appear in any way related—an important consideration if one of us was arrested. At the bottom of each document was a blank line where the parish priest was supposed to sign his name. I thought up a likely name for the priest and then, wielding my pen with a flourish, signed it on all the documents in bold, sweeping letters.

After their parents were seized by the Ukrainian militia in Lwów on July 5, 1941, Blanka Reischstein (born on October 3, 1925), later Drexler, and her younger sister Martha were left to fend for themselves. Blanka recalled, "I had a lot of friends, gentile friends; and my parents had a lot of acquaintances and clients ... Most of them were very, very helpful ... They really risked their lives to help. ... I would say I was in contact with maybe ten people. ... Through four years I think always somebody came through and helped me when I thought all the bridges are burned." While residing in the Lwów ghetto, the sisters were helped by various Polish friends who would sell off the family's belongings in order to purchase food. Martha's former nursemaid, Józefa Kotowicz, who lived in Czortków, agreed to take Martha first. Blanka left the ghetto with the intention of volunteering for work in Germany. With the help of Poles, she obtained the identity documents of a deceased schoolmate. She spent two months in a monastery where a priest instructed her on the fundamentals of the Catholic faith. According to Blanka, the whole action was

⁵⁵¹ Testimony of Wanda Mehr, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 26609. Wanda Mehr's parents and youngest brother were offered sanctuary by a Ukrainian priest in Gródek Jagielloński. They stayed in the church cellar for about two months, but were denounced by the priest's hired hand and seized by the Germans.

geared to saving her life by teaching her how to pass as Christian Pole, not to convert her. When the plan to register for work in Germany fell through, Blanka moved around staying at various places. Eventually, she joined her sister in Czortków, where the Kotowicz family was sheltering ten Jews in a specially constructed hideout. “Most of the gentiles that hid Jews,” Blanka recalled, “their nerves were shattered. Everybody’s, you know. My sister was there for almost two years. I was there for nine months. ... They were all loving and so patient and so understanding. ... Those people worked day and night ... By the time you get ten people processed. She was cooking at night in a big pot. ... They were two people with two tiny kids. They didn’t need those big pots. She baked bread at night. Obviously she wouldn’t buy bread. ... She was so good to me, this woman. ... She was very religious ... She lived it.”⁵⁵²

Armenian Catholics, comprised of a tiny community of several thousand based in Eastern Galicia, formed a separate rite of the Roman Catholic Church, with their own archdiocesan seat in Lwów.⁵⁵³ Their clergy was not repressed by the German occupiers in the systematic manner that the Polish clergy was. Several priests are credited with helping Jews, especially by providing them with false documents: Rev. Dionizy Kajetanowicz, the administrator of the Armenian-rite archdiocese of Lwów; Rev. Kazimierz Romaszkan of Lwów; Rev. Samuel Manugiewicz, the pastor of Kutry; Rev. Leon Isakowicz, the pastor of Stanisławów; and Rev. Kazimierz Roszko, a vicar in Stanisławów and, from 1942, administrator of the parish in Horodenka.⁵⁵⁴

According to Jewish sources, Rev. Samuel Manugiewicz, the pastor of Kutry near Kołomyja, sheltered Jews, among them the local rabbi, and implored his parishioners to help Jews.⁵⁵⁵ Rev. Dionizy Kajetanowicz, the administrator of the Armenian-rite archdiocese of Lwów, provided false baptismal certificates to a number of Jews, among them the family of Joachim Schoenfeld.⁵⁵⁶ Other beneficiaries included: Zdzisław Rotter, and several of his relatives; Dr. Emil Rosenberg (who became Emil Wartanowicz), and his wife; Roman Liebes; Ewa Feierbach (passing as Łaska); the Landes sisters, namely, Ludwika Leiner and Janina Schweitzer; Walter Auerbach and his wife, Salomea; Dr. Szymon Licht and his daughter, Irena Stefania. Rev. Kajetanowicz was arrested on April 13, 1943, following an investigation by German authorities into the use of Armenian Catholic documents by Jews. The examination of the records of the Armenian-rite archdiocese was prompted by the discovery of Dr. Artur Elmer, who was in possession of such a document, in the residence of Rev. Bolesław Twardowski, the Latin-rite Archbishop of Lwów, described earlier. Fortunately, Rev. Kajetanowicz was released through the intervention of Rev. Andrzej Szeptycki, the Uniate Archbishop of Lwów, and the payment of a hefty bribe.⁵⁵⁷

Rev. Kazimierz Romaszkan, of the Roman Catholic Armenian rite, and another unidentified priest from Lwów are mentioned in testimonies found at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. (Eliyahu Yones, *Smoke in the Sand: The Jews of Lvov in the War Years 1939–1944* [Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2004], p. 252.)

⁵⁵² Oral history interview with Blanka Drexler, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1999.A.0122.1180, RG number RG-50.477.1180; Testimony of Blanka Drexler, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 18795; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 384.

⁵⁵³ Armenian Catholics were fully integrated into Polish society and identified with the Polish State. Archbishop Józef Teodorowicz, who died in December 1938, was a staunch Polish patriot and actively promoted Polish political causes.

⁵⁵⁴ Andrzej A. Zięba, “Ukraińcy, Polacy i niemiecka zagłada Żydów,” in Andrzej A. Zięba, ed., *OUN, UPA i zagłada Żydów* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2016), xxx–xxxii.

⁵⁵⁵ Entry for “Kutry,” in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities in Poland*, Internet: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_poland/pol2_00460.html>, translated from *Pinkas hakehillot Polin*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 460–63; Andrzej A. Zięba, “Ukraińcy, Polacy i niemiecka zagłada Żydów,” in Zięba, *OUN, UPA i zagłada Żydów*, xxxi.

⁵⁵⁶ Joachim Schoenfeld, ed., *Holocaust Memoirs: Jews in the Lwów Ghetto, the Janowski Concentration Camp, and as Deportees in Siberia* (Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House, 1985), 58–59, 215.

⁵⁵⁷ Andrzej A. Zięba, “Ukraińcy, Polacy i niemiecka zagłada Żydów,” in Zięba, *OUN, UPA i zagłada Żydów*, xxx–xxxii.

Romashkian [Rev. Kazimierz Romaszkan] ... concealed the fifteen-year-old daughter of Bertha Kahana [Berta Scharf-Kahane] and treated her devotedly as he did his niece, Krystyna, a fifteen-year-old in poor health. Additional Poles [among them Rev. Bronisław Jakubowski of Ryków near Złoczów⁵⁵⁸] and Ukrainians came to Kahana's assistance; they include the Litwak and Brodziński families, who furnished her with "Aryan" papers.

An anonymous priest assisted Zyla Menkes-Post [Cyla Menkes-Fast], who had fled from the Janowska camp with an infant in her arms. Poles helped her obtain "Aryan" papers with which she could escape from Lvov [Lwów].

The aforementioned Cyla Menkes-Fast, born in 1907, was a teacher who was married to an engineer. Her husband was arrested at the beginning of the German occupation of Lwów, along with a group of prominent Jews. She never found out what happened to him. In the fall of 1941, she gave birth to a daughter. Cyla looked like a Pole and spoke Polish fluently. She escaped from the Lwów ghetto during a deportation, with her baby in her arms. The two of them survived the war with the help of a number of Polish friends, acquaintances and even strangers, including a Catholic priest, for whom Cyla expressed her gratitude in her Yad Vashem testimony.⁵⁵⁹ The following summary is from Patricia Heberer, *Children during the Holocaust* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2011), at pages xl–xli.

When the two reached the outskirts of the town with its high grass, they sat down to rest. She was at a loss as to what to do next. At that point, a woman came by and invited mother and child to her nearby cottage. Later on, thanking her for the hospitality, Cyla left to seek out some of her Polish friends for help. In fact, of these friends helped her buy false papers. She stayed for two weeks in the homes of two other Polish friends. The yet another Polish friend located a young, unmarried Polish woman who was willing to adopt the six-month-old baby. This required a birth certificate, which the local priest supplied, together with other needed documents. Again, the unexpected happened. At the moment of parting, the baby clung to her mother, crying loudly. There was something so disheartening and sorrowful in the infant's crying that the Polish woman who came for her could not take her. The baby stayed with Cyla, who soon found a job as a cook on an estate. She welcomed the work and the peace that came with it. In her free time she befriended a teacher, a woman who was out of work, and a Polish woman who was helping Jews who lived in a nearby forest. Cyla supplied food to these new friends.

All ran smoothly until a new law was passed requiring Poles to get special working papers. As a result, the estate manager discovered that Cyla's birth certificate was fake, and he asked her to leave immediately. She was glad that he did not denounce her to the authorities. Several Christian friends helped by keeping her for a day or two. This sporadic aid, together with her strong will to protect her baby, kept her going. Her prospects improved dramatically when one of her friends found her a job with a German officer who was looking for a cook. There she worked practically until the 1944 takeover by the Red Army.

Irena Wilder (later Krystyna Winecka or Christine Winecki), a teenage girl from Stanisławów (born in 1928), took refuge in Lwów with her aunt. Her aunt approached a Catholic priest, Rev. Józef Czapran, the vicar of St. Anthony's parish, who provided the child with a false birth certificate. She was taught Catholic prayers by a nun to assist her in passing as a Pole. These lessons proved to be invaluable when Irena Wilder was later apprehended and interrogated in Warsaw. (Christine Winecki, *The Girl in the Check Coat: Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland and a New Life in Australia* [London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007], pp. 61–62.)

When the train slowly arrived at the railway station in Lwow [Lwów] I was 130 kilometres from home ...

By midnight I found myself in the caring arms of Aunt Lucja [Lucja]. ... At the sight of me she started to cry, and before long I too burst into tears. I was not aware at the time that Jews were also being killed in Lwow. ...

The Jews of Lwow were prepared for the worst. They knew their days were numbered and that those who could still save themselves had no time to lose. The following day Aunt Lucja took me to St Anthony's Church in the suburb of Lyczakow [Lyczaków], where the local vicar, Father Czapran, issued me with a birth certificate from the parish registry of births, marriages and deaths for the year 1930. thus disappeared Irena Wilder, born in Stanislawow [Stanisławów], daughter of Oscar and Janina, of Jewish denomination, her place taken by Maria Wilska, female, aged 11, daughter of Katarzyna (father unknown), of Roman Catholic faith.

The same day Aunt Lucja placed me in the care of Uncle Ludwik and his wife Aunt Stefa who both lived in Grandmother Amalia's hose in Mala [Mala] Street. Every morning now I would go to church, where the good Sister

⁵⁵⁸ Testimony of Berta Kahane, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2541.

⁵⁵⁹ Testimony of Cyla Menkes-Fast, Yad Vashem Archives, file O33/634.

Benedykta taught me the words of the Catholic prayers. In the quiet, semi-dark atmosphere of the church permeated with the smell of incense, I felt safe there and I could cry uninterrupted.

Several days later, at the beginning of January 1942, I fled from Lwow together with Uncle Ludwik, Aunt Stefa and cousin Zbyszek, leaving Stanislawow even farther behind ...

Polish accounts confirm the assistance provided by Franciscans from St. Anthony's Church in Lwów in rescuing Jewish children.⁵⁶⁰ Andrzej Tarasek, a blind organist at St. Anthony's, was recognized by Yad Vashem for rescuing five Jews.⁵⁶¹

Other priests from Lwów and its environs also provided false documents to Jews. Andrzej Meller, who later moved to Warsaw for the duration of the war, received the birth certificate of a deceased parishioner from a priest he was acquainted with.⁵⁶² The literary critic Oskar Katzenellenbogen, who used the pen name Ostap Ortwin, was not so fortunate. After obtaining a baptismal certificate from Rev. Michał Dobija of St. Mary Magdalene church, he decided not to hide and remained in his own home in Lwów. After his arrest by a Jewish policeman, he was executed by the Germans in the spring of 1942.⁵⁶³

The Poor Clares of Perpetual Adoration (*Mniszki Klaryski od Wieczystej Adoracji*), a cloistered order of nuns, had a history of helping the poor. The need for help increased during the war. From October 1941 several Jewish adults were hidden in their convent in Lwów with the approval of the Church authorities. All of the Jewish charges survived, among them Dr. and Mrs. Rapacki, who moved to London in 1945. There was also a young woman, an orphan, who asked to be baptized of her own free will. Afterwards she entered a convent. She died as a nun at a young age. After the war, the nuns received messages of gratitude from their charges.⁵⁶⁴

The Sacré Coeur Sisters (Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Polish *Siostry Sacré-Coeur* or formally *Zgromadzenie Najświętszego Serca Jezusa*) sheltered a number of Jews in their two convents in Lwów located respectively on Plac św. Jura and Łyżwiarska Street. The Sisters sheltered the family of a Jewish doctor, several young Jewish women and two Jewish children.⁵⁶⁵ Among their charges were the two sisters and brother-in-law of Herman Flajszer or Fleiszer (passing as Henryk Repa). (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 838.)

During the war, Janina Urbaniak-Nowicka lived in Warsaw. In February 1943, she married Henryk Repa. In May 1943, the Germans arrested Henryk in the street [after he was betrayed by a Jew he knew from Lwów who worked with the Gestapo in Warsaw] and brought him home. It was only then that Janina realized that her husband was Jewish and that his real name was actually Herman Flajszer. However, using her knowledge of German, and by paying a hefty ransom, she was able to convince the Gestapo agent to leave Henryk at home. The following day she brought her husband over to her family; however, she did not reveal Henryk's true origin. Then she rented an apartment in Radosc [Radość], near Warsaw, and told the owners of the building that her husband was suffering from tuberculosis and that the local climate was not good for him. She had to commute to her office in Warsaw. In September 1943, at her husband's request, she went to Lwow to fetch Henryk's mother, Salomea Flajszer-Jablonska [she passed as Maria Jabłońska], as well as Henryk's niece, Anna Fil-Wroblewska [she went as Wróblewska] (then aged four), whose parents had been murdered in the Lwow ghetto. All these fugitives were sheltered in Janina's

⁵⁶⁰ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 140.

⁵⁶¹ Andrzej Tarasek, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10352064>>.

⁵⁶² Zila Rennert, *Trois wagons à bestiaux: D'une guerre à l'autre à travers l'Europe centrale, 1914–1946* (Paris: Phébus, 2007), 192; Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 174–78.

⁵⁶³ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 184.

⁵⁶⁴ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 113–14.

⁵⁶⁵ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1023; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 129; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 153.

Warsaw apartment. [At the beginning of 1944 Janina again went to Lwów to bring the remainder of Henryk's family to Warsaw, namely two sisters and a brother-in-law. However, they refused to leave their hiding place in the convent of the Sacré-Coeur Sisters.⁵⁶⁶] In June 1944, she brought them over for "summer vacation" to Golkowo [Golków], near Piaseczna [Piaseczno]. There, her mother-in-law was represented as her mother while Anna was passed off as Janina's daughter. A few days prior to the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, Janina took Henryk to Warsaw, since in Radosc the Germans were recruiting men to dig trenches. During the uprising, their house was bombed and both of them found themselves in Pruszkow [Pruszków] camp. Henryk escaped from a transport to Germany and went to his mother in Golkowo; he then found Janina in Mogielnica. After the liberation of Mogielnica in January 1945, Henryk and Janina separated ...

Felicja Kohn, a native of Lwów, recalled the assistance provided to Jews, among them her own mother, by Sister Maria Homme of the Sacré-Coeur order in Lwów, the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Kraków, and priests. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 259, 260, 262.)

My mathematics teacher, godmother and great friend of mine, a Sacré-Coeur nun, Maria Homme, meeting my mother wearing an arm band in the street, took her by the arm and walked by her side down the street—a very dangerous thing to do. A friend of mine had been staying with the same Sister Homme for some time. Also in Cracow [Kraków] I was very warmly received by Myszka P., who got hold of a Kennkarte for me, from the Reverend [Edward] Lubowiecki. ...

In Cracow I was put up for the night by the mother superior of a convent (Mother Superior Lubieńska⁵⁶⁷ of the Ursuline Sisters [of the Roman Union]), despite continuous visitations by the Gestapo. Another sister from the same convent recommended me for suitable jobs, thus making it possible for me to survive. ...

At another place I came upon a girl of Jewish background who had been saved by a priest, the son of a farmer.

The Sacré-Coeur Sisters of Lwów directed Lidia Parecka (born in 1922), a former student of theirs from a family who had converted to Catholicism, to the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nowy Sącz. After a brief stay at that convent, Lidia was taken in by Jadwiga and Stanisław Skarżyński, who had a small manor in Piaski near Czchów, in the vicinity of Brzesko. She remained with them from May 1942 until January 1945. Because of her marked Semitic features, she was passed off as a cousin of Armenian origin. Despite the fact that she lived there openly and her Jewish origin was widely suspected, no one gave her away.⁵⁶⁸

Anita Lanner, another resident of Lwów, was six years old when the war broke out. Her parents were divorced. She survived with the help of a number of Poles, including a priest and nuns who were not identified. (Pat Launer, "The Girl With the Pink Glasses: Survivor Anita Lanner Found Healing Through Hatha," *San Diego Jewish Journal*, August 2007.)

During the German Occupation, they were relocated to the Ghetto, along with tens of thousands of others. "I'd sneak in from where I was hiding to visit my father, who was in another area. I knew if they would catch me, it would be the end." When she was 8 years old, her father decided to move. He ended up in the Warsaw Ghetto and participated in the famous Uprising, where he lost his life.

Meanwhile, back in Lvov [Lwów], a friend of her father's, an unmarried Polish physician, smuggled Anita out of the Ghetto and took her in as his out-of-wedlock daughter.

"He was a very nice, good man. His mother took care of me. There were others hiding there, and one day, the Gestapo came and led us all out into the street, under guns. Suddenly, I heard this voice, I don't know where it came from, and it said, 'Run, now!' I hesitated, because I didn't know where to go. Then I felt a push on my shoulder and I ran. It was some kind of miracle. Maybe it was the survival voice. Maybe it was the 'pink glasses.' I always believed I would live.

"I didn't know where to run. So I went back to the apartment they took me from. The doctor's mother took me to my mother, who was hiding with a Polish woman. I was placed with another family. Every time they had visitors, they'd hide me in a little hope-chest, with holes to breathe.

⁵⁶⁶ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 380.

⁵⁶⁷ This information is incorrect as Sister Maria Cecylia (Zofia) Łubieńska died in 1937.

⁵⁶⁸ Testimony of Krystyna Skarżyńska Zabłocka and Lidia Bożena Parecka-Jaśkiewicz in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 371–72.

“With them, I had to go to church. The priest baptized me and prepared me for my first communion. He took care of me; maybe he knew I was Jewish. He found a place for me in a Polish orphanage. ...

“I was at the orphanage for about a year. Then, in 1944, when the Russians started moving west, the Germans told the orphanage to repatriate. So we went to Krakow [Kraków], where we were dumped in a nun’s cloister. The nuns didn’t have enough money to support us, so they gave us up for adoption. A wealthy couple adopted me. They had a lot of land, stables and orchards. I loved the country life. Then the Germans and Russians came and took everything. So I was given back—this time to a communist/government orphanage.

After unsuccessful attempts at shelter with farmers, Janine Webber (born in 1932 in Lwów as Niunia Monat, later Galloway) joined a large group of 15 Jews, among them her aunt, Rose Hochberg, who were hidden on an estate in the Lwów suburb of Persenkówka that housed a convent. The Jewish fugitives were placed there by Franciszek Rzutky, a member of the Home Army known as “Edek,” who worked on the estate as a watchman together with his brother Kazik (Kazimierz). After spending about a year in hiding in cramped quarters, armed with false identity documents in the name of Janina Kapielska, Janine was dispatched via the Polish Committee in Lwów to a convent in Kraków as a Polish orphan. Since Janine did not know any Catholic prayers or rituals, the nuns undoubtedly became aware of her true identity. After some time, an elderly priest took Janine and three other girls into his home. Subsequently, Janine went to work as domestic help for an elderly Polish couple. Her aunt came to claim her after the war, since her parents and younger brother had perished. The identities of most of these rescuers are not known. The convent in Lwów may have been that of the Albertine Sisters. After the war, Franciszek Rzutky became a priest in Kraków.⁵⁶⁹

Rev. Jan Bałys, the pastor of Siemianówka, a large Polish village located approximately 20 kilometres south of Lwów, sheltered Jews in the parish rectory and extended protection to those who took refuge in the village, among them a couple from Kraków by the name of Mogilnicki, Józef Gabel from Radwań, a Jewish woman named Bronia, and a girl around 17–18. He also provided false identity documents to 5–6 Jewish children who were taken in by Polish villagers. The children had escaped from a group of Jewish children being driven through Siemianówka on the way to Lwów. A number of other Jews were also hidden in this Polish village. Józef and Aniela Spaliński sheltered Shimon (Szymon) Kahane and his young daughter, Shifra (later Ben Nun), born in 1935. Shifra was passed off as the Spalińskis’ adopted child, while Shimon hid in the hayloft of their barn. The couple were childless and treated Shifra like a daughter. Aniela Spalińska taught her prayers so that the girl could attend church services and she started to go to school. When Shifra’s presence came to the attention of the Ukrainian militia, they interrogated Mrs. Spalińska. Rev. Bałys assured the police that the child was the daughter of his washerwoman and was not Jewish. Rev. Bałys also found employment for Józef Gabel, a converted Jew, with villagers and provided him with a false baptismal and birth certificate under the name of Józef Gablewski. He had his nephew take Gabel-Gablewski to Zaleszczyki, where he was employed in a distillery managed by the priest’s friend. Threatened with arrest by the Gestapo, Rev. Bałys left for Limanowa, where he died soon

Testimony of Janine Galloway, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 28452; Janine Webber, *Edek*, Internet: <<https://www.edek.film/janine>>; Victoria Chandler, “Surviving the Holocaust: One Woman’s Story of Courage, Loss and the Strength to Go on,” September 8, 2018, Internet: <<https://www.goodhousekeeping.com/uk/news/a566906/holocaust-survivor-story-janine-weber-poland/>>. See also the testimony of Rose Hochberg, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 34421; Testimony of Róża Hochberg, October 13, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4630; Klara Jackl, “Tytułowy bohater filmu ‘Edek’ odnaliziony,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/aktualnosci/tytulowy-bohater-filmu-edek-odnaleziony>>. Franciszek Rzutky (1923–1971) was recognized together with Tadeusz and Janina Lewandowski, who provided the Jewish charges with material assistance. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 453.

⁵⁶⁹ Adam Stalmach (born in 1923) was recognized together with his parents. He was ordained a priest after the war. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 567; The Stelmach Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-stelmach-family>>.

after the war.⁵⁷⁰

Sonia (Yudenberg) Rzecziński of Uhnów, near Rawa Ruska, was able to pass as a Pole with the assistance of several Poles thanks to birth certificates issued to her by a priest on two occasions. The certificates were obtained through the intermediary of a Polish woman.⁵⁷¹

Assistance of various kinds was provided by many other priests and nuns throughout Poland. The following testimonies are recorded in Tomaszewski and Werbowski, *Żegota*, at pages 116, 120, 127, 137–38; *Code Name: Żegota*, at pages 125, 129, 137, 148–49.

Pesa Achtman Cimerman: *Cimerman's sister, who was also hidden by the Kopers [in the Warsaw suburb of Praga], had once been rescued by a priest, Oskar Wiśniewski, when she was discovered in a hiding place, dirty and ragged. It was obvious she was Jewish, but Wiśniewski was called upon to identify her. He insisted she was a parishioner and took her home until another place could be found.*

Zofia Berczyńska: *Ilonka Freedman, [then a five-year-old girl with very Semitic features who was entrusted to Waclaw Berczyński by a Jewish co-worker at the German factory in Częstochowa where they worked], soon became [a niece by the name of] Irena Gawrońska, after a local priest gave her an authentic birth certificate of a deceased child.*

Zdzisław Przygoda: *In the interim, Przygoda's sister-in-law, who was living as a Polish Catholic and caring for his child [Joanna], was arrested. During her interrogation, she gave her mother's ring to the German interrogating officer, begging him to take the child to a nearby Ursuline convent. He took the ring, promising to do so. He kept his word. [Actually, this was an orphanage in Suchedniów near Skarżysko-Kamienna run by the Sisters of the Name of Jesus, described earlier.—M.P.]*

Richard Kalinowicz, [a captain in the Polish army when the war began, Kalinowicz—of Jewish origin—became a Home Army unit commander in the Sambor region]: *He recalled that there was a prisoner in the Sambor jail who worked as a pościemiuch, a cleaning man. He was a priest who had been arrested for helping Jews. On a whim, the Gestapo officer in charge did not have him shot but kept him there as a janitor. It seems he was amused by his praying, his "conversations with God" as he called them. This priest/janitor used to conceal food in his cleaning equipment and give it to the Jewish prisoners. ...*

Procuring documents was a steady part of the [Home Army] unit's work. Birth certificates were obtained regularly from a Father [Antoni] Żołnierczyk in Sambor, though Kalinowicz did not hesitate to forge some himself. He still had the official rubber stamp from St. Elizabeth Parish in Lwów. ...

The Dipel family of Sambor ran one of the largest shelters [for Jews]. The mother and her brother, Father Stojakowski, were famous for their help. The three sons, Tadeusz, Julian and Juliusz, all belonged to Kalinowicz's unit and to Żegota.

Stanisław Karliński (*nom de guerre* "Burza"), a Home Army unit commander in the Piotrków Trybunalski region, oversaw the preparation of hundreds of false identity documents by a special cell in his underground organization. Involved in this operation were trusted workers in the county office as well as Catholic parishes that issued false birth certificates, which were required in order to obtain a *Kennkarte* (German identity document). Some of those priests, identified fifty years later, were: Rev. Marian Skoczewski ("Ksawery"), Rev. Patora from Kamięnsk, Rev. Jan Golonka and Rev. Stanisław Musiał from Ręczno, Monsignor Secomski from Bąkowa Góra, Rev. E. Gązka from Lubień, priests from the parishes of Sulejów, Paradyż, Żarnów, Kazimierzów, Przedbórz, and Piotrków, and the Bernardine Fathers.⁵⁷²

The risks involved in such exploits were substantial. Rev. Jan Widłak, the pastor of Miechów and a Home

⁵⁷⁰ Account of Rozalia Makowiecka-Serafin of Wrocław, December 2, 1997 (in the author's possession); Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 742–43 (Józef Spaliński, Aniela Spalińska); Testimony of Szymon Kahane, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1034; Edward Zawada, "Siemianówka pomaga Żydom," dated August 1, 2003, Internet: <http://pl.sci.historia.free-usenet.eu/Siemianowka-pomaga-Zydom_T4153818_S1>.

⁵⁷¹ Natan Ortner, ed., *Uhnów Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: The Uhnów Organization of Israel, 1981), 68, 70.

⁵⁷² Statement of Stanisław Burza-Karliński dated February 9, 1993.

Army chaplain, worked closely with an underground cell of the Home Army that “legalized” documents for endangered persons. With his permission, Franciszek Grzebieluch, the church organist, issued hundreds of baptismal and birth certificates which were then used to obtain false German identity documents (*Kennkarte*), with the assistance of Marian Urbański, a county clerk, who fabricated the documents, and Bronisław Falencki, who distributed them. More than a dozen Jews were provided with such documents. One of them, Maria Bochner from Miechów, was arrested in Przemyśl on March 12, 1943, and interrogated about the source of her false documents. As a result, Falencki was promptly arrested and sent to Auschwitz. He was tortured cruelly (his genitals were crushed with pliers) in order to extract from him the names of his accomplices. Some of them were apprehended by the Germans and executed. The church organist went into hiding for the duration of the war. Rev. Jan Widłak also placed Jewish children in the county orphanage run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and in private homes of his parishioners. In 1942, Rev. Widłak received a Jewish couple from Wieluń by the name of Walter, who had converted to Catholicism, and cared for them together with his vicar, Rev. Stefan Podsiedlik, who was also involved in the local rescue activities. Previously, the Walters had been sheltered by Rev. Szczepan Sobalkowski, vice-rector of the Senior Seminary in Kielce, who served as chaplain of the Kielce District of the National Armed Forces. Rev. Sobalkowski took the Walters under his roof even though he resided next door to the German gendarmerie. He continued to provide assistance to them (food and the like) when they moved to Miechów, where they survived the war passing as Poles. Rev. Sobalkowski’s exploits came to light after he was arrested by the Communist security police in 1948. The Walters came forward in his defence during his show trial, and Rev. Sobalkowski drew a relatively lenient sentence of seven years. After his release from prison, he was appointed the auxiliary bishop of Kielce.⁵⁷³

Together with his mother, siblings and grandfather, Zew Weinreb (born in 1928) left the city of Łódź, where they lived, and took up residence in Wolbrom, north of Kraków. During the liquidation of the ghetto in November 1942, the family escaped and was sheltered by an unidentified priest in his rectory in a nearby village. Since German manhunts in the vicinity endangered their presence, the priest provided them with false identity documents and they moved on.⁵⁷⁴ A mixed Polish-Jewish family from Wolbrom was sheltered by Rev. Józef Jarża, the pastor of Bydlin near Olkusz, until the end of the war.⁵⁷⁵

Rev. Mieczysław Połoska, the pastor of Białogon near Kielce, provided false baptismal and birth certificates to Jews as well as food from the parish soup kitchen. After the war, the Communist authorities arrested Rev. Połoska, together with Bishop Czesław Kaczmarek and several other priests from Kielce, on trumped up politically motivated charges. A Jewish woman named Rachela Klasztorna came forward in his defence at his show trial, testifying to the assistance he provided to Jews and his righteous character.⁵⁷⁶

Monsignor Witold Dzięcioł, who served as pastor of the cathedral parish, was arrested by the Gestapo on

⁵⁷³ Marek J. Chodakiewicz, *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II* (Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 195; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 827–28, 858–59; Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 189–90 (Entry 317); Daniel Wojciechowski, “Ksiądz biskup Szczepan Sobalkowski (1901–1958)—charyzmatyczny kaznodzieja i wychowawca młodzieży,” *Nasz Dziennik*, July 28–29, 2007; Daniel Wojciechowski, “Zasłużony w ratowaniu Żydów skazanych na zagładę: Ksiądz infułat Jan Widłak (1892–1974),” *Nasz Dziennik*, September 27–28, 2008; Daniel Wojciechowski, *“Księża niezłomni”: Diecezja kielecka* (Włoszczowa–Kurzelów: Print, 2011).

⁵⁷⁴ Testimony of Zew Weinreb, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1389.

⁵⁷⁵ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 250.

⁵⁷⁶ Daniel Wojciechowski, “Dwukrotny więzień Mokotowa: Ks. Mieczysław Połoska (1896–1981),” *Nasz Dziennik*, January 5–6, 2008; Daniel Wojciechowski, *“Księża niezłomni”: Diecezja kielecka* (Włoszczowa–Kurzelów: Print, 2011) Daniel Wojciechowski, *“Księża niezłomni”: Diecezja kielecka* (Włoszczowa–Kurzelów: Print, 2011).

May 20, 1942 for helping a Jew and was imprisoned in concentration camps for the duration of the war.⁵⁷⁷ (Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, p. 33.)

*Because I extended help to a sick Jew in Kielce, I was arrested by the Gestapo and spent three years in a jail and in concentration camps in Oświęcim (Auschwitz), Mauthausen, Gusen and Dachau.
Yours in Christ, Monsignor Witold Dzieciol [Dzięciol], Victoria Park, Western Australia*

Mirla and Moszek Buki from Skierniewice, as well as their four children, Fela, Sala, Bela and Szulim, survived the war with the assistance of Rev. Jan Michałowicz.⁵⁷⁸

Despite his reputation of being an anti-Semite, Fr. Marian Pirożyński, a Redemptorist, was active in rescuing Jews—a fact confirmed by Jewish witnesses who came forward in his defence at his anti-clerical show trial in 1954. While residing in Mościska near Przemyśl, Fr. Pirożyński assisted several Jews who escaped from the ghetto, among them Zofia Katz, the daughter of a dentist, whom he provided with false documents. The Redemptorist monastery in Mościska also sheltered a number of Jews, among them the Metzger family, with the assistance of Brother Tarsycjusz (Franciszek Tomaszewski). After moving to Warsaw, Fr. Pirożyński cared for a three-year-old girl, Teresa Kowalska, who was thrown out of a tram in Warsaw by her mother, and placed her with the sisters, Leokadia and Maria Wochelski. He found safe houses for Jewish children in Skierniewice. Fr. Pirożyński fell under suspicion and had to hide from the Germans, changing his place of residence several times.⁵⁷⁹ As this and other examples demonstrate, Yad Vashem is rather reluctant to recognize as “Righteous” members of the Polish Roman Catholic clergy. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, pp. 878–79; The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044211>>.)

Leokadia Wochelska lived in Warsaw with her sister, Maria, and her niece Halina. She worked as a dressmaker for a living. In 1942, the priest Marian Pirożyński turned to her with a request: to hide a Jewish child. Leokadia agreed and accepted the three-year-old Teresa, whose mother, Stefania Kowalska, was hiding with the help of Aryan papers. Soon rumors began to spread among the neighbors that the two sisters were hiding a Jewish girl. The two sisters were forced to take Teresa to a convent, but Teresa cried terribly and did not wish to part with her guardians. Leokadia and Maria did not think much about it and finally said to each other: “With God’s help, what will be of the child will be of us,” and they took her back with them. “For all of these years they cared for her as their own child. For the life of my child, they put up the highest stake—their own safety, their lives and the life of their niece. It was noble and unselfish help,” wrote Stefania in her testimony. After the war, Stefania found Leokadia and Maria as well as her daughter, Teresa. “With heartache I had to part with the child. The child was also very attached to us and returned to her mother crying,” wrote Leokadia Wochelska. Stefania and her daughter eventually immigrated to Israel.

Several Polish families, among them those of Róża Kopacz and Józef Wiącek, in the village of Lacka Wola near Mościska were engaged in sheltering at least a dozen Jews from the Nadel and Singer families. Rev. Zygmunt Dziedziak, the pastor of the parish located in the nearby village of Trzcieniec, was aware of

⁵⁷⁷ Andrzej Kwaśniewski, “Polacy ratujący Żydów na terenie diecezji kieleckiej w latach 1939–1945: Nieznane przykłady heroizmu chrześcijańskiego,” in Jerzy Gapys and Agnieszka Dziarmaga (eds.), *Pomoc świadczona ludności żydowskiej przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945 ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Kielecczyzny* (Kielce: n.p., 2016), 135–55, at p. 142.

⁵⁷⁸ Testimony of Mirla Buki in Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1019. See also Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...: Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 199–200. This book has been translated as *Such a Beautiful Sunny Day...: Jews Seeking Refuge in the Polish Countryside, 1942–1945* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2016).

⁵⁷⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1022; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 717; *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich 1918–1981* (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1983), vol. 6, 684–85; Ryszard Bender, “Piorzyński Marian,” in *Encyklopedia “Białych Plam”* (Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne), vol. 14 (2004), 150–53; Kazimierz Pelczarski, “O. Marian Piorzyński jako więzień komunistycznego reżimu,” *Studia Redemptorystowskie*, no. 5 (2007): 9–37, at pp. 23–24; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 78–79.

the rescue effort and encouraged his parishioners to help Jews.⁵⁸⁰

Alicja Kleinberg, the wife of a dentist from Rabka, and her young daughters, Ewa and Hanka (Anna), took refuge in the countryside near Biecz where they passed as Poles. In August 1942, a few days before the liquidation of the local ghetto, Mrs. Kleinberg turned to her friend Marian Sikorski, headmaster of the elementary school in the village of Szerzyny, who helped the Kleinbergs escape from the ghetto. After sheltering them for a few months and obtaining Aryan papers for them under the name of Janowski, the Kleinbergs moved to a house in a nearby village which Sikorski had rented for them. He continued to look after the Kleinbergs until their liberation in January 1945. Their cover depended on the support of various persons including a village priest, Rev. Józef Wilk, a vicar in Świecany near Jasło. (Accounts of Ewa Janowska-Boisse, née Kleinberg and Anna Janowska-Ciońcka, née Kleinberg, "Father Never Returned from Exile," in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, volume 2, pp. 100–102.)

Not wanting to endanger the Sikorskis, Mother decided to move to the nearby village of Świecany. We moved in with a family of farmers named Szynal. Mama told the farmers that she was an officer's wife and that this was the reason why it was safer for her to live with the children in the countryside. We had instructions from Mama to bite our lips, because their natural fullness could give away our origins. Nonetheless, our black hair, which stayed curly despite constant brushing, still betrayed us. ...

The winters were cold and harsh back then. Toward the end of the war we didn't go out of the house, because we had no warm clothes or shoes. Luckily, there were various people who helped Mama in all this misery. In order to create the appearance that we did have a family, that we were not in hiding, Lola, who herself was hiding on Aryan papers, would come to visit us. Endangering her own life, she brought us money from Aunt Zosia, who by then was already in the Kraków ghetto. A priest from a nearby parish also visited us, bringing us food from time to time. I remember that his name was Józef Wilk. Maria Wnęk, a relative of Mr. Sikorski's, who was a teacher, would come through heavy snow to visit us. She walked on foot more than a dozen kilometres to instruct us in catechism and how to behave in church. ...

There were days when Mama would tell us to hide in the nearby woods, because she would get a tip that German gendarmes were coming into the village. At such times we were dying of fear, wondering whether we would still find Mama alive when we returned.

In this village, Mama met a man from Sieradz who had escaped from a train that was taking him to forced labor in Germany. His name was Władysław Nogala, an exceptionally good-hearted and noble man. He helped us, bringing us onions so that "the children wouldn't get scurvy." He also gave us chickens and whatever else he could obtain. Władysław Nogala was respected in the village and was involved with the partisans who were active in our area.

One day the village administrator, knowing that Władysław was friendly with Mama, told him that "people are talking that Mrs. Janowska is a Jew, and I will have to report this to the police." [Village administrators were required to report the presence of Jews under penalty of death.—M.P.] Władysław Nogala replied, "If you do, your head will lie in this dunghill." After this encounter the administrator was silent.

A priest from Gorzkowice near Radomsko who was involved in the underground, probably Rev. Jan Łabęda, the local pastor, came to the assistance of two Jews, Vovtche Raichbard and Shmuel Friedman, and provided them with false identity documents. The following testimony is that of a Jewish survivor from Łask. (Z. Ben-Moshe, "Respect for Jew-Savers," in Z. Tzurnamal, ed., *Łask: Sefer zikaron (Łask: Izcór-Book)* [Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Łask in Israel, 1968], pp. 124–26.)

We must remind [i.e., be mindful of] all those people, not Jews, who gave their hand to save many of our town when they escaped from the Nazi murderers. Also in Łask [Łask] there were good Christians [sic] who suffered seeing how the Jews of their town suffered. In the hard days of distress and banishment, they endangered themselves by hiding Jews and giving them from their bread. Gabrionchik and his wife from Łask; he gave documents and food [to] two escapers: Vovtche Raichbard and Shmuel Friedman. A Christian woman emerged as a savior-angel, when they had to pass the boundary of the German protectorate [i.e., into the Generalgouvernement]. Heinzel, Skibiński [Skibiński]'s son-in-law, guided the two to the Polish secret organization in order to receive German documents, and hid them in his home some days. He gave them the address of Zvi Michalovitz in Grushkovitza [Gorzkowice], and did so that they would be accepted by a priest, who was the chief of the secret organization in this place. This priest,

⁵⁸⁰ Jeffrey Cymbler, interviewed by Piotr Falkowski, "Moją rodzinę uratowali Polacy," *Nasz Dziennik*, March 16, 2018; Testimony of Tully (Naphtali) Nadel, Museum of Jewish Heritage, New York City, ID no. 1984.T.35; Testimony of Rose Singer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2290; Testimony of Bertha Reich, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2284.

whose name is unknown, accepted them with bright face, and immediately gave them the necessary documents. The young Christian, who knew they were Jews, hid them in her parents' house, telling them these two are Polish officers from Varsha [Warsaw], who escaped from the Gestapo.

The Polish policeman Krakovski, who saved Zvi Michalovitz from the death-waggon [sic], just in the last minute, and brought him to a refuge place. The family Banashchick, who hid him in the threshing-floor, and gave him all he needed for lessons he gave their children in the nights. ... The villagers who disperse pieces of bread and turnip on the ways, for the caravans of hungry people, who went under the watching of the S.S. The villagers who gave their shoes to [the] barefooted and weak. How can we forget the villagers who refused to give food [to] the watchers of the women-caravans who were transported from work-camp. Shraga Noiman tells about a Polish boy who worked as an electrician in Kolomna [?]. He offered to save the whole group of Jews that worked there, and to transfer them to a secure place near Varsha. This electrician and his fellows, who acted a period of time to save Jews, were caught at last by the Nazis.

We must remind a little of those sparks in order that our sons and daughters will know, that even in the darkness of extermination and killing, there were also cases of deeds of kindness. I cannot tell everything, only a little.

After escaping from the Lwów ghetto in June 1943, Jakub Lang (born in 1928) moved from place to place before turning to Rev. Kazimierz Masłowski. Rev. Masłowski was a parish priest at the church of Our Lady of Ostra Brama (Matki Boskiej Ostrobramskiej) in Lwów, which was under the care of the Salesian Society. He found a temporary job for Jakub as a farm worker. Afterwards Rev. Masłowski took Jakub to the Polish Welfare Council and vouched for him. After spending a few days in a hostel, where he came across several Jewish girls, Jakub was directed to Zimna Woda, a nearby Polish village. Passing as a Catholic, Jakub was employed as a farmhand by several farmers. After the entry of the Soviet army, Jakub was reunited with his mother, younger brother and cousin. They too had survived in hiding in the forest near Hołosko with the help of a number of Poles, among them Józef Dziedzic.⁵⁸¹ As mentioned earlier, Ryszard Macharowski, another Jewish boy (born in 1930), was also employed on a farm in Zimna Woda, after his stay with the Albertine Sisters in Lwów.

Zofia Reichman (now Sophia Richman) was born in Lwów in January 1941. Her mother Dorota Reichman was able to obtain, with the assistance of her friend, Stanisława Drabicka, birth and baptismal and marriage certificates for herself from Drabicka's uncle, a priest at the church of Our Lady of the Snows (Maryi Panny Śnieżnej) in Lwów. (The pastor of this parish at the time was Rev. Jan Piwiński). She also had her young daughter baptized to obtain a birth and baptismal certificate for her. These documents were instrumental in enabling them to survive as Catholic Poles in the nearby village of Zimna Woda. (Sophia Richman, *A Wolf in the Attic: The Legacy of a Hidden Child of the Holocaust* [New York, London and Oxford: The Haworth Press, 2002], pp. 15–16. The birth and baptismal certificate used by Dorota Reichman is reproduced in the book between pages 106 and 107.)

I was a blond, blue-eyed baby with fair skin and could easily pass for a Polish toddler, a perfect cover for my mother. With such a baby in her arms, my mother's authenticity as a Christian was not likely to be questioned. Her flawless Polish would help with the deception. So going into hiding as a gentile was a likely possibility. The problem was to find documents to substantiate our new identity.

My mother had a number of close gentile friends, among them Stasia [Stanisława] Drabicka. The two were linked by music. Stasia played the cello, and, before the war, they frequently enjoyed playing duets. Stasia was a Catholic, and she was related to a priest. As a member of the clergy, Stasia's uncle was in a position to provide papers that could help my mother with her escape plan. Asking gentiles for this kind of help was a very risky business. There were severe reprisals for those helping Jews. Gentiles helping Jews risked death or deportation for themselves and their families as well. Furthermore, for Jews seeking help, the question of trust was of paramount importance. ... My mother was confident that Stasia could be trusted. Mother was generally a good judge of character, but what about Stasia's uncle, a man she had never met? ...

The plan for going into hiding had to be carefully implemented. Stasia's uncle provided the birth, baptismal, and marriage certificates of a deceased Catholic parishioner, Maria Oleszkiewicz, born in 1908. My mother's 1903 date of birth was close enough. It was arranged that I would be baptized as Zofia Oleszkiewicz. We had our new identities. Now we had to find a place to live where no one knew us. It was generally believed that hiding in a small town was safer than remaining in the city, where police searches were a constant fact of life in early 1942 and where

⁵⁸¹ Testimony of Jakub Lang, December 21, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1340. Rev. Kazimierz Masłowski and Rev. Jan Synior also instructed several Jews on religious matters and prepared them to receive the sacraments. See Pietrzykowski, *Towarzystwo Salezjańskie w Polsce w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, 155.

it was possible to run into an acquaintance who could betray you. The outskirts of Lwów seemed a good choice as a hiding place because it would allow us to remain relatively close to my father. There was always a distant hope that he might be freed or find a way out of Janowska [camp].

A number of other Jews were also sheltered by Poles in the village of Zimna Woda: the Ulanowski family hid eleven Jews in their home, and the Dutkiewicz family hid five Jews.⁵⁸² After escaping from the Kleparów ghetto outside Lwów, Fanny (Fradel Feige) Tennenbaum and her son, David (born in 1931), found a temporary hiding place with the help of a Ukrainian professor and family friend. The professor secured false papers for them, including baptismal and birth certificates issued by a Latin-rite parish, under the names Franciszka Wieczorkowska and Teresa Wieczorkowska, respectively. In December 1942, they moved to a long-term hiding place in Zimna Woda with an elderly, retired schoolteacher named Jadwiga Sokolińska. They lived there openly as Catholic Poles. David, who was circumcised, pretended to be a mentally disabled girl, having grown his hair long in order to avoid his identity being discovered.⁵⁸³

Rev. Stanisław Cichocki, the pastor of Zimna Woda near Lwów, provided false baptismal and birth certificates to several Jews. One of them was his neighbour, named Goldman, who had done metal work at the rectory. Goldman was apprehended in Lwów and informed the criminal police of the source of his identity document. Rev. Cichocki was summoned to the police and denied any knowledge of the document. The police did not believe Goldman's story that he obtained the document without providing any payment, which was true, so strangely they let the priest go.⁵⁸⁴ The Ryziewicz family of Zimna Woda family was not so lucky. Some members of this family were shot to death for sheltering a Jewish acquaintance.⁵⁸⁵

The Dominican monastery in Lwów manufactured documents for Jews on a large scale. (Zygmunt Mazur, "Dominikanie lwowscy w podwójnej niewoli," *Gazeta*, Toronto, no. 144, 1991.)

Priests from the monastery were moved by the tragedy of the Jews, especially Father Sylwester Paluch and Father Anzelm Jezierski. Not heeding the danger that faced them they provided material assistance to Jewish families. Father Sylwester, with the assistance of a painter by the name of Rzepecki, fabricated some 500 certificates of baptism and distributed them to Jews. The Gestapo became aware of these activities and it was only by sheer luck that the priests escaped repercussions. Many Jews survived on these certificates and some of them attained high positions in postwar Poland. None of them, however, remembered about the humble priest from Lwów. Father Sylwester died in Warsaw on November 3, 1983. None of those rescued through his assistance attended his funeral. He was buried in the order's graveyard in Powązki Cemetery in Warsaw.

After escaping from the ghetto in Lwów during the Aktion in April 1942, Leokadja Bachner hid in a garden belonging to Poles for two weeks before moving to a village near Sokołówka, where she worked as a laundress using a false identity. Polish women who worked with her helped her hide her identity. After moving to another village, she obtained a false birth and baptismal certificate from a priest who lived near Busk, possibly in Adamy. While working as a cook in the Polish village of Adamy, she

⁵⁸² Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 195 (Dutkiewicz); Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 626–27 (Ulanowski).

⁵⁸³ David Tennenbaum Papers, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.A.0003, RG number RG-50.120.0346; Testimony of David Tennenbaum, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 22207.

⁵⁸⁴ Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland*, 40; Testimony of Stanisław Cichocki, April 12, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3392.

⁵⁸⁵ Danuta Nespiaik, "Żydzi na Kresach: Słowa i czyny," *Semper Fidelis*, no. 3 (44) (1998), Internet: <<http://www.lwow.home.pl/semper/kres-zydzi.html>>.

witnessed how villagers extended help to Jews hiding in the nearby forest.⁵⁸⁶

Rev. Edward Tabaczkowski, pastor of Tłumacz near Stanisławów, provided false documents to many Jews, among them Berta Opoczyńska (who survived under the assumed identity of Zuzanna Sokołowska), Mina Bikels Rotenstreich, and Wilhelm Hartenstein (who survived under the assumed identity of Roman Szelożyński⁵⁸⁷). He also provided other forms of assistance to Jews such as smuggling food into the ghetto and encouraging his parishioners to shelter Jews. Rev. Tabaczkowski sheltered Leon Weiser, a Jewish student, in his rectory. Unfortunately, Leon Weiser was caught by the Germans. Rev. Tabaczkowski did not heed the warnings of his own imminent arrest. A few days after Weiser's execution, he was also arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned in Stanisławów. Rev. Tabaczkowski was tortured, but betrayed no one, and was put to death on October 20, 1942.⁵⁸⁸ Rev. Tabaczkowski was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018 for helping Berta Opoczyńska, Ludwika Czechowicz, Leon Hartenstein, and Żanetta Knobloch. (Shlomo Blond, et al., eds., *Memorial Book of Tłumacz: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community* [Tel Aviv: Tłumacz Societies in Israel and the U.S.A., 1976], pp. cxxviii–cxxix.) According to Mina Bikels Rotenstreich,

A few Jews escaped when the Polish physician, Dr. Zeno [Zenon] Hoffman, hid them in the hospital where he was working.

In 1942 the Gestapo arrested Dr. Hoffman and the Canon [Edward] Tabaczkowski, who risked his life by issuing baptism certificates to Jews so that they could escape to the Aryan side. We were given eight such certificates by Tabaczkowski, even though we had nothing to give him in return. The Polish pharmacist Shankowski [Marian Szankowski] also helped the Jews as much as he could. Much of the valuables which Jews placed in his keeping were returned to them, although this was dangerous to do.

The monks from the Conventual Franciscan monastery in Święty Stanisław near Halicz, in Stanisławów voivodship, actively encouraged the faithful of this small Polish village to extend help to Jewish fugitives. Among those who heeded their call was the Płaziński family. None of the villagers were betrayed.⁵⁸⁹ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 620.)

In 1943, Anna Lubicz, 16, fled with her uncle Josef Renart from the Ottynia ghetto in Tłumacz [Tłumacz] county, Eastern Galicia. They hid in the surrounding forests and in their search for a safe hiding place arrived in the village of Święty Stanisław [Święty Stanisław], where they came to the home of the Plazinski [Płaziński] family. Although they were only poor farmers, Jozef [Józef] and Maria Plazinski and their daughter Zuzanna immediately agreed to hide the Jewish fugitives and prepared a hiding place for them in the loft of their barn. Lubicz and her uncle remained in the hiding place for almost a year, until their liberation in the summer of 1944, and the Plazinski family cared for them with kindness and devotion throughout the entire period. Without asking for or receiving anything in return, and taking great risks, the Plazinski family invited Lubicz and her uncle to enter their home every evening.

⁵⁸⁶ Testimony of Leokadja Bochner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 234, noted in Józwick, Mahorowska, and Umińska, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 1–900 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 1–900*, vol. 1, 93–94.

⁵⁸⁷ Działoszyński Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dzialoszynski-family-0>>.

⁵⁸⁸ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 154–55; Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 227; Kamil Barański, *Przemienili zagońcycy, chliborobi, chasydzy...: Rzecz o ziemi stanisławowsko-kołomyjsko-stryjskiej* (London: Panda Press, 1988), 417–18; Wacław Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce–Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1987), Entry 741; Shlomo Blond, et al., eds., *Memorial Book of Tłumacz: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community* (Tel Aviv: Tłumacz Societies in Israel and the U.S.A., 1976), xxxiv, cxxix and clxxiii; Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 154–55. According to one source, Rev. Tabaczkowski was betrayed by a Jewish woman from Tłumacz. See Lesław Jezowski, “Ks. Edward Tabaczkowski,” *Semper Fidelis* (Wrocław), no. 3 (16), 1993.

⁵⁸⁹ Paweł Knap, “*Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj*”: *Relacje “Sprawiedliwych” i o “Sprawiedliwych” z województwa zachodniopomorskiego* (Szczecin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Szczecinie, 2010), 101–3.

On Sundays, they invited them to join them at the table, while the mother, Maria, or the daughter, Zuzanna, stood guard outside the house in case anyone who could give them away approached. The Plazinski family saved the Jewish fugitives because they were motivated by humanitarian and religious principles, and with the encouragement of the local priest other Christian families in the village risked their lives to hide Jews as well. After the war, the survivors and their benefactors moved separately to areas within the new borders of Poland. In order to repay them after the war, Lubicz and Renart bought the Plazinski family a house and wagon so that they could make a living and kept in touch with them for many years, even after both immigrated to Israel.

The fate of the Conventual Franciscans from Święty Stanisław was particularly tragic. Fr. Remigiusz (Antoni) Wójcik, the administrator of the parish, Fr. Peregryn (Jan) Haczela, the guardian of the Conventual Franciscan monastery, and Brother Szczepan (Franciszek) Kosiorek were arrested in July 1942, after a denunciation by Ukrainian nationalists, for possession of illegal weapons (which had been planted on the premises) or, according to another version, for hiding a Jewish woman in the church bell tower. After their arrest by the Ukrainian police, they were taken to the Gestapo prison in Stanisławów or murdered on the way there. According to one eyewitness account, Fr. Wójcik was held by the Gestapo and beaten for three days and, on the fourth day, ripped apart by dogs in the prison courtyard.⁵⁹⁰

A Jewish family consisting of Leo, Rosa, and their daughter, Genia, who were sheltered by Poles, took refuge in the Carmelite monastery in Bołszowce near Rohatyn, together with Polish villagers, during attacks by Ukrainian nationalists.⁵⁹¹

Aniela Barylak of Nadwórna, in Stanisławów voivodship, sheltered an eight-year-old girl named Szejndl Einhorn, later Jafa Kurz. For reasons of safety, she had the child baptized by a priest who would have been well aware that she was Jewish. The priest provided her with false identity documents in the name of Stefania. Aniela taught Stefania the Polish language (which she did not speak before) and Catholic prayers, so that she could pass as a Polish child.⁵⁹²

The Bodnar family from Nadwórna turned to Rev. Adolf Żółczyński, who resided in nearby Wołosów, for assistance in their time of need. Rev. Żółczyński provided them with false baptismal certificates, which enabled them to pass as Catholic Poles. Their story is related by Dr. Wiktor Bodnar, who became a well-known clinical psychologist. (The information about Rev. Żółczyński's death at the hands of the Gestapo is not correct, as he survived the German occupation.) (Heart of the Fathers, Shavei Israel. Internet: <<http://www.israelreturns.org/heart-of-the-fathers/>>.)

Dr. Bodnar's roots lie in the court of Nadvorna [Nadwórna] chassidus. He was born in that town ("Nadworna") in 1937, where his grandfather Moshe, an ardent chassid, owned ten farms and a large glass factory. Moshe Bodnar, head of the Nadvorna town council, was both smart and diplomatic. "He funded the Catholic church in the town so that the municipality would also fund the Nadvorna Rebbe's beis medrash," Dr. Bodnar relates. His grandfather had six sons and three daughters, but of the extended family, only three sons survived the war. ...

"My own family was saved by a righteous priest named Adolph Zoltinski [Adolf Żółczyński]," says Dr. Bodnar. The priest forged documents testifying that the family was Christian, and even "married" the elder Bodnars with a Catholic wedding ceremony. Those Christian credentials saved their lives.

"My father tried to pay the priest, but he refused. When my father asked him why he was helping us and putting himself in so much danger, the priest replied: "There is so much evil around us, and G-d pursues justice. That is my

⁵⁹⁰ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 215, 238–39, 291–92; Barański, *Przemienili zagońcy, chliborobi, chasydzi...*, 84, 173; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 495. See also Szczepan Siekierka, Henryk Komański, and Eugeniusz Różański, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie stanisławowskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Upamiętnienia Ofiar Zbrodni Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów we Wrocławiu, 2008), 503–4 (based on the eyewitness account of Michał Przygrodzki).

⁵⁹¹ Mark Raphael Baker, *The Fiftieth Gate: A Journey Through Memory* (Pymble, New South Wales: HarperCollins; Sydney: Flamingo, 1997), 187.

⁵⁹² "The 'Righteous Among Nations' Have Been Awarded," October 21, 2008, Internet: <<http://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/en/news/news,287259,the-righteous-among-nations-have-been-awarded.html>>; Aniela Barylak, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6435127>>.

only way to try and improve the situation. I'm happy to do it, and I'm proud that I am able to help the Chosen Nation survive.'” Zoltinski, who was wanted by the Gestapo, was eventually caught and murdered.

On October 6, 1941, the Germans came to Nadvorna. They had an exact list of all the wealthy Jews in town, and were assisted by the local villagers who were happy to identify them for the Nazis. Dr. Bodnar's parents were on the list, and they, together with another 41 relatives and the rest of the Jews, were taken to the Nadvorna town square to be shot — but not before Dr. Bodnar's father managed to stuff an envelope of money, together with his documents, into his coat.

“I was four years old, but I remember it all. The square was surrounded by SS guards and their dogs, but then a miracle happened to my parents. My father approached the commander and showed him the papers he had received from the priest. He spoke fluent German with a Bavarian accent, and the colonel was stunned by his excellent German and said, ‘You speak German better than my people.’ The colonel then took the envelope of money my father handed him and ordered, ‘Run away from here!’ “But my father remained standing.

“‘What do you want?’ the colonel barked.

“‘My wife is here,’ my father replied.

“‘So take her with you,’ the colonel said.

“My father went over to where my mother was and motioned for her to come toward him. She indicated that she couldn't get up or she'd be beaten by the guards. He came over to her and screamed to her in German, ‘The colonel is calling you!’ The guard standing with his dog heard his screaming in German and allowed her to leave. My parents left the square and went up to the attic of an abandoned building, where they witnessed how 1,500 Jews of Nadvorna were gunned down.

“My grandmother and I were not on the death list, and a young Ukrainian couple who rented one of our apartments hid us. We soon reunited with my parents, and from that moment on, our flight began, using Aryan documents and the story that ‘we are Christians.’ Soon I picked up the culture. I kept all the Christian holidays and could recite their prayers automatically. Later, when I learned Christian religion lessons in school and we had tests on the prayers, all my friends copied from me. I knew better than all of them.”

The Bodnars passed the war years wandering from town to town, and afterward settled in Krakow [Kraków].

After escaping from the Janowska camp in Lwów, Dr. Samuel Drix and Icchak (Icek) Hoch made their way to the village of Biały Kamień near Złoczów, where they were sheltered by the Zawer family, who were strangers. They survived in hiding with the Zawers' help for over year. When the Soviet-German front moved back and forth in the spring and summer of 1944, and the Polish population came under attack from Ukrainian nationalist partisans, the Polish population took shelter at the Polish priest's farm until the area was liberated in July of that year. Dr. Drix and Hoch Jewish origin became apparent but did not lead to their eviction or betrayal. (Samuel Drix, *Witness to Annihilation: Surviving the Holocaust, a Memoir* (Washington: Brassey's, 1994), pp. 209–10.)

Meanwhile, the Ukrainians went after the Poles in the surrounding villages and were killing as many as they could. One day several Poles, who had escaped from the Ukrainians, arrived in our stable. The parish priest's farm had become the place of hiding for Poles. Among them was a Pole named Czesnykowski, whom Icek knew from before the war. He was a very honest and rich peasant whose wife was a Ukrainian. One day a Ukrainian squad stormed the house in which he and his brother lived with their families, in the village of Kawarczyczna [Gawarczyna] Górna, and murdered his brother and his brother's wife. He managed to escape. His wife said she was a Ukrainian and, to save her life and her children's, renounced her husband. In this manner she survived, while Czesnykowski was now at the parish priest's farm with us. When he happened to come into the stable attic alone one time, Icek contacted him. He kept our presence secret, visited us in the stable when he could, and even brought us the leftovers from the parish lunches. He also brought us news of what was happening in the area. He said that the front was still quiet, but that a new Russian offensive was expected any time.

A day after Czesnykowski first came up to our attic another of the Poles who had sought refuge with the parish priest came upstairs and saw us there. We said we were also Polish refugees like him, but he suspected that we were Jews. Icek spoke Polish with a strong Jewish accent, which it made it harder to keep up the pretence. The Pole strongly advised us to leave and not endanger the priest like this. We said we would, but in fact we stayed, and luckily nothing ever came of it.

Helena Kitaj-Drobner mentions Rev. Jan Cieński, a vicar in Złoczów, as having provided assistance to Jews. According to that Jewish woman, the local Polish intelligentsia “was rather favourably disposed toward Jews.”⁵⁹³ Dr. Salomon (Salek) Altman of Złoczów obtained false birth and baptismal certificates

⁵⁹³ Testimony of Helena Kitaj-Drobnerowa, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1564. She refers to the priest, at p. 8, as a count (“z pochodzenia hrabia”).

for himself and his wife from a local priest.⁵⁹⁴ Dr. Altman states (I.M. Lask, ed., *Sefer kehilat Zlotsov (The City of Zloczow)* [Tel Aviv: Zloczower Relief Verband of America, 1967], English Section, columns 113, 115–16):

There were many priests who provided Jews they knew with original birth certificates in the names of persons long dead. ...

I also know of a man, Kruth, who found refuge in the house of the Rev. Dzieduszycki and embraced the Catholic faith together with his whole family.

The latter priest was probably Fr. Paweł Dzieduszycki, who was the director of the Jesuit retreat house (Dom Rekolekcyjny pw. św. Józefa) in Lwów. Dr. Altman was one of at least 44 Jews rescued by several Polish families in the nearby village of Jelechowice.⁵⁹⁵ Sixteen of them, including Samuel Tennenbaum, his wife, their two daughters, and his mother-in-law, were sheltered in various places on the property of Helena Skrzyszewska, a member of the Polish underground. The house was also occupied by a Polish teacher, Maria (Michalina) Kureniuk, and a Greek Catholic handyman, Grzegorz (Hryc) Tyż, who practiced the Latin-rite. At one point Hryc became alarmed at the arrival of yet another Jewish family, and out of fear and stress, rather than malice, voiced his displeasure.⁵⁹⁶ A priest counselled him to continue to support the Jewish charges. The priest's intervention resulted in a dramatic change in Hryc's attitude. (Samuel Lipa Tennenbaum, *Zloczow Memoir* [New York: Shengold, 1986], pp. 252–53.)

Over several days, my wife began to notice that food was disappearing at twice the anticipated rate. Hela [Helena Skrzyszewska] at first denied any knowledge of it, but finally confessed to us that she had taken in another Jewish family, four people, who were sheltered in our former hiding place, the cellar under the barn. Their name as Parille; they had lived in Jelechowice before the war, had escaped the Germans and had been living in a hole in the ground in a nearby forest. Winter had made it impossible for them to try to survive there so one night, Mr. Parille came to Hela for help and she took them in.

They had nothing, so from then on we shared whatever we had with them. We never saw them. ...

A huge row ensued over this. Hryc [Grzegorz], in broad daylight, ran into the yard and started to yell at the top of his lungs, ... "She gathered a bunch of Jews and then disappeared for days at a time." I grabbed a rusty revolver, which Hela had hidden under the bed in our room, and ran after Hryc. I managed to get him back into the house, he calmed down quickly. Next day he went to confession. When he came back, he kissed my wife's hand and apologized for his behavior of the previous day. We were both happy and worried. Now the priest, too, knew about our presence. ... People often ask what was the main factor that motivated our hosts. I believe that it was their deep faith.

Another account from Złoczów tells of a priest who agreed to act as an intermediary for the receipt of

⁵⁹⁴ I.M. Lask, ed., *Sefer kehilat Zlotsov (The City of Zloczow)* (Tel Aviv: Zloczower Relief Verband of America, 1967), columns 113, 152.

⁵⁹⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 311 (Jędrzejko), 422 (Kulpa), and vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 833 (Tyż and Skrzyszewska); Lask, *Sefer kehilat Zlotsov (The City of Zloczow)*, columns 142–43; Samuel Lipa Tennenbaum, *Zloczow Memoir* (New York: Shengold, 1986), 228–78; Tyż (Tyż) Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-tyz-family>>.

⁵⁹⁶ As Jewish testimonies disclose, some Jews were also hostile to the idea of accepting other Jews into their hiding places, as this would increase the risk of discovery, and Polish rescuers took in Jews over the protest of their existing Jewish charges. See, for example, the testimony of Braha Bergman and that of David Efrati in Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 174, 219; Interview with Sheila Peretz Etons, April 30, 1999, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Drohiczyn* (Tel Aviv: n.p., 1969), 26 ff. (English section); Issur Wondolowicz, "Between the German Hammer and the Polish Anvil," in Shmuel Kalisher, ed., *Sokoly: B'maavak l'haim* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Sokoly Emigrés in Israel, 1975), 208 ff., translated as *Sokoly: In the Fight for Life*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokoly/sokoly.html>>; Samuel Gruber, as told to Gertrude Hirschler, *I Chose Life* (New York: Shengold, 1978), 74; Paulsson, *Secret City*, 157–58; Nelli Rotbart, *A Long Journey: A Holocaust Memoir and After: Poland, Soviet Union, Canada* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2002), 56–57; Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1971), 128; Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 218; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 712; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 83; Marcus David Leuchter, "Reflections on the Holocaust," *The Sarmatian Review* (Houston, Texas), vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2000); Gilbert, *The Righteous*, 80.

mail from the relatives of Mariusz Jerzy Heszeles, then a young boy of 9 years living outside the ghetto.⁵⁹⁷ In the spring of 1944, Rev. Jan Walter sheltered Yehoshua Shleyen (Schleyen), engaging him as the church warden in Wicyń, a village near Złoczów. Previously, Schleyen had lived in nearby villages passing himself off as an escaped Soviet prisoner of war.⁵⁹⁸

St. Michael's parish, located on Kopernik Street in Kraków, gained a reputation for helping Jews. Rev. Brunon Boguszewski, who served as vicar there from 1939 to 1942, provided Jews with false identity documents, as did another priest at this parish, likely Rev. Władysław Kulczycki, and also sought out hiding places for endangered Jewish children. His rescue efforts brought him recognition from Yad Vashem. The account mentions St. Lazarus church, which was part of St. Lazarus hospital; the official name of this church, affiliated with St. Michael's parish, was the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 105.)

Bruno [Brunon] Boguszewski, a priest, used his official position as birth registrar at Świętego Łazarza [Świętego Łazarza] (Saint Lazarus) Church, Cracow [Kraków], to save Jewish children by issuing them Aryan birth certificates. Boguszewski's reputation as a savior of Jewish children spread far and wide. One woman whose child was saved thanks to Boguszewski was Anna Carter who, after escaping from the Cracow ghetto, obtained a birth certificate for her daughter, Alina, aged eight. A little while later, Boguszewski also provided four-year-old Zygmunt, Alina's brother, with an Aryan birth certificate. He gave Carter another five birth certificates issued in the names of Catholic children for distribution to those in need. The priest found a hiding place for little Alina in the home of acquaintances in Chrzanów [Chrzanów], where she stayed until the area was liberated in January 1945. Her brother, Zygmunt, was not so lucky—he was shot dead by the Germans after they were alerted by an informer. After the war, Alina was reunited with her mother, who had survived Auschwitz. Mother and daughter emigrated to the United States, where they kept up contact with Boguszewski. Boguszewski knew full well the fate that awaited him if caught, since his predecessor, who had also supplied Jews with false certificates, had been imprisoned by the Gestapo and sent to Auschwitz. His actions were dictated by purely selfless, humanitarian and religious principles.

Rev. Edmund Nowak of the Missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul, a chaplain at St. Lazarus Hospital (Szpital św. Łazarza), also provided false baptismal certificates to Jews.⁵⁹⁹

Contrary to what some Holocaust historians maintain,⁶⁰⁰ documents obtained from Catholic Church sources were plentiful, with virtually every parish in Warsaw participating in this rescue activity, assisted by the Polish underground. Simcha Rotem, a member of the Jewish Fighting Organization, describes how he obtained his false identity documents. (“Kazik” Simcha Rotem, *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994], pp. 60–61.)

You couldn't be on the Aryan side without identity documents. ... the Polish underground had helped me get a Kennkarte (the identity card issued by the Germans in the Generalgouvernement which replaced the Polish identity documents). I was sent to the office of a church in one of the Warsaw suburbs. I went to the clerk and requested a birth certificate (which was required in order to receive the Kennkarte). They had coached me in what to say. This was a document whose real owner, someone my age, was no longer alive. The clerk looked at me sharply and spat out: “Funny world—one person dies and another walks around and impersonates him.” I didn't say anything. He asked my address, the names of my parents, and the other details of questionnaires everywhere in the world. I answered briefly and finally got the birth certificate.

From there I went to the registration office where Poles worked with Germans and Poles, and submitted a proper request for a Kennkarte. My fingerprints were taken like any other Polish citizen's. At the end of this process I had a Kennkarte in the name of Antoni Julian Ksiezopolski [Ksieżopolski]—a common name among the Polish aristocracy. At the same time I got a forged Kennkarte from the Polish Underground in another name. I kept the

⁵⁹⁷ Testimony of Janina Heszeles, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1954.

⁵⁹⁸ Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 113–14.

⁵⁹⁹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 648.

⁶⁰⁰ For example, Israeli historian Nahum Bogner states: “Few of the parish priests were willing to take the risk of issuing false birth certificates to Jews.” See Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 43.

document with the name Ksiezopolski with me, while the other one was kept at “home” in case of trouble. They also gave me an Arbeitskarte (proof of employment). [The final sentence is found in the Polish translation of this book, but omitted in the English version.—Ed.⁶⁰¹]

Vladka Meed, a member of the Jewish underground living in “Aryan” Warsaw, was able to obtain a German identity document with the help of a Polish friend and the complicity of a priest who facilitated the “cover-up.” (Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall*, p. 213.)

I managed to obtain a genuine Kennkarte from the German Municipal Bureau in the name of Stanisława Wonchalska [Stanisława Wąchalska], our faithful Gentile co-worker. Anna had arranged with her priest not to report her daughter’s death, and assured me that if I would be detained as a Jewess, she would intercede on my behalf. At the same time, she told me the names of grandmothers, aunts and cousins. I was now a full-fledged Aryan with two generations of Gentile forebears.

In this manner a number of Jews acquired the names and birth certificates of deceased Poles, with which they obtained authentic Polish identification cards. Such documents afforded substantial protection, but they were not wholly dependable, for the Germans, if suspicious, could check documents against municipal and church records.

Leonora Rozen and her mother Sarah Charlap Muller, who survived the war passing as Christians in Warsaw, obtained false identity documents issued by priests via their contacts in the Polish underground. (Leonora Rozen, “Survival in Warsaw,” *The Ser-Charlap Family Newsletter* volume 10, no. 1, March 1999.)

When the “cleansing” of the Ghetto began, Mother and I were living in Warsaw under the cover of false identities. We had “good” false papers which were certificates of birth and christening, delivered by priests who were close to the Polish Underground network. They were issued by obliging civil servants in some other city in Poland and certified that the holders had been living in that place for many years. They were not easy to get and one needed time to have them made and delivered by the network. The underground organization also provided a “Kennkarte”, a sort of identity card printed as a real document and bearing authentic German seals. I still have two of those cards, my Mum’s and My Aunt Rita’s. So with these false papers I was known as Barbara Policzowska and my mother was Anna Domanska [Domańska], born [née] Stolarczyk.

The Lewin family, consisting of Artur, his wife, Eugenia, and their two children, moved from Łódź to Warsaw after the war broke out. Prior to the deportation to Treblinka of Jews from the Warsaw ghetto in July 1942, they arranged a hiding place for their children, Elżbieta and Ryszard. Elżbieta was taken in by Kazimierz Woroszyło and his wife, Aleksandra. They obtained a baptismal and birth certificate for the child from a priest. Now known as Barbara, she presented herself as Kazimierz Woroszyło’s daughter from his first marriage. Up until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, Elżbieta’s parents remained in contact with their daughter and sent money to support her. After the uprising was put down, Elżbieta and Aleksandra Woroszyło were sent to a transit camp in Pruszków. They escaped from a transport and hid in local villages. It was there that Elżbieta was found by her father. Elżbieta’s mother perished during the Warsaw Uprising. After the war, Elżbieta (later Merel) and her father, along with her step-mother, moved to France.⁶⁰²

Jan and Zofia Topiński, activists in the Polish underground in Warsaw, are credited with rescuing at least twelve Jews. They procured false documents for Jews in hiding. Baptismal and birth certificates from Catholic parishes were indispensable. They turned for assistance to Father Zygmunt Trószczyński, a Marian priest and pastor of Our Lady Queen of Poland (Matki Bożej Królowej Polski) parish on Gdańska Street in Warsaw’s Marymont district. (The Topiński Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-topinski-family>>.)

⁶⁰¹ Simcha Rotem “Kazik,” *Wspomnienia bojowca ŻOB* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993), 73–75.

⁶⁰² Mateusz Szczepaniak, “Righteous Ceremony Held at Royal Castle in Warsaw,” January 15, 2018, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/news/righteous-ceremony-held-royal-castle-warsaw>>; Bartosz Boruciak, “Ocalała Ela, po chrzcie Basia,” *Tygodnik Solidarność*, no. 16 (April 2018): 16–19. Elżbieta’s mother left a memoir that was published as Eugenia Szajn Lewin, *W getcie warszawskim: Lipiec 1942–kwiecień 1943* (Poznań: a5, 1989).

These were Zofia and Jan Topiński's official jobs during the War. Both, however, were later involved with the underground. Jan worked in the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Home Army (his younger friend was Władysław Bartoszewski). From the beginning of the time when Jews needed to conceal their identity, Zofia helped in the manufacture of false papers. The Topiński couple produced fake papers on the basis of birth certificates obtained from the local parish. They set up an office in their home just for this purpose, equipped with blank "kennkarty" and the required fake rubber stamps.

At that time, Zofia Topińska received help from the priest Zygmunt Trószczyński, parish priest of the church on Gdańsk Street. (Father Trószczyński contributed to the rescue of many Jews. He was, however, never honoured for this). Today, little is known as to exactly which Jews were helped by the Topiński couple and specifically how they were helped. What is known is that they helped far more individuals than has been documented.

Fr. Trószczyński also provided a baptismal certificate for Barbara Krajewska, who left the Warsaw ghetto at the age of nine. She was sheltered by Stefan Żbikowski, a policeman, and his wife, Zofia. Stefan Żbikowski's brother, Zdzisław, also a policeman, also sheltered a Jewish woman. She too obtained a baptismal certificate from Fr. Trószczyński.⁶⁰³

Herszek (Herszko) Fenigsztajn, a homeless Jewish boy who had been taken in by a Polish Catholic family before the outbreak of the war, was christened by Fr. Trószczyński in 1940 and issued a birth certificate in a false name in order to maintain his cover as a Catholic child.⁶⁰⁴ (Janina Bogdańska, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-bogdanska-janina>>.)

Janina Bogdańska lived with her husband Ludwik and son Tadeusz on ul. Potocka 4 (4 Potocka Street) in the Marymont neighborhood, Warsaw. In 1935, Ludwik Bogdański, the owner of a transport company, found in his stable a sleeping, ill and emaciated Jewish boy, twelve-year-old Herszek, the son of a homeless bagel seller from the Stare Miasto (Old Town). The Bogdańskis decided to keep the child and raise it. The boy's mother died in 1937.

Herszek was to some extent a member of the Bogdański family when World War II broke out and the Germans started persecuting Jews. "I was trying to do everything during the Nazi occupation so as not to let Herszek end up in the ghetto," Janina Bogdańska recalls in her account deposited in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute. Mrs. Bogdańska spoke about her problems with priest Trószczyński [Trószczyński] from the Królowa Korony Polskiej (The Queen of Polish Crown) church on ul. Gdańska (Gdańska Street). In November 1940, the priest baptized the boy and issued him a certificate in the name Henryk Wichrowski.

In 1943, as a result of the denunciation made by a neighbor, the Germans came to search the Bogdańskis' apartment. "Everybody in Marymont knew that I had been keeping and raising a Jewish child. Only one, the only person informed on us to the German authorities. (...) After the denunciation, the German gendarmerie came to us, but, after the intercession of Barbara Rutkowska, who accepted the Deutsche Volksliste (German People's List) and was an activist of the ZNMS [Independent Socialist Youth Union – editor's note], the gendarmerie gave up searching for the boy hidden in our place," she recalls in the account deposited in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute.

Irena Bobińska-Skotnicka, a neighbor and a friend of Janina's daughter – Jadwiga Maldis, an activist in the PPS (Polish Socialist Party) involved in the underground movement; during the war worked in the Arbeitsamt [job center]. Thanks to her help, in the fall of 1943, Herszek went to Germany, where – unrecognized – worked on a farm until the end of the war. He returned to his foster family in 1947.

From May 1943 on, Janina Bogdańska helped Irena and Aleksander Skotnicki, a Jewish fighter, who found a shelter in her place after the collapse of the Ghetto Uprising. He came to stay in Irena's place on ul. Potocka 6 (6 Potocka Street) thanks to his sister Hanna Skotnicka. Bogdańska would bring him food. Aleksander and Irena married after the war. They moved to Gdańsk where Aleksander testified against Jurgen [Jürgen] Stroop, the man responsible for the bloody suppression of the Ghetto Uprising. In the end, the married couple settled down in Australia.

Father Trószczyński provided food, temporary shelter, employment and false identity documents to many Jews, performed a marriage for a Jewish couple who were passing as Catholics, and searched for shelters for Jews. He placed at least two Jewish children in convents. One of the Jews he helped was a woman

⁶⁰³ Testimony of Barbara Krajewska in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 225–26.

⁶⁰⁴ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 102–3.

named Karpalska.⁶⁰⁵

After leaving the Warsaw ghetto Dunka (Devora) Fishman and her daughter, Stefanie Seltzer (born in 1938), passed as Christians in Warsaw with the help of false documents obtained from an unidentified priest. For a time they lived with a relative of Dunka's husband's family who had converted to Catholicism and was living openly with her Polish husband.⁶⁰⁶ (Yehudi Lindeman, ed., *Shards of Memory: Narratives of Holocaust Survival* [Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2007], pp. 138–39.)

Shortly before her father's death, when Stefanie turned four, plans were made to get her out of the ghetto. Her mother bleached her already dark blond hair. She was tutored in Catholic prayers, and instructed that outside the ghetto she could "never talk about what goes on in the house [or] say the names of anybody," or reveal information that might betray her Jewish identity, such as her grandfather having a beard. ...

The two of them remained together at the home of Adela [Kaluszyńska], a relative from Stefanie's father's family. Adela was a Jewish woman who converted and married a Polish scientist. They lived in Zoliborz [Żoliborz], a suburb of Warsaw. Adela took very good care of Stefanie's mother, Dunka, who was confined to bed with a bleeding ulcer. When Dunka recovered she got a job as an operating room nurse even though she did not have nurse's training.

Stefanie and her mother had false documents that a priest had procured for them. These were the actual birth certificates of deceased people who were born at about the same time as Stefanie and her mother. As a result, they could not go by the same name. She remembers that her mother claimed Stefanie was her illegitimate child, named Maria. When Adela's eighteen-year-old daughter, Krysia, was caught working for the underground, Stefanie and her mother fled from Adela's home because they feared the Gestapo would search the house. ...

Upon returning to Warsaw, Stefanie hid in a villa with her mother, only three houses from Adela's home. The gentle woman who owned the villa was hiding seventeen illegal Jews (Jews without Christian papers). ...

Two secret hiding places were constructed in the house in order to conceal the seventeen Jews in the event of a search. One was a hole behind a water closet in the basement, which extended into a tunnel that went several houses down. The other was in a small bedroom on the second floor. There was a cabinet built into the wall with shelves that could be removed. From there, people could crawl into the eaves of the house.

Masha Borenstein, a tiny Jewish girl, was smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942 and taken in a rucksack by Elżbieta Andersz to the home of her parents, Helena and Leon Godlewski, in Warsaw. With the help of a priest friend, Rev. Edward Tyszka, the head of the Pruszków branch of the Chief Welfare Council (*Rada Główna Opiekuńcza*), they obtained for her a forged baptismal certificate under the name of Irena Maria Janik. In 1943, Leon Godlewski was arrested for his activities in the Home Army and was sent to Auschwitz, where he perished. Helena Godlewska had to cope with raising her three children, including Misia, as she was known, on her own. Despite her difficult financial situation, she did not abandon Misia and took care of her until the end of the German occupation and beyond, until her teens. Masha Borenstein, later Miriam Adika, immigrated to Israel in 1956. Helena Godlewska, who died in 1967, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2011. Both Rev. Edward Tyszka and Rev. Franciszek Dyżewski appealed to their parishioners to help Jews in any way they could.⁶⁰⁷

Individual rescuers often turned to priests directly to obtain documents, or used intermediaries. Severin Kohn (now Gabriel), who passed as a Christian in Warsaw, obtained a birth certificate from a priest of the Church of the Holy Cross (Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego) in Łódź, declaring him to be Władysław

⁶⁰⁵ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 634–35; Testimony of Feliks Jesionowski, April 4, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6041.

⁶⁰⁶ Testimony of Stefanie Seltzer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 29524; Testimony of Stephanie Seltzer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 55227.

⁶⁰⁷ Ceremony of Presenting The Righteous Among the Nations Awards, Warsaw, December 4, 2012; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 831; Helena Godlewska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5720650>>.

Gawroński.⁶⁰⁸ Other priests from Łódź, among them Rev. Teodor Budnikowski, a Salesian who was a vicar at the parish of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus, provided false baptismal certificates to Jews.⁶⁰⁹ Unidentified priests from Lwów provided falsified baptismal certificates to Janina Kalita, a Jewish woman who was married to a Catholic Pole,⁶¹⁰ and to Hena Bakalarz Nomberg.⁶¹¹ The father of John K., who was the owner of an estate in Lubieńka, obtained Aryan papers for his entire family from Monsignor Aleksander Cisło, dean and pastor of Stryj, who was a good friend of the family. The family consisted of parents, John K. and his wife, and John's sister and her son.⁶¹² Wanda Kinrus (then Bołotna) turned to an unidentified priest in Warsaw, having been directed there by another Jew in hiding, for birth and baptismal certificates for herself and her sister, Helena.⁶¹³

A number of Jewish testimonies found in the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, housed at Yale University Library, in New Haven, Connecticut, also attest to priests providing false documents to Jews in various localities: Rozwadów near Stalowa Wola,⁶¹⁴ Lwów,⁶¹⁵ and Ulanów near Nisko.⁶¹⁶ That collection also includes the testimony of Ada Matulski from Warsaw, who, before being smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto to hide with Poles, was instructed by a Catholic priest so that she could pass as a Catholic.⁶¹⁷

Henryk (Froim Fiszel) Prajs from Góra Kalwaria near Warsaw,⁶¹⁸ who received a false birth certificate from Rev. Stefan Ścibiorek, the assistant pastor of Osieck, Prajs survived with the assistance of many villagers—often complete strangers. (Testimony of Henryk Prajs, January 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/henryk-prajs>>.)

⁶⁰⁸ Severin Gabriel, *In the Ruins of Warsaw Streets* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2005), 100, and the illustration between pp. 96–97.

⁶⁰⁹ Dorota Sierpacka, “Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w Łodzi podczas okupacji niemieckiej,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 706, based on Marek Budziarek, “Geneza, przebieg i następstwa masowych aresztowań duchownych katolickich 5–7 października 1941 r. (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem diecezji łódzkiej),” in Bohdan Bejze and Antoni Galiński, eds., *Martyrologia duchowieństwa polskiego 1939–1956* (Łódź: Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1993), 56. Rev. Budnikowski was arrested by the Germans on October 6, 1941, and perished in Dachau on March 14, 1942.

⁶¹⁰ Testimony of Janina Kalita, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 444.

⁶¹¹ Testimony of Hena Bakalarz Nomberg, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1652.

⁶¹² Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*, 312.

⁶¹³ Testimony of Wanda Kinrus, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3510.

⁶¹⁴ Pearl B. [Binder] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–2876), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut. Pearl Binder was born in Rozwadów in 1921. She recalled cordial relations with non-Jews before the war. She obtained food illegally from local Poles and hid family valuables with Polish neighbours. She received help from a former teacher and was hidden by a Pole. She obtained false papers from a priest, with which she volunteered for labour in Germany.

⁶¹⁵ Rita L. [Lowenstein] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–2256), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Testimony of Rita Lowenstein, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 46532. Rita Lowenstein attended a convent school, where the priest guessed she was Jewish and gave her baptismal papers.

⁶¹⁶ Sabina G. [Green] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–2181), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

⁶¹⁷ Ada M. [Matulski, née Gringlas] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–4003), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Oral history interview with Ada Matulski, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1995.A.1272.346, RG number RG-50.120.0346. Before being smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto, Ada's father obtained false papers for her as Zosia Kotlecka.

⁶¹⁸ Henryk P. [Prajs] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–3171), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

On 25th February 1941 they deported the Jews from Gora [Góra] Kalwaria to the ghetto in Warsaw. My sister was already there, she hadn't come back to Gora Kalwaria with the outbreak of the war. Mom didn't even think of escaping, and me neither, I wanted to go to the ghetto with my family. The neighbors would come over and say, 'Listen, run away, go, you don't look like a Jew, maybe you'll make it.' I heard there were Jews in Magnuszew [town 25 km from Gora Kalwaria]—there was this sort of grapevine during the occupation—and that there are no deportations there. And so I basically ran away in the evening, after a talk with Mom. I don't know what happened to my family. I lost contact with them on that day. They were gone without a trace. Only my brother came to me later on. Lots of people left the ghetto then, everyone tried not to surrender.

It's twenty-something kilometers from Gora Kalwaria to Magnuszew, wintertime, so I stepped in a yard once in a while, knocked on the door, I asked, 'Hello sir, open, please, I'm a Jew, I ran away, please, help me.' If it was a good man—he'd let me in, if not—he'd say 'Go away, go away!' The Jews stayed in Magnuszew until May or June 1942. [The Magnuszew ghetto was liquidated in October 1942]. I didn't know anyone there. I basically worked as a tailor, people came in, gave me something to sew, I did it, and it was enough to get by.

Two months before the deportations they created a ghetto, put everyone in, and later moved them to Kozienice [town ca. 20 km from Gora Kalwaria, 80 km from Warsaw]. In Kozienice they selected young men and took them to Chmielew [village 5 km from Magnuszew] to dig irrigation ditches. There was a labor camp for Jews. I was one of those transported there.

We stayed there until December [1942], and later came the deportation and we went back to Magnuszew. I already had many friends there at the time, among those whom I tailored for. On our way back from Chmielew a Polish friend, Janek Cwyl, pulled me out of the column while the policemen weren't paying attention. He took me with him, he saved me.

Somehow I managed to get through to Gora Kalwaria. I went to my neighbor, Mrs. Wasilewska. She immediately started to plan what to do. We went to Osieck [town 15 km of Gora Kalwaria] together, to a parish priest, Kuropek [Rev. Stefan Ścibiorek] was his name I think. He issued a birth certificate for me. Later I got myself a kenkarta, in the name Feliks Zoladek [Zółdek]. You had to do it with the help of friends and friends of friends. Because the priest gave me the certificate, but not the kenkarta, naturally. A friend took the certificate, went to one of those doing funny business [people who fabricated false IDs], and had them make me a kenkarta, that's how it was done. It wasn't legal.

I lived in the country, staying with different farmers and tailoring for them. One told some other he knew a tailor, and so I kept going from one person to another. Some of them knew I was a Jew, they figured it out, but well, I did survive. I stayed in one village, returned to another, kept in hiding for some time, had to run away on another occasion, one was always looking for a safe house.

I've been exceptionally lucky. They told me: 'Heniek, you don't look like a Jew at all.' I also spoke correct Polish, more or less, I mean I had the right accent, because as for the grammar a peasant wouldn't notice. I could quite safely assume I wouldn't be recognized by anyone. Plus I was a soldier, I was brave. That's why I took risks, I probably wouldn't otherwise, just like many others. You can't imagine, you could be killed any time, and not just you, but also the person harboring you. [On 15th October 1941 the death penalty for hiding a Jew was introduced in the General Government.]...

My longest single stay was in the village Podwierzbie near Zelechów [Żelechów, Podlęż community, Garwolin district] with a Mrs. [Katarzyna] Pokorska. She was an acquaintance or a cousin of Mrs. Wasilewska [Mr. Prajs' neighbor]. Many decent people lived there generally, the Pyz family for example, the Polak family, the Marciniaks. Even the head of the village protected me. And as for the villagers, some did and some did not believe that I was a Pole. Not once did they later tell me, after the end of the war: 'It made us think, you lived here, it's a poor house, and nobody came to see you, you didn't leave for Christmas; we eyed you, a nice looking boy.' They didn't know what to think.

I went to the dances once, but later decided not to go anymore, because I was afraid. I went to the church once, too, but was afraid someone would recognize me as well. But nobody gave me away, simply Godsend. I went to that church after the war and ordered a thanksgiving mess for all the villagers.

I'm not surprised people didn't want to hide Jews. Everyone was afraid, who would risk his family's lives? You can accuse the ones who kept a Jew, exploited him financially, and later gave him away or killed him. They're murderers. But you absolutely can't blame an average Pole, I don't know if anyone would be more decent, if any Jew would be more decent.

After escaping from the ghetto in Wołomin near Warsaw, Fania Warman (Stecher) was sheltered by her friend Maria Maliszewska and her parents. Maria obtained a false birth certificate for Fania from a local

priest, with which she was able to apply for work papers. Fania then secured employment as a servant with a Polish family in Warsaw.⁶¹⁹

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto in January 1943, 13-year-old Mosze Rozenblum (later Marian Rosenbloom) sought refuge with Stanisław Drabich, a family friend living in Warsaw. Drabich, who also assisted other Jews, took the boy in. He obtained a false birth certificate for Mosze under the name of Marian Rudzki from a priest with whom he was acquainted. About six weeks later the Gestapo raided Drabich's home. When Mosze was searched, his ghetto registration card was found on his person. Drabich was arrested and executed on July 16, 1943. Mosze Rozenblum managed to escape and was sheltered by a Polish family in the Praga suburb together with several other Jews.⁶²⁰

Felix Horn obtained false identity documents from the Home Army in Warsaw under the name of Feliks Wójcik, including a birth certificate supplied by a priest.⁶²¹ Jehoszua Grinberg, born in Radzymin in 1907, obtained a false birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Jan Milewski from a local priest, which allowed him to pass as a Catholic Pole in the vicinity of Warsaw.⁶²² Rev. Zbigniew Polanowski, a chaplain of an underground organization who worked as a fireman at the Fire Officers' School in Warsaw, also supplied a number of birth certificates to Jewish fugitives.⁶²³

In her Yad Vashem testimony,⁶²⁴ Helena Korzeniewska (née Kruk, later Korazim), who was recognized as a Righteous Gentile for smuggling six Jews out of the Warsaw ghetto who were then sheltered by her uncle and aunt in Warsaw,⁶²⁵ states that she repeatedly turned to Rev. Kolski for baptismal and birth certificates for these charges. Rev. Jan Sztuka, the pastor of the Purest Heart of Mary church on Szembeka Square in the Grochów suburb of Warsaw, directed her to a woman who provided an identity document for Janka Eisenstadt. Two Jews whom Korzeniewska assisted, Justyna Lilienthal and her young son Józio, were sheltered by Rev. Aleksander Grabowski in the parish rectory in Grodzisk Mazowiecki.

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto with his wife Irene, Stanley Bors (then Stanisław Przedborski) was sheltered in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, outside Warsaw, in the home of his wife's great uncle, a Jew who was married to a Polish woman. The Bors couple lived there openly, under false identities passing as Poles, under the protection of a local priest. (Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* [New York: New American Library, 1981], pp. 224–25.)

We ran away to my wife's other uncle, the one who was married to a gentile woman. They lived in Grodzisk, another suburb of Warsaw. We were able to stay with them till the end of the war. The family consisted of the uncle, his wife and his young daughter. We were six people in a two-bedroom house. All our relatives were gambling with their lives by helping us. We had false birth certificates and passports obtained by the colonel [a member of the Polish underground] through his contacts in city hall, but any priest would know we were Jews from our lack of knowledge about the customs and traditions of the Catholic religion. The priest in that neighborhood didn't report us. He was a good man and didn't want to cooperate with the Germans. ...

My wife's uncle was a teacher in his seventies. His wife was about the same age. They were married a long time

⁶¹⁹ Righteous Medal Award Ceremony, May 28, 2019, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/aktualnosci/ceremonia-sprawiedliwych-w-lazienkach-krolewskich-w-warszawie>>.

⁶²⁰ Susan M. Rostan, *Digging: Lifting the Memorable from Within the Unthinkable* (Cold Spring Harbor, New York: Rosalie Ink Publications, 2013); Stanisław Drabich, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9448598>>.

⁶²¹ Interview with Felix Horn, July 19, 1994, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, at pp. 22, 41.

⁶²² Testimony of Jehoszua Grinberg, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3494 [ID: 3557027].

⁶²³ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 130.

⁶²⁴ Testimony of Helena Korzeniewska, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2518.

⁶²⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 372–73.

and had lived in Lodz [Łódź]. When Hitler came they came back to Grodzisk, where his wife's family lived. Everybody knew my uncle was Jewish but no one reported him to the Gestapo.

Earlier, the Bors couple had resided in the home of a Polish officer in Rembertów, on the outskirts of Warsaw. That home was raided by the Germans after they left. The Germans executed a young Jewish couple and child, let two Jewish women go after they were vouched for (as Catholics) by a priest, and also let an elderly Jewish man go for some reason. The Polish officer who sheltered them was sent to a concentration camp.⁶²⁶

Another Jewish-Polish couple in Grodzisk Mazowiecki, a Jew by the name of Schreidman, passing as Fiałkowski and married to a Catholic woman named Janina, sheltered Ludwik Simonsohn (born in 1936). Ludwik's parents made arrangements to have him smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto in April 1942, and he was handed over to Schreidman, who brought him to his home in Grodzisk. Ludwik lived there openly, passing as Ludwik Szymański, a non-Jew. When the Fiałkowskis' daughter started developing Jewish looks, she was sent to a convent. Curiously, Schreidman worked as a driver for the Gestapo. Although his Jewish origin was likely widely known, he was not bothered until near the end of the occupation, when he was executed by the Polish underground as a collaborator, not a Jew. Simonsohn recalled that, on one of his foraging trips, he encountered a nun, said to be a Carmelite, who realized that he was Jewish and took her home and fed him. She also gave him a stick grenade and showed him how to use it.⁶²⁷ There was no Carmelite convent in Grodzisk or the vicinity so the nun must have belonged to some other congregation.

In June 1942, Minna Friedland (Frydland, later Aspler) escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with the help of her Christian friend, Henryk Krueger. Krueger secured an identity card for her as Maria Burczyńska, using the birth and baptismal certificate of a dead child he obtained from Holy Cross church in Warsaw. Minna worked at a library under her assumed identity. During the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, the library's basement was turned into a first aid station, and Minna helped bandage the wounded, delivered messages to the outside, and searched burning buildings for anyone who was trapped inside.⁶²⁸ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 405.)

At first the relations during the occupation between Henry [Henryk] Krueger, a resident of Warsaw, and his friends interned in the local ghetto were completely businesslike. But the humanitarian values imbued in Krueger soon induced him to help the needy and the persecuted, at great risk to his own life and without receiving any payment. He supplied food to his acquaintances in the ghetto, such as Halina Wald and the Frydman [Frydland] family, but in the summer of 1942 when the big Aktion began in Warsaw in which the ghetto's Jews were taken to Treblinka, he felt

⁶²⁶ After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto shortly before its liquidation, the Bors couple were taken in by Maria Czerwińska, Irene Bors' great uncle's former maid. Because this was close to the ghetto, and the area was searched by Germans looking for Jewish fugitives, they relocated to the home of a Polish officer in Rembertów, a suburb of Warsaw. This officer with ties to the Polish underground was sheltering a number of Jews, whom he provided with false identity documents: Irene's two elderly great uncles (one of whom died there), a young couple with a child, two women, and the Bors couple. Because of the large number of Jews living there, it was decided that it would be safer for the Bors to live on their own in rented premises nearby. After leaving the officer's home, the home was raided by the Germans. The Germans executed the young Jewish couple and child, let the two Jewish women go after they were vouched for (as Catholics) by a priest, and also let the elderly great uncle go for some reason. The Polish officer was sent to a concentration camp. Afterwards, the Bors couple and surviving great uncle relocated to Grodzisk Mazowiecki, where they resided in the home of another of Irene Bors' great uncles. This (third) great uncle was married to a Polish woman, who had a daughter with her Jewish husband. See the following testimonies: Testimony of Stanley Bors, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6251; Oral history interview with Stanley Bors, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.91.2, RG number RG-50.493.0002; Testimony of Irene Bors, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6250; Oral history interview with Irene Bors, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 2000.91.13, RG number RG-50.493.0013.

⁶²⁷ Testimony of Ludwik Simonsohn, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 46649; Ludwik Simonsohn: *Escape from the Warsaw Ghetto—A Holocaust Survivor Remembers*, 2 Parts, Internet: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/08/a6573008.shtml>> and <<https://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/15/a6573215.shtml>>.

⁶²⁸ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 273; Minna Aspler Papers, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession Number: 1999.267.2.

compelled to do more to save their lives. He managed to get into the ghetto, which was more closely guarded at the time, bringing Aryan papers in his pockets. He gave these to 20-year-old Mina Frydman [Frydland] and accompanied her to an apartment he had prepared to shelter her on the Aryan side of the city. While she was in hiding, Krueger continued to supply Mina with everything she needed, and when she was threatened by blackmailers he moved her to another apartment. She remained there until the late summer of 1944 and after the Warsaw Uprising was taken, with her borrowed identity, to forced labor in Germany, where she was liberated by the Allied armies.

A priest from Holy Cross church in Warsaw provided birth and baptismal certificates for Mira Getler, Halina Lutkiewicz, and Halina's sister.⁶²⁹ The following are some additional examples of priests from Warsaw who issued false baptismal certificates to Jews (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 132–33, 531 and Part 2, pp. 546–47, 722–23):

[1] Edward Chadzynski [Chądzyński] worked for the Warsaw city administration in the public records department during the war. This position allowed him to provide Jews with false papers. He was also active in the Polish Resistance movements where one of his tasks was to organize false documents for underground activities. Edward also helped people who were in need of hiding places and for this he used his connections at work. ... [Procuring false documents required the cooperation of many people. First one had to obtain a birth and baptismal certificate which was necessary to then fabricate an identity document and obtain a *kennkarte*. In this regard Chądzyński collaborated with the parish churches of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the New Market Square and St. Anthony on Senatorska Street. He also benefited from help of employees of the public records department of the city administration to obtain birth and marriage certificates.⁶³⁰]

[2] Rosalia Werdinger met Boleslaw [Boleslaw] Muchowski before the war at his place of work in the city of Drohobycz, in the Lwow [Lwów] district, and in time their friendship turned into love. After the attacks against the Jews began following the German occupation of the area, Boleslaw took Werdinger to his brother, Zygmunt Muchowski, who lived in the village of Dziewule in Siedlce county, while he himself rented an apartment in the nearby town of Lukow [Luków]. Zygmunt took Rosalia under his wing and hid her in his home in the village, and after he obtained Aryan papers for her in the name of a deceased relative [based on a baptismal certificate he obtained from the Basilica of the Sacred Heart in Warsaw⁶³¹], he took her to Lukow, where his brother Boleslaw was waiting for her. In Lukow, Boleslaw introduced Rosalia as his wife. Together with Soviet partisans active in the underground in the area, Zygmunt Muchowski continued to extend his assistance to Jews in need ... After the war, Boleslaw married Rosalia and they remained in Poland.

[3] During the occupation, Bronislaw [Bronislaw] Nietenksza worked in the manpower department of the city of Warsaw. He was also active in the underground organization that found hiding places and procured false documents for those persecuted by the occupation authorities. In this capacity, Nietenksza was approached by Jews who escaped from the ghetto, whom he also helped. Nietenksza had an arrangement with two Catholic priests in Warsaw, who agreed not to publish the names of all the newly deceased in their churches so that their identity cards could be adapted for use by Jews hiding on the Aryan side of Warsaw.⁶³² Nietenksza supplied more than ten Jews with false

⁶²⁹ Testimony of Halina Lutkiewicz, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5626.

⁶³⁰ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 75.

⁶³¹ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 363.

⁶³² Bronisław Nietenksza described the process as follows:

I had two prearranged Roman Catholic parishes—one on Three Crosses Square (St. Alexander's Church) and the other on Narutowicz Square (St. James Church). I had an agreement with the parish priests and secretaries of these parishes that they would not issue death certificates for deceased people in the 18–60 age range, leaving them in the records of living people in a given parish. In case of the need to issue a *kennkarte* [Kennkarte] to a person of Jewish origin as an Aryan, a suitable birth certificate of a person already deceased but not deleted from the records was then chosen. In this way those people obtained authentic and formally valid documents.

See Sebastian Piątkowski, "'Aryan Papers': On the Help Provided by Poles in Legalising False Identities for Jews in the Territory of the General Governorate for the Occupied Polish Regions," *Polish-Jewish Studies*, vol. 1 (2020): 437–63, at 444–45.

papers in this way before the Germans discovered what he was doing. They arrested him on May 24, 1944, and sent him to the Stutthof concentration camp, from which he escaped during the evacuation of the camp.

[4] Before the war, the Sliwczynskis [Śliwczynskis], from the town of Mława [Mława] in the Warsaw district, lived on the same street as Ella Zlotnik [Złotnik] (later Perkiel), who was in the same class as one of the Sliwczynski girls. During the occupation, the two families moved to Warsaw, where the Zlotniks were interned in the ghetto. In 1943, when Ela [sic] and her father hid on the Aryan side of the city, the ties between the two families were renewed and Ella and the Sliwczynski's son, Jerzy, met frequently. In 1944, after the Gestapo arrested Ella's father, Ella had to change her identity and disappear. Jerzy helped her by arranging a temporary hiding place for her outside the city and obtained new Aryan papers for her. When Ella returned to Warsaw, she stayed with Sliwczynski until the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. When the Germans arrested Jerzy, Ella stayed with his father, Tadeusz Sliwczynski, until after the war, when she emigrated to the United States. The Sliwczynskis helped other Jews from the town of Mława who hid on the Aryan side of Warsaw, including the Makowskis, the Kleniecs, Celina Czech, and Biezunska [Biezuńska]. Despite the danger, the Sliwczynskis considered it their human duty to help their Jewish friends and never expected anything in return. [They were able to obtain false Kennkarte for these Jews based on birth and baptismal certificates issued by Rev. Bolesław Dudziński from St. Charles Borromeo church in the Powązki district of Warsaw.⁶³³]

While being sheltered on the estate of Jan and Franciszka Wójcicki in Dąbrówka Szlachecka on the outskirts of Warsaw, where Sima Wasser (née Gleichgewicht) was placed by her aunt, Dora Śnieg, the Wójcickis' niece, Apolonia Gorzkowska, turned to a priest for assistance. The priest agreed to issue a false baptismal certificate for Sima under the name of Krystyna Budna, which was used to fabricate a *Kennkarte* (a German identity document) by a Polish underground cell.⁶³⁴

The following example from Włochy on the outskirts of Warsaw illustrates the risks associated with issuing false documents. Rev. Julian Chrościcki, the pastor, local officials and several other persons took part in an elaborate scheme to furnish false identity documents to Jews. Jewish escapees from the local ghetto were temporarily sheltered at the rectory in Włochy until hiding places were found for them among parishioners. The participants of the network were arrested on September 18, 1942 and taken to the Pawiak prison located inside the Warsaw ghetto. From there, Rev. Chrościcki was sent to the Majdanek concentration camp. Miraculously, he was released on May 15, 1944.⁶³⁵ The other conspirators were sent to Auschwitz. (Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945* [Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1963], p. 43.)

September 1942—in Włochy, outside Warsaw, the Germans had seized Fr. Chruścicki [Julian Chrościcki], the parish priest, Franciszek Kostecki, the Mayor, Kazimierz Tarnas, the Registrar, Teofil Gruszka, the Town Hall cashier, and two teachers, [Michał] Latoński [Lotoński] and [actor Witold Zacharewicz], [the lumber merchant Mieczysław] Borkowski, [and Rev. Chrościcki's housekeeper] for helping Jews by issuing them with birth certificates and other documents. They were all taken to the Gestapo [Pawiak prison] in Warsaw and their homes were searched from top to bottom. The organist of the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw was arrested for abetting Jews in the procurement of false baptismal certificates.

Franciszek Kostecki, Kazimierz Tarnas, Teofil Gruszka, Michał Latoński, and Witold Zacharewicz perished in Auschwitz. As mentioned later, Rev. Witold Kiedrowski, from the Chełmno diocese, who was also imprisoned in Majdanek, witnessed Rev. Julian Chrościcki accompanying a rabbi who recited psalms from a breviary the priest had managed to smuggle into the camp. Rev. Mieczysław Grabowski, the vicar at the parish in Włochy, also assisted in the rescue efforts. Rev. Grabowski provided sheltered the musical

⁶³³ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 558. Rev. Dudziński, who was exiled in Warsaw, used documents and records from Mława. See also Ryszard Juszkiewicz, *Losy Żydów mławskich w okresie II-ej wojny światowej* (Mława: Tow. Przyjaciół Ziemi Mławskiej, 1994), 119–20.

⁶³⁴ Kołacińska-Gałęzka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 35.

⁶³⁵ Agnieszka Goszczyńska, *Ksiądz Julian Chrościcki: Życie i działalność* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1998), 66–67; Robert Gawkowski, *Moja dzielnica Włochy: Historia Włoch i Okęcia* (Warsaw: Urząd Dzielnicy Włochy m.st. Warszawy, 2010), 137–39.

conductor Zdzisław Górczyński (Grunberg), passing as Jan Michalczyk, and his family.⁶³⁶

Jewish converts from Lwów and their daughter, Ewa, survived the war in Włochy, living openly as Poles, with the support of the local priest. (Arnon Rubin, *Against All Odds: Facing Holocaust: My Personal Recollections* [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2005], p. 151.)

The Herman family occupied a small house in Włochy, all for themselves. ... They all three had a very distinctive Semitic features each of them looked not like one Jew, but like ten Jews, together. I think that all the surrounding knew that they are Jews, it was impossible not to. They survived the war ...

Guta Tyrangiel (later Genevieve Tyrangiel-Benezra) was born on August 26, 1940, one day after the establishment of the ghetto in Mińsk Mazowiecki. When the Germans liquidated the ghetto in August 1942, Guta's parents managed to escape with Guta and her younger sister Esther. They hid in the surrounding villages and then moved to a labour camp named Kopernikus where the danger to their lives seemed less immediate. Their young daughters were hidden in the attic of a building because it was forbidden for children to live in the camp. Guta and her sister were smuggled out of the camp in a closed wicker basket in October 1942. A local Catholic priest named Hert (?), who worked with the Żegota organization, and a notary supplied them with false baptismal certificates and made arrangements for them to be cared for by different Polish families. Guta was entrusted to Józef and Bronisława Jaszczuk, a childless Polish couple who lived in Mińsk Mazowiecki. They presented her as their niece, Genowefa Filipiak. Guta survived the war, but her parents and younger sister did not.⁶³⁷ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 308.)

In August 1942, after the liquidation of the Minsk [Mińsk] Mazowiecki ghetto in the Warsaw district and the transfer of most of its inmates to the Treblinka death camp, the Tyrangel couple arranged a hiding place for their two baby daughters while they themselves found shelter with a peasant family in a nearby village. The girls' hosts, fearing for their safety, enlisted the help of the parish priest to transfer Guta Tyrangel to the Jaszczuks, who lived in Minsk Mazowiecki. The other girl was sent to another family, where all traces of her were lost. The girls' parents perished, and only Guta survived, thanks to the devoted care of Jozef [Józef] and Bronisława [Bronisława] Jaszczuk, who saw to all her needs. ... After the war, the Jaszczuks adopted little Guta, who later emigrated to Canada.

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto in the spring of 1942, Henia Niewiadomska (later Krystyna Wasiak), born in 1926, wandered from village to village in the vicinity of Mińsk Mazowiecki. She stayed for short periods of time with various farmers who were aware or suspected she was Jewish. She eventually arrived at the farm of Leopold Sawicki in the village of Dąbrowa. Sawicki agreed to keep her longer. He obtained a birth and baptismal certificate for her under the name of Krystyna Orzechowska, a deceased relative, from the parish in Czerwonka Liwska, whose pastor was Rev. Franciszek Osiński. Henia retained this identity when she moved to Radzymin, where she resided in the home of Mrs. Wasiak. After the war, she married Mrs. Wasiak's son, Bolesław. She moved to Israel in 1966 together with her Polish husband and their three children.⁶³⁸

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Aisic Hirsch (born in 1930) wandered in the countryside. He entered a church in Goszczyn, south of Grójec, and confided in an unknown priest. Rev. Kazimierz Weber, the local pastor, comforted him and gave him encouragement. He provided Aisic with a baptismal and birth certificate under a false name (Bronisław Porszskinsky?) and taught him prayers so that he could

⁶³⁶ Gawkowski, *Moja dzielnica Włochy*, 139.

⁶³⁷ Guta Tyrangiel Benezra, *Mémoire bariolée; Poetic Paintings; Głosy przeszłości: Post-Shoah peintures, poèmes, récits* (Ottawa and New York: Legas, 1995) United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <https://www.ushmm.org/uia/cgi/uia_doc/query/18?uf=uia_EFzQiM>; Guta Tyrangiel Benezra, Internet: <<http://www.chgs.umn.edu/museum/responses/benezra/>>; Polish Righteous Among the Nations Jozef and Bronisława Jaszczuk, Internet: <http://yad-vashem.org.il/righteous_new/events/righteous_jaszczuk.html>.

⁶³⁸ Testimony of Krystyna Wasiak (Henia Niewiadomska), October 8, 1962, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5874; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 698.

pass as a Catholic. The priest helped Aisic find work on a farm, where he remained for three years.⁶³⁹ (Aisic Hirsch, Birmingham (Alabama) Holocaust Education Center, Internet: <<https://bhecinfo.org/survivors/hirsch-aisic/>>.)

In 1941, after more than year in a local ghetto [Mogielnica], Aisic, his mother, five-year-old brother, and grandmother were herded into the Warsaw Ghetto, the largest ghetto in Poland. There, amidst “absolute misery,” where “rats and sickness were everywhere,” he watched helplessly while his brother and grandmother died of typhus, and his mother slid into madness. Although he did not want to leave his mother, she pushed him out of the ghetto under the auspices of “Save the Children,” a Jewish organization that paid off German and Polish guards. Upon his release, the little boy was on his own.

After several nights of walking, eleven-year-old Aisic was taken in by family friends who hid him briefly in their barn. Fearing German retaliation, he was told he had to leave. Aisic moved on to the village of Goszczyn, arriving on a Sunday morning. Where else does one go on Sunday mornings, but to the local church? Thanks to his blond hair and blue eyes, Aisic blended in with the congregation. It was here that he found the noblest of humanity. When Aisic knelt for confession, all he could do was cry.

The young priest, suspecting the child was a Jew, touched his head through the confessional window and said, “This world will not go on forever. It will end. One day you will find all your loved ones again.”

The clergyman gave Aisic a “real” Polish name and birth certificate and taught him Catholic prayers that would one day save his life. He helped Aisic find work on a Polish farm of a half-German woman whose two sons worked for the Gestapo. Before he got the job, he had to prove he could correctly recite his Catholic prayers. He was saved again. Aisic remained on the farm for three years until his liberation by the Russians in May 1945.

“That priest was my guardian angel. He saved my life. It is because of him that I am here today,” he says.

The risks inherent in providing false documents are illustrated by the following account of Maria Rajbenbach, a Jewish woman who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto just before the outbreak of the uprising on April 19, 1943. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, p. 233.)

How did we obtain our documents? A brother [Tadeusz Romaszewski] of the painter [Marian] Malicki was employed, together with his wife [actually, with his sister Maria], at the Record Office of the Municipal Administration. Together with a parson they had forged both the death and birth registers to secure Christian birth certificates of two deceased women. Thus several people had to collaborate to prepare such certificates. The Malickis had supplied numerous Jews with such certificates. Unfortunately, one of these Jews was identified by the Gestapo and in this way the names of the three people became known to them. The parson was shot dead, the Malickis were sent to Treblinka [actually it was Majdanek] concentration camp and Malicki had his arms and legs broken in an attempt to extort the names of other rescued Jews. But he would not give them away. Both perished in Treblinka camp.

Not all the facts in this account are correct. Both Tadeusz Romaszewski and his sister, Maria Malicka, were employed in the chancery (record office) of the Warsaw cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist. As members of the extreme right-wing Szaniec group (a continuation of the interwar National-Radical Camp “ABC”), they issued scores of false baptismal and birth certificates to endangered Jews, as well as Poles. Maria Malicka was betrayed to the Gestapo by her brother’s fiancée, Irena Lis, who—unknown to the organization—was a Gestapo agent. The Gestapo arrested Maria Malicka and her husband Marian Malicki, who was sent to Majdanek, where he perished. Maria Malicka was imprisoned in Warsaw, but survived the war. Tadeusz Romaszewski went into hiding. The information about the parson’s death has not been confirmed, and appears to be an embellishment. As a result of this one act of denunciation, scores of Jews and Poles were apprehended by the Germans. The Polish underground issued a death sentence against Irena Lis, but she escaped to Lwów. She was brought to trial after the war.⁶⁴⁰

At least seven Jewish children were sheltered by the Sisters of St. Elizabeth, who had been displaced from

⁶³⁹ Testimony of Aisic Hirsch, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 17574.

⁶⁴⁰ Damian Sitkiewicz, “Maria Malicka: O pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez organizację narodową Grupa ‘Szańca,’” *Kolbojnik: Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie*, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 28–31. For the older literature, see Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 235 (annotation); Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 544 (annotation); Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945*, 148.

Grabie near Toruń and relocated to Świder, now a part of Otwock, a town near Warsaw, where they ran a home for children known as the Educational Institute of St. Anthony (Zakład Wychowawczy św. Antoniego–“Promyk”). The children were given false identities and supporting birth and baptismal certificates issued by Rev. Canon Ludwik Wolski, the pastor of St. Vincent de Paul parish in Otwock, and his vicar, Rev. Jan Raczkowski. (The children were not required to undergo baptism.) Two nuns, Sister Gertruda (Stanisława) Marciniak,⁶⁴¹ the superior, and Sister Ludwika (Halina) Małkiewicz, as well as Rev. Ludwik Wolski, Rev. Jan Raczkowski, and Bronisław Marchlewicz were all recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. Among their charges were: Daniel Landsberg (born in 1939, passing as Wojciech Płochocki, who was later placed with a Polish family),⁶⁴² Maria (Marysia) Osowiecka (passing as Halina Brzoza, later Michaëlle Donat and Michèle Donnet), Ruth (Rutka) Noy (passing as Teresa Wysocka), Alfred Leopold Bliksilber or Blitzylberg (passing as Adolf Karol), Jurek Adin, Helena Kokozko, Sasza Wecer (Staszek Wetzter or Szaszka Thau⁶⁴³), Salome Rybak, and Anita Szapiro. Their stories are set out below. Two Jewish adults were also given refuge by the nuns. The local commander of the Blue police, Bronisław Marchlewicz, a Home Army member, extended his protection to the convent. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 592.)

Bronisław Marchlewicz from Otwock (Warsaw District) was a veteran police officer. During the occupation period, he served as the commander of the Polish “Blue Police” (named for the color of their uniform) and had connections with the Polish underground, the Home Army (AK). He was known for his fair treatment of both the Polish and the Jewish inhabitants of the city. Unlike many of his colleagues who collaborated with the German authorities, he endeavored in the framework of his complex job to help rescue Jews who arrived on the “Aryan” side from the local ghetto. While the ghetto still existed, Bronisław would turn a blind eye to Jews who came to market in order to purchase staples. He also released those who had been arrested and brought to the police station. He protected the Jewish woman, Zofia Eisenstadt, from Polish collaborators who tried to blackmail her. As a policeman in the city working under the direct command of the Germans and privy to classified information, he would warn Jews when deportations were about to take place. His involvement in the rescue of Jews increased after the liquidation of the ghetto in August 1942, particularly in the rescue of children. In this matter, he cooperated with the nuns of the St. Elizabeth convent (Zgromadzenie Sióstr Św. Elżbiety), under the guidance of Gertruda Marciniak, the mother superior, who ran the Promyk orphanage where several Jewish children were being hidden. The Jewish child, Maria Osowiecka (later, Michèle Donnet), was brought to the police station at the time of the liquidation of the ghetto. Bronisław Marchlewicz entrusted her to the Polish woman, Aleksandra Szpakowska and helped to bring the child to the convent. In addition, he arranged for another three Jewish children to be taken into the convent: Daniel Landsberg, Renata Noj, and Salomea Rybak. Bronisław did not participate in the liquidation of the ghetto and ignored the command of his German superiors to shoot fleeing Jews. He also forbade his Polish subordinates to participate in the plunder and pillage. After the liquidation of the ghetto, he knew of several Jews who were hiding in the city in Polish homes or under false identities, and was in contact with them and warned them in times of danger. Among these were the members of the Fleising family who entrusted him with valuables for their subsistence during the war, knowing that they would receive the remainder back.

The rescue of Maria Osowiecka (later, Michèle Donnet) is described in Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, at page 623.

In August 1942, on the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto in Otwock (Warsaw District), five-year-old Maria Osowiecka (later, Michèle Donnet) and her mother, Anna (née Litewska), were evicted from the apartment they were renting after the landlord discovered that they were Jews, Maria’s mother tried desperately to find someone who would take her daughter in. She asked Aleksandra Szpakowska to rescue the girl, who in the meantime had been taken to the local police station. Following an exchange with the Polish police chief, Bronisław Marchlewicz,

⁶⁴¹ See also Sister Gertruda Stanisława Marciniak, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/righteous-teachers/marciniak.asp>>.

⁶⁴² Testimony of Dan Landsberg, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45402.

⁶⁴³ Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, and Dariusz Libionka, eds., *Provincia noc: Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warsaw: IFIS PAN, 2007), 356.

Aleksandra secured the girl's release and took her home with her. Maria stayed there for a time, until Aleksandra obtained a Christian birth certificate for her [under the name of Helena Brzoza] from the community priest, Ludwik Wolski, who cooperated with her. After Maria learned the Christian prayers, Aleksandra, who declared herself the girl's legal guardian, moved her, under an assumed identity as a Polish orphan, to the St. Elizabeth convent (Zgromadzenie Sióstr Św. Elżbiety), under the guidance of Gertruda Marciniak, the Mother Superior, who ran the Promyk orphanage where several Jewish children found refuge. She kept in touch with the girl and visited her frequently, and when danger loomed moved her to a different location. The girls' [sic] parents were murdered, and at the end of the war her cousin, Hanna Kaminska [Kamińska], arrived and took her. During the occupation, Aleksandra, who was known in Otwock for her activity in aid of the needy and distressed, opened her home to other Jewish fugitives as well.

The family of Max Noy survived the war in Otwock with the assistance of a number of Poles, among them a priest and the Sisters of St. Elizabeth who sheltered their daughter Ruth. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. 485–86.)

Raizel Noy of Otwock, near Warsaw, gave birth to her daughter Ruth in September 1939, after the German occupation began. In August 1942, during the large-scale deportation of Jews from Warsaw, the Noys managed to escape from the ghetto with their young daughter. Maks Noy, Raizel's husband, worked in a labor camp run by a German contracting company in the nearby town of Karczew; Raizel and her daughter wandered in the vicinity with no hope of finding shelter. Because she looked Jewish, Raizel experienced constant tension and fear of the lurking dangers that she and her daughter faced. Aware that the likelihood of her survival was dwindling, Raizel decided to spare no effort to at least to save Ruth. At his workplace, Noy made contact with Ludwika Malkiewicz [Malkiewicz], a Catholic nun who taught at the Otwock convent orphanage, and asked her to rescue his daughter. Malkiewicz consulted with Krystyna Bykowska, the mother superior [this is inaccurate, as the mother superior was Sister Gertruda Marciniak; Bykowska was not a nun, but the daughter of Władysława Cygler], and the two agreed to admit the girl. In coordination with Malkiewicz and Bykowska, Ruth was left in the convent corridor one night and when she began to cry—alone and in the dark—the nuns came out and brought her inside. Little Ruth was placed with the Polish children and the nuns cared for her devotedly. Sisters Malkiewicz and Bykowska performed this act of rescue as a human duty flowing from their deep religious faith and sought no recompense for it even though it endangered their lives. Maks Noy eventually escaped from his labor camp and he and Raizel found shelter in Praga, Warsaw, in an apartment they rented from Władysława [Władysława] Cygler. Although Cygler knew they were Jews, she prepared a hideout for them in case of danger and sheltered them from inquisitive neighbors. The only person who knew their address was Sister Malkiewicz, who, in the summer of 1944—five weeks before Praga was liberated—brought Ruth to them because a child in the orphanage had threatened denunciation. After the war, the Noys immigrated to the United States

Max Noy provides the following testimony in Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, at pages 218–20.

During the German occupation, I worked in the Otwock ghetto as a guard.

One day Sister Ludwika Malkiewicz [Malkiewicz] came to me with a piece of paper from the Germans stating that she would be getting some furniture. I don't remember the precise details but she needed ten beds. ... I told the sister to take as many beds as she wanted ...

Soon our conversation turned around to my family. I told her I had a daughter. At first I feared revealing where Ruth was hiding, but finally I told her that she was in Otwock with relatives, but that it wasn't a permanent arrangement and that is why I would like for her to be in an orphanage. At that time my wife was staying with an acquaintance of hers, a Polish woman.

Sister Ludwika took the beds, as many as she wanted, and from that time we became friends—she used to telephone me, and I her, so as not to lose touch with each other. ...

Irka, the Polish woman, was frightened because she had her own family. After all, the Germans killed entire Polish families for harboring Jews! ... my wife went with Ruth to Kocowa [?], if only to stay there for two weeks. After staying in Kocowa, my wife wandered around with my daughter. Somehow we always managed to stay in contact. Then one day we made an arrangement. I sent a Pole I knew, Kobus, to bring my daughter. He couldn't take my wife because there was too much risk involved.

Kobus took my daughter to his place in Otwock, and then she became ill. ... She had to see a doctor. Since I had been a student at Warsaw University, I had many Polish doctors as friends. I asked a pediatrician, Stas Wieslawski [Stas Wieslawski], to help. He visited my daughter. ...

It was winter already. I made contact with Sister Ludwika, and as soon as Ruth got well, we gave her the child. It was a winter's evening, cold and snowy. The doors of the orphanage were open and my wife said to Ruth: "Go inside; you'll get some candy there."

Ruth went. We made an arrangement with Sister Ludwika that in case of trouble she would light a candle in the

window. If no light shone that would indicate that everything had gone alright. We froze outside for two hours, but no light came, so we left the orphanage.

We visited our daughter only twice. She was under the care of Sister Anna, a brave young nun. Later, when we were in hiding, our link with our daughter was the Polish woman I've already mentioned, Irka.

Sister Ludwika was very careful in her activities, which is why we felt safe having Ruth stay in the convent. We left Ruth with a letter, because that's how it was done in those days. She also had an authentic [baptismal] certificate, with the name of Teresa Wysocka on it, which I got in Otwock from a priest I knew.

Provided with the letter and certificate, Ruth started to cry once she was inside the orphanage. The nuns came down to see what was happening, and then they talked about whether the child was Jewish and if so, whether they could put the other children in danger if they took her in. My daughter went up to the mother superior at that point, and the mother superior reacted with these words:

"If the child has come to me, then I will share her fate."

Luckily, my daughter did not talk Yiddish or Hebrew; she only knew Polish and we only spoke Polish at home. Before we left for the convent, we had taught her what to say—that her mother had been taken by the Nazis to Germany, and that her name was Teresa Wysocka.

We gave Sister Ludwika *carte blanche* when we sent Ruth to the convent; she could do anything she wanted with the child for its safety, including baptizing it, for a little water would not be bad if it saved the child's life. We also left the nuns a little money. They accepted the money, but it would have made no difference if we had not given it, for Ruth would have been accepted into the convent regardless.

We informed the Polish police commissioner in Otwock of the fact that we had given our child to the convent. He assured us that in case something happened and the child ended up at the police station, he would call an engineer living nearby, Szpakowski, and then his wife would take the child in as her own, so that our daughter would not fall into the hands of the Germans.

When Ruth was already in the convent, my wife and I went to Praga to hide. When the Germans were already losing the war, and the front was nearing Warsaw in 1944, Sister Ludwika managed to inform us that the Germans were moving the orphanage to the west and that she didn't know what would be happening to them. So we sent our liaison, Irka, to pick up the girl, and after our daughter was with us. She didn't have to hide anymore and no one suspected that she was Jewish.

Sister Ludwika Małkiewicz provided additional details of the rescue activities in an interview conducted in 1984. (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 157–61.)

When on October 10, 1940, the Germans kicked us out of the children's home in Grabia [Grabie], near Toruń [Toruń], and sent us to the General Government (to make room for the Hitlerjugend), the Social Welfare Dept. of Warsaw picked us up at the station in Warsaw and placed us with the Sisters of St. Teresa in Swidrze [Świder] on Mickiewicz St. The living space was too small for all of us, so we requested the mayor to let us have the Jewish boarding school in the neighborhood, which was empty since the Jewish population was already in a ghetto. By ourselves we painted the interior and created a chapel, and the mayor gave us the necessary furniture from that furniture that had been left behind by the previous boarders. I received desks from a Jewish school that had been closed in Otwock.

The owner of the boarding school, as we found out, was Jozef [Józef] Kaplon, a Jew, who was at the time in the ghetto in Otwock, about a kilometer away. We decided that since we were using his establishment, it was only proper to see if he needed food in the ghetto. I sought him out. It was 1941.

Kaplon was without any family and already very old and also ill. He was happy to see me and asked me to visit him regularly. He had something to eat, but every Sunday I brought him a warm dinner and a bit of this and that. Thus I became acquainted with Jews.

I always entered the ghetto under the barbed wire, for there was no entrance from the side of Swidrze. Except for Kaplon, the Jews looked at me with suspicion. But this didn't last long. The ghetto police themselves proposed that when I would be going from Otwock to Swidrze, I should shorten my way by walking through the ghetto. With time they began to trust me completely, so much so that they gave me their savings for safe keeping, and, needing money, they came for it at night. Later I started going to the ghetto on Saturday, right after school lessons, to see how the Jews prayed and observed the Sabbath.

And that is the way I began my contact with Jews and how it came to be that I wound up helping both Jewish adults and children.

The decision to help Jews belonged solely to the mother superior of our house, Sister Gertruda Marciniak, while I was the person who carried out her instructions, with the stipulation that in case of immediate danger the decision rested with me.

Jewish children were brought in through the requests of hiding parents or Mr. Adamowicz, who worked for the Welfare Department of Warsaw at 72 Złota [Złota] St.

The director of the department was Antoni Chacinski [Chaciński].

In our home there were several Jewish children. They came with fictitious names, some of which I don't remember. I will only tell you about those I do remember:

1) *Alfred Karol (Leopold Blitzylberg, phonetically spelled), born in Baden-Baden. His mother was German, his father was a Jew. When the father was killed in the Warsaw ghetto, the mother escaped with Alfred to the Polish side, taking nothing with her. She begged for bread from some German soldiers but did not present herself to the German authorities in fear that they would take her child away to the ghetto. An Austrian woman, Marta Harf (likewise phonetically spelled) saw her on the street. Seeing a sick and teary-eyed woman in front of her, she decided to help. The mother was taken to a hospital, and Marta Harf took the child to her place. The mother died in the hospital, but before she died she asked Marta Harf to send the child to its family in Baden-Baden. The German authorities didn't allow this, and the child was to return to the ghetto.*

Marta, a decent human being, looked around everywhere to save the child's life. Finally, Sister Gertruda sent me to Marta. Once there, after examining the situation, I was to decide whether to take the child back with me or not.

There was a fear, which Director Chacinski expressed, that this was a ruse on the part of the Germans, since Marta had assured the Welfare Department that the child was of pure German blood, in the face of which the question became why send the child to a Polish home for children? If I didn't take the child, it would have to go to the ghetto. So I took this seven-year-old boy to our home in Swidrze [Świder]. This was in 1941. The boy remained with us to the end of the war:

2) *Daniel Lancberg (phonetically spelled). In 1941 his parents begged us to take him. At their request the child was baptized and received the baptismal name of Wojciech. The child was barely three. The boy's father died in the Otwock ghetto; the mother survived the war and became baptized.*

Daniel was a very thin child; he looked half-starved. He constantly had to eat, so he would go by himself to the kitchen to get a bite there. One day he got on top of a table to take a look out the window. Two German soldiers who were passing by saw him and rushed to the kitchen very angry and accusing us of hiding Jews. I ran to Mother Superior Getruda Marciniak, who knew German quite well. (In those days the populace in the General Government did not know German.) The mother superior entered the kitchen, and with a smile on her face, said:

"How can you possibly think that we have Jews here?"

Daniel, who was called Wojciech at our convent, did not understand what was being said, and at the sight of these faces looking at him with such anger, he went into a panic, crying and cuddling to the mother superior, who took him by the hand and said to him in Polish and to the soldiers in German:

"So you are the one who is supposed to be a Jew? What a joke! Don't cry, Wojciech; see how nicely these gentlemen are dressed and how good they are. They like children a lot—won't you like them?"

The boy, though he was still crying, extended his hands out to one of the Germans so that he could hug him. The soldiers were speechless. The mother superior, ignoring their confusion, asked them if they wanted tea and something to eat, all the while acting very calmly and smiling. The Germans were so dumbfounded that all they wanted to do was to leave our convent as quickly as possible. And yet it would have been very easy for them to see if Daniel was circumcised. Apparently they thought our mother superior was German.

3) *Ruth Noy, the daughter of Max and Roza [Róża] Noy. She was accepted to our home on Swiderski [Świderska] St. in Otwock in November 1942, at the request of her parents, who were hiding after the liquidation of the ghetto there. With the agreement of the convent I made out a fictitious birth certificate for her under the name Teresa Wysocka.*

We arranged the "abandonment" of the child: Without being seen, the mother left the child in the courtyard in the evening. The little girl began to cry, at the sound of which the nuns, and the personnel of the convent, came rushing up, and everyone saw the abandoned child. The girl had a small pouch about her neck, and inside was her fictitious certificate and a letter requesting us to keep the girl for a short time. The mother wrote in the letter that her husband had been taken to Germany to work and that she herself was spending a lot of time trying to make a living and didn't have a place to keep Teresa. In her difficult situation she counted on the mercy of the nuns. Of course, the mother signed her name as Wysocka.

The child was in our home for almost two years. Her parents saved themselves, hiding in Warsaw on Pelpinski [Pelpińska] St. After the war they wanted to give whatever money they had left to the convent for saving their child. The mother superior refused to take the money, so they offered it to me, and I likewise refused to take it.

4) *Salome Rybak. In 1941 or 1942, I don't remember exactly, thirteen-year-old Salome (I don't know if that was her real name) was hiding under the stairs in the empty Jewish boarding school in Swidrze [Świder]. At night she used to come to our children's home on I Mickiewicz St. and take from a barrel before our building the remnants of food left over left as fodder for pigs. Caught in the act, Salome was placed by us in our farm building and given a place to sleep and something to eat. When winter came, we took her in with the group of children in the children's home where, unfortunately, she could only remain for a few months. One of the wards, the son of an [sic] Ukrainian, wanted to tell the Germans about her. Here, once again, Mr. Adamowicz helped out and found another children's home for her, this one run by the nuns in Starowce [Starówka, Warsaw's Old Town]. I took her there myself, though I've forgotten the name of the street.*

Her Semitic features gave her away. To take her to Warsaw, I bandaged her entire head, leaving just an opening

for one eye. I don't know what happened to her afterward.

All the children that were hiding with us were of the Hebraic religion. The only one who was baptized was, as I have already mentioned, Lanenberg, and this was done at the request of his parents.

My attitude toward baptizing Jewish children was based on canonical law, which states that in regard to the baptism of children, one should get the approval of both or one of their parents. Furthermore, the baptized child should have a Catholic upbringing. There was no such certainty with the Jewish children we had because their parents could survive the war and bring them up in the Jewish religion.

Jurek Adin, who was born in Warsaw in 1933, was cared for by his prewar governess, Maria Pyjek, after he was spirited out of the Warsaw ghetto in February 1941. Unable to secure accommodation for Jurek, she turned to a Capuchin priest who assisted her in placing the boy at a home for children in Otwock run by the Sisters of St. Elizabeth.⁶⁴⁴ Jurek Adin's testimony was recorded soon after the war ended. (Testimony of Jurek Adin, Central Committee of Jews in Poland, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Record Group 301, number 3695.)

I sometimes went to the Aryan side and many times wanted to remain there but no opportunities arose. ... I asked one boy to take me to my private tutor. I could not stay there because she worked as a nurse for the Germans and lived in a Krankenstube. She placed me with her friend who was already hiding one Jewish boy named Borenstein. ... My tutor arranged for me to be taken to the home of Mrs. Adela. She told me to go to a particular shop at Belwederska Street from where I would be taken by Mrs. Adela. Mrs. Adela arranged a Christian birth certificate for me and registered me as Marian Podbielski. My tutor paid out of her own pocket to buy my false birth certificate. I spent some time at Mrs. Adela's home. She used to go to work in the morning and I was left on my own. In the summer of 1942, I went to a resort called Zielonka [a small locality in the vicinity of Warsaw] and in August I returned to Warsaw. The priest who baptized me was very good to me and placed me in St. Anthony's children's home in Świder [now part of Otwock, a suburb of Warsaw]. ... I stayed there until 1945, when my tutor came and took me with her to Rozalin. Again I felt so good. My family was found in the United States. They asked my tutor many times to place me in a Jewish orphanage. I am supposed to leave for the United States, but I would rather stay in Poland.

Halina Lewkowicz, who escaped to Warsaw from a ghetto in Upper Silesia, eventually found employment at a convent of the Sisters of St. Elizabeth, in the suburb of Żoliborz. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 531.)

In the summer of 1943, Halina Lewkowicz managed to escape together with her six-year-old son, Richard, during the liquidation of the Zawiercie ghetto in Upper Silesia. Their escape was made possible due to the assistance extended by Poles active in the underground, who moved her and her son to Warsaw, where they sent them to the apartment of Jan and Halina Mrozowski, both of whom were active in the AK [Armia Krajowa—Home Army]. Lewkowicz and her son, who arrived without any money or papers, were warmly received by the Mrozowskis, who provided them with false papers, shelter, and help. Within a short time, Mrozowska found work for Lewkowicz doing housework for her brother, while little Richard remained under the devoted care of the Mrozowskis. In time, Lewkowicz became active in the underground, acting as a courier. In November 1943, she began working as a practical nurse in the Elizbietanek [Elżbietanki] Sisters' convent in the suburb of Żoliborz [Żoliborz], where she remained during the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944 to care for the wounded brought to the convent, which had been converted into a field hospital. Jan Mrozowski, who was arrested during the uprising, was deported to a concentration camp, where he perished. His wife and young Richard were deported to the Pruszkow [Pruszków] camp, and the child, whom she placed in the orphanage set up in the camp, was liberated in January 1945. Lewkowicz and her son remained in Poland.

The Dańko and Chłond families of Otwock extended help to a number of Jews with the help of the local pastor, Rev. Ludwik Wolski, and nuns, among them Sisters of St. Elizabeth (The Dańko Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-danko-family-0>> and <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-danko-family>>.)

From 1936, Mieczysław Dańko lived in Otwock, where he was director of the Finance Department of the Municipal Board. During the September military campaign, he was captured by the Russians, but he escaped from the transport and returned to Otwock.

⁶⁴⁴ Maria Pyjek's account is found in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 372–74.

During the war, he was an activist in the peasant movement, also its underground counterpart. In the years 1941–1943 Mieczysław was the commander of the Warsaw-Right-Bank circuit of the Peasant Battalions and used the pseudonym “Odwaga” (“Courage”). In 1943, he was imprisoned by the gestapo in Nowy Sącz for three months.

The Jewish family Wecer (Weczer) was starving in the ghetto in Otwock. Only little Maria would sneak out from the ghetto to buy medications, which she then sold to others, thereby earning bread for her brothers Zbyszko and Sasza, and her grandparents. In the fall, the girl's bare feet got injured. In such a state she met her former neighbor Jadwiga Dańko at a drugstore one evening. “My God, Muszka what happened to you?”, asked Jadwiga, then took the girl to her home on Reymont Street.

After many years, Miriam Thau (Maria Wecer) mentioned in the testimony for Yad Vashem: “That evening was fed and my injured legs were washed and dressed. The Dańko family – Jadwiga and her husband, Mieczysław and sister Nina – listened, horrified, to my account about poverty in the ghetto. It was a time when people were already lying on the streets swollen from hunger. In the morning, when I thanked and I wanted to go back, Jadwiga said to me solemnly: “Do not go back again to the ghetto, Muszka.” Once again, I thanked and explained that I could not stay with her – “Sasza is there waiting for me, he will die without me”. The Dańkos could not take him home. He was circumcised, and they had two children whom they did not want to expose to danger. On the same day, I brought Sasza a cart full of food. From then on, for weeks I would bring him meals every day.”

With the help of a parish priest, Ludwik Wolski, Maria Wecer received a birth certificate for the name Laskowiecka (it was the name of her mother's first husband). Little Sasza also received a similar birth certificate. Then, Mieczysław Dańko with a clerk from the municipal council in Otwock, Mr. Grzywacz, took Sasza away from the ghetto and placed him in a convent in Świder (which probably belonged to the St. Elizabeth convent) as a “Christian child, who had been circumcised by his Jewish caregivers.”

One day Tamara Wecer, the children's mother appeared at the Dańkos' house. She had previously left Otwock, seeking contact with her husband and ways to escape. And again, Mieczysław Dańko helped her. He managed to get her an ID with the name of her first husband. The Dańkos also helped the whole family to find accommodation. The mother took little Sasza from the monastery. However, he died soon. Years later, Maria Thau says “he was dying before my eyes. He died at night, holding my hand. His last words were: “Musia, give me bread”. On his death certificate issued on October 20, 1942 by Rev. Wolski, Aleksandra Szpakowska, another Righteous of Otwock, signed herself as a witness.

Tamara, Maria and Zbigniew Wecer survived the war. In 1946, the children's father, Rudolf Wecer, returned to Poland. Zbigniew went to Israel in 1948, Maria and her mother did in 1958.

Krystyna's (Krysia) father (b. 1917), Karol Chłond, worked as secretary of the municipal council in Otwock for many years. As a widely respected citizen, he had many friends, both Poles and Jews. His four children grew up in a spirit of respect for other human beings regardless of their nationality or religion.

Krysia Chłond and Lusja Kokoszko became friends in middle school. They sat in one bench at school for five years and visited each other at home.

When the Kokoszko family was in the ghetto in Otwock during the war, Krystyna still visited them often, although it was forbidden. She also brought them money from Warsaw. Lusja's parents asked Krystyna to take their younger daughter, 6-year-old Maryna, to Warsaw, to a safer place in the district of Leszno. [Maryna or Maria Kokoszko was placed in an orphanage under an Aryan name.⁶⁴⁵] The parents, along with Lusja, escaped from the ghetto and hid in Celestynów, and later in Józefów. Krystyna visited them there as well, serving as a contact person between the parents and daughter hidden in Warsaw. Dr. Michał Kokoszko, working under the false name Kosowski, ran a pediatric clinic.

The entire Kokoszko family managed to survive the war. They lived in Warsaw for the rest of their lives. As emphasized by Krystyna Dańko, her whole family believed that helping other people was completely natural. There was another Jewish child, who lived for several months in the Chłond family's home in Otwock on Łukasińskiego Street during the war i.e. a 4-year-old Jasia Kotowicz, the daughter of Olena Kotowicz née Zybert, who was hiding in Warsaw at that time. Krysia's older sister, Elizabeth, took care of Jasia. Olena with her husband and daughter survived the war. Her brother, Selim Zybert, Krystyna's former high school friend, was hiding in Warsaw, but unfortunately did not survive the war.

Rev. Ludwik Wolski, the elderly pastor of St. Vincent de Paul parish in Otwock, and his vicar, Rev. Jan Raczkowski, both of whom have been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem, assisted a number of Jews in various ways. They gave them food,⁶⁴⁶ helped them find shelters, and

⁶⁴⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 169.

⁶⁴⁶ Julek Sendler, an orphan who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto together with Zygmunt Datyner, stated that after they made their way to Otwock, they would go to the rectory for soup daily. See Izabela Stachowicz, *Ocalił mnie kowal* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1956), 111.

provided them with false birth certificates. In their sermons, the priests condemned German crimes against the Jews as well as the activities of local bandits and extortionists, and urged their parishioners to help those in need. When the Otwock ghetto was being liquidated, Rev. Wolski rescued seven-year-old Marysia Osowiecka (later Michelle Donat) with the assistance of Bronisław Marchlewicz, the captain of the Blue Police, and Aleksandra Szpakowska. After the liberation the young girl's aunt wrote to Rev. Wolski to thank him for his selfless deeds. (Sylwia Szymańska, *Ludność żydowska w Otwocku podczas Drugiej wojny światowej* [Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2002], pp. 86–87.)

During the Nazi occupation, the parish's presbytery in Otwock was attended by many people—regardless of their nationality or religion—it was a place of safe shelter, help and care. Those most needy could count on food, supply of medicines and financial aid.

Being in charge of the births, marriages and deaths register, Father Wolski issued selflessly fictitious birth certificates to children of Jewish residents in Otwock, so that they could stay legally in educational institutions and orphanages as baptized children, coming from Roman Catholic families. He would do it risking not only his own life, but also the lives of people from his closest circle. The exact number of people whom priest Wolski helped in this way is unknown. He certainly issued false birth certificates to five Jewish children: Maria Osowiecka (for the name of Halina Brzoza), Dan Landsberg (for the name of Wojciech Płochocki), Ruth Noj (for the name of Teresa Wysocka), Maria and her brother Sasza Wecer (for the name of their mother's first husband, Konstanty Laskowiecki).

Maria Thau (nee Wecer, now a citizen of Israel), who was also rescued in such a way, says in her memoirs entitled Powroty (Returns):

“A priest in a church in Otwock cooperated with the underground. There were rumors among the survivors from the surrounding towns, who were hiding after the dissolution of ghettos, about a priest who helped Jews, and especially children. He placed many children in convents. He issued fictitious documents and birth certificates without any compensation.”

Also in her testimony made in the Yad Vashem Institute in 1964, Maria Thau talks about “an old parish priest of the church in Otwock,” and “his assistant priest,” who “saved lives of many Jewish children” (referring to Father Wolski and Father Jan Raczkowski).

The parish priest from Otwock allowed the Jewish refugees (including adults) to sleep in a wooden presbytery building that no longer exists and even under the roof of the church. Hanna Kamińska recalls:

“During the war, thanks to Father Wolski, the parish of St. Vincent was known among the Jews of Otwock as a place where you could get help and, if necessary, spend the night. I myself spent the night there in November 1942 (over two months after the dissolution of the ghetto).

Saving Jewish children in Nazi-occupied Poland required in almost every case the whole chain of people of good will. Priest Ludwik Wolski worked closely in this respect with other Righteous people from Otwock: Aleksandra Szpakowska, Bronisław Marchlewicz and the Sisters from St. Elizabeth convent.

Hanna Kamińska's letter of September 12, 1945 [addressed to Rev. Wolski] (original spelling retained) is its beautiful testimony:

“I feel the pleasant duty to express [to] the Reverend canon priest warmest thanks for the care of my 7-year-old cousin, Marysia Osowiecka. In August 1942, during the highest intensity of Nazi terror in Otwock, where on 19 August and the following day the ghetto was being dissolved [liquidated], the priest did not hesitate to risk his life to save an unknown Jewish child. In the context of unruly bands of Germans and Nazis, as well as local villagers' behavior who would rush out like vultures to grab the possessions left by the Jews, the Christian attitude displayed by Father Wolski, who along with Ms Szpakowska, an engineer, and with Mr Marchlewicz, a commander of the police station of the time, did not fear to save a helpless Jewish child, is reflected even more starkly.

The existence of such people as the canon priest, Ms Szpakowska and Mr Marchlewicz fills us with the faith for a better tomorrow, the victory of good over evil. I wish that my clumsy words could at least in part reflect the feelings that I cherish for the canon priest, Ms Szpakowska and Mr Marchlewicz. Let Poland be filled up with such people.”

In the remembrance of the Otwock's residents—both Poles and Jews—Father Ludwik Wolski is perceived as a man who believed that helping other human beings is his human, Christian and priestly duty.

After the war, the parish priest of Otwock helped in turn those persecuted by the NKVD and Security Office, and especially the Warsaw insurgents and members of the Home Army. He continued to support passionately the upbringing and education of indigent children and young people, allocating for this purpose his time and money, since he was living a very modest, simple life himself.

Rev. Raczkowski was honoured on the strength of the testimony of Hanna Pinkert-Langer. Ten Jews, including five members of the Pinkert and Wilner families, were rescued by the collective effort of

several Poles from Otwock among them Zofia Sydry, Czesława Dietrich, and Antoni Serafin.⁶⁴⁷ (Jan Raczkowski, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9596619>>.)

A number of misfortunes befell the Pinkerts in the Otwock Ghetto, until finally they were told in no uncertain terms that it was time to flee. [Czesława] Dietrich and [Zofia] Sydry came to their aid again, getting [Antoni] Serafin to add Hanna [Pinkert] to the number of Jews already hiding in his house, and later they convinced him to take Zygmunt [Pinkert] in as well. Their stay was not peaceful: one day a German soldier walked in and discovered them, and only a bribe drove him away. When Serafin found out, he was terrified and ran to the local priest, Jan Raczkowski, for advice.

Raczkowski was a figure of authority and renown in the area, and he had aided many Jews. He helped indirectly by influencing his parishioners to be merciful, even instructing them directly to help Jews; he also assisted people like Joanna Kaltman, who was hiding in the area under the guise of being a Catholic, and whom he instructed discreetly as to Catholic rituals and the things she was to say and do in church so as not to be discovered. Furthermore, he handed out fake baptism and birth certificates and did not fear the danger that was all the greater for him because he was such a public person.

Raczkowski told Antoni Serafin to continue hiding the Jews despite the danger, and he even offered his own home to one of the women [Anna Różycka] and her child [Aleksander or Olek Różycki]. In this way the families survived until the liberation in 1944.

Joanna Kaltman, who was born in 1929, escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with her mother, Dr. Ewa Kaltman. Toward the end of 1943 they changed their hiding place, moving from Warsaw to the nearby town of Otwock. She described her stay in Otwock, until the Soviet liberation, and the assistance of the school chaplain, Rev. Jan Raczkowski, in her account found in Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, at page 82.

I believe that both for our hosts and in the private classes to which I was admitted almost immediately after moving, in spite of the good official documents and a reasonably believable story, the true state of affairs was quite clear. One can surmise this from the behavior of our landlady, who, during the more turbulent periods of roundups and ransacking by the Gestapo in Otwock, would come to us, sometimes at night, to lift our spirits. Also, from the fact that the vicar priest who was then effectively the spiritual leader of Otwock, Father Raczyński [actually Jan Raczkowski], would push into my hands notes certifying to my alleged confession. I would later hand these in to the same Chaplain Raczyński during religion lessons in the private classes, as this was compulsory for pupils during the preholiday period. (I had no idea then that Mrs. [Anna] Różycka, who escaped the ghetto with little Olek [Aleksander], was hiding with him in the presbytery at that time.) We could also tell from other small, but then very meaningful, gestures of assistance and goodwill on the part of various people.

After fleeing from the Warsaw ghetto, Wanda Ziemska (née Posner, born in 1934), was sheltered by a number of Poles in Warsaw. When she found herself in an emergency shelter on Sienna Street at the beginning of 1944, afflicted with typhus, she was cared for by Rev. Stefański. At the end of July, a nun in lay clothing took Wanda and several other girls to St. Joseph's orphanage in Otwock, where Wanda survived the war.⁶⁴⁸ It is not clear whether this was Rev. Bolesław Stefański, a vicar in Grójec near Warsaw, who was a Home Army member and activist of the National Party (*Stronnictwo Narodowe*). Rev. Bolesław Stefański served as a hospital and prison chaplain. He provided Jews with false documents and sheltered in the rectory Jan Obalski (Oberfeld), a prominent engineer and postwar professor and scholar of Jewish origin. Rev. Stefański was arrested by the Stalinist security forces in June 1946, tortured, and sentenced to death on trumped up charges. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and he was released in 1954 because of ill health. He died in 1964.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Ludwik Wolski, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-wolski-ludwik-0>>; Hanna Pinkert (Hanna Langer), Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/hanna-pinkert-hanna-langer>>.

⁶⁴⁸ Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 2, 348–49.

⁶⁴⁹ Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 388–89; Jacek Żurek, *Ksiądz Bolesław Stefański: Żołnierz bezdomny* (Warsaw: Szkoła Wyższa Przymiera Rodzin w Warszawie, 2014).

A branch of Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, also functioned in Lwów, headed by Władysława Choms (in Polish, she is known as Władysława Chomsowa). It received extensive assistance from the Polish underground and the Polish Catholic Church. (Gilbert, *The Righteous*, pp. 34–36.)

*In Lvov [Lwów], the Eastern Galician capital, those who offered to help Jews included Władysława Choms, a Polish woman known as the 'Angel of Lvov'. Following the establishment in Warsaw of Żegota [Żegota]—the Council for Assistance to the Jews—she became the head of its local branch. Later she was to describe how both the Roman Catholic Church and the underground Armia Krajowa or Home Army assisted her and Żegota in making it possible for Jews to be saved. 'The Catholic clergy were of invaluable assistance', she wrote, 'in enabling us to obtain certificates of baptism, for which they provided blank forms, instructions on what to do, and ready-made certificates. How much effort and nerves went into the making of one document! With time we became more experienced. Żegota from Warsaw began to supply us with blanks of documents and the Home Army legalizing cell with beautifully made official stamps. The fury of the Gestapo at our graphic skills was correspondingly great for they realized what was going on.'*⁶⁵⁰ ...

One of those who owed his survival to Władysława Choms and to at least one other member of Żegota in Eastern Galicia was Zygmunt Chotiner. ... 'Mrs. Choms helped to hide the doomed Jews from the ghetto and the escapees from the underground water canals. Two of her Polish lady friends were tortured to death after the search and discovery of false papers for the Jewish people. ... She placed a lot of Jewish children in the orphan houses too.'

The following additional information is found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 143:

*Władysława [Władysława] Choms, the wife of a major in the Polish army ... In 1938, Choms moved to Lwow [Lwów] and, after the German occupation, began smuggling food, money, and medicines into the ghetto. Choms, who was elected chairman of the Lwow branch of Żegota [Żegota] in the spring of 1943, organized the escape of a number of Jewish families from the ghetto, provided them with Aryan documents, and arranged accommodation for them in and around Lwow. She placed many Jewish orphans in Christian orphanages and local convents and wrote a report on the situation of the Jews in Lwow which the Polish underground delivered to the Polish Government-in-Exile in London. In late 1943, when the Germans got wind of her activities, Choms fled to Warsaw, where she continued with her underground work. Until her death, Choms kept up contact with many of her survivors in Israel and other countries. The book *The Angel of Lvov*, which describes her activities, was written by people she had saved. On March 15, 1966, Yad Vashem recognized Władysława Choms as Righteous Among the Nations.*

The assistance provided by an elderly priest, identified as Father Joseph, in Janówka near Tarnopol, in southeastern Poland, was described by Irene Opdyke (formerly Irena Gut), a Righteous Gentile who is credited with rescuing twelve Jews. (Carol Rittner and Sondra Myers, eds., *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* [New York: New York University Press, 1986], pp. 47–48.)

In Janówka, about three hundred Jewish people escaped. Some of them were from our plant, and some were from other German plants. ...

There was a priest in Janówka. He knew about the Jews' escape—many of the Polish people knew about it. Can you imagine living underground as the Jews were forced to do when the winter came? Many people brought food and other things—not right to the forest, but to the edge—from the village. The priest could not say directly "help the Jews," but he would say in church, "not one of you should take the blood of your brother." ...

During the next couple of weeks there were posters on every street corner saying, "This is a Jew-free town, and if any one should help an escaped Jew, the sentence is death."

A more detailed account appeared in her memoir (Irene Gut Opdyke with Jennifer Armstrong), *In My Hands: Memories of a Holocaust Rescuer* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), at pages 146–51. Irene Opdyke describes her encounter with the village priest after having smuggled some Jews from Tarnopol, where she worked in a German officers' dining room, to the forest near Janówka.

It was on my way back to Ternopol [Tarnopol] that day that I stopped at the church in Janówka. ...

There were not many people. They were peasants, mostly ... The priest was speaking when I dipped my knee toward the altar and took a seat in the back.

I bowed my head and closed my eyes as though in prayer; but truly I was both exhausted and overexcited. ... at

⁶⁵⁰ Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life*, 50.

first I did not pay much attention to his words. But then I began listening, and I realized that he was encouraging his flock to resist the Nazis and to help the Jews.

“...and to remember those who are less fortunate than you,” he was reminding them in a quiet voice. “Our Savior commands that we not stain our hands with the blood of innocents. The righteous path is never an easy path, but at its end lies eternal love, eternal life.” Surely, he must have known that the forest surrounding his parish was filled with hunted men. He was telling his parishioners to help them. What he was saying could well bring him punishment from the Germans.

I looked up and studied him with new interest. He was a very old man, bald and wrinkled, but he had an upright carriage and his voice had no quaver in it. I noticed him glance my way from time to time, and I thought his look was kind. ...

When the service was over, I lingered in the churchyard, admiring the roses, while the priest blessed the country folk, and one by one, or in small family groups, they took their leave of him ...

At last, he turned to me. “Good morning,” he said. “I am Father Joseph.” ...

“Is this your dorożka [carriage]?” the priest said, walking to the bony horse and stroking his nose.

I wiped my nose quickly, sniffing back my tears. “Yes—at least, I borrowed it from a friend.”

“Making a delivery?” he asked. He turned his mild eyes to me, the eyes of a man who had seen everything and yet still loved people.

At once, my heart ached to confide in him, to lay my worries and responsibilities in someone else’s lap. ... The only thing I did not tell him was that I was helping Jews escape. It was too dangerous a secret to share

When I was finished, I looked at him anxiously, waiting to hear the sort of sorrowful rebuke that so many priests specialized in. But Father Joseph only nodded again.

“Irena, this is a war. God knows your heart. And God knows what you are doing with that dorożka today.” ...

“Thank you, Father Joseph,” I said at last.

“When you come through Janówka next time, stop and visit me.” ...

I had taken six people to the forest, and although they had disappeared, they were never far from my thoughts. When I could, I borrowed the dorożka from Helen’s farm and drove to Janówka, where I left bundles of food. ...

I did not always stop at the church to see Father Joseph. Occasionally, I was in too great a hurry, and had to be back to serve a meal. Or else I would see the old priest, with his straw gardening hat shielding his eyes from the sun, leaning on a pitchfork and talking with a neighbor. He knew what my trips to the puszcza [forest] meant. I was sure of it. I did not know if anyone else in the village noticed my comings and goings to the forest. In those days, people were either especially nosy, or they kept anxiously to themselves—but no one ever seemed to recognize me or take notice.

Irene Gut Opdyke vividly recalls the executions she, like countless Poles, was forced to watch in horror in nearby Tarnopol in November 1943. These public executions were calculated to subjugate the Polish nation and strike terror into the hearts of ordinary civilians. (Irene Gut Opdyke with Jeffrey M. Elliot, *Into the Flames: The Life Story of a Righteous Gentile* [San Bernardino, California: The Borgo Press, 1992], p. 139.)

I was running across the town square ... and the square, although usually active on a market day, was choked with a milling, bewildered crowd. SS men abruptly pushed me into the middle of the square, just as they had the others, with a command not to leave. A scaffold had been erected in the center of the square, and what appeared to be two separate families were slowly escorted through the crowd to the block. A Polish couple, holding two small children, were brought up first, followed by a Jewish couple with one child, all three wearing the yellow Star of David. Both groups were lined up in front of dangling nooses. They were going to hang the children as well! Why didn’t somebody do something? What could be done? Finally, their “crimes” were announced—the Polish family had been caught harboring the Jewish family! Thus we were forced to witness the punishment for helping or befriending a Jew. I thought I would die! I closed my eyes tightly, but I could still hear the horrible thuds, as the weight of the bodies hit the ends of their ropes. It is impossible that what I imagined in my mind could have been more terrible than what I might have seen, had I watched, but I felt as if it were. Nightmarish images passed in front of my eyes, unbelievable and horrible, as I heard the death sounds emanate from the scaffold. Not a soul moved; no one made a sound, although a sigh reminiscent of a moan seemed to sweep over the crowd.

“This family, caught harboring Jews against the law, has been executed as an example to all,” and [sic] SS officer announced. “This is the result of their crimes.” The officer pointed accusingly at the bodies dangling in front of him.

My mind would not accept this statement of brutality. Innocent people killed for saving lives? I kept my eyes shut tightly, wanting desperately to erase the whole scene from my mind, but of course the incident was played back, over and over again in my memory. I saw the same fate ahead of me, if my actions were ever discovered. But I had to go on as before. I had no choice.

Finally they released us ...

Other Jewish accounts from the vicinity of Tarnopol also attest to the helpfulness of Catholic priests. Abraham Wand (Avraham Vand) lived in a village passing as a Christian using false identity documents provided to him by a priest.⁶⁵¹ Yosef Schwartz recalled that a priest provided food to Jews.⁶⁵²

After escaping from the hospital in Trembowla, where she worked, Dr. Natalia Weisselberg was sheltered by the Ganczarski family in Sady on the outskirts of Trembowla, in Tarnopol voivodship, along with her husband, Jakub, and her daughter, Ludwika (later Steinfeld). Her host, Jan Ganczarski, turned to Rev. Waclaw Szetelnicki, a local vicar, for guidance.⁶⁵³ Dr. Weisselberg's testimony⁶⁵⁴ is recorded in Waclaw Szetelnicki, *Trembowla: Kresowy bastion wiary i polskosci* (Wroclaw: Rubikon, 1992), at page 243.

On June 5, 1943 we had to flee [from the hospital in Trembowla], past the Ukrainian guards and barking of dogs, and in enormous fear we hurried to Sady, arriving at the home of the Ganczarski family where we remained until March 1944, when the Russians entered. Near the end of our stay, still under the German occupation, Jan Ganczarski wanted to assure himself that he was doing the right thing by sheltering Jews and thereby exposing his entire family to death. [A Polish pharmacist's family living nearby had just been executed by the Germans.] He therefore went to confession. His confessor, Rev. Waclaw Szetelnicki, presently residing in Wroclaw, praised him for his actions, encouraged him to keep sheltering us and forbade him to surrender us to the Nazis. In March 1944, Mr. Ganczarski saw us off, giving us his blessing on our road to freedom.

Rev. Szetelnicki also paid regular visits (on the first Friday of each month) to an elderly Polish couple in Sady, by the name of Szajdek, who hid a Jewish couple by the name of Parille, from Tarnopol, in the cellar of their small one-storey home. The Parilles, who survived the war, would come out of their hiding place to converse with Rev. Szetelnicki during his visits.⁶⁵⁵

Rev. Jan Pawlicki, the pastor of Zborów near Tarnopol, was one of several Poles instrumental in saving the Droll family. He provided false documents to Maksymilian Doll (Menachem Dul), his wife, Anna, and their daughter, Janina, and transferred them to Brzeżany, where Maksymilian Doll found employment with the assistance of a Polish friend, Karol Bogucki, who passed them off as Poles. Both Rev. Pawlicki and Karol Bogucki were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 103.)

In 1942, after the massacres by the Germans and Ukrainians against the Jews of Zborow [Zborów], in the Tarnopol district, Maksymilian Droll and his wife, Anna, decided to flee with their daughter, Janina. Jan Pawlicki, the local priest, came to their aid, by providing them with false documents and moving them to nearby Brzezany [Brzeżany]. While in Brzezany, Droll found work through a friend, Karol Bogucki, who passed the Drolls off as acquaintances of his. In 1943, the Gestapo, on the basis of a tipoff, arrested the Drolls. When Bogucki discovered what had happened, he hurried to the Gestapo and testified that the Drolls were Polish friends of his. After the Drolls were released, Droll found work as an accountant in a Polish office run by Dr. Alfred Schuessel [Schüssel]. Although Schuessel knew that the Drolls were Jewish, he tried to help them to the best of his ability. Amongst other deeds, he went to the population registry to testify that their papers were authentic. When the Drolls were rearrested by the Gestapo, Schuessel used ties with government officials to obtain their release. The Drolls were liberated in the summer of 1944...

⁶⁵¹ Testimony of Abraham Wand, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3 V.T/3333 [ID: 4030753].

⁶⁵² Testimony of Yosef Schwartz, cited in Yehoshua Pinchas Klarnet, "Bursztyn," in M. Amihai, David Stockfish, and Shmuel Bari, eds., *The Community of Rohatyn and Environs*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/rogatin/rohatyn.html>>, translated from *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962), 327 ff.

⁶⁵³ Ludwika Steinfeld, *Far from Lambarene: A Biography, the Second World War, and Typhus Spotted Fever* (Frankfurt am Main: Steinfeld, 1992); Ludwika Steinfeld, *Żydzi i ludzie* (Frankfurt am Main: Steinfeld, 1997); Ludwika Steinfeld, *Huragan i cisza: Epizody wojenne* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2017). Dr. Weisselberg's daughter, Ludwika, had been previously sheltered, together with her grandmother, by Hanna Rozkosz in the village of Krowinka near Trembowla. See "Moja mała ojczyzna—Brodów," (XV), Internet: <<https://mularczyk-rodzice.jimdofree.com/moja-ma%C5%82a-ojczyzna-brod%C3%B3w/>>.

⁶⁵⁴ See also the Testimony of Natalia Weisselberg, December 15, 1985, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, item 3695933, O.6/474.

⁶⁵⁵ Waclaw Szetelnicki, *Trembowla: Kresowy bastion wiary i polskosci* (Wroclaw: Rubikon, 1992), 249.

Rev. Jan Pawlicki also came to the assistance of Maria Cukier. As she jumped from a train taking Jews from Zborów to the Bełżec death camp, Cukier was shot by a German guard. She managed to get to Złoczów, but the Jewish council would not help her. Two unknown Polish women took pity on her and took her to the local hospital where she was operated on. All the doctors and personnel surmised she was Jewish but treated her very well. After her release from the hospital, she went to the rectory in Zborów where she met Rev. Pawlicki and confided in him that she was Jewish. Cukier remained in the rectory for about two weeks. Rev. Pawlicki provided her with clothes, money and food, and took her to Lwów where she stayed for several weeks under the care of his friends. Since many people in Lwów knew Cukier, Rev. Pawlicki relocated her to an estate in Synowódzko Wyżne near Stryj. There Cukier met Łukasz and Ludwika Kruczkowski, who took her into the room that was their home. She had to leave them because she was being blackmailed by the estate inspector. Fortunately, Cukier survived the war moving from place to place.⁶⁵⁶

Rev. Pawlicki is mentioned in other testimonies as a very courageous defender of Jews who encouraged his parishioners to shelter Jews. After escaping from a German work camp, Zygmunt Margules was sheltered by the Mikuliński family near Zborów. Margules recalled that his hosts' decision was not only supported by the priest, but also he sent them food from the parish to help feed their Jewish charge. When the Soviet front approached and the area was being bombed, Margules and another Jew took cover in a building where the priest led the faithful in prayer. The priest recognized Margules and his friend as Jews, and protected them. Another priest then took them under his wing. He too realized that they were Jews. After liberation, in appreciation, Zygmunt Margules sewed a cassock for Rev. Jan Pawlicki.⁶⁵⁷ Another Jewish woman, Faye Shapira, who survived in the vicinity with the help of a number of Poles, among them Julia Werbiczka of Tustogłowy and Katarzyna Rozumkiewicz, was also provided with false documents by a priest, perhaps Rev. Pawlicki.⁶⁵⁸ Josephine Fiksel (then Józia Zauberman), who, together with her father, was hiding with Maria Bartosiewicz in the village of Tustogłowy near Zborów, tells the story of a helpful priest from the village of Friszna (Jezierna?). The priest even told them when Yom Kippur occurred so they could fast.⁶⁵⁹

Rev. Zygmunt Białowas, the pastor of Jezierna near Zborów, provided false documents to Maria Fischer, a 13-year-old girl from Tarnopol, under the name of Maria Siczka. She lived for several months with his nephew Stanisław Mazur, at the beginning of 1942. Afterwards, Rev. Białowas put her father in contact with a black marketeer from Katowice who arranged for her to become a nanny in Breslau (now Wrocław). Poles from Jezierna continued to pose as her family to assist her with her cover as a Catholic Pole. Her parents and brother remained in Jezierna, where "Everybody in the neighborhood knew we were hiding, but nobody told the Germans. The people in Jezierna were good people. They didn't give us away. They helped us with food. We couldn't have survived without them."⁶⁶⁰

Maria Kamińska, born in Lwów in 1935 as Ruta Linder, survived the war in hiding with Polish families. Her parents owned a pharmacy in Pomorany near Zborów, in Tarnopol voivodship. Their acquaintance, Rev. Stanisław Kostolowski, the local pastor, found a safe hiding place for their daughter with Malwina Lipińska in the village of Urlów near Zborów. Because of raids on the Polish population by Ukrainian

⁶⁵⁶ Testimony of Maria Cukier, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2520.

⁶⁵⁷ Testimony of Zygmunt Margules, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 7785; Lucille M. [Margules] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-1933), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies. See also Yale University Library; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 832–33; Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 109–10.

⁶⁵⁸ Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl*, 185 n.5; Testimony of Faye Shapira, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3485.

⁶⁵⁹ Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl*, 188 n.39; Testimony of Josephine Fiksel, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9757.

⁶⁶⁰ Account of Maria Fischer Zahn, in Carole Garbuny Vogel, *We Shall Not Forget! Memories of the Holocaust*, Second edition (Lexington, Massachusetts: Temple Isaiah, 1995), 278–81.

nationalists, Lipińska and her young charge had to relocate to Czchów near Brzesko. (Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, pp. 84–85.)

I was born and lived in Lwów before the war. My name was Ruta Linder. My parents, Sara and Sender Linder, were pharmacists. Several years before the war, they settled in Pomorzany, where they worked in their own pharmacy. ...

In 1941, we found ourselves in the ghetto [in Brzeżany]. After three months, my mother decided that we had to get out of the ghetto. ...

In order to survive, my parents had to turn me over to some Polish family, because I was frequently sick and my cough could have given us away.

We made our way to Pomorzany. Here, my parents gave me over to a Polish family they knew. Unfortunately, I ran away from there to my parents. Another time, an acquaintance, Father [Stanisław] Kostołowski, placed me at the home of a lady he knew, Malwina Lipińska, in the village of Urlów in the Tarnopol province.

There, I stopped being Ruta Linder and began life as Maria Kamińska. The way it happened was as follows. Mrs. Lipińska was reading aloud a list of those who had been shot to death, and I happened to remember precisely this name and surname. I received a false certificate of my christening, I had to learn prayers other than the ones Mama had taught me, and I ceased being a child. From then on, fear that someone might recognize me was constantly with me. I lived like other country children. I took the cows to pasture and fed chickens and turkeys. I longed so much for my parents that I tried to kill myself by hitting my head against a wall, but I only managed to get my head banged up and not to kill myself.

We live in a Ukrainian village, and the followers of Bandera began to bother us. Surprisingly, the ones who helped Mrs. Lipińska were the Germans. There were German officers (Austrians) quartered with us. They gave us a truck and transported us with all our household belongings to Czchów on the Dunajec River in the province of Krakow.

We moved in with the sister of Mrs. Lipińska, Mrs. Maria Barącz. I was there as a relative. I called both ladies “Auntie,” and everybody knew that my parents had perished during a bombardment. Mrs. Barącz had a very nice home in which there was also a pharmacy. The front rooms were occupied by Germans as their living quarters. It was extremely crowded in the house, because Mrs. Barącz’s entire family had sought shelter under her wings. I remember that all the time I slept in a small child’s bed. Behind the hose, in the woodshed, a Jewish man was hiding under the firewood.

The girls of this family belonged to the Home Army. It was a heroic family and very noble. Unfortunately, both sisters are no longer alive. I am still in touch with their daughters and grandchildren. At one time, I wanted to arrange for them to receive the medal of the “Just Among the Nations of the World.” In response, I heard, “You know, Marysia, that is completely unnecessary. For us, the biggest reward is that you are alive.” ...

In July 1945, my parents were repatriated to Bytom, and they then retrieved me from Czchów.

According to Polish eyewitness accounts, two Jewish women were sheltered on the parish farm in Pomorzany. During an attack on the village by Ukrainian nationalists in April 1944, in which 48 Polish inhabitants lost their lives, the Jewish women had to escape from their hideout when it was set on fire. They were shot dead by the Ukrainian assailants.⁶⁶¹

Canon Adam Łańcucki, the pastor of Brzeżany near Tarnopol, provided a number false identity documents that helped Jews survive the war. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 152; Michał Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych* [Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993], p. 89; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, pp. 561–62.)

[1] Stanisław [Stanisław] Codogni, a blacksmith by profession, lived with his family in the town of Brzeżany [Brzeżany] in the Tarnopol district. Throughout the existence of the Brzeżany ghetto, the Codognis kept their Jewish friends, the Bomzes, supplied with food and fuel. During the ghetto’s liquidation (April–June 1943), Fishel and Ricka Bomze, their daughter, Chana Redlich, and her six-year-old son, Shimon, hid in the attic of their apartment in the ghetto. Even after all the Jews had been deported, they continued hiding in the attic, while Codogni continued to see to all their needs. In November 1943, when new people began moving into the ghetto, the refugees had to find a new hiding place. Under cover of darkness, Codogni’s son, Karol, helped move Redlich and her son to a shelter Codogni had found for them on one of the farms in the nearby village of Raj. ... Redlich and her son stayed on the farm in Raj until the area was liberated in the spring of 1944.

[2] Twelve-year-old Zula Helman also benefited from the assistance of Karol Codogni. She was the daughter of a lawyer from Brzeżany who perished together with a large group of Jews in the first days after the German army

⁶⁶¹ Jan Selwa, “Banderowcy w Pomorzanych... żyją jeszcze świadkowie,” *Na Rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 4 (10) 1994, 20.

entered the city in 1941. Her mother and two younger sisters perished during the liquidation of the ghetto in 1943. Zula Helman managed to flee from the place of execution. She turned to the Codognis for help. Karol Codogni obtained a baptismal certificate for her from the local priest (Adam Łańcucki) and took her to an acquaintance of his in Lwów, where she worked as a nanny. Zula Helman survived the war.

[3] Zofia Sniadecka [Śniadecka], a teacher from Brzezany [Brzeżany] in the Tarnopol district of Eastern Galicia, had been friendly with the Podhorcer family and the dentist Emil Ornstein before the war. Thanks to her fluency in German, Sniadecka was hired as a secretary with a German company that had warehouses in the Jewish quarter of the city. This enabled her to remain in contact with and help her Jewish friends. In the spring of 1942, Rosa Podhorcer approached her, asking her to help save her family. Sniadecka took the seven members of the Podhorcer family into her home, among them Emil Ornstein and his six-year-old son, Jacek. After she located a family of farmers that would agree to hide the Jews in their home, she transferred five members of the Podhorcer family to the farm and hid them in the hiding place the farmer prepared. Disregarding the danger to her life, she took the care of the family upon herself ... although she obtained false papers for Ornstein, she decided to hide him in her apartment because of his Jewish appearance. Sniadecka searched for a suitable hiding place for Ornstein's son Jacek for a long time until she found a place to hide him far from the city. In late March 1944, a member of the Podhorcer family, Ornstein's sister—who was in the advanced stages of pregnancy—suddenly showed up at Sniadecka's door. The farmer on whose farm they had been hiding refused to allow her to give birth in his home and she had come to Sniadecka to give birth in her apartment. Sniadecka called in a trustworthy midwife and little Danita was born. The baby remained with Sniadecka and the mother returned to the hiding place on the farm. [Sniadecka notified the parish of the child's birth and Rev. Adam Łańcucki registered her in the parish books and issued a birth certificate for her.⁶⁶²] The Germans eventually discovered the Podhorcer family's hiding place and murdered them all. Sniadecka, who feared that the Germans would soon come to search her home, moved Ornstein to her brother's home and fled with the infant to stay with friends who lived outside the city. Sniadecka cared for the baby as best she could, but after she returned home the Germans demanded that she give up the Jews she was hiding. This happened on the eve of the liberation and only the entry of the Red Army into the city saved her life.

A young woman from Brzeżany, identified as “Anna Herzog,” was born in 1922 into an affluent and culturally assimilated Jewish family. During the German occupation, she was sheltered by a Polish priest who was a friend of the family. She posed as a Catholic Pole and played the church organ. She met and fell in love with a Pole whom she married after converting to Catholicism. She survived the war, as did her parents. They settled in Western Poland where they lived as Catholics. (Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1918–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), pp. 126–27.)

Anna Herzog was saved by a Polish priest. The priest, who came from a poor Brzezany [Brzeżany] family, had studied in a theological seminary before the war, and Grandpa Herzog has helped subsidize him. When the situation of the Jews in the ghetto became desperate, Anna travelled under an assumed Polish name to the village where the priest lived and preached. He was ready to help, and Anna played the organ in his church. That's where she met Lech, with whom she fell in love. Before marrying him, Anna was converted to Catholicism by the priest. “I revealed my identity to Lech and he was moved to tears. Lech came from a rather poor mixed Polish-Ukrainian family. His mother told me to consider myself her daughter.” Anna, her mother, and her father, not knowing the whereabouts of each other, survived the German occupation and were later reunited. Her mother, too became a Catholic, and although the father never converted officially, they lived as a devout Catholic family in postwar Poland.

Rev. Franciszek Jastrzębski, the pastor of Kuropatniki near Brzeżany, sheltered two Jewish women who survived the war. One of the women, who became the priest's housekeeper under a false identity, was directed to him by Rev. Stefan Chabło, the pastor of Chodaczków Wielki near Tarnopol. The other woman, who was supplied with food by the priest's sister, was the daughter of a local Jewish landowner. The latter woman's sister also survived with the help of villagers.⁶⁶³

The Helfgott family, consisting of Fiszal and Ettl (Edzia) and their daughter, Anita (born in 1934, later

⁶⁶² Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 562.

⁶⁶³ Grzegorz Chwajko, “The Clergy of the Archdiocese of Lviv of the Latins in Aid of the Jewish Nation during the Years of the German Occupation from 1941–1944: An Outline of the Events,” *The Person and the Challenges*, vol. 3 (2013), no. 2: 143–55, at 153; *Wspomnienia z życia ks. Franciszka Jastrzębskiego 1890–1962*, Internet: <<http://www.kresowianiezkuropatnik.republika.pl/wspomnieniaks.html>>.

Ekstein), was rounded up and placed in the ghetto in Skole near Stryj. Fiszel Helfgott was sent to work in a labour camp outside the ghetto. He befriended Józef Matusiewicz, a prewar Polish army officer, who worked as a warehouse keeper in that camp. After his wife was seized in a round-up, Fiszel confided in Józef. Although Józef was practically a stranger, Fiszel asked him to try to save his eight-year-old daughter. Józef agreed, but his wife, Paulina, initially expressed reservations about endangering the entire family, especially their 18-year-old niece, Emilia, whom they had adopted. The Matusiewiczzes were deeply religious. Although childless, they had also raised two other orphaned relatives. One of them, their nephew, Michał Sujata, had become a priest. Shortly before Christmas 1942, Józef managed to sneak Anita out of the ghetto concealed in a large bag. He placed the bag in a horse-drawn carriage, covered it with straw, and drove to his home in the nearby town of Rozdół. A priest provided a forged birth and baptismal certificate for Anita, who passed as the Matusiewiczzes' niece, in the name of Anna Jaworska. Anita was instructed on how to behave as a Catholic, since she knew nothing about the Catholic religion when she arrived at their home. In February 1943, the Matusiewiczzes' home was raided by Ukrainian policemen searching for Jews. Fortunately, Anita was able to escape from the house and avoid detection. She returned to her father, who now lived in the labour camp. In April 1943, Józef again spirited Anita out of the camp and took her by train to the village of Liczkowce near Kopyczyńce, in Tarnopol voivodship, where his nephew, Michał Sujata, was pastor. Anita lived in the rectory with the priest and his housekeeper, and was passed off as the priest's niece. She received further instruction in the Catholic religion, but she was not baptized. "He was an angel to me," Anita recalled, "a wise man and always on the alert." She remained in the rectory until the arrival of the Soviet army in March 1944, at which time she rejoined the Matusiewiczzes. During her stay in Liczkowce, two villagers were hanged from a tree with a sign around their necks that read "I helped a Jew." Since Anita's father had been killed and no relatives were to be found, Anita remained with the Matusiewiczzes, who treated her like a daughter. She moved with them to western Poland when the Polish population was expelled from that area, which was incorporated into the Soviet Union. After some time, fulfilling Anita's father's request, the Matusiewiczzes were able to locate an aunt, who took Anita and left Poland with her. They eventually settled in Canada. Józef, Paulina and Emilia Matusiewicz were recognized by Yad Vashem in 1998, but the priest who cared for her for almost one year was not.⁶⁶⁴

Rev. Stefan Ufryjewicz, the pastor of Budzanów near Trembowla, in Tarnopol voivodship, came to the assistance of a family of converts from Czortków, the Vogels, parents with three children (two daughters and a son). The father had been the director of the electrical works in Czortków before the war. In 1943, the family moved to the vicinity of Zabłotów near Kołomyja, where they spent the rest of the German occupation under false identities as the Jaworskis. The father turned to his friend, Rev. Ufryjewicz, who directed them to Rev. Zygmunt Gendzieński, the pastor of Kobyłowlaki. Rev. Gendzieński provided the family with the necessary baptismal and birth certificates. The Vogels survived with the assistance of a number of Poles who were aware of their Jewish origin. Their son, Tadeusz (born in 1926), joined the Home Army. When their existence as Poles was threatened by Ukrainian nationalist partisans, they moved to Zabłotów, where Rev. Michał Rozlepilo, a family friend, headed the local self-defence against Ukrainian attacks which took the lives of many Poles.⁶⁶⁵ The following curt account, provided by the daughter of one of those saved, merges some elements of this complex story. (Gilbert, *The Righteous*, p. 56.)

Not far from Trembowla, in the small town of Budzanow [Budzanów], a Roman Catholic priest, Father [Stefan] Ufryjewicz, saved a whole Jewish family by baptizing them and giving them baptismal certificates, and forging his

⁶⁶⁴ Anita Ekstein, *Always Remember Who You Are* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2019); Account of Anita Ekstein in Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*, 193–94; Testimonies of Anita Ekstein, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview codes 18289 and 54077. Anita Ekstein misidentifies Rev. Sujata as Kujata. See also the entry for the Matusiewicz family in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 498, which does not mention the assistance of Rev. Sujata.

⁶⁶⁵ The account of Tadeusz Jaworski, an acclaimed filmmaker who settled in Canada, is found in Beata Gołombiowska, "Filmowa wędrówka przez życie: Wojna i nowa tożsamość," *cultureave.com*, also posted at <<https://gazetazagazeta.com/2018/09/filmowa-wedrowka-przez-zycie-wojna-i-nowa-tozsamosc/>>; Joanna Sokołowska-Gwizdzka, "Filmowa wędrówka przez życie: Wojna, Bułan i rzeź na Wołyniu," *cultureave.com*, also posted at <<https://gazetazagazeta.com/2018/10/filmowa-wedrowka-przez-zycie-wojna-bulan-i-rzez-na-wolyniu-4/>>.

parish register in such a way that he created for them a complete set of Christian forebearers. With the false identities that he had created they were able to move from place to place, away from those who might know their real identities, and thus to survive.

From the fall of 1942 until the entry of the Soviet army in March 1944, Szymon Löffelholz was sheltered in a village about 4 kilometres from Budzanów, by a villager named Milanowski, at the urging of Rev. Ufryjewicz. Milanowski worked at the local mill which belonged to the priest.⁶⁶⁶ A family of faux converts, the Urbachs from Łódź, passing as the Urbans, consisting of Jan and Maria and their son, Jerzy (born in 1933), sought refuge in Budzanów. Jerzy Urbach received his First Communion from Rev. Ufryjewicz, who likely was aware of the family's Jewish origin. Jan Urbach later moved to another locality where he obtained employment, while Maria Urbach and her son remained in Budzanów until, fearful of Ukrainian attacks, they left for Tanopol.⁶⁶⁷

The Budzanów Memorial Book provides additional information about the rescue activities of Poles from that town, which was located in an area populated largely by Ukrainians. Budzanów was home to a convent of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, where Sister Stanisława (Teresa Rusinek) sheltered two Jewish teenagers who survived the war.⁶⁶⁸ (I. [Itzhak] Siegelman, *Sefer Budzanow* [Haifa: Irgun Yotzey Dudzanow in Israel, 1968], p. 313.)

Only a handful managed to escape. And many of these Jews were caught by Ukrainians and murdered. A few managed to return to Budzanow [Budzanów] and hid in the homes of their Polish friends, or in the Klasztor [klasztor] (monastery).

Rev. Franciszek Bajer, vicar of the parish in Założce near Zborów, Tarnopol voivodshop, extended help to Schorr family. (Iżycka Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5604385>>.)

When war broke out, 12-year-old Sophie Schorr was living with her parents, Otto (a physician) and Mary, in the town of Załoszce [Założce]. ... In 1941, the Nazis invaded Poland and the Schorrs were forced to move into a small apartment in the "old town." Their landlady was Maria Szawłowska.

As the situation steadily worsened, the Schorrs decided to send Sophie away to safety. With the help of his friend Franciszek Bajer, a young Catholic priest, Otto managed to obtain Christian birth certificates for Sophie and Mary. Sophie Schorr-Reiner later wrote that Bajer became the family's "guardian angel," helping them continually throughout their trials.

The Schorrs then approached their acquaintance Artur Bukartyk, a local district attorney, to help them find a family that would agree to shelter Sophie, who was now 15 years old. Bukartyk himself had been adopted into a family as an infant, and his sister, Romana (Roma) Iżycka-Fedorska, agreed to take in Sophie. Roma lived in Lwów, and as a social worker before the war was now deprived of work. She was in her late forties, newly married to Witold Fedorski and supporting both her daughter and her mother. Fearing the antisemitism of some of her family members, Roma told them that Sophie was the daughter of an imprisoned Polish officer, and that her mother had been threatened by Ukrainians and had sent Sophie away. A few months later, Mary appeared at the Fedorskis' doorstep. Sheltering both Mary and Sophie would have been tremendously risky, because despite the similarities in their looks, they had different names according to their "Aryan papers," and the Germans often carried out surprise checks in the area. Roma decided to find Sophie another place to stay. She placed her on a train to Kraków, then to Ojców, where the daughter of Romana's friends, Joanna Morawska, lived. Sophie was presented to Morawska as a Catholic girl, and remained with her until late 1944.

Meanwhile, Otto was in a labor camp in Załoszce, but his job as a physician gained him permission to treat patients outside the camp because of the shortage of medical professionals in town. During such a trip one day in 1942, someone told him that the camp was to be liquidated, and warned him not to return. He escaped to the woods and made contact with Bajer, who prevailed upon Maria Szawłowska, the Schorrs' former landlady, to harbor him.

⁶⁶⁶ Testimony of Szymon Löffelholz, August 1, 1946, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1922.

⁶⁶⁷ Jerzy Urban and Marta Stremecka, *Jerzy Urban: O swoim życiu rozmawia z Martą Stremecką* (Warsaw: Czerwone i Czarne, 2013), Part One.

⁶⁶⁸ Based on the account of Sister Anna Jarosik, in the author's possession.

Schorr was hidden in Szawlowska's attic, a small triangular space where Schorr could only sit or lie down. He stayed there for a year, with Szawlowska bringing him food twice a day and changing the slop bucket every day. Bajer provided Schorr with constant moral support, and encouraged Szawlowska to continue her good "Christian deeds." At the end of the war, Otto had to learn to walk anew as the severely constricted space had damaged his legs.

After liberation, the family reunited and left Poland, first for Munich, where Sophie obtained a degree in medicine, and then to the US, where they settled in upstate New York. They stayed in touch with the Fedorskis, and Roma's daughter visited them in their new home.

The assistance to Jews provided by Rev. Franciszek Bajer is described by the owner of the house in which the priest lived with his widowed mother. (The following account of Wiktoria Procyk, dated February 17, 1996, is in the author's possession.)

I know for certain that Father Franciszek [Bajer] helped Jews. Perhaps I will begin with Chaja or Chajka, a Jewess who lived in the Old Town and owned a small general store. ... The winter of 1943–1944 was terrible. The ghetto in Zaloźce was already liquidated and the remainder of the Jews, who were not hiding with Poles, wandered through the forests where they were preyed upon by Ukrainian peasants with pitchforks, or the terrible butchers from the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army], or the Ukrainian auxiliary police. Those caught were killed on the spot.

It was on such a night, when one would not turn out a dog, that someone knocked on our window. It was Chaja together with two of her daughters, Ryfcia and Gitla. One of them was about twelve years old; the other younger. They were frozen to the bone, in dire poverty, hungry and covered with lice. The priest took them in and hid them in the attic and later in a special shelter in the cellar. In doing so he risked his own life, the life of his [widowed] mother, and my life as well as that of my son and my two daughters. I agreed to this—commending my soul to God. [The home in question belonged to the narrator.] Our entire family would recite the rosary on a daily basis with the priest and pray that the Virgin Mary would protect us from Ukrainian denouncers and also that she would protect Chaja and her children. The Most Holy Mother heard our prayers and all three Jewesses survived. After the Soviets arrived, Father Franciszek provided them with false birth certificates so they could pass for Polish women. They left the Soviet paradise and came to Poland. They lived for a while in Bytom and later immigrated to the United States.

I know for certain that earlier Father Bajer had issued such certificates to many other Jews, especially young Jewish women, who then voluntarily, under false names, registered for work in Germany. ...

... On many occasions I opened the front door at night to allow in persons who were very obviously Jewish. ...

... When the numbers got too large, some of these Jews were directed to [Rev. Jan Kucy] the pastor of the neighbouring parish in Kokutkowce who also issued such certificates to Jews.⁶⁶⁹

Rev. Jan Dziuban, pastor of Barysz near Buczacz, Tarnopol voivodship, assisted the family of Dr. Max Anderman to survive the war. Rev. Dziuban was killed by Ukrainian nationalists at Easter time of 1944. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 537–38.)

Dr. Max Anderman was of one of the few Jewish physicians in Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, who was allowed to practice outside the ghetto after the German occupation began. This came about because of the intercession of Dr. Anderman's Ukrainian friend, the district physician, Dr. Banach. In the course of 1942, as the danger facing the Jews in this city mounted, Banach arranged a special work permit for Anderman in Barysz, a large village near Buczacz, where he served a rural population of Ukrainians and Poles. Dr. Anderman, who moved to the village with his family, established friendly relations with priests in the area—especially the Polish Catholic priest [Jan] Dziuban. When the Jewish community in Buczacz was liquidated. Dr. Anderman realized that his family would face the same bitter fare and, on Father Dziuban's recommendation, turned to Franciszek Najbar and asked him to arrange shelter for himself, his wife, and their four-year-old son. After Franciszek consulted with his wife, Maria, the Najbars young peasants who owned a modest farmstead, agreed to accommodate the Jewish refugees in their loft. When Anderman asked how he could reward them, they answered that if the Germans discovered them they would share the same fate and if they survived they would discuss a reward at an appropriate time. The Najbars took in the Andermans unconditionally and concealed them for ten months despite the danger. They met all their wards' needs and Maria, who had a young child of her own, provided the Andermans' young son with the daily milk ration that he required. In the spring of 1944, the Red Army liberated Buczacz and the Andermans returned to their home. The Najbars sought no remuneration for their act of rescue, which they undertook out of virtue and humanitarianism. When Ukrainian nationalists burned the Najbars' house after the war, the Andermans came to their rescuers' assistance and accommodated them in their own home. Later, the two families—independently of

⁶⁶⁹ See also Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 156.

each other—moved to Wrocław [Wrocław] (within Poland's new borders) ... after the Andermans immigrated to Israel.

A number of Jews from Buczacz and other nearby localities took refuge in Puźniki, a Polish village in a largely Ukrainian area which was inhabited by about 1,000 Poles. The local pastor, Rev. Kazimierz Słupski, sheltered several Jews and helped many others. Rozalia Bauer, a Jewish pharmacist from Buczacz, who was passing as Teresa Krzyżanowska, stayed in the presbytery for more than three years without any remuneration. For part of this period the Germans installed an officers' school on the ground floor of the presbytery, thus making the rescue more precarious. A few Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, whose superior was Sister Aniela Wesołowska, also resided in the presbytery and assisted with the rescue. Whenever the danger heightened, Rozalia Bauer would put on a nun's robe. Rev. Słupski also provided a hiding place for Adolf Korngut, a high school teacher from Buczacz.⁶⁷⁰ Rev. Słupski approached trusted parishioners to take Jews into their care. Dr. Bernard (Bernhard) Seifer from Buczacz, who was sheltered by the Kret family in the village of Gutyszyna, also frequented the presbytery. Jews living in the forest would often come to the presbytery, where they were fed by the nuns and given food to take away with them. Rev. Słupski and Sister Aniela Wesołowska were awarded by Yad Vashem in 2018. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 337–39.)

During the war I administered the parish of Puźniki (Buczacz County) ... Being an eye-witness of the Gehenna of the Jewish people in the land along the Dniestr River during the anti-Jewish action, I not only felt a deep sympathy for the Jews but also tried to alleviate their sufferings and ordeal as much as I could. I approached my trusted parishioners with a request to take Jews into [their] safekeeping. I also kept Jews at my presbytery. Thus, when visiting a chemist's in Buczacz, while buying medicines for partisan fighters, I made the acquaintance of Mrs Rozalia Bauer, a Jewish pharmacist, who asked me to find a hiding place for her among my parishioners. Before I could arrange for a safe place, she knocked at my door in the Puźniki presbytery one night in October [1941] and asked for shelter there and then. A harsh anti-Jewish action [Aktion] was on in Buczacz at the time in which Jews perished. I admitted her without hesitation. I could not do otherwise. She stayed with me for more than three years, until the Red Army came in 1945 [sic, 1944]. There was no fee, of course. There were nuns from the Congregation of the Family of Mary at my presbytery. Whenever the situation was dangerous Mrs. Bauer donned a nun's frock. There were many dangerous moments over the year, especially when, for a certain period, the Germans installed their officers' school on the ground floor of the presbytery. Spies and informants were rampant, too. At the most dangerous moments I always made it a point to face the danger dauntlessly. I would lead Sister Rozalia, broom in hand, to do some cleaning in the church. On one dangerous occasion, seeing the peril which constantly hung over my head (for providing a haven for Jews), the woman wanted to give herself up into German hands out of her own volition. I refused categorically. I reminded her then that I was an instrument in the hands of the Lord through which He meant to save her. And so it was. She stayed with me happily until the end.

I also provided a hiding place for Mr Adolf Korngut at the presbytery, a philologist and professor in a Buczacz secondary school. He was of Jewish extraction and, as we know, the Nazis did not fail to murder such people either. When 'Jewish actions' in Buczacz were intensified, the professor fled to Puźniki and found refuge in a small room next to my dormitory. During hunts for Jews and various searching operations, he went down to a shelter under the staircase. A Nazi major had his quarters in a ground floor room underneath Professor Korngut's. He often drank too much, and one night, quite drunk, he fired his pistol into the ceiling. The bullet pierced through the bed on which Mr Korngut was sleeping, but luckily did not wound him. Doctor Seifert [Bernard Seifer], a Jewish specialist in internal diseases from Buczacz, also frequented my presbytery. He had his retreat with the Kret family in my parish, near the woods, at a place called Gutyszyn [Gutyszyna, on the outskirts of Barysz]. Very frequently and covertly, other Jews from the woods would come to the presbytery, including children. There, they were fed by our Sisters and provided with bread and other food for their return way, while Mrs Rozalia Bauer dressed their wounds and dispensed medicines.

There were frequent searches for Jews in the village. My parishioner from Zalesie near Monasterzyska, Jan Baszczij, former head of the hamlet, kept Jews from the Buczacz Judenrat at his home. They approached him when the final action was about to begin and they were next on the list for extermination. He prepared a hideout dug under the house for them. His house stood out of the way near a creek. Alas, when the Jews became inured to their situation they started venturing into the yard by daylight. Mr Baszczij also kept buying poultry for them in the

⁶⁷⁰ Adolf Korngut (1907–1973) was a teacher at the State Humanistic High School in Buczacz. In 1935, he married Bolesława Keffermuller, a Catholic Pole and fellow teacher. Although of Jewish origin, he appears to have assimilated into Polish society and converted. After the war, Adolf Korngut and his wife settled in Kluczbork, in Opole Silesia, where he was the principal of a high school. See Jerzy Duda, "Z Buczacza do Kluczborka: Historia kresowej, nauczycielskiej rodziny," *Indeks: Pismo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego*, no. 7–8 (October, 2013): 99–101.

village. That reckless behaviour gave rise to suspicion among local Ukrainian nationals who began to watch Baszczij's farmstead. The hiding Jews were spotted and given away by Ukrainians: they called the Ukrainian police who arrested the Jews and extradited them to the Germans in Monasterzyska. Jan Baszczij was also arrested and transported to a jail in Czortków. The Ukrainian police took a rich booty—several sackfuls of gold. Jews from the Judenrat were very rich. A death sentence loomed over Baszczij's head. I succeeded in rescuing him through a person who was very influential with the Germans (in Czortków). Alas, he perished at a later date at the hands of Ukrainian nationalists, all the same.

Rev. Słupski urged his parishioners to help those in need. Confirmation of his caring attitude is found in several testimonies. Antonina Działoszyńska, a very poor widow with two young children, sheltered fugitives from Tłumacz: Adela Krum, who pretended to be the wife of an imprisoned Polish officer from Buczacz named Kowalik; and her young daughter, Mira, who went by the name Marysia (later Mira Ledowski). They had been moving from village to village begging for food and sometimes hid in forests before arriving in Puźniki. Mira recalled that Działoszyńska invited them into her small cottage near the church in April 1944. “She sat us by the table, and there we saw the seventh, eighth and ninth wonder of the world—a huge bowl of steaming hot potatoes. We hadn't seen hot food for a long time. After the meal my mother thanked her and wanted to leave, but Mrs. Działoszyńska insisted on us staying, and we finally slept amongst people, and not under the earth.” A devout Catholic, Działoszyńska believed that the Blessed Virgin Mary had protected the Jewish mother and her child and brought them to her home, so she had a duty to protect them from misfortune. She turned to Rev. Słupski to arrange for false documents for her charges. They lived openly, not in hiding, posing as relatives of the Działoszyńskis. When German troops were stationed in Puźniki in July 1944, the Krums stayed for several weeks with Działoszyńska sister, Maria Komarnicka, who lived in a nearby hamlet.⁶⁷¹

A number of other Poles from Puźniki came to the assistance of Jews. The Koryzna family, consisting of Stanisław, his wife, Wiktoria, and their four children, rescued Shoshana Lederer (born in 1941 as Rojza Szechner, known as Róża), from Monasterzyska.⁶⁷² This child's presence was also known to Rev. Słupski, the local pastor. Renata Tannenzapf (later Renate Krakauer), who was born in Stanisławów in 1941, was entrusted by her parents to the care of a villager by the name of Maria (Marynia) Koryzna. Renata's parents, Charlotte and Wilhelm (William) Tannenzapf, came to Puźniki later to join their daughter. They were sheltered by Joanna (Joasia) Krowicka, in a neighbouring cottage.⁶⁷³ Renata lived in the village openly, and Rev. Słupski was aware she was Jewish. (William Tannenzapf and Renate Krakauer, *Memories from the Abyss / But I Had a Happy Childhood* [Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2009], pp. 113–16.)

Once outside the ghetto walls, my mother ripped off her blue-and-white Star of David arm band and ran down the cobblestone street [of Stanisławów], fully expecting a bullet in the back. By this time I was well trained to be quiet. ... We reached the safety of the apartment of a former neighbour, who pulled us in quickly, no doubt fearing for her life. That night I was nestled in between my mother and Pani (Mrs.) Poliszowa on her bed.

My happiness didn't last long. The next day, my mother handed me over to Józia, who had been a maid in her brother's house, to take me to her widowed sister in Pozniki [Puźniki], a neighbouring village. Marynia and her two young sons were my new family for the next eighteen months. With my blond hair, blue eyes and button nose, I fit in easily as the baby sister. Suffering from malnutrition and one childhood illness after another, it took a while for me to become a healthy normal toddler.

⁶⁷¹ “The ‘Righteous Among Nations’ Have Been Awarded,” October 21, 2008, Internet: <<http://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/en/news/news,287259,the-righteous-among-nations-have-been-awarded.html>>; Działoszyńska Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6792065>>; The Działoszyński Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dzialoszynski-family-0>>. Antonina Działoszyńska and her two children were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2008.

⁶⁷² The Koryzna family were recognized by Yad Vashem in 1988 and 1989. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 376–77; The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044898>>.

⁶⁷³ William Tannenzapf and Renate Krakauer, *Memories from the Abyss / But I Had a Happy Childhood* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2009), 31–42. See also Krzysztof Strauchmann, “Uratowała Żydówki, rodzina złożyła jej hold,” *Magazyn Nowej Trybuny Opolskiej*, October 24, 2008.

Marynia treated me like her baby girl and I even began to call her Mama. I can imagine that her two boys, aged six and three, must have felt some resentment at this little Jewish impostor suddenly parachuted into their poor little home. But in the same way that my own preschool daughter used to trail her adored older brother, I can see myself following the boys around, perhaps to their annoyance, on my newly sturdy legs. They knew I was Jewish. the boys soon began to show their affection for me. The first and last serving in the communal bowl on the table was always reserved for me whether it was potatoes, pierogi or cabbage soup. At night they squeezed over on the bed they shared to make room for their new "little sister," Tusia. I'm sure that it made the little boys feel important to be my protectors. They could have but didn't betray me to the Nazis and Ukrainians who came on regular inspections of the village. And on Sundays, I can see us all trooping off to church as a family, the cute little blond girl holding the hand of each brother. The priest knew I was Jewish, and people found out after the war that he had been hiding a Jewish woman.

Unbeknownst to me, both my parents had escaped to the village before the ghetto was liquidated, one hidden in Marynia's hayloft and the other in the attic of her neighbour [Joasia] on the other side of the creek. From their vantage points, they were able to see me through the cracks, running around barefoot all summer

There was great animosity between the Polish and Ukrainian people in this part of Poland. The Ukrainians had nationalist aspirations and had allied themselves with the Germans in the war. This left the Poles to face two enemies—the Nazis and their Ukrainian neighbours. One day [in September 1943] Ukrainians from a neighbouring village attacked Pozniki, which was a Polish village, by torching the straw roofs. All the homes went up in flames except Marynia's. How was this one cottage spared? The peasants must have muttered and whispered that it was some kind of Jewish black magic.

The village priest knew that his people were frightened, uneducated and superstitious. ... But the priest also believed that they were God-fearing people, so on the following Sunday he preached about the protective hand of the Lord, who shields the innocent from danger. Anyone who betrayed an innocent was courting the wrath of God. The villagers understood that the veiled reference to the Jewish child hidden among them and they kept silent.

The Koryznas' neighbour, Jędrzej Łacina, rescued a Jewish woman named Blima and her daughter, Bela. The rescue effort of the Komidziński family, who hid Blima's husband, ended in tragedy when the Germans found the hiding place and shot him as he was trying to escape.⁶⁷⁴ More than 100 Poles were murdered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in their attack on Puźniki on February 13, 1945.⁶⁷⁵

The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, who had a small convent in Puźniki headed by Sister Aniela Wesołowska, came to the assistance of Basia Geler Mandel, a fugitive from nearby Buczacz. (Elaine Landau, *Holocaust Memories: Speaking the Truth in Their Own Words* [New York: F. Watts, 2001], pp. 31–32.)

Basia and [her fiancé] Meier hid in the woods for another five month. They knew that they could be captured or killed at any time. The couple agreed that if they were discovered and had to separate to escape, they would meet up at a specific bunker in the former Jewish ghetto [in Buczacz]. They hoped that by then it would be safe to back. The Nazi presence there was likely to have diminished since the ghetto had been cleared out. Eventually, their plan was put into action.

"We were spotted again and shot at. We had to run in different directions. I lost my balance on a steep cliff and rolled down it. I landed near a lake and hid behind some bushes. I stayed there until it was night. I did not know where to go. I was completely lost, and it had started to rain. I was drenched, but I kept on walking. I saw a church. I was desperate, so I took a chance and knocked on the door.

Some nuns answered it. They looked at me and knew I was Jewish, but they decided to help me. They took me in that rainy night and hid me for nearly a week. This placed them at great risk, and they were afraid to let me stay longer. The nuns dressed me in a nun's habit before I left and pointed me in the direction of the old Jewish ghetto. I had to make it back. If Meier was still alive, I would find him there. ...

As I walked, I carried a crucifix the nuns had given me. ... I made it back to the bunker where I was supposed to meet Meier. He was there waiting for me. There were also others hiding there. ... There were fifteen of us in that bunker. One was a year-and-a-half-old girl. All of us survived ..."

Ewa Trauentein (later Turzyńska) and her son, Leon, were sheltered in Tarnopol voivodship successively

⁶⁷⁴ Krzysztof Strauchmann, "Uratowała Żydówki, rodzina złożyła jej hołd," *Magazyn Nowej Trybuny Opolskiej*, October 24, 2008; Testimony of Teofila Koryzna Kamińska, *Polscy Sprawiedliwi*, Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/media/77/>>.

⁶⁷⁵ Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 170–71.

by three Polish priests: Rev. Mikołaj Ferenc, a Capuchin until 1943 and administrator of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Markowa, in the county of Podhajce, until that village was attacked by Ukrainian nationalists on January 15, 1944 and Rev. Ferenc was killed together with 56 Polish villagers⁶⁷⁶; Rev. Antoni Kania, the pastor of Huta Nowa, near the town of Monasterzyska, in the county of Buczacz; and Rev. Grabowski, with whom they stayed briefly, in a nearby village, until the arrival of the Red Army. Rev. Kania, a Home Army chaplain, found hiding places for several Jews, among them Dr. Leon (Leizor) Bandler from Monasterzyska, who posed as the village wagon driver in Huta Nowa. Dr. Bandler settled in Wrocław after the war. Yad Vashem recognized Reverends Ferenc and Kania as Righteous Among Nations in 2013.⁶⁷⁷ (Mikołaj Ferenc, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10001775>>.)

Ewa Grus was born in 1913 and given up for adoption. Her new parents, Leon and Gustawa Segal, named her Lusia and took her to live with them in Rozwadów. They loved her very much and took care of her every need. When she finished her studies, she joined her father, Leon, working in his pharmacy. In 1933 she married Moshe Trauenstein, who was much older than she was. In 1935 they had a son whom they named Leon, in honor of Lusia's by then deceased adoptive father.

When they learned that the Germans were about to bomb Rozwadów, Lusia and her mother, husband, and son ran away eastward with other Jews escaping the city. They tried to live in Lwów (today Lviv) for a while, attempting to live normally: Lusia worked in a pharmacy, and Moshe sometimes brought milk and potatoes from a friendly farmer in Zimna Woda.

Eventually life in Lwów became difficult, and the family wandered on. They moved to Gustawa's relatives in Różyszcze [Rożyszcze]. Again Lusia found a job in a pharmacy. ...

Moshe Trauenstein, Lusia's husband, volunteered for the Judenrat (Jewish council), which soon ran into difficulties that resulted in all of its members being shot. Lusia decided she would not return to the ghetto, and she had her mother and son hide in the basement of the pharmacy. ...

One day the officer returned and said that the family had to leave town. He provided them with identity papers and money but told them they had to find their own transportation. After he left, a woman Lusia recognized from the period of Russian occupation walked in. Her name was Leokadia Krajewska, and when Lusia shared her concerns, Krajewska promised to try to find transportation for her and her family, which she managed to do. Her brother, Edmund Krajewski, came to drive the Segal-Tauersteins [sic] to safety. The Krajewskis also gave them some money and took Lusia's real papers for safekeeping.

Again they tried their luck in Lwów, but things did not work out for them there. Lusia went to Markowa to try to find Mikołaj Ferenc, a local priest who had promised her husband that one day he would help him out. Ferenc agreed to help, and Lusia and her son stayed in his house. Lusia's adoptive mother, Gustawa, passed away during this period. Lusia and Leon spent about seven months in Ferenc's house. Lusia helped around the house, and Leon tried his best as well.

In January 1944 Banderovists [Bandera followers] (members of the military wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) came into Markowa and murdered all the men, including Ferenc. It was then up to Lusia and Leon to find a new place to hide. They passed through several houses where people put them up until the Nazis came hunting for Jews. ...

The next stop on the grueling journey was Nowa Huta and the home of Antoni Kania, a priest. Kania knew Lusia and Leon were Jewish, but he took them in anyway. The house was full of people who had escaped the destroyed village, and there was much housework to be done. Life was difficult, but it went on. Leon's legs healed. Lusia decided she would go to Lwów to see about her papers. Kania put her in touch with a Jewish doctor he had helped previously. The doctor [Dr. Leon Bandler] aided her in moving about safely. She managed to find Leokadia Krajewska, who was living in her barn because her house had been burned down. When the house burned, Leokadia had kept Lusia's papers on her body, thereby rescuing them from the fire. The reunion was joyful and full of memories, but there was still the question of getting back to Rozwadów. Fortunately, a Soviet officer who had a venereal disease struck a deal with Lusia—she would help him take care of his health, and he would provide fake documents for her and her son to get to Rozwadów. Lusia and Leon arrived there safe and sound and survived the remaining weeks of the war.

Rev. Stanisław Mazak, the pastor of Szczurowice parish near Radziechów, in Tarnopol voivodship, from

⁶⁷⁶ Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 263–64.

⁶⁷⁷ Ewa Turzyńska, *Sądzonym mi było żyć...* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2009), 143–63, 175–82.

December 1941, helped Jews and encouraged his parishioners to extend aid to them. He was personally instrumental in saving the lives of several Jews. Rev. Mazak was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile.⁶⁷⁸ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 500.)

Stanislaw [Stanisław] Mazak, a Roman Catholic priest, was the spirit behind the campaign to save a group of Jews from the village of Szczurowice in Radziechow [Radziechów] county, Tarnopol district. In his sermons in the local church, Father Mazak would call upon the faithful to take part in saving the persecuted, trying to convince them to do what they could, even at the cost of self-sacrifice. And indeed, the much-admired Father Mazak's flock responded to his appeal and extended its assistance to the Jews hiding in the area. Under Father Mazak's influence, even farmers who did not personally hide Jews in their homes volunteered to help them, providing food and keeping their hiding places secret from their Ukrainian nationalist neighbors. Mazak himself visited the hiding places, cheering up the Jewish fugitives and providing them with medicine as needed, all without asking for or receiving anything in return. In one case, the priest provided Scharlota Weksler [Wechsler] and her son with Aryan papers, accompanied them to Cracow [Kraków], and after learning that the mother had been sent to forced labor to Germany moved her son to a Catholic children's home in Warsaw, where his life was saved. In early 1944, Ukrainian collaborators learned of Father Mazak's efforts to save Jews and sentenced him to death. After he was warned of the danger to his life, the priest managed to flee from his village. He hid out in the nearby city of Lopatyn [Łopatyn] and after the war moved to Upper Silesia.

Rev. Stanisław Mazak is also mentioned in the rescue of Mendel Friedman, and his son Izaak, and Klara Kart, and her son Aleks by the Marciszczuk family, who lived in a village near Szczurowice. The Marciszczuk's son Piotr recalled (The Marciszczuk Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-marciszczuk-family>>):

"During one round-up, a few people were able to escape to the woods. We learned that they were near our house. Father began taking food out to them in the evenings.

"One day, somebody knocked on our window. It was a group of Jews—people my father was acquainted with." Mendel Friedman, his son Izaak, Klara Hart, and her five- or six-year old daughter asked the Marciszczuks for shelter. "Our family expanded," writes Piotr.

The Germans were spreading fear. "They often drove by to ask whether we were hiding Jews. 'If we find any, then you're all going to the grave along with them,'" They threatened. Fortunately, they didn't search the house. Had they done so, they would easily have found what they were looking for: "at that time, the Jews were staying in the attic (right over the Germans' heads), because we hadn't prepared a proper shelter, yet."

After these visits, an underground shelter was constructed. The situation remained precarious, however: a portion of the Ukrainian population became engaged in hunting Jews ("so as to loot their possessions and kill them off").

Fifteen-year-old Piotr Marciszczuk served as a courier between those in hiding and a Roman Catholic priest named Mazak. Among other things, he conveyed information and news. "We all rejoiced at any adversity the Germans faced." But just before the liberation, tragedy struck. The Marciszczuk's home was burned to the ground ... by Jews.

It was an accident. Someone knocked a lamp over in the shelter. The kerosene spilled, a fire broke out. Those inside managed to escape but "everything burned down." All they were able to salvage was a pig and a horse. The Marciszczuks received assistance from family and from the priest. "Whatever father was able to obtain, he shared with the Jews [we were hiding]."

The Russians soon arrived on the scene, but not before Ukrainian nationalists had a chance to exact revenge upon the Marciszczuks. To punish them for hiding Jews, they killed Piotr's father. The rest of the family, together with the Harts and Friedmans, took refuge in Łopatyn, which was already under Red Army control. For everyone involved, it was the start of a long journey. The Jewish families emigrated to America. The Marciszczuks, meanwhile, left for the so-called Recovered Territories of Poland.

In total, in addition to Rev. Mazak, five Polish families from Szczurowice were recognized as "Righteous Gentiles" by Yad Vashem: Bednarczyk, Jaśkiewicz, Łukasiewicz, Marciszczuk, and Miniewski.⁶⁷⁹ Franciszka Łukasiewicz, one of those awarded, also recalled the encouragement and assistance she

⁶⁷⁸ See also Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 331–32, 336, 353; Barbara Engelking, *Na łące popiołów: Ocaleni z Holocaustu* (Warsaw: Cyklady, 1993), 73; Paldiel, *Sheltering the Jews*, 91.

⁶⁷⁹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 307, 469.

received from Rev. Mazak in sheltering the Sterling family.⁶⁸⁰

Michał Czuba, a graduate of a Catholic seminary from the town of Radziechów, in Tarnopol voidvodship, helped the Wajsmans family to survive the war. Although referred to as a priest in some reports, Czuba's status is not clear. He was awarded by Yad Vashem in 1989. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 161.)

In 1941, the Wajsmans, their two sons, and their daughters, Helen and Ziona, escaped from Lwow [Lwów] to the town of Radziechow [Radziechów] in the Tarnopol district, where they were interned in the local ghetto. At her parents' initiative, 13-year-old Ziona escaped from the ghetto and found shelter with peasants in the surrounding villages. A few months later, however, the Germans raided the area and Ziona had to be moved to another village. Although Ziona had Aryan papers, the local peasants were afraid to hide her and took her back to the deserted ghetto. Not knowing what to do Ziona made her way to the home of Polish acquaintances, where to her enormous surprise she came across her mother and sister, who were hiding there too. Although the hiding place was designed for one person only, room was made for Ziona, and later also for the girls' father. Although the Polish landlord feared for his life, Michał [Michał] Czuba, the landlady's brother and a graduate of a seminary, persuaded him to let them stay. Czuba himself took responsibility for looking after the Jewish fugitives and saw to their needs during the ten months of their stay. Although the Wajsmans paid his family for their upkeep, Czuba himself refused to take a cent. With the advance of the Soviets in 1944, all Poles were ordered to leave the area, but Czuba, disregarding the danger, stayed behind in order to look after the Wajsmans. When the Germans converted the house into a military post office, the Jews found a new hiding place in the deserted ghetto, where they stayed with Czuba until the Red Army liberated the town. After the war the Wajsmans emigrated.

Feiga Pfeffer's brother was sheltered in a priest's house in Przemyślany, in Tarnopol voivodship, for several months after his escape from a train transporting Jews to Bełżec. The priest, who was afraid to keep him longer, gave him some money when he left.⁶⁸¹

After escaping from the Janowska camp in Lwów, a group of Jews made their way to the forests near Przemyślany. A village priest, whose rectory they entered, provided them with large quantities of food for several days. After the priest had gained enough confidence in them, he directed the Jews to a large Soviet partisan group, which included many Poles and Jews, with which he was in contact. Jakub Birkenfeld, one of the Jewish fugitives, described the priest as "an extremely noble person" and "an angel from heaven." Ukrainian partisans later abducted the priest, took him to a forest and hanged him, and then quartered him.⁶⁸² This appears to be Rev. Stanisław Kwiatkowski, the pastor of the town of Świrz, who was apprehended on February 14, 1944, while returning from the funeral of Rev. Józef Kaczorowski, who had been murdered by Ukrainian partisans in the village of Wołków a few days earlier. According to Polish accounts, Rev. Kwiatkowski was tortured before being put to death. Two other Poles who had accompanied the priest were also killed.⁶⁸³

Władysław Szela and his wife, from the town of Dunajów near Przemyślany, obtained a false birth certificate from the local Catholic pastor, Rev. Kazimierz Łoziński, for seven-year-old Janina Bleishtif (born in 1933), the Jewish girl whom they were sheltering. The Szelas subsequently moved with her to Lwów for about a year, and then to Czudec near Rzeszów. Janina survived the war. The account of Sender Szwalbenest, Janina's husband, is found in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, at page 406.

⁶⁸⁰ Stanisław Bijak, "Bohaterowie są potrzebni," *Pielgrzym* (Toronto), vol. 7, no. 11 (76), November 1990, 8.

⁶⁸¹ Testimony of Feiga Pfeffer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1356.

⁶⁸² Testimony of Jakub Birkenfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3746, reproduced in Jerzy Diatłowicki and Janusz Roszkowski, eds., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma and Sowarzystwienie Żydów Kombatanów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2010), vol. 2, 100–1.

⁶⁸³ Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 302, 306.

I will tell how the Poles saved my wife's life.

When she was seven years old, her parents placed her under the care of a certain Polish couple. Their surname is Szela ... The Szelas unselfishly procured a birth certificate for her at a Catholic parsonage and took her from Dunajów, Tarnopol Voivodship, to Lvov [Lwów] where she stayed with them in hiding about a year. When the Germans searched the houses for Jews, Mr. Władysław Szela sent her with his wife to Czudziec [Czudec], Rzeszów Voivodship, to his family and there she stayed until the liberation.

During the deportation of Jews from Skala Podolska, in Tarnopol voivodship, a Polish nun identified as Maria K. hid three members of the Frenkel family—Fryda (Frieda) and her daughters, Miriam (Mira) and Rita, as well as the dentist Szwarcbach (Schwartzbach) and his sister, in the bell tower of the Catholic church. They remained there for nine weeks until they were discovered by Ukrainian policemen who were conducting a thorough search in the town for Jewish fugitives. In exchange for some gold, the policemen allowed the Jews to escape. They then went to hide in the forest. Fryda Frenkel found her husband, Julius, who was sheltered by a Pole identified as Adam S. However, he later perished. Fryda and her two daughters survived.⁶⁸⁴ The Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) had a children's shelter in Skala Podolska, a small town on the River Zbrucz.

Another memoir mentions the assistance provided to Lotka Sternberg and other Jews by an unidentified priest from Skala Podolska. (Fanya Gottesfeld Heller, *Strange and Unexpected Love: A Teenage Girl's Holocaust Memoirs* [Hoboken New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House, 1993], p. 113.)

Lotka [Sternberg] was passing as a Christian in Lvov [Lwów]. The Polish priest who had given religious instruction to the Catholic children in the Polish elementary school before the war, and who had since then sheltered several Jews, had taught Lotka Catholic prayers and liturgy every night for four weeks. He had gotten her "good" Aryan papers—those of somebody who had died—and had made the arrangements for a middleman to take her to live with a Polish couple as their niece in return for money sent with him by Lotka's parents.

Renata Präminger (later Irena Szczurek) was taken out of the Brody ghetto, in Tarnopol voivodship, by her nanny, Maria Hromiak, as a young child. At the request of her father, who continued to visit her, Renata was baptized as Irena Hromiak, with the assistance of two trusted friends. She survived the war as her nanny's purported daughter.⁶⁸⁵ According to Yad Vashem's Database of Righteous Among the Nations (Maria Hromiak, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4408662>>):

Irena Szczurek was born in Brody in 1938. Her nanny, Maria Hromiak, lived with the Szczurek family for 13 years, dedicating herself to the loving care of Irena. In January 1942 a ghetto was established in Brody, and the Szczureks were imprisoned in it. Maria found a job and took care of her beloved former employers by providing them, and other Jews in the ghetto, with provisions.

In August 1942 the Brody Ghetto was liquidated. Maria managed to rescue Irena from certain transfer to Belsen and sneak her into her own home. She also tried to save Irena's parents, but eventually they were denounced by an ill-wisher and killed.

Maria Hromiak kept Irena with her throughout the war, despite the vast danger to herself. Even her own relatives threatened her, but she resisted the perpetual fear because of her love for the girl. She gave Irena her own last name and acted for all intents and purposes as her adoptive mother, bribing suspicious policemen, constantly changing her address, and avoiding discovery until the liberation.

After the war Maria remained Irena's "second mother," as the girl called her, although life was very difficult. All of the Szczureks' possessions were gone, and Maria was forced to work as a manual laborer at a cement factory in order to keep herself and her adoptive daughter afloat. She never established a family of her own, dedicating herself to Irena.

Eugenia (Gina) Hochberg (later Gina Lanceter), born in Brody in 1927, was able to survive thanks to the help of a number of people, including a Catholic priest, who came to her assistance and nursed her back

⁶⁸⁴ Testimony of Rita Frenkiel (Frenkel), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2884; Boaz Cohen and Beate Müller, "A Teacher and His Students: Child Holocaust Testimonies from Early Postwar Polish Bytom," *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2016), 68–115, at 91.

⁶⁸⁵ Kołacińska-Gałazka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 267–68.

to health after she jumped from a deportation train headed to a concentration camp in May 1943. She was shot by a German guard as she jumped from the train and lost consciousness, but fortunately it was just a flesh wound. This was near the village of Zaszaków, north of Lwów, in the parish of Kościejów. A Polish railroad employee who came across the wounded girl dressed her wound, fed her, and gave her some clothes. She made her way to a church in a nearby village. A compassionate priest sheltered her until she recovered and provided her with a false birth and baptismal certificate. He purchased a ticket for her to return to Brody and escorted her to the nearby train station. She remained in hiding in Brody until the liberation with the help of Christians.⁶⁸⁶ (Bolesław Kulczycki, “Genocide in Brody,” http://www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/Brody/boleslaw_kulczycki_memoir.htm)

Crowds of Jews, surrounded by armed guards with dogs, were led out of the ghetto towards the railroad station some two kilometers from the center of town. During this forced march, those who could not keep up with the pace were beaten and bitten by the dogs. Those unable to go on, were shot on the spot. Squeezed into packed freight cars which were directed towards Belzec [Bełżec] and, later on, towards Majdanek near the city of Lublin was the human cargo destined for destruction. In one of them was the family Hochberg. They made a desperate decision to push their daughter Ginia through the narrow bars of the tiny window, imploring her to save herself, crying out: “You have got to survive!” The German guard shot after and hit the escaping girl. She lost consciousness, but fortunately it was a flesh wound. After a while she came to in a pool of blood. Two villagers were in the process of stripping her clothes, thinking she was dead. Realizing she was alive did not prevent them from taking all her clothes. They were going to hand her over to the police when a Polish railroad employee intervened, stating that the area was under the jurisdiction of the railway department and that he would take custody of the girl. He escorted the wounded, chilled girl into a booth, where he dressed her wound, gave her some food and clothing and released her. Ginia made her way to a church in a nearby village, where a compassionate priest helped the unfortunate girl. He gave her shelter until she recovered and provided her with a false birth and baptism certificate.

David and Golda Chartan, their son Boris, Golda’s father Hirsch Milgrom, and Boris’s cousin Junap Oleska, who hailed from Podkamień near Brody, were sheltered by Jan (Antoni) and Maria Marciniak on their farm in the nearby village of Palikrowy. The Marciniaks confided in a priest from the Dominican monastery in Podkamień who used to visit them. Maria Marciniak perished in March 1944 during a Ukrainian partisan attack on the village shortly before the arrival of the Soviets.⁶⁸⁷ Shmuel Leib Karp was hidden by a priest in his rectory in Podkamień.⁶⁸⁸

Yitzhak Sarid, a native of Podkamień, hid from the Germans together with his family by moving from place to place. For a period of time, they were sheltered in the cellar of the Dominican monastery in Podkamień. After their hiding place was exposed, they hid in a burial chapel in the nearby Catholic cemetery. Subsequently, they were sheltered by local farmers.⁶⁸⁹ In the summer of 1942, Witold Charasz, a native of Brody, found refuge in the Dominican monastery together with his wife. They were placed there by a Pole who held Witold out to be a Polish officer hiding from the Germans. Afterwards, Witold and his wife were transferred to the house of the organist, Karol Ptaszek, where they were joined by Witold’s sister, Danuta, and his brother, Henryk. The four Jews remained under the care of Karol and his

⁶⁸⁶ Testimony of Gina Hochberg Lanceter, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 3529.

⁶⁸⁷ Testimony of Boris Chartan, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 15082.

⁶⁸⁸ Regina Hader Rock, “From Hiding Place to Hiding Place,” in Amihai, Stockfish, and Bari, *The Community of Rohatyn and Environs*, 250 ff. Regina Hader was sheltered in Podkamień by the Dżugała and Pizio families. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 204–5.

⁶⁸⁹ “Yocheved Sarid About Her Husband Yitzhak (born 22/9/1922 in Podkamien) and His Family,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/podkamien/16,accounts-memories/14371,yocheved-sarid-about-her-husband-yitzhak-born-22-9-1922-in-podkamien-and-his-family/>>.

wife, Helena, until the arrival of the Soviet army at the end of March 1944.⁶⁹⁰ Earlier that month, Ukrainian nationalist partisans attacked the monastery, where several hundred Poles from the surrounding area had taken shelter, and rampaged through the village murdering any Pole they encountered. Several hundred Poles were killed in Podkamień and nearby villages.⁶⁹¹

After escaping from a German labour camp in Tarnopol in March 1944, Joachim Schoenfeld and his companion made their way back to their hometown of Lwów with the help of an unidentified priest. Along the way, they begged for bread at the homes of Polish peasants. In Lwów, they hid in a cellar until liberation with the assistance of a Pole. Their Polish benefactor, Stanisław Tarnawski, was killed by Ukrainian nationalists when he went to visit his sister in a village near Lwów.⁶⁹²

Anna Heller Stern, a native of Bolechów near Stryj, in Stanisławów voivodship, survived with the assistance of false documents that were supplied to her by an unidentified priest. (Daniel Mendelsohn, *The Lost: A Search for Six of Six Million* [New York: HarperCollins, 2006], p. 390.)

She shared, too, her own remarkable story of hiding ... she showed the picture of the Polish priest who had saved her life by making false papers for her. ... she showed us the false baptismal certificate, the one that had given her the name Anna, which she'd kept ever since. Matt took a picture of the document. ANNA KUCHARUK, it said.

Jan Misiewicz was recognized by Yad Vashem for having rescued thirteen Jews in the town of Mikulińce near Tarnopol. However, he did not act alone. Some of the Jews were hidden in an underground bunker, while a group of five Jews was concealed in the spire of the Catholic church, where Misiewicz's father was a deacon or perhaps a caretaker. Misiewicz also enlisted his friend, Michał Ogórek, to bring food to the Jews.⁶⁹³ It is unlikely that the parish priest would have not been aware of this arrangement, which lasted for some two years. (Article by Patt Morrison of the Los Angeles Times (1983), reproduced in Haim Preshel, ed. *Mikulince: Sefer yizkor* [Israel: Organization of Mikulincean Survivors in Israel and the USA, 1986], pp. 99 ff.; English translation posted at <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Mikulintsy/Mikulintsy.html>>.)

There first furtive handshake, one midnight 40 years ago in a town patrolled by Nazi troops, risked both their lives—the young Polish Jew on the run and the young Roman Catholic with a conscience.

On Tuesday, the Redondo Beach man who once knocked on the right door for help and the Polish man who answered the knock clasped hands again—openly this time—as they were reunited in a ceremony honoring the Pole, Jan Misiewicz, for concealing Leon Kahane and 10 other Jews from Nazi sweeps that sent 6 million others to death camps.

Every night for seven months, as German and Russian troops battled around them, Misiewicz and a friend, Michael Ogurek [Michał Ogórek], carried food and reassuring words to the Jews. Five were hidden in a makeshift room in the cross-tipped spire of a Catholic church where Misiewicz's father was deacon—and six more, including Kahane, were in a bunker beneath a German soldier's outhouse.

From September 1943, until the Russian advance in April 1944, Misiewicz and his friend, now dead, were the lifeline for the 11.

And some, like Kahane, now 60 and a rabbi, have survived to thank him. ...

Kahane's family had already moved several times by the time they came to the town of Mikulince [Mikulińce], where Misiewicz lived. And there, Kahane heard rumors that the Misiewicz family would help Jews in trouble. ...

Still, on Yom Kippur, 40 years ago, Kahane had to take a chance that the gossip was true. His family had been dispersed after the last arrests, and he and his brother were hiding in the forest outside of town, fasting until

⁶⁹⁰ Testimony of Henryk Charasz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 14823; Józef Burda, "Wydarzenie w klasztorze dominikanów w Podkamieniu w latach 1943–1944," no. 93 (2000): 289–340, at p. 328.

⁶⁹¹ Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 87–89.

⁶⁹² Schoenfeld, *Holocaust Memoirs*, 152.

⁶⁹³ See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 521; The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4016461>>.

nightfall to observe the religious holiday.

Then they split up to find food, and Kahane never saw his brother again. But he did find Misiewicz, who became more than a brother.

"I crossed through the Catholic cemetery and went to the gate," Kahane recounted. There he saw a Ukrainian soldier, suborned to the Germans, peering in the Misiewicz's window. "I knew if I made just one little noise, I'd be discovered, he (Misiewicz) would be caught, an entire neighborhood would be destroyed."

So he hid for hours until the soldier left, and at midnight, he knocked furtively on the door.

"This man's hand, this man's smile greeted me," he said Tuesday.

From that night, he spent seven months in the dark, cramped darkness of the bunker under the latrine, with only Misiewicz and Ogurek to trust. The pair, knowing that they were being watched came by with food and news; they even banked the hidden entrance with cattle manure to mask the scent of meals they brought. ...

But Misiewicz, who was "surprised" by Tuesday's ceremony, said that as a good Catholic, he could have done nothing else. "When I saw that the Jewish people were hunted everywhere, I knew what the end was going to be for these people," he said, as Kahane translated.

His family, headed by his father, "a very religious man," decided "without hesitation" to help, "in spite of the fact that I heard troops were shooting people in every corner of town."

It was as simple, Misiewicz said, as "loving my neighbor as myself."

With the help of his friend Tomasz (Tomek) Ziemia from Bursztyn near Stanisławów, Pinkhas (Paul) Trepman acquired the identity papers of Jan Krzus, a deceased Polish man. Ziemia had obtained the document "free of charge from his parish priest who knew very well what purpose it would serve." Trepman used these documents to travel to Warsaw, where he passed as a Catholic Pole.⁶⁹⁴

Mila (Amalia) Sandberg (later Mesner) of Zaleszczyki, then a young woman, was interned in the ghetto in Kołomyja together with her parents and sisters. There they received help from Poles, as well as from a former Jewish employee of their father's who sent food to them by way of a Catholic priest from Zaleszczyki, likely the pastor, Rev. Andrzej Urbański. After the ghetto in Kołomyja was liquidated, Mila, her sister Lola, and their cousin, Jasia Elberger, jumped out of a train destined for Bełżec and reached the ghetto in Chodorów. There they turned to Albin Thiel (Tyll), a Pole they had befriended. Albin approached Rev. Ludwik Peciak, the dean and pastor of Kołomyja, who agreed to issue false baptismal certificates to enable the sisters and their cousin to pass as Catholic Poles. Mila, who passed as Albin's wife, her sister Lola, who passed as Mila's cousin, and their cousin Jasia, who passed as their servant, all survived the war with the help of Albin and a number of other Poles. Rev. Peciak extended assistance to other Jews as well, among them Iser and Toni Reisman. The Reismans were caught by the Germans and murdered, and Rev. Peciak's signature on their documents may have led to his arrest on November 11, 1942 by a Ukrainian police who delivered him to the Gestapo. Rev. Romuald Chłopecki, the vicar, and Rev. Wojciech Kośmider were also arrested at that time. Rev. Peciak was imprisoned in Lwów, and then sent to the Majdanek concentration camp and subsequently to the Flossenbürg concentration camp where he perished on April 16, 1943. Rev. Chłopecki perished in Majdanek in March 1943; Rev. Kośmider perished in the Gross-Rosen concentration camp in April 1944.⁶⁹⁵ (Mila Sandberg-Mesner, *Light from the Shadows* [Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2005], pp. 30, 79–82, 90, 104–105, 106.)

At home, our Jewish cook and Catholic maid were both loved and respected by us, the children. Our Polish friends invited us to their Christmas dinners. Mrs. Nedilenko used to send us a plate of Christmas goodies, and my mother reciprocated with an equally elaborate plate of sweets on Purim. In our home, I don't ever recall hearing a derogatory remark about other people's religion or customs. Overall, we were quite at ease in the homes of our Polish friends and did not feel out of place among them. It would be difficult to overestimate how this ease in our relationships and familiarity with Polish life helped to ensure our survival later on, when we had to pass for Catholics and live under assumed Polish names. ...

We hid in the forest until the next morning, when we met some Jews on their way to work. They told us that we were near Chodorów, that the ghetto there was still open, and that we could temporarily hide there. In the

⁶⁹⁴ Paul Trepman, *Among Men and Beasts* (South Brunswick, New Jersey and New York: A.S. Barnes, 1978), 68–69.

⁶⁹⁵ Marek Kozubal, "Ks. Ludwik Peciak: Zapomniany sprawiedliwy," *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), August 18, 2016; Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 111–12.

Chodorów ghetto, the people welcomed us with warmth and sympathy. They seemed to be better off than the people in the Kolomyja [Kolomyja] ghetto. We were fed and put to bed. They even arranged for a telegram to be sent to Albin [Thiel], with a coded message stating that we were alive. Albin arrived the next day with some clothes, money, and our papers. When he arrived, we all broke down sobbing. He cried with us. He loved my parents and mourned their fate.

The Catholic church in Kolomyja was located on Sobieski Street. Albin went to see the parish priest and told him: "I have to save the lives of a number of Jews. Will you help me?" The name of the priest was Father [Ludwik] Peciak. His reply to Albin was: "You provide me with the names of people living in Kolomyja from the town registry, and I'll get you copies of the birth certificates." It was only later that we learned that Father Peciak had made out numerous birth certificates to help many people.

After spending a day with us in Chodorów, Albin returned to Kolomyja and vacated his living quarters. He then went to the ghetto, to our place, and retrieved some of our clothing. Next, he contacted a friend in Lwów, who lived with his mother, asking him to put us up at his place. His friend consented, but to no more than three persons. Albin then returned to Chodorów with clothing, money, and identity papers, and took Lola [her sister] and I by train to his friend's house in Lwów, while Jasia [her cousin] remained behind in Chodorów. The trip was traumatic for Lola and I; just a few days ago another train had been taking us to the Belzec [Bełżec] death camp. ... Sometime later, Albin fetched Jasia and smuggled her into our place. ...

Early in the spring of 1943, Albin's assignment arrived. It was with the Liegenschaft in Ernsdorf near the town of Bobrka [Bóbrka]. The job came with a furnished apartment, and this was where he moved in with his "wife," Maria Kabanowska-Thiel (Lola), his wife's cousin, Stanisława [Stanisława] Schmiedel (me), and his maid, Aniela Wojciechowska (Jasia). Shortly after, he arranged a job for me, first as a secretary and later as a statistician in the Liegenschaft offices. Being an employee of the Estate Administration, I received rations. We were no longer hungry. I worked for the Ernsdorf Liegenschaft, which administered some twenty estates. ...

At about this time, the Germans issued an order that everyone had to obtain an ID card called a Kennkarte, a document proving there were no Jewish ancestors in the family. To obtain a Kennkarte, one had to show copies of birth certificates going back three generations. Kolomyja, from where we had to get duplicates of the birth certificates, had already come under Soviet control, and the SS had executed Father Peciak: obtaining the necessary papers seemed impossible. But Albin solved even this problem. He went to the Bishop's palace in Lwów, where the archives of all parishes of this jurisdiction were kept. He explained the obvious difficulties of obtaining documents from Kolomyja and requested copies of the birth certificates from the archives. He succeeded in getting them for all of us. We were also fortunate that the documents showed no traces of Jewish ancestry. All we had to do then was provide photographs and proof of residence. ...

Father Peciak was the parish priest of the church of Sobieski Street in Kolomyja. It was his invaluable assistance to Albin that saved our lives. Unfortunately, I have no further information that would shed light on the heroic work of this saintly man, who died a martyr's death at the hands of the Gestapo.

I know that Albin sought his help in procuring copies of birth and baptismal certificates for many Jews. Jasia, Lola, and I were among the lucky ones he had helped, Albin having access to the City Hall registers. Father Peciak asked him to obtain a list of names of persons born in Kolomyja of the approximate age of those he intended to save. Albin passed the list of names to Father Peciak, who then issued copies of the birth certificates. I know Albin received many such life-saving documents from Father Peciak. Among those who obtained such papers were our friends, Iser and Toni Reisman. Sadly, the Reismans were later caught by the SS and murdered. The irony is, that it may have been Father Peciak's own signature on the Reismans' documents that led to his arrest and execution. Father Peciak truly merits the epitaph: "Perished for the cause, faithful to God's commands." ...

On the first floor in our house was my father's office, where his right-hand man, Gedalia Barad, ruled. He was an accountant ... Shortly after the invasion by the Red Army, our mill was nationalized. ... Barad continued to look after the financial affairs of the mill. He even remained in this capacity for a short while under the German occupation. Barad was still there in the fall of 1941, when we were in Kolomyja and hungry. Through a local priest who served as an intermediary, he arranged for the delivery of flour to us. I still recall how deeply we were moved by this gesture of good will.

Rev. Michał Białowąg, the administrator of the parish in Kolomyja after the death of Rev. Peciak, furnished a false baptismal certificate for Janina Ludmiła Lutnik (her new name), as well as other Jews. The child was sheltered alternatively by Szczepan (Stefan) and Zofia Lutnik of Kolomyja, Szczepan Lutnik's sister-in-law, Janina Kozulkiewicz, in Śniatyn, and the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Kolomyja.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁶ "Lutka Janina NN," Missing Identity Project, Internet: <<http://missing-identity.net/lutka-janina-nn-poland-kolomyja-ukraine/>>.

According to two reports, the aforementioned Rev. Andrzej Urbański, the pastor of Zaleszczyki, helped to shelter a rabbi, who was hidden in the home of a woman near the church. The rabbi would visit the priest dressed as a woman. Later, the rabbi stayed with Rev. Urbański disguised as a priest. Rev. Urbański counselled Genowefa Linkiewicz, during confession, to continue to shelter the fourteen Jews her family was hiding on their farm.⁶⁹⁷

Rev. Jan Gielarowski, the pastor of Michałówka near Radymno, with the assistance of an elderly priest from a nearby village, provided false baptismal certificates to a number of Jews and sheltered Jews in the parish rectory. He provided Jadwiga Bałaban with a birth certificate under the name of Jadwiga Kowalczyk. Bałaban also states, in her testimony, that Rev. Gielarowski sheltered a Jewish woman together with her nine-month-old child. Rev. Gielarowski was arrested by the Germans in December 1942, but did not give anyone away during his interrogation in the prison in nearby Jarosław. He was deported to Auschwitz where he perished on March 21, 1943.⁶⁹⁸

The Sisters of St. Joseph (*Siostry św. Józefa*), who worked as nurses, helped rescue the Jewish hospital staff in two towns in Eastern Galicia. In Sokal, north of Lwów, Sister Waława Hrycaj and Sister Ottona Golańska assisted Dr. Dawid Kindler, his wife, Laura, and their sons, Simche (Simcha) and Eli (Eliasz or Oleś). For a period of time Eli was sheltered in an orphanage run by the Sisters in nearby Łaszczów, but when he disclosed his identity to the other wards it became too dangerous to keep him there. After the liquidation of the Sokal ghetto, the Kindler family was taken in by Franciszka Hałamaj and her daughter Helena, who sheltered 15 Jews in total. A family of three Jews was also sheltered by Franciszka Hałamaj's housekeeper. In 1944, Sister Ottona Golańska escorted the dentist Bereś Pelc, dressed in a nun's habit, to a safe house in the village of Munina near Jarosław, where spent the remainder of the war.⁶⁹⁹ Sisters working in the hospital in Skałat, in Tarnopol province, among them Amalia Cisek, Aleksa Żółtek, and Krystyna Rajner, provided food and temporary shelter to two Jewish doctors, Dr. Fryderyk Sass and Dr. Leon Guttman, who were employed at the hospital, and their families. The nuns helped to arrange the escape of these doctors and their family members from Skałat. Dr. Sass and his daughter survived the war in Lwów, where they were assisted by Sister Helena Ratajczak. Dr. Guttman, his wife and daughter were placed with a Polish family in a village near Skałat, where they survived the war. The nuns also sheltered Jewish children in Skałat.⁷⁰⁰

Memorial books record the assistance provided by priests in the voivodship of Volhynia (Wołyń), in southeastern Poland, where Catholic Poles, a small minority among the Ukrainian majority, were themselves being systematically murdered by Ukrainian nationalist factions. (Shmuel Spector, *The*

⁶⁹⁷ Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 141–42; Józef Juzwa, “Ostatni proboszcz zaleszczycki ksiądz Andrzej Urbański,” *Kwartalnik Cracovia Leopoldis*, no. 2, 2012.

⁶⁹⁸ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 67; Władysław Smólski, ed., *Za to groziła śmierć: Polacy z pomocą Żydom w czasie okupacji* (Warsaw: Pax, 1981), 113–19; Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 4, 292; Stanisław Zygarowicz and Witold Jedynak, eds., *Świadkowie wiary Diecezji Przemyskiej z lat 1939–1964* (Przemyśl: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej: 2001), 85–86; Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 213–14; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 77–78; Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod okupacją niemiecką, Internet: <www.straty.pl>; Testimony of Jadwiga Bałaban, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5476.

⁶⁹⁹ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 127; Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 230 (testimony of Sister Bernarda Sochacka), 244; Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 148; Account of the Sisters of St. Joseph, June 12, 2009; Moshe Maltz, “Pages about Pain and Death of the Jewish Settlement in Sokal,” in A. Chomel, ed., *Sefer Sokal, Tartakov, Varenz, Stoyanov ve-ha-Seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Sokal and Surroundings, 1968), 277–316, as well as accounts by Dr. Dovid Kindler, translated as *Memorial Book of Sokal, Tartakow and Surroundings*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokal/sokal.html>>.

⁷⁰⁰ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 127; Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 211 (testimony of Sister Krystyna Rajner), 244; Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 148; Account of the Sisters of St. Joseph, June 12, 2009.

Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944 [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990], pp. 248–50.)

Poles living in the cities had fewer opportunities to assist Jews in finding shelter. The German and Ukrainian administration watched them very closely. Polish Catholic priests formed a group apart in this respect. Thus in Rovno [Równe] a priest by the name of Sirkiewicz [actually Ludwik Syrewicz, the dean and local pastor] together with a notary Szumski handed out birth and baptism certificates to the hiding Jews. A priest from Janowa Dolina (his name is unknown [actually Rev. Jan Leon Śpiewak]), who distributed baptism documents, was arrested and, as a punishment, sent to the Kostopol ghetto where he worked at hard labor together with the local Jews. The members of his flock brought him food which he shared with the ghetto residents. In Vladimirets [Włodzimierzec] the priest Dominik Wawrzynowicz volunteered to sell church treasures to help the local Judenrat to pay ransom imposed by the Germans. He also preached the duty to help the Jews. In his efforts he was assisted by priests of congregations of the villages in the district. The priest Ludwik Wołodarczyk [actually Włodarczyk, the pastor of Okopy] from the villages across the Slucz River rendered considerable assistance to the refugees from Rokitno and the environs.

One of the survivors related a story of his meeting with a Polish priest, which took place in a small church one kilometer from Trilisitse [Trylisica near Szczurzyn, Łuck county]. The witness decided to appeal for help to the old priest serving in the church. The priest invited him in, knelt, prayed and having finished he asked him what he wanted. The Jew asked for help and based his request on the New Testament. Thereupon:

He embraced me, kissed my head and both of us started crying. I felt that my pain was his pain too. He offered me money but I refused to take it. He promised me work—to copy his book on honeybees breeding. He cheered me up and promised to find out what had happened to my family in Lutsk [Łuck].

Beside priests, the testimonies mention also working-class Poles who rescued Jews. ...

Assistance rendered by Polish peasants was more frequent. ... Large numbers of cases of assistance are documented to have occurred in remote Polish villages in the northeastern and, particularly eastern parts of the region across the Sluch [Stucz] River ... Hundreds of Jews hiding there were given food and shelter.

The aforementioned Rev. Dominik Wawrzynowicz, the pastor of Włodzimierzec, who enjoyed excellent relations with the Jews before the war, also preserved valuables which many Jews had entrusted to him and returned them to their rightful owners. Sender Appelboim (Apelbaum) writes: “The Polish priest from Vladimertz [Włodzimierzec] endangered himself by saving Jews. In church, he told his congregants that it was their duty to save Jews, to hide them, give them food and offer help. Some of his people followed his direction.” In his 1966 testimony he urged Yad Vashem to recognize Rev. Wawrzynowicz as Righteous among the Nations.⁷⁰¹

According to Polish sources, Rev. Jan Leon Śpiewak, the pastor of Janowa Dolina from August 1941, was arrested by the Germans in May 1942 for providing false baptismal certificates and other forms of assistance to Jews. He was held in the Kostopol ghetto, and then sent to a hard labour camp in Ludwipol. He managed to escape when that camp was attacked by Soviet partisans at the end of 1942 or early 1943. Afterwards, he had to hide from the Germans. He fled to Huta Stara, where he became the pastor and chaplain of a Home Army unit named “Bomba.” Along with the leaders of that unit, he was apprehended by the NKVD in December 1943 and sent to Lubianka prison in Moscow. He was released in April 1944.⁷⁰²

Rev. Józef Kuczyński was the pastor of two parishes, Dederkały and Szumbar, near the prewar Polish-Soviet border. When the Germans arrested the wife of a Ukrainian named Serwetnik, both of whom had converted to Catholicism, Serwetnik was told by the authorities that they would release his wife if the

⁷⁰¹ Sender Appelboim, “In the Forests and Villages with the People of Raflovka [Rafałówka] and the Surrounding Area in the Years 1942–1944,” *Memorial Book for the Towns of Old Rafalovka, New Rafalovka, Olizarka, Zoludzk and Vicinity*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/rafalovka/Rafalovka.html>>, translation of Pinhas and Malkah Hagin, eds., *Sefer zikaron le-‘ayarat Rafalovka ha-yeshenah, Rafalovka he-hadashah, Olizarka, Zoludzk veva-sevivah* (Tel Aviv, 1996), 48–53; Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 245; Testimony of Sender Appelbaum, January 1966, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2882. When Rev. Wawrzynowicz moved to Lower Silesia after the war, he received many letters of thanks and packages from Jews from Włodzimierzec in Israel addressed to “Their Priest.” See Róża Wawrzynowicz-Billip, “Jak to dobre myśli się sprawdzają,” *Gazeta Otwocka*, no. 12 (2010), 26.

⁷⁰² Leon Popek, *Janowa Dolina* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Krzemieńca i Ziemi Wołyńsko-Podolskiej, 1998), x n.2. See also Marek A. Koprowski, *Mord na Wołyniu: Zbrodnie ukraińskie w świetle relacji i dokumentów* (Zakrzewo: Replika, 2018), vol. 2, 271–72; Marek A. Koprowski, *Wołyń: Krwawa epopeja Polaków* (Zakrzewo: Replika, 2018), vol. 1, 346.

pastor issued a statement confirming that she had been a practicing Catholic before the German entry in 1941. Such an offer was extremely unusual. Rev. Kuczyński willingly obliged. Serwetnik's wife was released and survived the war under the priest's protection. The couple relocated to Poland after the war.⁷⁰³

Rev. Jan Szarek, the pastor of Wyrka near Stepań, counselled Felicja Onuchowska to continue to shelter the two Jews whom her family had taken in, namely, Abraham Tchor and his cousin, Batya Becker Scheinboim. (Onuchowski Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5684596>>; Batya Scheinboim, "Escape from the Murderers," in Yitzhak Ganuz, ed., *Our Town Stepan*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/stepan/Stepan.html>>, translation of *Ayaratenu Stepan* (Tel Aviv: Stepan Society, 1977), pp. 294–95.)

Abraham Tchor was born in Stepan [Stepań], Poland (now Ukraine), in 1927. When war broke out in 1939, the Soviets occupied Stepan, and in 1941 the Germans took over the town. They built a ghetto for the Jews of Stepan and the surrounding villages; in total some 3,000–4,000 people. There were sporadic killings, but the methodic annihilation of the ghetto began only in 1942. This was when Abraham and his father Michael managed to escape. A few days later, they were captured hiding in a grove by Ukrainian policemen and taken to a killing site. Abraham's father was shot, but the 15-year-old managed to run away.

Abraham remembered that his father had known a villager in Siedlisko, 18 kilometers away. Traveling at night, he made it to the village and found the house of Lucjan Onuchowski, who lived with his wife Fela [Felicja] and teenage sons, Cyprian and Bronisław. When Abraham knocked on the door, the family was very frightened; they began crossing themselves and asking him what had become of his parents. He told them he was alone. They took him in, fed him and decided to hide him. The next day, Lucjan told the boy: "Whatever happens to us, will happen to you as well."

One day, as Abraham was in his underground hideout, a woman knocked on the door. It was Abraham's cousin, Batja. She had come from the forest where she was hiding with a group of Jews to ask for some food. The Onuchowskis suggested she remain in their house along with Abraham. For the remainder of the war, Lucjan also provided food to the group in the forest. All this was done out of good will, and because the Onuchowskis remembered the kindness and friendliness of Abraham's father.

In 1944, the situation worsened. Ukrainians began attacking Poles, robbing and killing them. Soon, they had taken over the entire region, and Polish families were fleeing to zones occupied by Germans. The Onuchowskis decided to run as well. Abraham escaped together with them, but in the mayhem he was separated from Batja and his rescuers. He tried to join the local partisans, but was refused because of his youth and because he possessed no gun.

After the area was liberated in 1945, Abraham returned to Stepan in the hope of finding someone alive. He did not find anyone, or his rescuers, although he kept searching for them. In 1946 he moved to Israel, where he was reunited with Batja. Their continued search for the Onuchowskis proved unsuccessful, even with the help of a friend of Abraham's wife Henia in Poland, who posted ads in local papers.

Batya, with her mother and her little sister Brendala, Bronia Sheinboim with her children, Henia Tchor, Batya Tchor, Sonia from the Tchor family with her baby, all escaped the carts that went to Karchovla [?], ten kilometers from Kostopol, the place of killing of the Jews of Stepan [Stepań] and the area.

Most of them jumped from the carts and tried to flee to the forests, knowing that death was near. They were caught in the shooting of the Ukrainian policemen and some were caught and returned to the carts that led them to their deaths. ...

After additional searches and living together with eighteen Jews from her area in the depths of the forest in inhumane conditions, with fear and terror always, Batya was left alone. She finally got to a righteous non-Jew, a Pole by the name of Lutzian Onochobaski [Lucjan Onuchowski], from the Polish village of Sadlisko [Siedlisko]. He hid her. The woman being very religious asked the priest from Virka [Wyrka], a nearby Polish village, and he suggested to her to help the Jews even though it was dangerous. ...

In 1943, when the Ukrainian uprising began in Stepan and the area against the German authorities and attacks on Polish villages began in order to annihilate the Polish residents, Batya and Mosik wandered together along with other Poles to nearby towns and cities. There Batya met two Jewish girls from Stodin, by the names of Fayeh and Etta. Together along with five Poles from the area of Recholovka [Rafałówka] (a railroad station) turned to the direction of the forests, in order to join the partisans. On the way, they ran into shooting by the Ukrainian nationalists and most of the group was killed.

⁷⁰³ Józef Kuczyński, *Między parafią a lagrem* (Warsaw: Editions Spotkania, 2017), 14. See also Koprowski, *Mord na Wołyniu*, vol. 2, 112–15.

Batya returned to Recholovka, and with the girl from Stodin [Stydyń] by the name of Ita Shinis, they traveled as Poles to Germany by Sarny and Rovno [Równe]. They fixed their papers and were on their way.

Halina Mirska (later Lasota) describes, in her memoir, how various people, including the aforementioned Rev. Ludwik Syrewicz, helped her survive the German occupation. After escaping from the ghetto in Równe, Volhynia, with her mother in 1941, 11-year-old Halina was taken in successively by Kazimierz Milewski; then for two months—in November and December 1941—by Rev. Syrewicz, who issued her a false baptismal certificate; by unknown benefactors and by the family of Zielonko, a railway worker who took her to Warsaw. In Warsaw, Halina lived with the Rauch family, and was helped by the sisters Ania and Lonia Burzyńska. In May 1943, she was taken to the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul on Tamka Street. Afterwards, one of the nuns, Sister Maria Stanke, sheltered her at the hospital of the Transfiguration of Our Lord where she worked as a nurse. Her next place of residence was with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary on Hoża Street in Warsaw, where she was accepted by Mother Matylda Getter. Halina was transferred to the nuns' orphanage in Płudy, where a number of Jewish children found shelter. She recalled being treated fairly, on par with all of the other children. She had fond memories of her instructor, Sister Ludwika Peńsko, who cared for her lovingly. When the Soviet front approached, the Germans evacuated the institution. After escaping from a transport train headed for Germany, Halina, then 14, found herself in the town of Sierpc. She was taken in by a woman by the name of Czerwińska, who then passed her on to the Kłobukowski family, who treated Halina like a member of their family. She remained with them until 1946.⁷⁰⁴

The following account, which mentions the assistance of an unidentified priest in Warsaw, appears to refer to the Rauch family, described above. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 664.)

In 1943, Mariam Feier placed her four-year-old daughter, Warda, in a Polish children's home in Warsaw. A priest who worked in the home, realizing that Warda was Jewish, feared for her safety, since German policemen frequently came to inspect the home looking for Jewish children. The priest turned to his friend, Teofilia [Teofila Burzyńska] Rauch, who lived with her daughter [in] Zalesie, not far from Warsaw, and asked her to take Warda in. Rauch agreed and, for almost two years, looked after Warda and saw to all her needs as if she were her own daughter. After the war, Mariam Feier returned from Germany, where she had been sent as a forced laborer, and began looking for her daughter through the press. When Rauch found out that Warda's mother was looking for her, she was extremely ambivalent about contacting her, but in the end, for religious reasons, decided to return Warda to her mother without asking for any remuneration.

Romualda Mansfeld-Booth (née Estera Goldynsztajn or Ester Goldenstein, born in Brody in 1939) was found among Polish orphans fleeing from Ukrainian assaults on Polish settlements who took refuge in the city of Równe. She was taken in by Maria Titarenko at Easter, 1943. Her new “mother” took her to Rev. Ludwik Syrewicz, pastor of the local church, who baptized her and provided her with a baptismal and birth certificate.⁷⁰⁵

Another person whom Rev. Syrewicz aided was Leah Bodkier, a young Jewish woman who escaped from the massacre of the Równe Jews and was concealed, with her little sister, in the attic of Jerzy Nowakowski's mother. Rev. Syrewicz agreed to baptize Leah as Krystyna Broniewska so that she could marry Jerzy Nowakowski, a Polish Catholic, and pass as a Catholic Pole. He then referred them to the priest in nearby Żytyń, Rev. Ludwik Warpechowski, who married the couple on December 30, 1941.⁷⁰⁶

The Równe memorial book states that Rev. Ludwik Syrewicz taught his congregation “moral and humane teachings”. Many Jews were able to survive in other cities, where they were not recognized as Jews, with

⁷⁰⁴ Halina Mirska Lasota, *Ucieczka od przeszłości* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2006), 18–29.

⁷⁰⁵ Kołacińska-Gałazka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 259; Maria Kalas, “Moja babcia Maria Titarenko,” *Wolanie z Wołynia*, no. 5 (September–October), 2014: 13–20, at p. 17.

⁷⁰⁶ Jeffrey Burds, *Holocaust in Rovno: The Massacre at Sosienki Forest, November 1941* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 84.

the birth and baptismal certificates he issued free of charge.⁷⁰⁷ Rev. Syrewicz was arrested by the Germans in January 1944. He was imprisoned in the Gross-Rosen and Dachau concentration camps, but survived.

Chana Comins (Cominetsky, née Bebczuk), who together with her young child survived in the forests near Równe with the help of Poles, mentions an unnamed priest from Równe who hid Jews in a church.⁷⁰⁸

Rev. Ludwik Wrodarczyk, from the Order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, was awarded posthumously by Yad Vashem at the behest of the brothers Alex (Joshua) Levin and Samuel Levin (Levinson), whom he had sheltered in the village of Okopy in Volhynia. Rev. Wrodarczyk incurred the wrath of Ukrainian nationalists, who tortured and killed him in December 1943.⁷⁰⁹ He was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem in 2000. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 594–95.)

On August 26, 1942, at the time of the liquidation of the Rokitno ghetto (Sarny County, Volhynia District), the local Jews were ordered to gather at the train station. The German and Ukrainian police surrounded the assembled Jews. Many began to flee, whereupon the SS and police opened up with automatic fire. In the resulting panic, many Jews succeeded in fleeing to the forests and surrounding villages. Among those who escaped were the two Samuel brothers, 17-year-old Lewin and 10-year-old Alexander, who tried to find a hiding place in one of the [Ukrainian] villages but were repelled by the farmers. After wandering for a long time, they reached the [Polish] village of Okopy and knocked on the door of a house at the edge of the forest asking for food. This time they were lucky. They were taken inside by a man and a woman who warned them that a roundup of Jews was being carried out at that very time in the area. The woman, the teacher Felicja Masojada, was the mistress of the house, and the man was the local priest, Ludwik Wrodarczyk, who happened to be visiting at the time. They decided to hide them in the house until the danger was past. While the murderers scoured the area, the teacher and the priest hid the brothers in a closet. Once the roundup was over, they gave them food and sent them to hide in the forest, explaining that it was safer than in the village. After they settled in a cave in the depths of the forest, Masojada's house remained for them a kind of aid station to which they returned to receive food and a change of clothing. Felicja and Ludwik were exceptional in this rural community for their high moral values and their profound social commitment. They also assisted other escaped Jews who happened to come to their village, and they paid for this with their lives. Felicja Masojada was murdered in June 1943 by Ukrainian ultra-nationalists. In December 1943, the priest Wrodarczyk was also murdered by them on suspicion of collaboration with Jewish partisans and anti-Fascists activists.

Alex (Joshua) Levin, born in 1935 wrote about his and his seven-year older brother Samuel's escape from the Rokitno ghetto in August 1942, in his memoir *Under the Yellow & Red Stars* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2009), at pages 21–22:

We managed to escape from Rokitno. We didn't know where to go at first, but soon headed deep into the woods. We wanted to get as far away from that murderous place as possible. The forest was dense and thick and frightening or two boys already deeply traumatized, but we soon found some small relief. In the woods we came across other escapees. At first we met one person and then a few more until there were a significant number of us together in the woods. The adults talked to each other in whispers. ... There was hurried discussion among the adults. Finally, they agreed. "We're in more danger if we all stay together," they said. "Let's break up into small groups. That way it will be harder to find us."

For the next two weeks or so, Samuel and I wandered alone, moving toward the Polish villages of Netreba and Okopy. The woods in that area were denser and the swamps there provided better cover. I remember occasionally meeting people along the way who warned us that we should only go into the villages in the case of extreme emergency. If we did come close to any villages, they said, we should still stay as close to the woods as possible in

⁷⁰⁷ Moshe Gildenman, "The Attitude of the Non-Jewish Population Toward the Jews," in A. Avitachi, ed., *Rowne: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rowno in Israel, 1956), 518 ff., translated as *Rovno: A Memorial Book to the Jewish Community of Rovno Wolyn*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/rovno/Rovno.html>>.

⁷⁰⁸ Chana Comins, Oral history transcript, January 28, 1980, Internet: <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/HolocaustSurvivors/pdfs/Comins.pdf>>, 17.

⁷⁰⁹ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 292–95.

case we ran into the police. ... When we did go to try to find or beg for food we mostly went into the Polish villages because they were more generous to us than the Ukrainians were.

Our journey over those couple of weeks was very hard and dangerous, but there were some memorable acts of kindness and courage that stand out. The two names in particular that are forever etched into my heart are Ludwik Wrodarczyk, a Polish Catholic priest, and Felicia [Felicja] Masojada, a Polish teacher from Okopy. When we arrived at their door after the massacre in Rokitno, they hid us in a closet and gave us some clothes and enough food to last a little while. We found out later that these wonderful people, truly good souls, paid a high price for their compassion—they were executed by Ukrainian Nazi collaborators. ... In 1998, Samuel and I initiated the process to have Wrodarczyk and Masojada declared Righteous Among the Nations by the Jewish Holocaust memorial organization Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. The presentation was made in 2000.

During this time we ended up staying for a while at a farm belonging to a Polish peasant. He fed us and in return we had to work for him.

Other Jews who mention Rev. Wrodarczyk favourably are Chaim Bar-Or, Yissakhar Trosman, and Moshe Trosman.⁷¹⁰ The following account by Yosef Segal, a Jewish survivor, is found in E. Leoni, ed., *Rokitno-Wolyn and Surroundings: Memorial Book and Testimony*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/rokitnoye/Rokitnoye.html>>, translation of *Rokitno (Volin) ve-ha-sevivah: Sefer edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rokitno in Israel, 1967), at page 334.

In the Polish village of Okopi [Okopy], some tens of Jews were saved thanks to two special individuals. They are worthy of being considered part of the Righteous of the world. They are: the Catholic priest [Rev. Ludwik Wrodarczyk] and the village teacher [Felicja Masojada]. The priest used to give sermons to his followers telling them not to be involved in the extermination of Jews. He asked them to help the Jews to survive until their redemption. At that time justice will prevail and the evil Nazis and their helpers will be wiped off the face of the earth. The village teacher also had compassion for the unfortunate Jews. Their suffering touched her heart and she helped in any way possible. She was killed by a Ukrainian gang on the way from the village of Rokitno while she was helping a Jewish family. The priest was burned alive in his church. The memory of these two saintly beings stands as a ray of light in the darkness of the Nazi rule.

The following account is from Yehuda Bauer, “Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia),” in Steven T. Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007), at page 273.

Escapees from Rokitno went ... to the area of the three Polish villages [Okopy, Budki Borowskie, and Dolhań] ... The Polish peasants, who had been living there for generations, saw in the Jews poor creatures persecuted by the enemies of the Poles: the Ukrainian nationalists and the Germans. All of them were basically friendly to the Jews, especially the Catholic priest, Ludwik Wolodarczyk [Wrodarczyk], and the local schoolteacher, Felicja Masojada, who organized a Polish resistance group that established contact with the Soviet partisans ... The three villages (and the fourth, Ntreba, which was part-Polish) were on the edge of the thick forests in that area, and many Jews hid there. They spent the nights in the makeshift dugouts in the forest and begged for food—and sometimes worked for it—during the day. ... These Polish villagers were pro-Soviet for the simple reason that there was no one else who could save them from the Bulbovtsy [Ukrainian nationalist partisans]—and indeed, the Bulbovtsy in the end burned their villages and murdered many Poles; the rest fled into the forests and joined the Jews who were hiding there. During 1943, Ukrainian nationalists murdered tens of thousands of Poles in Wolyn [Wołyń] ... The four Polish villages mentioned, and both Wolodarczyk and Masojada, were among the victims.

The rescue activities of Rev. Wrodarczyk—through his sermons, in private conversations with his parishioners, and by sheltering Jews in the parish rectory in Okopy near Rokitno, and feeding them in their forest hideouts—are also documented by Polish authors.⁷¹¹ Jakub (Jakow) Solcman, a pharmacist from Rokitno, arrived at the parish rectory after escaping from a German execution site. Rev. Wrodarczyk placed Solcman with a parishioner, who sheltered him for a short period of time. Afterwards, Solcman joined the Communist partisan group “Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła” (Poland Has Not Yet Perished), where

⁷¹⁰ Interview with Moshe Trosman, Yissakhar Trosman, Chaim Bar-Or, and others, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/8458.

⁷¹¹ Bronisław Janik, *Niezwykły świadek wiary na Wołyniu 1939–1943: Ks. Ludwik Wrodarczyk omi* (Poznań: Misjonarze Olbaci Maryi Niepokalanej, 1993), 167–68; Leon Żur, *Polacy i Ukraińcy: Które do pojednania* (Suwałki: Hańcza, 2007).

he was in charge of the sanitary unit.⁷¹²

Another person rescued by Rev. Wrodarczyk was Benedykt Lusthaus. Lusthaus had converted to Catholicism before the war, and found himself in Eastern Poland after the German invasion in September 1939. With the arrival of the Germans in the summer of 1941, he turned to Rev. Jan Lewiński of Sarny, Volhynia, for guidance and assistance. Rev. Lewiński enlisted the help of Rev. Antoni Chomicki, the pastor of Klesów, who in turn directed Lusthaus to Rev. Wrodarczyk. Lusthaus remained in Okopy until April 1943, where he served as the parish organist. He recalled Rev. Wrodarczyk's openness and kindness towards everyone, regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Because of increasing attacks on Polish settlements by Ukrainian nationalist partisans, Lusthaus joined the Soviet partisans together with a number of Poles from the area. Hanka Halicz, his future wife, also assisted in his rescue. After the war, Lusthaus became a renowned botanist at the University of Łódź, where he was known as Benedykt Halicz.⁷¹³

Eleonora Kos, who, together with her parents, escaped from the ghetto in Rożyszcze, Volhynia, was sheltered by two Polish families. She recalled the assistance given by Rev. Stanisław Dąbrowski, the pastor of the village church in Wiszenki, to Jews and Soviet prisoners of war. Rev. Dąbrowski gathered abandoned Jewish children and, from the pulpit, urged his parishioners to take them in.⁷¹⁴ Esther Pop (née Tesler), who obtained a birth and baptismal certificate from a Catholic priest under the name of Janina Skalska, received assistance from various villagers in the vicinity of Rożyszcze.⁷¹⁵

After escaping from the ghetto in Kowel, Volhynia, with her young son, Bronia Eckhaus first turned to Rev. Antoni Dąbrowski, the vicar at the local parish, who comforted her, fed her and provided her with guidance as where to go, as it was too dangerous for her to remain in Kowel.⁷¹⁶ She found shelter with Polish families in nearby rural settlements and was also received assistance from Józefa Wołoszyńska of Kowel. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, pp. 533–34.)

During the war, Jozefa Woloszynska [Józefa Wołoszyńska] lived with her family in Kowel, Volhynia. The family had moved to Kowel in 1933 when Jozefa's husband took a job in the local post office. During the occupation, the Woloszynskis' house was close to the ghetto. In July 1942, when an Aktion began in the ghetto, Bronia Eckhaus, along with her one-year-old son, hid in a hideout on a roof together with a dozen or so other Jews. At nightfall, Bronia climbed down from the roof with her son and they hid for a few days in a ransacked, empty house. When she thought that the Aktion was over, she left the hideout. She went into a church where she met a priest who fed her and advised her to look for shelter in the neighboring villages. He even gave her names of Polish and Ukrainian villages. Bronia took his advice and wandered from village to village carrying the child in her arms until she arrived

⁷¹² Kazimierz Lubowicki, "Ratował Żydów—zamordowali go Ukraińcy," *Życie konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 156–61, at p. 160. See also Krzysztof Juszczyk, "Zgrupowanie partyzanckie 'Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła' (wrzesień 1943–sierpień 1944)," *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici: Historia*, vol. 21 (1986): 149–177, at p. 155; Henryk Grabowski, *Szlaki bez drogowskazów: Z Wołynia przez Polesie Lubelskie* (Pruszków: Ajaks, 2001), 60; Czesław Dołęga, *Z dziejów zgrupowania partyzanckiego "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła"* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2008), 70.

⁷¹³ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 293; Kazimierz Lubowicki, "Ratował Żydów—zamordowali go Ukraińcy," *Życie konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 156–61; "Benedykt Halicz," Wikipedia, Internet: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benedykt_Halicz>; "Benedykt Halicz," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa1160999>>.

⁷¹⁴ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 730–31.

⁷¹⁵ Testimony of Esther Pop (née Tesler), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3878.

⁷¹⁶ See also the testimony of Bronia Eckhaus-Waserman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6948, noted in Michał Czajka, ed., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 6001–7297 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 6001–7297* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2011), vol. 7, 269. Rev. Antoni Dąbrowski, a Home Army chaplain, was arrested by the NKVD in Lublin in January 1945 and was executed by the state security police a few months later. See Tadeusz Wolak, "Biografia ks. kapelana Antoniego Dąbrowskiego ps. 'Rafał' (1910–1945)," *27 Dywizja Wołyńska AK—Biuletyn Informacyjny (Kwartalnik)*, no. 2 (106), April–June 2010: 22–29.

in the village of Elizarow [Elizarów or Olizarów]. There, she met a woman from Kowel, Josefa [sic] Woloszynska, who had come there to buy food. Jozefa immediately recognized that Bronia was Jewish. She gave Bronia her address in Kowel and Bronia came there a few times whenever her situation became desperate. She was warmly received and Jozefa always fed her and offered her advice. In March 1943 Jozefa had a heart to heart talk with Bronia and told her that the Germans were beginning to withdraw and that the Russians were getting closer. She advised her not to give up and return to the villages. She then gave her food and a coat for the child—taken from her own young child.

The wife of a Jewish mill owner left her two-year-old daughter in some shrubs near the parish rectory in Luboml, Volhynia, where she was found by the pastor's housekeeper. Rev. Stefan Jastrzębski, the pastor, turned to three nuns from the Order of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus to care for the child. The child was baptized and named Teresa. Since the child spoke only Yiddish, she had to be taught Polish and Catholic prayers in order to pass as a Polish child. On the suggestion of the local reeve, the child was officially registered as a foundling. After several months of living with the nuns, who shared just one room, the child was adopted by the wife of a forester. After the war, the child's mother came to reclaim her daughter. Rev. Stefan Jastrzębski, the dean of Luboml, was known for his interventions on behalf of Jews, who feared roving bands of marauders during the turmoil occasioned by the entry of Bolshevik troops during the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–1920 and the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939.⁷¹⁷

The Sisters of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus provided temporary shelter to Jews in the basement of their convent in Włodzimierz Wołyński, Volhynia, and also provided assistance to Jews hidden by Poles. With the help of Rev. Leon Kapturkiewicz, they sheltered two Jewish girls in their convent in Włodzimierz Wołyński.⁷¹⁸

Stanisław Wiczek, and his wife, Barbara, both doctors who originally hailed from Częstochowa, survived the German occupation in Uścilug on the Bug River near Włodzimierz Wołyński, in what has been called a conspiracy that involved several Poles including a priest, Rev. Stanisław Symon, the administrator of the local parish, who assisted and protected them as they passed as Catholic Poles. The Yad Vashem description of this rescue, as is very often the case, barely alludes to the extent of assistance the Wiczeks actually received along the way. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 533–34.)

At the beginning of the war, two young Jewish doctors, the couple Stanisław and Barbara Wiczek from Częstochowa, were fugitives in the city of Lwów ... With the occupation of the city by the Germans in June 1941, which was accompanied by a cruel pogrom against the Jews [carried out by Ukrainians], Stanisław came to the conclusion that the way to survive was to be swallowed up in the Christian population. However, all his efforts to receive employment as a doctor in Lwów under a false Christian identity were unsuccessful because he was recognized as a Jew. A senior Ukrainian doctor [Panchyshyn], aware of his distress, advised him to try his luck in the outlying rural areas. He gave him a letter of recommendation, without mentioning that he was Jewish, and directed him to the town of Łuck (capital of Volhynia District) in the hope that he would find work there. Stanisław left his wife on Lwów and went to seek a safe haven for them both. In Łuck he stayed with a Polish family and by chance met there a relative of the housewife, a middle-aged woman called Maria Belszan. From the first instant, Maria demonstrated a wish to help him in his new locality. From Łuck he was directed to the county town, Włodzimierz Wołyński (called Ludmir by the Jews, today Volodimir-Volinski [Volodymr-Volynskiy], Ukraine), where it was possible that he might find employment. Belszan, who was from that town and was about to travel there, suggested that he accompany her so that she might help him if necessary. On the way there, she gained Stanisław's trust and he revealed to her that he was Jewish and that he wished to settle somewhere and then send for his wife. It emerged that Maria Belszan has [sic] suspected from the outset that Stanisław was Jewish and when she saw his great need she had decided to help him survive. Maria Belszan was a devout Catholic, the wife of a Polish soldier who had been exiled to Siberia. When Stanisław asked her what motivated her to help him, she replied that her religion commanded her to help people in need without reference to creed. She took him under her protection, and Stanisław was hired as a doctor in the nearby town of Uścilug (today Ustiluh [Ustyluh] in Ukraine). She presented him as a relative, and through her

⁷¹⁷ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 210–11; Berl Kagan, ed., *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1997), 290.

⁷¹⁸ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1025; Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 131; Account of Mother General Cherubina Radzewicz.

social relations she opened doors for him that allowed him to bring his wife from distant Lwów. Maria provided her with a forged identity document, and created around them a circle of loyal, influential people, who were able to protect them from the suspicions that abounded.

Additional information about the rescue was provided by the Wiczyks' daughter, Janine, and her husband, Richard Dreyfus. (Dan Cooney, "Hidden in Plain View," *Faith, The Magazine of the Catholic Diocese of Erie*, July/August 2011, pp. 20–23.)

Maria [Belszan] also recruited Frank [Franciszek] and Maria Jachimek, another devout Catholic family, to help with the operation. They went back to Lvov [Lwów] to get Barbara [Wiczyc], who had just finished medical school. ... they put her in a cart and buried her in hay. ... Maria [Jachimek] also got in touch with the village priest, Father Stanislaw [Stanislaw] Symon, to enlist his help. He and Maria helped Stanislaw and Barbara get their all-important identification cards from the Nazis. ...

Before getting the identification cards, Stanislaw and Father Symon had already struck a very close friendship. ... Stanislaw's Jewish identity was unknown to Father Symon until one day, while the two were walking together. He said, "Father Symon, I am a Jew." ... And Father Symon said, "It's O.K. I love you. I will take care of you, I will be part of this conspiracy. I will vouch for your identity," which periodically was questioned by the [sic] some of the townspeople.

During their time hiding there out in the open, Stanislaw and Barbara stayed busy. He ran a medical clinic, while she worked at a post office and cleaned as a domestic. Barbara even played the organ at Sunday Mass, which was attended by Germans. She could not practice medicine ... because it was felt that if a husband and wife were both doctors, they would be more likely to be discovered and sent to the concentration camps. ...

In order to acknowledge the courage, love and humanity that they received from the rescuers, the Wiczyks tried to honor them through Yad Vashem ... Yad Vashem only accepted Maria Belczan [sic] into its exclusive list in 2001. "We actually went to the Yad Vashem and we pleaded on behalf of all of them." Richard [Dreyfus] says ... But there is no doubt in the experiences, hearts and minds of the Wiczyc family that all of them were involved in the small "conspiracy" of Catholics who risked their lives to save a Jewish family during World War II were, indeed, righteous and heroic.

In his Shoah Foundation testimony, Stanisław Wiczyc disclosed that Maria Belszan passed him off as her husband's relative and that Maria Jachimek vouched for his wife, Barbara Wiczyc, as her cousin in order to obtain an identification document (*Kennkarte*) for her. He also identified Jan Trywiański as another member of the conspiracy of rescuers. Stanisław Wiczyc joined the Home Army in mid-1943 and became head of the self-defence in Zosin to fend off attacks on Poles by Ukrainian nationalists.⁷¹⁹

A number of Jews, among them the lawyer Jacek Grębicki (then Grisza Grinberg) and his brother, were sheltered by the Strójwąg family in the hamlet of Władysławówka near Włodzimerz Wołyński, where their presence was an open secret. Since the Polish rescuers were extremely poor, Rev. Franciszek Jaworski, the local pastor in Swojczów, implored his parishioners to provide assistance to the fugitives.⁷²⁰

After escaping from the ghetto in Kowel, Volhynia, in the summer of 1942, Eve Wagszul (later Rich and then Blumberg, born in 1924) found herself in a labour camp, from which she again escaped to the safety of a convent in an unspecified location. The convent is said to be that of the Carmelites, though this information is inaccurate as the Carmelites had no convent in that area. Eve was one of several Jewish girls hidden in the basement. After several months, it became too dangerous for the nuns to continue sheltering the girls. The nuns provided them with crosses, prayer books and peasant blouses to wear so they would not attract attention. After leaving the convent, the girls wandered in the forest begging for food. Later they were imprisoned in Majdanek concentration camp. Eventually, Eve ended up as a farm

⁷¹⁹ Testimony of Stanisław Wiczyc, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 50923.

⁷²⁰ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1026–27; Testimony of Jacek Grębicki in Edmund Mazur, "Po prostu człowiek: Materiały dotyczące pomocy niesionej Żydom w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Warszawie," *Palestra*, no. 11 (1968): 65–104, at p. 84. The Strójwąg family was recognized by Yad Vashem.

worker in Bavaria.⁷²¹ (Interview with Eve Wagszul Rich, dated August 23, 1990, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

And it didn't take long before we were arrested, and we were taken to some ... labor camp ... it was very easy to walk out and to escape. And I remember walking away from the labor camp with some ... at the time I called him older man because I was like fourteen or fourteen and a half years old, and they told us that not too far there's some religious installation. It's a convent and they are helping a lot of people and I walked to this ... there was ... a gate and cemetery, a big cemetery plot and then we noticed nuns dressed in habits and we waited until not too many people were around. There were like four of us I believe, and we walked in and we told them that we needed help, that we have no place to go and they asked us if we were Jews and we told them. ... they told us they were crowded, that they had a lot of infants. They had a lot of sick people and they indeed did, but this Mother Superior ... Theresa was her name, Mother Theresa. By the way, they were Carmelites ... they took us in and they told us that we had to be very quiet and it was a basement where they put us and sometimes we did chores for them and they gave us some food and they really didn't know how long we could stay because they were constantly being watched ... we stayed there for several months and slowly they tried to explain to us that things are getting very bad and they are threatened they would kill them if they would find out how many Jews they had. They had quite a few later on we found out. We heard the babies cry at night. We saw corpses being taken out of very old people and finally they told us that we have to go.

Well, they gave us cross and a prayer book. ... that prayer book that I still have ... I memorized all the prayers and when we parted they gave me a peasant blouse to wear so I wouldn't look suspicious. I would look like a peasant. And this was a very sad time to part with them because you had like a little security and I remember feeling good. They would take us into the chapel to pray, you know, and they would make us kneel and it just felt good after the prayer. You know, I kept saying to myself, God, there's nobody Jewish to pray with me, therefore I have to pray with them and when we parted it was very sad and it was like dying and I even told ... there was one nun that took a special liking to me and every time she looked at me she would cry and she wanted me so much to stay there because she kept saying that I looked less Jewish than the others ... it was very hard for this nun to part with me. She wanted me to stay but they were afraid and they let us go ... there's no one that extended a hand anymore like the nuns did. ... They were very, very good to me, to us and I want you all to know that they risked their own lives. They didn't have much food and they shared it with us.

Rev. Władysław Bukowiński, the pastor of the cathedral parish in Łuck, Volhynia, sheltered Moshe Berezin in the diocesan seminary, after his escape from the Łuck ghetto. Afterwards, Berezin joined the 27th Division of the Home Army where he was known by his *nom de guerre* “Michał.” Berezin was in charge of a special unit, which included ten other Jews (4 men and 6 women), that ran the kitchen and repaired shoes for the partisans. All of these Jews survived the war.⁷²²

After the Germans entered Łuck in the summer of 1941, Carolyn Feffer (née Safier) and her husband, Eugene Lebenstein, turned to the bishop of Łuck, Rev. Adolf Szelążek, an acquaintance of her husband's, for documents to pass as Catholics. The bishop was “extremely sympathetic” and gave them birth and baptismal certificates of deceased Poles. Although her husband was seized by the Germans in a street raid and executed, Carolyn Feffer continued to pass as a Pole and placed her young daughter, Halina (then Barbara Olenyk), in a Catholic convent. After she was recognized by some Ukrainians, Carolyn applied for work in the Reich and was taken to Austria with her daughter.⁷²³

The family of Edwarda (Ester, Edzia) Finkielgluz (born in 1926, later Siekiera) and the Polish Hosticzko family, neighbours in Żytyń Wielki near Równe, in Volhynia, were on very friendly terms. After the Soviet invasion in September 1939, the Hosticzko family, who were endangered because of Józef Hosticzko's service in the Border Protection Corps, moved to a farm in the village of Palcze near Ołyka. During the German occupation, the Finkielgluz family was confined in the ghetto in Aleksandria near Równe. Edwarda (Edzia) managed to escape. She arrived unexpectedly at the Hosticzkos' home in

⁷²¹ See also the testimony of Eva Blumberg (née Hava Wugshul), August 16, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 18666.

⁷²² Testimony of Moshe Berezin, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/4812; Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 386.

⁷²³ Testimony of Carolyn Feffer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 34750.

Palcze. After staying with them for some time in hiding, Edwarda was transferred to the nearby village of Chorlupy, where she worked on a farm belonging to Jan Seredziński, a relative of the Hosticzkos. She lived there openly under a Polish identity and went to church in Ołyka with her hosts. In confession, Edwarda confided to the priest that she was Jewish. The priest told her not to take Communion, a sacrament reserved for Catholics. The pastor at the time was Rev. Stanisław Woronowicz. The Hosticzko family continued to visit Edwarda. Both families had to flee from their homes when Ukrainian nationalist partisans started to attack and kill Polish villagers. Edwarda relocated with her employers to the town of Łuck, which was liberated by the Soviet army in January 1944. Edwarda and the Hosticzkos met up again in Warsaw after the war. When Józef Hosticzko was arrested for political reasons during the Stalinist period, Edwarda testified on his behalf.⁷²⁴

After being spirited out of the Dubno ghetto by a Jewish smuggler, Julia (Chaya) Zecker (later Miller, born in 1928) was placed with members of a Ukrainian Protestant sect in the village of Smyga. She remained there for about a month when she was told to leave because they were afraid to keep her any longer. Not knowing what to do, she decided to knock on the door of the family's former servant, Helena Niewiarowicz, who lived in the village of Strakłów near Dubno, Volhynia. Niewiarowicz, described as a nun who lived outside a convent (probably a tertiary, a lay person affiliated to a religious order who lived outside an organized religious community), took Julia in and kept her hidden in her small cottage for the duration of the German occupation. She confided in a priest, who supported her in this endeavour. Afterwards, Julia was reunited with her father, who had also survived.⁷²⁵

A Polish rescuer from Ośnica near Łuck, in Volhynia, turned to her confessor, the aforesaid Rev. Bukowiński, for counsel when her family was sheltering David Pristal (Princental). (Gilbert, *The Righteous*, pp. 10–12.)

He [Pristal] then decided to seek out the Bron family, whom he knew, and who lived in the village of Ozhenitsa [Ośnica]. ... 'my host and my rescuer agreed to let me stay in the house through the winter.'

There were times when the danger came very close. On one occasion a Jewish road-building contractor was caught in the house of a Polish woman, who was executed for the help she had extended to him. But other Christian families in Lutsk [Łuck] were hiding Jews; and this, David Pristal recalled, 'undoubtedly encouraged the Bron family and raised their spirits considerably'. ... Mrs Bron was so anxious at the continual presence of a Jew in her devout Roman Catholic home. But one day, after she had asked a priest to visit her, she told David Pristal, with tears in her eyes: 'Now I am totally relaxed, as the priest, Bukovinsky [Rev. Władysław Bukowiński], said I was doing a great act of kindness in hiding a Jew in my house. Now I have regained my peace of mind.'

After being sheltered by two Polish sisters, Dora Chazan, who was born in 1929, was recognized as a Jew by a Ukrainian and arrested by the Germans in Łuck, Volhynia. She was eventually released after a Polish woman prisoner falsely claimed that she was her aunt. Dora Chazan then took refuge in a church. The priest recognized that she was a Jew and placed her in a convent, where she remained until the arrival of the Soviet army in 1944.⁷²⁶

Credible Polish accounts describe other rescue efforts in Łuck. The Benedictine Missionary Sisters, under the direction of Sister Marta, ran a shelter for children and the elderly. One of their charges was an 11-year-old Jewish girl with Aryan documents who was known as Krysia. She was baptized after the

⁷²⁴ "Trudging Through the Snow: The Story of the Hosticzko Family," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/trudging-through-snow-story-hosticzko-family>>; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 278.

⁷²⁵ Testimony of Julia Miller, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43866.

⁷²⁶ Testimony of Dora Chazan, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2900, noted in Czajka, Młodkowska, and Umińska-Keff, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 2001–3000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 2001–3000*, vol. 3, 345; Boaz Cohen and Beate Müller, "A Teacher and His Students: Child Holocaust Testimonies from Early Postwar Polish Bytom," *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2016), 68–115, at 106–8.

Germans retreated from the area, and later left for western Poland with the sisters.⁷²⁷ Sister Flawia (Helena Lipka) took charge of a two-year-old Jewish girl who was left at the orphanage by her mother. She turned to Leandra and Tadeusz Mirecki, who were assisting Jews, to find a home for the girl. The Mireckis entrusted her to Jan and Maria Brzechwa, who baptized the girl and gave her the name of Teresa. The child survived the occupation and, after the war, relocated with her adoptive parents to Kostrzyń on the Odra River.⁷²⁸

Five Franciscan Sisters of the Suffering (*Siostry Franciszkanki od Cierpiących*), who worked at the hospital in Łuck, provided food to Jews. Dr. K. From, a native of Łódź who had fled to Łuck in 1939, continued to work at the hospital during the German occupation. He escaped when German gendarmes came to arrest him and hid with a Polish woman for several days. Sisters Kazimiera Wirgowska and Wacława Mirola transported him secretly to the countryside. Unfortunately, he was killed in unclear circumstances shortly before the return of the Soviet army.⁷²⁹

Peppy Rosenthal (née Naczycz), born in 1935 in Rożyszcze, Volhynia, was an only child. The family escaped as the ghetto was about to be liquidated and was sheltered successively by three Polish families. Peppy's mother was separated from the family and was never seen again. After their Polish benefactor was killed, Peppy's father took her to a Catholic convent in an unspecified location (perhaps in nearby Łuck where the Benedictine Missionary Sisters ran an orphanage) and joined a group of Jews in the forest. After some time the nuns placed Peppy with a Polish family, and her father reclaimed her after the area was liberated. (Testimony of Peppy Rosenthal, July 1, 2009, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/rosenthal/>>.)

My dad and his partner worked outside the ghetto, and they found out that the ghetto was going to be liquidated, and we couldn't tell any of his relatives, my dad couldn't. So he came back with his partner, and he must have paid off the guards. They let us cross the river, and my dad was carrying me on his shoulders, and the six of us escaped. And we went to stay with one of the people that worked for my dad's bus company. Was a, was a Sunday. And they went to church, and we were looking out in the attic outside, and ... my mother tried to keep me away from the windows, so I wouldn't see ... And then we stayed there till the ... they came back from church, and they wanted us to leave, because they were afraid, you know, that somebody's gonna find out that they're hiding us. So my father and his partner went to the country to see if he can find the, one of the conductors, and see if they'd let us stay there. And then my mother and my father's partner's wife and their son, the four of us, stayed there. And we went and we stayed with the ... where the pigs were staying. So if somebody came, then he can say that he didn't know we were there. So we stayed there, and he insisted that we leave. And my mother said she'll leave, and go and see if she can find my father, but would he just keep me safe, you know, hide ... for them to hide me some place. So she left, and I never saw her again. ...

Then they put us in a wagon and covered us with straw, the three of us: my father's partner's wife, their son, and myself. And they were taking us to the country, where my father was. ... So they left us there, and they dig out from under ... there was like hay and straw against the barn. And we dug out an entryway, and made the straw and hay hollow, so five of us could get in there. ... And we stayed with those people [Kowalczyk], I don't know how long, but I know it was one winter for sure, and it was a summer ... And they had children too. But he [Kowalczyk] was killed ... He was riding his bicycle from Lutsk [Łuck] ... we had to leave there ... they also had a hiding place underneath some flooring inside the house. But we didn't stay there very long, maybe sometimes in the wintertime, we would come in to warm up at night. One night, we came out of the hole, and they found a man from underneath the straw and there was a man in the barn hiding too. And my dad and his partner lied to him and told him that we were just there for the night, ... because they didn't want another person there. And I don't know whatever happened to that man. ...

When it was time for us—so they moved us in a wagon covered with straw. My father ... we separated at that time. I don't know what happened to the partner and his wife and son; they somehow survived. ... But I know my father

⁷²⁷ Zygmunt Zieliński, "Activities of Catholic Orders on Behalf of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland," in Otto Dov Kulka and Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, eds., *Judaism and Christianity Under the Impact of National Socialism* (Jerusalem: The Historical Society of Israel and The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1987), 387, based on the order's wartime chronicle.

⁷²⁸ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 155, 195, 322.

⁷²⁹ Kazimiera Wirgowska, *Ojczyzna moja, gdzie jesteście: Wspomnienia z Łucka 1939–1945* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 2009), 52–53.

and they took me to this convent, and my father left me there, and he joined the Partisans. But everybody was whispering that he was dead, because he had this fur coat, and he gave it away so it would look, you know, that he died, and so people wouldn't search for him, the Ukrainians. But he hid out someplace in the forest, with, with other Jews, and also with some Partisans. And I stayed in the convent for a while until they told, found me a place, and they told that I was an orphan. ...

They were very nice to me. I have special warm heart, ... in my heart, you know, about how they treated me, and they took—New Year's Eve, I remember them taking me to church. I didn't have any shoes on, so they wrapped my feet with towels and stuff. ... I wore a cross. ... I was raised Catholic. ... And you know, I remember when my Dad came back, and we moved into our house, my dad not once said, "Take off that cross," or, "Don't say that," or, "Don't go to church." He never said a word. And then all by myself, you know, I stopped doing those things.

They knew that I was Jewish. So I, I don't remember how long it was that I stayed at the convent, but I know it was wintertime, because I was cold, and I remember not having warm things. And then they gave me to this family that lived way, way far away from the road ..., so, and it was safe there. And if I saw a person walking towards the house, I would immediately hide. I had a special place where to hide. And I stayed there I know one winter, and a summer, not whole summer ... and sometimes when it was nighttime I would go outside and play. Then one day I saw this man coming in the distance, and I went and I hid, and then, as he came closer, the woman recognized my dad. And she went and she got me ... my dad came and, you know, that was the first time I saw him in a long time. And we stayed together.

And some of those Jews went and they stayed at our house. They went as, as we were being liberated from the Russians, Jews came out from hiding, and they came and they stayed in our house [in Rożyszcze]. ... I remember that ... we traveled to Lublin. And we stayed there for a while ... then we went from there to Łódź. ... from Łódź we went to Danzig [then Gdańsk, Poland]. ... I didn't know how to write, read or anything. Then when we came back to Poland, ... I met some nuns, and they taught me the alphabet, and how to write, or read. ... they didn't push catechism on me, or any religion. ... And the Russians were so sympathetic to me. ... And the Catholics. ...

Krystyna Niekrasz was born in Rożyszcze, Volhynia, in 1941 as Ewa Putter. Her parents perished in unknown circumstances. As an infant, Ewa was left in the garden of a home belonging to the Zalech family, with a note. Mr. Zalech had worked as a caretaker in the school where Ewa's father was principal. The Zalech family took the child in. A Ukrainian neighbour denounced them to the Gestapo, but a Catholic priest came to Ewa's rescue, swearing under oath that she was the child of a young unmarried woman from Rożyszcze whose identity he could not reveal. With the assistance of a Polish woman who worked as an interpreter for the Germans, her guardians obtained an official document stating that she was a Polish child who had been separated from her parents during the deportation of Poles to Germany for forced labour. Because their Ukrainian neighbours continued to harass them, the Zalechs moved to a village near Dęblin, on the Vistula River, and took Ewa with them. Ewa survived and continued to live with the Zalechs after the war.⁷³⁰

In the Tarnopol region of Eastern Galicia, two Polish villages were wiped out because, with the encouragement of Catholic priests, their inhabitants offered refuge to Jews and Soviet partisans.⁷³¹ (Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* [London: Paul Elek, 1974], pp. 450–53.)

Fifteen Jews escaped from the Sasov [Sasów] labour camp at the end of June 1943 after learning that the Jews in the labour camps at Olesko and Brody had been exterminated and received food and shelter from peasants in the Polish village of Dzwonica. ... The 70 to 80 Jews who had managed to get away [from Sasów] encountered in the forests an equal number of Jews who had escaped from other camps and ghettos, but despite their relatively large number they were able to survive thanks to the Polish peasants from Huta Pieniacka and Huta Wierchobuska [Werchobuska or Werchobudzka].

The two Polish villages were surrounded by hostile Ukrainian settlements and to defend themselves against the attacks of Ukrainian nationalists the Poles had organised in each village a defence body armed with a few rifles. Despite the dangers they were running, the Poles, encouraged by their Catholic priests, provided the Jews with food, for which the Jews paid if they had the means, and when the cold weather came they allowed them to sleep in their sheep-pens and barns. The Ukrainians from the neighbouring villages reported what was happening to the Germans

⁷³⁰ Meloch and Szostkiewicz, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 4, 39–43.

⁷³¹ See also Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 66–71 (Huta Pieniacka), 499–500 (Huta Werchobudzka).

and the Zolochew [Złoczów] Kreishauptmann (District Chief) warned the headmen of the two villages that unless they stopped sheltering the Jews, the inhabitants would meet with the same fate as other enemies of the German Reich. The Poles did not, however, change their attitude to the Jews and only asked them not to appear in the villages in daytime.

... the Polish underground learnt that the Germans were preparing a punitive expedition against the village. The Jews took the warning seriously and ceased sleeping in the village, but the Poles did not ... But three days after the departure of Krutikov's [Soviet] partisans a force of Germans and Ukrainians captured the village, crammed all the inhabitants into a barn and their cattle into stables, and burnt them all alive. ...

Three weeks later, on 23 March, a force made up of Ukrainians from neighbouring villages attacked the village of Huta Wierchobuska. Warned of their approach, three-quarters of the peasants fled into the woods and forests. Those who stayed tried to defend themselves, but were quickly overpowered and met with the same end as the inhabitants of Huta Pieniacka.

Rev. Canon Aleksander Chodyko, the dean of Białystok and pastor of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary parish, provided Jews with baptismal certificates.⁷³² Although arrested by the Germans at one point, he was not deterred in his mission to help those in need. At his urging, Rev. Emil Kobierzyński, the pastor of Brody in Eastern Galicia, joined in the rescue effort and actively encouraged his parishioners to assist Jews. (Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: HarperCollins, 2007], pp. 173–76.)

In September 1939, at the start of the war, Avraham Itzhak Rivkind [Rywkind], his wife, Chaya, and their children, Menachem-Mendel and Raaya, all living in Białystok [Białystok], fled eastward to Brody ahead of the advancing Germans. Brody was then occupied by the Russians and remained in their control until the German attack on the Soviet Union. When the Germans struck again, in June 1941, Menachem-Mendel, at the time in his thirties, was married to Lonia, the daughter of the chief rabbi of Białystok, Rabbi Gedalia Rosenman. Acting swiftly to assist his son-in-law in Brody, Rosenman turned to the Catholic bishop [actually, the dean] in Białystok, Aleksander Chodyko, and asked for his intercession. Chodyko in turn approached a number of clerics in the Brody region and appealed to them to make an effort to save the Rivkind family. However before any of the clerics could act on the bishop's appeal, on November 2, 1942, the Germans and Ukrainians staged one of their murderous raids on the city's Jews. Avraham Itzhak Rivkind and wife Chaya were among the victims as was their daughter, Raaya. Only their son, Menachem-Mendel, and his two cousins from the Cygielman family were able to escape by finding temporary shelter and survived the bloody raid. ... Brody was one of the many Jewish communities in eastern Poland (today in Ukraine) that was totally obliterated by the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators.

... when during 1942 Father Emil Kobierzyński [Kobierzyński], in Brody, in response to Bishop [Canon] Chodyko's appeal, began to make inquiries among his parishioners to help the remaining member of the Rivkind family, Menachem Mendel, and his two cousins, Dr. Julian Cygielman and his brother Avraham, he was able to persuade one of his church members, the Polish-born Marian Huzarski to consider the matter favourably. Huzarski lived on the outskirts of Brody, in the nearby village of Sydonowka [Sydonówka], a distance of three kilometres—a village containing a mixed Polish-Ukrainian population. After receiving the priest's request, Marian Huzarski returned home and gathered his family for a serious discussion about how to respond.

There is no written record of this crucial family consultation attended by all the immediate members of the Huzarski family, including Marian, wife Alfreda, and their two sons, Fryderyk, aged 22, and Zbigniew, aged 19. ... The family consultation ended in a unanimous decision to shelter the fleeing Jews, people whom they had never seen before.

After the war, Zbigniew wrote that on November 25, 1942, he or someone else in the family informed Rivkind of the family's decision and set up a meeting for the next day in Brody. The two Huzarski brothers, Zbigniew and Fryderyk, arrived at dusk and took the three fugitive Jews to their village home through fields and side roads. The three new arrivals—Dr. Julian Cygielman, his brother Avraham, and Menachem-Mendel Rivkind—stayed there for a full 17 months, until the area's liberation in July 1944.

The two Cygielmans and Rivkind were very religious and made an effort to strictly observe the Jewish rituals, even in the unfavourable conditions of their new setting. This included daily prayers, with the donning of the obligatory tefillin (phylacteries) and tallit (prayer shawl) for morning services and eating only kosher food as prescribed by Jewish religious law. ... In consideration of their charges' religious sensibilities, the Huzarskis, themselves religious, purchased special utensils and mother Alfreda cooked their wards' food as prescribed by the Jewish religion. In fact,

⁷³² Daniel Boćkowski, Ewa Rogalewska, and Joanna Sadowska, *Kres świata białostockich Żydów* (Białystok: Muzeum Wojska w Białymstoku; Galeria Śledzińskich w Białymstoku, 2013), 43; Szymon Datner, "Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at p. 133.

during prayers, which were at times uttered with intensity and raised voices, the Huzarskis were forced to ask the supplicants to lower their voices for fear that outsiders might overhear them, with all the risks involved for all. Not at all oblivious to their hosts' own religious obligations, the three Orthodox Jews celebrated the Christian festivals with them.

The fall of 1943, a year after the arrival of the three Jews, ... led to the burning of Polish homes in the region, including Huzarski's village of Sydonowka. Many Polish inhabitants took to fleeing to the forest at night, returning to their homes only during daylight hours. Over time, the frequency of raids by Ukrainian nationalists in the village intensified, a situation that greatly concerned the Huzarskis—themselves Poles.

In light of this troublesome development, the Huzarskis prepared an underground shelter at the edge of the forest near their home, filling it with all the necessary items to accommodate their three charges. After transferring Rivkind and the Cygielman brothers to the new hiding place, the Huzarski family continued to supply them with all their needs on a daily basis, resolving not to abandon them even after the majority of the Polish peasant population of the village had deserted their homes.

In March 1944, the Red Army approached Brody. Out of fear of the Ukrainians, the Huzarskis advised the three Jews to flee toward the approaching Russian army. In June 1944, during the final German retreat, the Ukrainians set the Huzarski home on fire. The Huzarskis fled to neighbors in the forest, and on the following day the Red Army took over. The Huzarski family had escaped in good time and had headed westward to Lancut [Łańcut, a town in south-central Poland].

Rivkind and the two Cygielman brothers made their way back to liberated Białystok. As a professional textile engineer, Menachem-Mendel Rivkind was inducted into the Red army with the rank of captain and appointed to manage the large textile firm in the city. Once he had located his rescuers, he invited them to Białystok and ensured their employment in the factory that he managed. In 1946 when he decided to leave Białystok, Rivkind transferred to his rescuers his big house, which had earlier been occupied by his father-in-law, Rabbi Rosenman, and left for Israel [Palestine]—as did the Cygielman brothers.

Initially, the refugees hid in a hiding place that was prepared for them in the stable with an emergency exit. As raids by gangs of nationalist Ukrainians in the village intensified and a growing number of Polish farms were being burned down, Huzarski and his sons prepared an underground shelter for their three charges at the edge of the forest. The brothers Fryderyk and Zbigniew Huzarski were active in the Home Army.⁷³³

Two Jewish girls from Knyszyn, Szulamit (Shulamit) Pikluk and Perla Choroszuca, both born in 1941, were baptized by the local pastor priest, Rev. Franciszek Bryx, and survived the war in the care of Polish families under false identities. Szulamit Pikluk (later Sharon Silver) became Anna, the daughter of Regina and Czesław Ostrowski. Perla Choroszuca became Regina, the daughter of Bronisława and Stanisław Jaromiński (Jeromiński) of the village of Chobotki. The children's Jewish identities were widely known or suspected, as they lived openly with their new families. In the case of Perla Choroszuca, several Polish farmers were involved in her rescue, with the acquiescence of local officials. In the case of Szulamit Pikluk, she was brought to the local police station as an abandoned child, and then taken by the Ostrowskis.⁷³⁴

Józef and Józefa Marć hid at least twelve Jews in the attic of their house in Jedlicze near Krosno, among them many members of the Fries family. They also received assistance from the Zub family, especially from Rev. Stanisław Zub (later Zborowski), who lived nearby and regularly provided them with food. Many inhabitants of the village were aware of this rescue but no one betrayed them. In 1950, ten members of Fries family declared in their statement: "We hid in the small town of Jedlicze, in the neighbourhood of the Zub family, and the entire Zub family, and Stanisław Zub in particular, assisted us at every turn,

⁷³³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 281–82; Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 189.

⁷³⁴ Testimony of Stanisław Jaromiński, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1488; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 738; "Sharon Pitluk Silver's Memories," April 1, 2018, Internet: <http://www.knyszyn.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=13&menu=75&artykul=999&akcja=artykul>; "Otwarcie muzeum na kółkach," September 28, 2016, Internet: <http://knyszyn.pl/asp/ru_start.asp?typ=13&menu=72&artykul=2802&akcja=artykul&prywatnosc=tak>; JoAnne Viviano, "Families Recount 'Incredible Scars' of Holocaust at Statehouse Commemoration," *The Columbus Dispatch*, April 10, 2013.

especially by providing us with food.”⁷³⁵

Rev. Jan Zawrzycki, a school chaplain in Krosno and nearby Rymanów, saved about a dozen Jews. He hid Jewish children in the church belfry and found shelters for them in private homes and convents. One such child who was placed in a convent was Małgorzata Brenner (born in 1939, later Margalit Asher).⁷³⁶ Another child was taken in by the Sisters of St. Michael the Archangel (Michaelite Sisters) in nearby Miejsce Piastowe. Using the identity card of his deceased grandmother (Anna Szafraniec), Leontyna Bodner from Krosno and her two daughters, Anna and Gizela, moved to Warsaw where all three survived the war.⁷³⁷ The assistance of Rev. Zawrzycki is described with gratitude by a group of Jewish beneficiaries who settled in Israel.⁷³⁸ (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, p. 340.)

Father Zawrzycki ... saved first of all the lives of Jewish children by hiding them in convents; often he personally went to the hideouts and Jewish bunkers and from there he took the children and put them in safe places, and it is thanks to this that those children lived and were delivered from Nazi satanism. Father Zawrzycki did this of his own accord, guided by the principle of unselfish love for his neighbour and fellow-man. As soon as he learned that a hiding place where Jews were concealed had no guarantee of safety, Father Zawrzycki, often at night and under great danger to his own person, came on his bicycle and took them away, especially children who he saved in this way. Here in Palestine there is a whole group of people who owe their lives solely and exclusively to Father Zawrzycki. Bronisława Fischbein from Krosno, Franciszka Leizer from Cracow [Kraków], [M.] Rubin from Korczyn, J. Szapira from Warsaw, Anna Majerans and her three sons from Łódź. Others in Palestine and in Poland owe their lives to the aforementioned Father Zawrzycki.

A Home Army chaplain during the war and active in the anti-communist underground *Wolność i Niepodległość* (Freedom and Sovereignty) after the war, Rev. Zawrzycki was arrested by the State Security Office in December 1946 (released in March 1947), and again in October 1947. On May 1948, he was sentenced to ten years in prison. The sentence was commuted the following month thanks to the intervention of Jews whom he had rescued. Rev. Zawrzycki was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2007 as a Righteous Gentile. According to Yad Vashem's Database of Righteous Among the Nations (Jan Zawrzycki, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6627320>>):

Local Jewish women, aware of his great character and his kind disposition towards Jews, brought him their children in the hope that he would save them. Zawrzycki hid the children in his church, and then relocated each of them to a neighboring monastery or into the care of trustworthy families.

Among those he saved were two young Jewish girls and their mother, who lived across the street from his house. He found the identification papers of a deceased Polish woman and gave them to the mother, and then used his driver to take them to the station, whence they made their way to Warsaw and survived the war. Other survivors aided by Zawrzycki included Bronisława Fiszbejn, Franciszek [Franciszka] Lejzer and Anna Majerans.

Zawrzycki also collaborated with the Armia Krajowa, organizing a radio interception point in his attic. Together with his brother-in-law, he created caches for weapons and diversion supplies, including in the beehives by his house. He also secretly taught children in Rymanów.

In 1947, Zawrzycki was arrested for his wartime underground activity. The Jews he had saved during the war played an active part in liberating him the following year.

⁷³⁵ Rączy and Witowicz, *Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945 / Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945*, 92, 178–79; Ks. Stanisław Zub (Zborowski), Muzeum Polaków Ratujących Żydów podczas II wojny światowej im. Rodziny Ulmów, Internet: <<https://muzeumulmow.pl/pl/ratujacy/podkarpackie/zub-zborowski-stanislaw-ks/>>.

⁷³⁶ Testimony of Margalit Asher, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39430.

⁷³⁷ Rączy and Witowicz, *Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945 / Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945*, 174–77; Ks. Jan Zawrzycki, Muzeum Polaków Ratujących Żydów podczas II wojny światowej im. Rodziny Ulmów, Internet: <<https://muzeumulmow.pl/pl/ratujacy/podkarpackie/zawrzycki-jan-ks/>>.

⁷³⁸ For additional confirmation of the assistance rendered to the family of Bronisława (Bluma) Fischbein by Rev. Jan Zawrzycki see the following testimonies: Testimony of Dora Cohn, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 48253; Testimony of Dora Cohn, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 52546.

The Michaelite Sisters sheltered Jewish children in convents in several localities, among them Miejsce Piastowe near Krosno and Godowa near Strzyżów. (Elżbieta Rączy and Igor Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945* [Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2011], p. 186.)

During the war the sisters hid several Jewish children among others, Lila Freiharter and Zofia Goltweld, in the monastery in Miejsce Piastowe. Michaelite Sisters hid a Jewish girl, Maria Kaleta (Alfreda Baruszyńska) from Kolaczyce in their filial house in Godowa near Strzyżów. Barbara Kraciuk, the mother superior of the monastic house within the years 1942–1945, took care of the baby. ... Alfreda Baruszyńska survived the German occupation, she was baptized in Miejsce Piastowe and after the war she was given to her parents.

The Michaelite Fathers (Congregation of St. Michael the Archangel) ran a residential school for boys in Miejsce Piastowe, where several Jewish boys were hidden, among them two sons of a teacher from Łódź. Józef Goldfeld and his son, local Jews who were well known in the area, were employed in the Michaelite Fathers' tailor shop. The priests also provided aid to Jews interned in the labour camp in Rymanów, consisting of medicine, food, clothes and passing information between prisoners and their families.⁷³⁹

The story of Sylvin Rubinstein is particularly unusual. Sylvin left Russia with his mother and twin sister, Maria, after the Bolshevik Revolution. He and his sister became professional dancers. Billed as Dolores and Imperio, they headlined at music halls throughout Europe. They were performing in Warsaw when Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. They were consigned to the Warsaw ghetto but Sylvin managed escape. He was spotted by Major Kurt Werner, an anti-Nazi German officer who remembered Sylvin from an appearance in Berlin before the war. Werner hid Sylvin for a time in Iwonicz Zdrój. With the assistance of the Michaelite Fathers in Miejsce Piastowe, Sylvin obtained false papers under the name of Turski. He stayed with Michaelite Fathers for a time, in 1943, before leaving for Berlin, where he survived the war living in Major Werner's apartment. After the war, he continued his dancing career as a cross-dresser. His mother and sister perished at Treblinka. In 2003, a documentary film, "He Danced Life," was made of his life story.⁷⁴⁰

Rev. Mieczysław Lachor, a vicar in Pstrągowa near Strzyżów and a Home Army chaplain, hid Krystyna Makut, a Jewish girl from Rozwadów, in his family's house in Przybyszówka. Krystyna's sister, Wanda, was sheltered in Pstrągowa by Maria Witer and Anna Drozd.⁷⁴¹

Basia, the ten-year-old daughter of Majerowicz from Krosno, who was passing as Jerzy Krawczyk, was sheltered in an unspecified convent where she survived the war.⁷⁴² A number of Jews were treated at a hospital in Krosno, which was staffed by the Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (*Służebnice Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego*, commonly known as *Siostry Sercanki*). Dr. Bogusława Gołachowska-Szczygłowska, who worked at the hospital, provided the following account in Marian Turski's *Polish Witnesses to the Shoah*, at pages 177–78.

A forester came to the hospital one day in December 1943 and told about a Jewish family living in the woods in a dugout they had built. He had been leaving potatoes and food for them, but now they were ill. They had fevers and diarrhea and he did not know how to help them. I conferred with the nuns who worked in the contagious diseases section and they all agreed without hesitation to accept them as patients in the typhus ward (the Germans never

⁷³⁹ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 76.

⁷⁴⁰ Kuno Kruse, *Dolores & Imperio: Die drei Leben des Sylvin Rubinstein* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2000); Sylvin Rubinstein, Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sztetl.org.pl/en/biographies/4489-sylvin-rubinstein>>.

⁷⁴¹ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 317; Rączy and Witowicz, *Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 149–50, 180.

⁷⁴² Betty Lauer, *Hiding in Plain Sight: The Incredible True Story of a German-Jewish Teenager's Struggle to Survive in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Smith and Kraus, 2004), 145–46, 208, 228, 495.

went there; a sign warned: Seuchengefahr—dangerous contagion). I filled out hospital admission forms for Stanisław Guzik, Janina Guzik, etc. (This was the most common surname in Krosno). That same day, the forester delivered them in a cart of hay. The nuns bathed them, shaved their heads and hung medallions around the necks of the children. They spent the whole winter recovering, with no one to bother them. Things only turned dangerous when the children, now healthy and with their red hair growing back, began sneaking out into the garden. That was when the director of the hospital, Dr Zygmunt Lewicki (head of the medical service of the Home Army resistance movement in the Krosno region), summoned me and said that we could not go on sheltering them because the whole hospital could suffer. We could already hear the artillery from the east. The Red Army was drawing near. Home Army soldiers led the 'Guzik' family into the forest at night and ordered them to make their way eastward. I do not know what became of them. Nor do I know their surname. I hoped that they survived until liberation.

During the battle for Krosno in September 1944 a Jewish couple was admitted to the hospital. He was a physician (a morphine addict), already on his old age pension. When the Soviet bombs fell on the town, he thought it was a thunderstorm and decided to close the windows in the hospital barracks. A bomb blast tore off his arm. He died soon after. What happened to his wife? What were their names? I do not know. This was another case where the nuns admitted them without hesitation and cared for them tenderly.

Zila Weinstein-Ber (later Cipora Re'em or Zippora Ram), born in 1939, was taken in Maria and Stanisław Dudek of the village of Odrzykoń near Krosno, and looked after as if she was their own child. She was able to pass with the assistance of the local pastor, Rev. Ernest Świątek, who baptized her under a false identity and preached the duty of helping one's neighbours, and the solidarity of the villagers. (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4211640>>.)

Born in Krosno in 1939, Zippora Ram was the daughter of a Jewish timber plant owner, who employed many of the Polish inhabitants of the nearby village of Odrzyków [Odrzykoń]. Zippora was very young when Stanisław Dudek took her into his home during the war. Most of the villagers knew where the little girl had come from, but kept silent, in part due to a sermon delivered by the local vicar, who preached the human duty of helping their neighbors.

Dudek and his wife Maria had no children of their own. They cared for the little girl with great devotion throughout the occupation. They looked out for her and did not let other children make fun of her or call her Jewish. Zippora was baptized by the vicar and raised as a Catholic.

At a certain point, the Krosno police ordered Dudek to bring the girl in to be checked. With tears in her eyes, Maria Dudek bid goodbye to her husband and adopted child, as the danger of discovery was immense. However, the German doctor conducting the "check-up" found the girl not to be Jewish.

After the war, Zippora was taken to Israel by a Jewish organization that took care of orphaned Jewish children. She was only eight or nine years old, and still wore a cross around her neck. She grew up with no recollection of the events of the war, or of her origins. It was only much later that her family decided to investigate her past. After a prolonged search, it was established that she had been saved in Odrzyków. Zippora made a trip to Poland in search of her roots.

When she saw the village and some of the people who still remembered her, many memories came flooding back. With the aid of the villagers, she pieced together the story of her survival and the Dudeks' dedicated help. Unfortunately, neither Maria nor Stanisław were still alive at that time.

The following account by Zippora Ram comes from a brochure, *Righteous Among the Nations*, published for the award ceremony honouring rescuers in Warsaw on June 14, 2010.

As early as fall 1940 my mother's father, Suesman Katz, who owned a sawmill, approached one of his employees and asked him to hide me until the war ended. This employee was not able to assist, but he knew Stanisław [Stanisław] and Maria Dudek and helped my grandfather contact them. Sometime during the winter of 1940, a rendezvous was organized in the forest near Odrzykon [Odrzykoń]. I was handed over to the Dudeks, who raised me as their own daughter and baptized me as Cecilia [Cecylia] Dudek. I was nicknamed Cesia. It may be that my Jewish name was Zirl or Zila after my father's mother and Cecilia was similar sounding.

I was born on 7.5.1939, or at least so I was told years later by my late half-brother who survived the war. In my childhood memories I live in a rural area with a Christian Polish family. I knew nothing about my Jewish origin or anything about the war that was going on, but I do remember that food was scarce and it was mostly potatoes that filled my hunger. I would shepherd the family's geese during the day and sleep on the kitchen floor at night.

I have very vivid memories of two traumatic events. In the first a gun is aimed at my face and my command of church prayers is being tested. Only recently did I learn this was during a Gestapo interrogation to which I was taken with my Polish father, Stanisław Dudek. In the second memory it is winter and I am attempting to cross a river, but the strong current carries me away and I nearly freeze to death in the icy cold water. A moment before I die, I am

pulled out of the water. Last year I realized this was not just an old vague memory, as I had the opportunity to meet Aleksander Blicharczyk, whose mother was the one who rescued me.

After the war was over I remember being taken away from my family to an orphanage in Krosno. I did not want to leave my Polish mother, who I now know was Maria Dudek, and we secretly decided that I will run away from the orphanage and she will pick me up and take me back to the village. This is why I remembered for years that Krosno was not far from the village, which in May 2009 turned out to be the lovely village of Odrzykon. The escape plan worked out well, but I was taken a second time, never to see my Polish mother again.

I was sent to an orphanage in Krakow [Kraków] and later travelled with a group of similar children to Israel in 1948, where I grew up without having knowledge of my biological family or a reason for being called Cesia Beer.

In 1956 my half-brother arrived in Israel and, for the first time, I was told all about my biological family. Up until May 2009, that was all I knew, but then, prompted by my children, I travelled back to Poland to look for traces of both my families. With the help of God and many good people I discovered numerous new details about my parents, siblings, and the wonderful Dudek family who took care of me during the war, while risking their own lives.

Rev. Lesław Kędra-Chodorski was a priest of the Polish Catholic Church (Kościół Polskokatolicki), which was not affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. He also joined the Home Army. Rev. Kędra-Chodorski brought Nelly (Aniela) Arluk and another Jewish woman from Łódź to the village of Łęki Dukielskie near Krosno, where his church was located. These two women were sheltered by Rev. Aleksander Piec, the parish administrator. Rev. Piec entered into a fictitious marriage with Nelly Arluk for the sake of her cover; the other woman posed as her mother-in-law. Rev. Kędra-Chodorski also rescued Dr. Stefan Stiefel, who had been hiding in the shed of a Polish friend in Krosno. He arranged to bring Dr. Stiefel to the village dressed in a priest's cassock. Dr. Stiefel was passed off as a priest who had been expelled from the Poznań area. Rev. Kędra-Chodorski managed to obtain false identity documents for Dr. Stiefel under the name of Stefan Szymański, which he used until the end of the war. Dr. Stiefel was aided by a number of villagers who were in on the ruse, among them members of the priest's family and Jadwiga Niepokój, who helped to hide his two sisters, Helena and Sala, and his father, Samuel. Dr. Stiefel later relocated to Kraków.⁷⁴³ Alicja Heiler (née Sala Stiefel, born in 1918) recalled the story of her brother, Dr. Stefan Stiefel (Testimony of Alicja Heiler, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3421):

My brother, Dr. Stefan Stiefel ..., who currently lives in Austria, hid from the round-ups at the house of the Sochański family. Immediately after the operation, he turned to his friend Father [Lesław] Chodorski-Kędra, a relative of the pianist Władysław Kędra. Chodorski belonged to the National Church. He agreed to give my brother a shelter at his house. What's more, he sent him a priestly robe to make his departure from Krosno to the countryside easier. And so, my brother left Krosno, at bright noon, dressed as a priest, accompanied by Jadwiga Niepokój and another friend named Cichocka. As they were walking down the street, women approached my brother to kiss his hand, a common gesture, unaware who that priest was! As it is customary in small villages that the newly arrived priest celebrates masses, Father Chodorski had to think how to get my brother and himself out of trouble. He explained that my brother was a priest, a refugee from Poznań, who suffered a nervous breakdown after Nazi persecution. My brother lived with Father Chodorski and his friends for some time. Later, provided with Aryan papers, he moved to Kraków.

Other clergymen of the Polish Catholic Church or the Old Catholic Church (*Kościół Starokatolicki*) also came to assistance of Jews. Rev. Antoni Ptaszek and his son, Rev. Kazimierz Ptaszek, were particularly active in Kraków. A number of Jewish testimonies—Celina Herstein, Ludwika Silber, Franciszka Berestyńska, Zofia Irena Müller, Helena Fedorowicz, and Berta Majerhoff—attest to the fact that they helped many Jews by furnishing false identity documents, sheltering Jews and finding shelters for

⁷⁴³ Testimony of Alicja (Sala) Heiler (née Stiefel), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3421; Testimony of Helena Stiefel, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1270; Elżbieta Rączy, "Ludność żydowska w Krośnie 1939–1946," *Biblioteka Krośnieńska*, no. 15 (1999): 28–29; Elżbieta Rączy, "Jew in Krosno Between 1939–1946," in William Leibner, comp., *Krosno by the Wislok River* (Unpublished, April 2014), Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Krosno/Krosno.html>>; "Parafia polsko-katolicka pw. Dobrego Pasterza," Łęki Dukielskie—650 lat historii, Internet: <<http://www.stowlekidukielskie.dukla.org/Historia%20wsi/Historia%20wsi%20-%20Koscioly%20PNKK.htm>>. A photograph of Dr. Stefan Stiefel in a cassock can be found on the Yad Vashem website at: <<http://collections.yadvashem.org/photosarchive/en-us/51619.html>>.

them.⁷⁴⁴

When some Jews arrived at the cottage of a Polish woman in Chobrzany near Sandomierz, having been brought there temporarily by her brother, who had sheltered them in Zwierzyniec near Szczebrzeszyn, the entire hamlet was alarmed by the attendant danger. Luba Krugman Gurdus describes the calming effect of the stance taken by a priest, who was unknown to them, in *The Death Train: A Personal Account of a Holocaust Survivor* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), at pages 105–106.

In order to throw off suspicions about our being Jewish, we accompanied Marysia [their hostess] to Sunday services. The compassionate, young priest sensed our problem and added a few words to his sermon on our behalf. He advised his congregation to respect their fellow men and not to condemn them too hastily for their beliefs and convictions. His effort proved beneficial, and the strained atmosphere around us eased.

No one betrayed the Jews for the duration of their stay there.

Zofia Zysman survived the war thanks to the assistance she received from a number of Poles, including Rev. Ignacy Życiński, the pastor of Trójca near Zawichost, in the vicinity of Sandomierz, who provided her with shelter in the parsonage. Rev. Życiński was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, along with two other rescuers.⁷⁴⁵ During an *Aktion* in Sandomierz, carried out by the Germans on a Sunday morning with customary brutality, Zofia Zysman witnessed the following reaction on the part of Poles: “I mingled with the Catholics who were coming out of church. I heard them moaning, weeping and screaming. ‘Mother of God.’ I did not cry—the tears in my eyes had dried up.” (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 646–47.)

During the war, Maria Przysiecka and her son, Jozef [Józef], were living in Sandomierz. One day, Jozef met an old school friend, Zofia Zysman [Zysman], in the street. Zofia had arrived in Sandomierz from the neighboring town of Ozarów [Ożarów]. Jozef invited Zofia to come with him to his house. Zofia followed Jozef to his house, where she was warmly welcomed by Maria. At the Przysieckis, Zofia also met her prewar friend Itka. ... Itka was being sheltered in the Przysieckis' home and Zofia joined her. One evening in October 1943, when Zofia and Itka were climbing down to the cellar, they heard dogs barking outside followed by the clatter of Polish security officers pounding on the Przysieckis' front door. ... The intruders subsequently made an extensive search of the property, turning everything upside down, but discovered nothing. Nevertheless, following this incident, Przysiecka and her son came to the conclusion that it was too dangerous to continue hiding Zofia and Itka. Maria then turned to the priest Ignacy Życzynski [Życiński], who knew that she was harbouring Jews. He told her to bring them to his house, where they could live in a garret. Under the cover of darkness, the fugitive Jewish girls moved to the rectory. In the meantime, Jozef prepared a new hideaway for them—in the woodshed. Zofia and Itka stayed there for the entire winter, lying huddled together and keeping absolutely still. ... In June 1944, Zofia and Itka were once more taken to Życzynski's home while Jozef began to construct a new shelter for them, this time in his garden. When it was complete, he ushered the girls into it. This was the last hideout used by Zofia and Itka on the Przysieckis' property because at the end of September 1944 the Przysieckis were ordered to evacuate their home. When they did Zofia and Itka had to look for a new shelter. They parted cordially with their courageous hosts and moved to Ozarów, where they found a new hideout. Itka later relocated to Zawichost, where the Germans caught and killed her. Zofia survived the war.

Michael (Marjan) Rosenberg was assisted by a priest in Tczów near Radom, in central Poland. (“In the Shadow of the Holocaust: Six people whose lives were greatly affected by the Holocaust recently met at

⁷⁴⁴ Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel), catalog no. 5996, registry no. 19627collect; Testimony of Berta Majerhoff, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2022; Testimony of Zofia Irena Müller, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2023; Testimony of Helena Fedorowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2024; Testimony of Celina Herstein, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3747; Testimony of Franciszka Berestyńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3749; Testimony of Ludwika Silber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3750.

⁷⁴⁵ According to her testimony (Yad Vashem Archives, file M.31.2/5901), a number of other Poles provided Zofia Zysman with temporary shelter and other forms of help, but were not recognized by Yad Vashem: Mrz. Brzezińska; Maria Ziemiak, the priest's housekeeper, and her brother Józef; Ola Ziemiak and her future husband, Jan Jasiński; Mr. and Mrs. Kwieciński; Mrs. Kowalska.

the Star to discuss their experiences,” *The Toronto Star*, December 3, 1992; and accounts of Michael Rosenberg dated May 26, 1993 and August 10, 1993.)

When I was 17, I walked into a German police station and asked for papers ... I couldn't work without them. They called in a Catholic priest and he asked me to say a prayer. I still remember it in Polish. "Our Father, who art in heaven ..." The priest said, "Yes, he is Roman Catholic." They then took a photograph and gave me identification papers. It was a miracle that they didn't ask me to drop my pants and see if I was circumcised. If they had, I would have been put against the wall of the church and shot.

... Prior to escaping from the concentration camp, I had learned how to cross myself. But after passing myself off as a Catholic, it became necessary for me to go to confession. I was in fear. Not knowing how to make confession, I walked into the confessional box and said to the priest: "Father, I don't know what to do—I am a Jew."

The priest opened the confessional window, looked at me, and said: "Son, don't be afraid. I won't betray you." Then we prayed together. I still remember what we said together: "God bless Poland ... please help the oppressed." ... [Michael Rosenberg's visits not only helped him pass as a Catholic, but also provided him with much needed solace.]

I wrote to the priest [Rev. Władysław Paciak] ... Then in 1953, a letter came back to Toronto: Address unknown. I haven't heard anything since. [The interruption came at the height of the Stalinist terror against the Catholic clergy.]

Michael Rosenberg expanded on his story in Abram, *The Light After the Dark*, at pages 194–99.

The German police officer had an office in the church rectory. ...

In rural Poland, it is customary for the farmers to go to confession often. The farmer reminded me, I had not gone since my arrival and urged me to go that week. Again I was confronted with a serious dilemma. I did not know what to do. I had no clue what was expected of me or what the protocol was when confessing. ...

I entered the church and looked around trying to assess my surroundings. I had never been inside a Christian place of worship, but from what I overheard, I had a general idea what to expect. ... I knelt at the top of the aisle and crossed myself before proceeding down the outside aisle towards a cubicle. Inside, I could barely make out the silhouette of a man. I entered the empty side, closed the curtain, sat on a stool and waited. A few nervous minutes passed, while I became accustomed to the dark interior.

From the other side of the partition, a voice spoke. "Bless you my son."

I waited, unsure what to say. The priest remained quiet, and the silence became heavy. Confused and frightened, I blurted out, "Father, I don't know what to do—I am a Jew."

Again there was silence. The confessional window separating the two cubicles opened, and the priest looked at me, saying, "Do not be afraid my son, I will not betray you." We looked at each other for a few minutes, and finally he asked me if I knew any prayers.

I nodded.

He began to pray, "God bless Poland ... please help the oppressed ..." and I repeated the words after him. When he finished, we talked, and as I was leaving he said, "when the hyena leaves Poland, and if you do not find any of your family, I will sponsor you for baptism, if it is your wish."

For as long as I lived on the farm, the priest kept my secret. "Come to me whenever your heart is heavy and we will talk," he told me. Over the next fourteen months, we had many conversations on numerous subjects. At no time did he make any attempt to convert me to a Catholic, nor did he make any offer to help me to escape. [To where one wonders.—M.P.]

A forest inspector found an 8-month-old girl named Zelda in the woods near Dzierzkowice and notified the village elder. The girl's parents, Chemia and Sara Tenenbaum, had been deported to Kraśnik. Apolonia and Aleksander Ołdak took the child in and cared for her. In 1943 they adopted the foundling, calling her Basia (Barbara). Because some of the villagers were fearful of German repercussions and wanted the child to be surrendered, the local commander of the Peasant Battalions, who had found the child in the forest, requested Rev. Józef Baranowski, the local pastor, to baptize her, with the secretary of the commune office acting as the godfather. The protection of these various persons shielded the child from further adverse attention. After the war, Barbara Tenenbaum and the widowed Apolonia Ołdak settled in to Israel.⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 561–62; Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 387; Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Polacy i Żydzi 1918–1955: Współistnienie, Zagłada, komunizm* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2000), 263–64; Kraśnik: History, <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl>>.

Assistance from a priest in Krasnystaw is mentioned in several accounts. The pastor at the time was Monsignor Bronisław Malinowski. The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Pelagia Łukaszewicz, who resided in Krasnystaw. (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5082898>>.)

Jona Wiesenberg (later Teichman) was born in 1939 in Drohobycz to parents Artur and Fryda. Artur was a doctor, and as such was enlisted by the Russian army in 1939. He ended up in Anders' Army (the Polish armed forces in the east), which he deserted in 1943 for Mandatory Palestine. Meanwhile, Fryda and Jona remained in Drohobycz, which was occupied by the Germans in 1941. Soon after the arrival of the Germans, the Jews of the town were incarcerated in a ghetto. Fryda, however, managed to escape with her daughter and hide in the hospital where Artur used to work. Eventually the hospital refused to shelter the two of them any longer. Fryda took Jona to Warsaw, where they sought refuge until their financial resources were depleted. Fryda then rode around with her daughter on trains in order to find shelter, but was not successful.

One day, Jona fell seriously ill. Fortunately, on one of the trains they met a woman called Waleria (her last name is unknown), who offered her help. She took the Jewish mother and child to a nearby monastery, where Jona regained her health. With the help of the nuns at the monastery, Fryda found Pelagia Łukaszewicz [Łukaszewicz], who agreed to take Jona in as her adopted daughter for the duration of the war. By then, Jona was about three years old. Her mother explained to her that they needed to separate, so that she could be safe, and that she would be with a nice new family and would have food to eat and a brother to play with.

Pelagia "Lucia" Łukaszewicz was a charming, educated woman who was employed in a storehouse outside the village where she was living with her son Jacek and an adopted daughter. As the wife of a Polish officer who had helped the partisans and been taken prisoner by the Germans, Łukaszewicz was in danger, and was forced to leave Warsaw. Luckily, Jona looked like Polish, so her sudden addition to the family did not raise any suspicion. It also allowed Jona to roam free and play with Jacek.

Jona later recalled a life that was "completely pastoral: skiing, swimming in the river, walks in the forest, taking care of rabbits." She also remembered her "new mother" Lucia and her "brother" Jacek. Jacek's father was rumored to have been a partisan and killed at the beginning of the war, and as there were nighttime meetings in the house, the children were forbidden from leaving their rooms after dark. In fact, Jacek's father was freed after the war and returned home.

Fryda visited her daughter on occasion, but progressively less often, because Łukaszewicz was worried that Jona would inadvertently reveal her true identity to someone, perhaps one of the Germans who frequented the village. The goal was for Jona to treat Łukaszewicz as her real mother. In turn, Łukaszewicz took care of Jona as her own daughter, equal in every way to her son. Jona was christened and taken to church regularly for her protection. [Obviously, the priest would have been aware that a child christened at that age was a Jewish child. M.P.] Gradually, Jona came to believe she was Łukaszewicz's daughter.

After the war, Fryda, who had managed to obtain Aryan papers and survive, returned to reclaim Jona. It was a traumatic experience for all involved, as a mutual love and devotion had developed between the little girl and her adoptive family. The danger in which Pelagia Łukaszewicz had placed herself and her son had been immense, but she acted out of pure compassion for Jona. To separate from her now was understandably difficult and painful.

The following account from Krasnystaw is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Jan Osiewicz. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, p. 567.)

In 1942, after the Jews of Krasnystaw (Lublin district) were deported, Ester Knobel's mother sent the teenager back to Krasnystaw to join her brother, who was hiding there. She equipped her daughter with jewelry that she could sell to keep herself and her brother alive. However, Ester was robbed en route and, although she reached her brother safely, she could not stay with him for long because she had no source of support. In her distress, Ester turned to Jan Osiewicz, a good friend of her brother's, who concealed her with his parents and with his married sister for some time. Eventually, Osiewicz found a job for Ester in a nearby village, where she remained until the liberation. Throughout that time, Osiewicz stayed in contact with Ester, sustained her morale, and represented someone on whom she could rely. Osiewicz also assisted Jakub Altman, who was hiding on the Aryan side of the town, and provided Altman's wife with papers [obtained from the parish⁷⁴⁷] that enabled her to go to Germany in the guise of a Polish woman and find work as a waitress. All of Osiewicz's rescue actions were prompted by humanitarian principles and were without material reward

After moving from place to place in Volhynia and the Lublin province, Zofia Dulman arrived in

⁷⁴⁷ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 389.

Krasnystaw with her daughter, Danuta, in March 1944, posing as a Polish Catholic woman under a false identity. She got a job in the local hospital, which was run by nuns. A priest who used to come to the hospital to lead prayers took an interest in them. He taught Danuta religion in preparation for her First Communion. Zofia disclosed her secret to the priest when he asked to see her daughter's baptismal certificate, believing he had already suspected the truth. The priest was sympathetic and protective, and even rebuked some girls who worked in the hospital for implying that Zofia was Jewish. Zofia remained at the hospital until the end of the war.⁷⁴⁸

When the ghetto in Zamość was being liquidated in the fall of 1942, Rachela Bromberg and her daughter Gabriela (born in 1938) were hidden for a time in the cellar of the home of Józefa Wajland-Meyer. Gabriela's father, Michał Bromberg, made arrangements with Regina Jabłońska, a poor woman with four children of her own, to shelter his daughter. He provided Jabłońska with money with which she purchased a cottage for that purpose in the nearby town of Izbica. Gabriela's parents were seized before she could be transferred to Jabłońska's new home. Gabriela remained in the Zamość ghetto with her cousin Olek. An unidentified woman accompanied Gabriela and Olek on the forced march to Izbica, a gathering point for the local Jews prior to deportation to the death camps. As the three of them tried to leave the large group of Jews near Izbica, they were shot at by German guards. Only Gabriela survived, albeit unconscious and left for dead. Miraculously, she was found by Jabłońska and taken to the local parish rectory in Tarnogóra, where Rev. Michał Jabłoński removed the bullets from her leg with the assistance of his housekeeper. For almost two years Gabriela was hidden by Jabłońska in a small enclosure in her home. After the war, Gabriela was taken by an uncle, as her parents had perished.⁷⁴⁹

Bronisława Eisner (later Sz wajca), born in 1932, recalls the assistance she and her mother received from a number of families (the Twardziks, the Syndutkas, Mrs. Dębińska, Mrs. Szwestkowa, Mrs. Kaźmierczak, Mr. Sitek, Mrs. Świtał, Mrs. Ronczoszkowa, and the Czapl as), both in Sosnowiec and in her native Katowice, after their escape from the ghetto in Sosnowiec in August 1943. Bronia Eisner stayed the longest, until liberation, with the Czapl as, Polish-speaking Silesians whom she remembers fondly as "good people." Among those who helped her and her mother was a Catholic priest, Rev. Józef Szubert.⁷⁵⁰ (Account of Bronisława Sz wajca, née Eisner, "Among the Silesians," in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, volume 2, pp. 293–95.)

We were also helped by Dr. Schubert [Rev. Józef Szubert], the parish priest of St. Mary's Church [Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary], the second oldest and most important Catholic church in Katowice after the Cathedral. Mama knew him already from before the war, although I don't know how. He assisted us financially. We used to go to the parish where Mama would give his two sisters manicures. They clipped out food ration cards for us, which we ourselves, didn't receive at all. Following all the holidays, they would give us cakes to take home. The priest's sisters brought me shoes and tights, as I remember.

They knew that Father was a Jew. Father Schubert did not insist on baptizing me; he declared it could wait until after the war, and then he did indeed try to convince me. Anyway, he continued to visit us many times. But one time he asked, "Bronia, would you like to learn the prayers?" I answered that I already knew them. I recited "Our Father," "Hail Mary," and "Angel of God." I knew how to pray because Mrs. Czapl a had taken me to church several times, and even before then, Zusa had taught me prayers—in Polish, of course. Dr. Schubert was very pleased and taught me several other things, gave me a little prayer book, and told me it would be good if I always

⁷⁴⁸ Memoir of Zofia Dulman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 261.

⁷⁴⁹ Adam Jaworski, "Opowiedz to jeszcze raz," *Kronika Tygodnia*, roztocze.net (Zamojski Dziennik Internetowy) April 26, 2007; Testimony of Józefa Wajland-Meyer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5951.

⁷⁵⁰ Rev. Józef Szubert's biography does not coincide entirely with the details provided in this account. Rev. Szubert was arrested by the Germans in May 1940 and sent to Dachau, and then to Mauthausen. After his release in November 1940, Rev. Szubert resided in a building belonging to Caritas, a charitable organization, in Katowice, as he was forbidden by the Germans from engaging in pastoral activities. Bronisława Eisner and her mother, who was a prewar friend of Rev. Szubert's aunt, stayed in the Caritas building for about a month in 1942. It was dangerous to keep her longer because of the close proximity of Gestapo next door, so they found a hideout for them with a Polish family that lived nearby. In 1947, Rev. Szubert was transferred to Godula, a suburb of Ruda Śląska. He was imprisoned by the Communist authorities in 1955–1956. He died in 1973. See his account in Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 600–601. See also the testimony of Bronisława Sz wajca, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 48302.

carried it with me. He also presented me with a religious medallion, which I always wore from then on.

As fate would have it, Mama was quite soon able to repay the priest. Namely, he was arrested by the Germans and sent to Dachau. His terrified sisters pleaded with her to go there and give him a blanket into which they had sewn the names of some Germans who were willing to attest to his pro-German sympathies before the war. He was one of the few priests who had been willing to offer confessions to non-Polish-speaking Germans in their native language. [This claim is demonstrably untrue.—M.P.]

The sisters gave Mama cigarettes and vodka to bribe the guard, and Mama went there and delivered the blanket. After a few days, the witnesses from the list he received were interrogated, and Father Schubert was allowed to return to his parish. He was very grateful to Mama. Where did she, being a Jew, muster enough courage to go deep into Germany and mill around a concentration camp to bribe a guard? She was always very brave. Before the ghetto was set up, she traded in food products between Sosnowiec and Katowice. She could always keep a cool head in difficult situations. I assume she must have had some Aryan papers, but I don't know anything about it.

The priest, having been released from a German prison, after liberation, ended up in a Polish [Communist] jail. Someone reported that he had returned from Dachau suspiciously quickly, considering that so very few returned at all. Unable to help in any way at the local level, Mama this time set out for Warsaw to the Ministry of Religions. She told them everything about herself and about what Father Schubert had done for us and explained the circumstances of his release from Dachau. He was soon released from this second prison but was not allowed to return to his parish. He took over the parish in Godula, a district of Ruda Śląska. Grateful to us, he visited us nearly every month for many years. He passed away already a dozen years or so ago.

After his parents were deported by the Germans, David Danieli, a nine-year-old boy from Rybnik, knocked on the door of the Kapica, his parents' friends. They looked after him devotedly and saw to all his needs. The local priest baptized the boy and issued a birth certificate stating that he was their son. David stayed with the Kapicas until the area was liberated by the Soviet Army in January 1945. (Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, pp. 62–63.)

The Kapicas, who adopted David Danieli, were a mixed family of [coal] miners—Anton [Antoni] a Pole, Martha [Marta] a German—who followed a typical proletarian way of life. They attached no special importance to their national origins and were not religious. Nevertheless, they were compelled to baptize David at the priest's urging, so that he would be issued a birth certificate stating that he was their son. David attended school and joined a German youth movement. At first he was under the impression that no one in the neighborhood knew he was a Jew. Later, however, he discovered that many people had known he was Jewish but had not denounced his adoptive parents.

Open displays of solidarity with Jews by priests in Warsaw and in its environs of Kraków were recorded by Janina Bauman, who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with her mother and hid on the Aryan side until they were forced to abandon Warsaw after the failed uprising of 1944. Along with other refugees, both Poles and Jews concealed among them, they were scattered in villages throughout the German zone. (Janina Bauman, *Winter in the Morning: A Young Girl's Life in the Warsaw Ghetto and Beyond, 1939–1945* [London: Virago Press, 1986], pp. 145 and 180.)

One time Staś, who was making desperate efforts to help them, had to abandon them in a church [in Warsaw], while he rushed off to find a friend who, he hoped, might take them to her flat. The friend could not be found at that moment, so Mother and Sophie [the author's sister] had to stay in the church for many hours. They were wearing their usual disguises and pretended to be praying all that time. The priest noticed them and took a deep interest in the two miserable figures. He must have guessed who they were and why they kept praying so keenly. When towards evening most of the congregation had left, he then brought them food and drink which they badly needed. He also found a few words of Christian consolation for them. Soon after Staś arrived with good news and took Mother and Sophie to his old friend Vala. ...

... The Mass [in the village church of Zielonki near Kraków] continued, the young priest [Rev. Jan Pietrzyk] knelt and stood by turns, followed by the crowd. He sang, he prayed, he performed various rites at the altar, then he climbed into the pulpit and began to preach. The sermon was simple and clear. It was about the equality of all humankind in the eyes of the Almighty God and the sacred duty of every Christian soul to help those who were in peril, no matter what race they belonged to or which faith they espoused.

A Jewish woman identified as S.F. worked in a labour gang composed of Poles and Jews in the fields of a manor requisitioned by the Germans on the outskirts of Warsaw. She was separated from the group just prior to the outbreak of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, when the Jewish farm labourers were taken by the Gestapo. She ran to the manor of a Polish woman, Mrs. Fijałkowska, who had sheltered her earlier. After a narrow escape during a raid on the manor, she turned to a priest, Rev. Edward Wojtczak, the chaplain at

a nearby convent, who was known as a “friend to the Jews.” He provided her with temporary shelter at the convent before placing the Jewish woman with his sister in Warsaw, who had also taken in a Jewish child, and then with a doctor. Father Wojtczak supplied the woman with false identity documents and found employment for her. It is not clear which convent this story refers to. Rev. Wojtczak was a priest at the chapel of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Kaplica Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny), which was attached to an institution for the infirm located in the Królikarnia home on 113 Puławska Street. That institution was under the care of the Franciscan Sisters of the Suffering. However, during the occupation, the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union had to relocate to that same building, and Rev. Wojtczak is mentioned in one of their accounts reproduced later in the text. During the Warsaw uprising, on September 16, 1944, the Germans dropped a bomb on the chapel and institution, killing many insurgents and patients, and five nuns. The story is recorded in Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), at pages 135–38.

The Gestapo squad called to the lord of the manor to come out. Fijalkowski [Fijalkowski] appeared and they pounced on him like wolves, slapping him and screaming: “Juden seinen bei dir!” It was no use when he protested that the German authorities had given permission. They beat him up so bad all his teeth came flying out of his mouth. Next, they ordered all the Jews to come out with their hands up. They were all marched off to a waiting truck and beaten and humiliated without mercy. I ran straight into Lady Fijalkowska’s chamber, crying to her that I was finished. She led me down into the cellar and told me to wait there until they’d gone. But a Polish policeman broke into the house ... “I was told there’s a Jewess in here!” The lady couldn’t talk him out of it. He ran down to the cellar and found me right away. He dragged me up to the ground floor. I kept crying and kissing his hands: “Tell them no one’s here! Give me a second and I’ll be far away!” He did. He must have been an angel of some kind. He let go of me and in an instant, I flew through the back door and out of the house. When the truck was gone, I went back into the lady’s chamber. She wouldn’t let me stay. She herself was still trembling from what had just happened. I knew I had to go now. I left the estate and walked through an open ditch by the side of the road. I stayed down there till morning.

As the sun was coming up, I fell into a panic. I knew no way of escaping my horrid fate. I went back to Lady Fijalkowska again. I clung to her, crying and pleading for her to save me. Her answer was telling me there was no reason to panic—I didn’t look “too much” like a Jew. She talked me into going to the nearby monastery and asking for sanctuary from the father, Edward Wojtczak. He was supposed to be a kind man and a friend to the Jews. I went. What else could I do? A sister answered my ring and asked what it was I wanted. I told her I had to see the father. She didn’t say anything—just looked me up and down as if trying to figure out who I was. She told me to wait. A long time passed. The father himself came out to see me. A tall man, gray-haired—he looked about sixty—with a kind face. I started crying and said I was a Jewish daughter. I took out my purse with the little money I had left and some jewelry I always carried with me for whenever I had to buy my way out of getting killed. I told him I would give it all away to the sick people in his infirmary. The priest looked at me with understanding and said: “I don’t need it. You might have to use it someday. Where will you go now? It’s night already.” He took me inside the monastery, I felt lost in the darkness. There were only small candles flickering over the heads of the marble and bronze icons. It was all horrifying. I sank quickly into a sleep.

At five in the morning, the priest came to me. He took me to his cell, gave me some food. I was beginning to feel that my fate was changing. He told me that in two hours, his real sister was coming here to talk things over with me. It was true—she really came. A nearsighted woman, she stared straight into my eyes as we stood nose to nose. She was simply radiant with kindness. She kissed me and calmed me down. I offered her my little bag with all my possessions.

“I’ll only hide it for you. Hitler won’t be around forever,” she said.

She combed out my hair so I’d look like a Gentile girl. She changed my clothes. She took me with her. We got on a trolley and she took me to Puławska [Puławska] Street, to her unmarried sister. This sister was caring for a Jewish child—a girl of about two. Such a beautiful and wonderful child you’ve never seen. The child treated her like a mother and she simply cherished the little girl.

“And you say,” she says to me, “that I’m a cousin of yours.”

The priest’s sister had a buttons-and-notions shop downstairs. I stayed in her flat and sometimes I came down to help out. My Polish was perfect.

Soon, Germans came and took over the store, letting only Volksdeutsche run it. I happened to be there that day. You can imagine how scared to death I was. After that, I never left the room. That’s right. I made it too obvious when I ran back to the room like that—but I was so scared.

The priest came. He comforted me. “Don’t worry,” he said. He told me to go back inside the monastery and to stay there till he got me papers and a job. I was now back inside the cloister. I learned all their prayers and the group recitations the nuns sang.

The priest went to see Fijalkowski—the lord of the manor where I worked on the labor gang. It turned out they were very well acquainted and he brought me back the Kennkarte of a real Gentile girl—Zofia Rychlinska [Rychlińska] of Białystok who had just died in the Warsaw Hospital. The father accompanied me—I was supposed to be a simple farm girl now—to the Gestapo, to have me registered. The Gestapo were completely cynical. They stared at me maliciously—they knew perfectly well who I really was—but since a Catholic priest had come along, they didn't feel like starting the investigation.

So now I had the identity card of an “Aryan” Christian girl and my name isn't S- V- anymore, it's Zofia Rychlinska. I keep attending the services in the convent and sing along with the nuns.

The priest did me more favors. He got me a job with Dr. Niewiadomski on Marszałkowska [Marszałkowska] 87—a completely Gentile street—and I worked for a Gentile family. The priest had mentioned me to the doctor a few times. The father didn't want to take on another person in times like these! The doctor finally agreed.

I got along in Dr. Niewiadomski's house. Sleep, food, and a couple of zloty [złoty] a week. I helped take care of his house, and also his office.

The Jewish woman turned to Father Wojtczak again, frightened by a Gestapo raid on a nearby building.

Three weeks later, I was in the priest's cell and Fijalkowski walked in. He was pale as the wall. He didn't say anything. I got scared—something must be wrong. He was the one who got me the identity card. I tried to keep up appearances and say something pleasant. But he was lifeless. The next day, I had to go back to the priest to find out what was going on and again, I met Fijalkowski. I tried sounding cheerful ... Then, it suddenly dawned on me that he was hiding out here, and it was because of me. His caretaker had denounced him to the Gestapo for giving the identity card of his servant girl, Zofia Rychlinska, to a Jew. The Gestapo rushed over to Fijalkowski's estate, found the place abandoned because he'd escaped through a back door; so they beat up his father and mother and arrested his wife and children. It was like this for many sad days until the priest was able—for a huge sum of money and through personal contacts—to free Fijalkowski's family and have the whole matter disposed of.

This Jewish woman remained in Warsaw until she was deported to Germany in November 1944, after the failed Warsaw uprising.

Most Jews who survived in Poland had to rely on any number of Poles—both long-term and casual benefactors—to survive the long years of German occupation. Róża (Rosa) Reibschaid-Feliks identified many benefactors, among them priests, who came to her family's assistance. Four of them, including Rev. Wojciech Bartosik, the pastor of Wawrzeńczyce, a village east of Kraków, were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2014. A fifth, Rev. Ferdynand Machay of Kraków, was recognized in 2017. (Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life* [New York: Crown Publishers, 1971], pp. 284–85; Wojciech Bartosik, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10576622>>.)

My conscience would not leave me alone if I kept silent about the deeds of these “Righteous.” Some helped me for a whole year, others for two months, some for a few days only, but I shudder to think what would have happened if they had not held out their helping hand just for those few days! Even he who gave me shelter for one night only—may he be blessed! ... Here are my saviors:

- 1. The Reverend Canon Wojciech Bartosik, Wawrzeńczyce, district of Miechów*
 - 2. Professor Sarna (W.S.H., Kraków), during the war owner of an estate near Kraków, now living in Kraków*
 - 3. Władysław Bukowski, now living in Kraków (during the war owner of the Makocice estate near Proszowice)*
 - 4. Helena Bukowska, wife of Jan, now in Łódź*
 - 5. Jadwiga Goetel (wife of the writer Ferdynand), now living in Warsaw*
 - 6. The Reverend Dr. Ferdynand Machay, Our Lady's Church in Kraków*
 - 7. The Lach family, Kraków, owners of a house in ulica Dobrego Pasterza*
 - 8. Wiktoria Krawczyk, janitor, Kraków, Kościuszki [Street] 52*
 - 9. Jan Wiecheć, Kraków (employed during the war in the Krischer firm, Zwierzyniecka [Street] 6)*
 - 10. Engineer Karol Kulczycki, Warsaw (and his wife Julia)*
 - 11. The family of Michał and Maria Stępiński, Makocice 12 near Proszowice*
- Every one of these people has done a great deal for me at the risk of his own life.*

The Reibschaid family—Marian Reibschaid, his wife, Rosa Reibschaid-Feliks, and their son, Edward (b. 1938)—were from Kraków. In 1940, having procured Aryan papers, they escaped from Kraków and moved to Wawrzeńczyce, a town in the area. The local priest, Wojciech Bartosik, was quite influential in the town; he was extremely welcoming toward them and helped them find their feet in their new location. The Reibschaid family believed it was best

for them to all be baptized. Bartosik obliged, while fully understanding that this was not a true baptism but merely a way to escape persecution. He also provided for their nonspiritual needs: food, respectable paid work for Marian, release from forced labor for Rosa, and even Polish parents' names registered in his books for the Reibschheids parents.

July 1942 saw Jewish families transferred to the town by the Germans. This encroachment of the regime increased the danger for the Reibschheids. Wojciech found them a family to stay with. Włodzimierz Bukowski was a well-off Polish estate owner. He lived with his sister and his sister-in-law, Helena Bukowska. (Helena later moved to a different village nearby.) They received the Reibschheids warmly and provided for them. When need arose, the Jews hid, but most of the time they simply lived on the estate together with the Bukowskis. One day a local tailor by the name of Latał reported the Bukowskis for sheltering Jews. It was September 1942, and the police were raiding the town, looking for Jews who might be hiding there. Someone tipped the Reibschheids off that people were out to get them. Rosa picked up little Edward and ran with him to the village that Helena Bukowska had moved to. Helena sent word to Marian's workplace to warn him of the danger, and he was able to jump on a bicycle and escape to Kraków. Rosa and Edward spent the night hiding in the local church and returned to Helena's home in the morning. They spent three days with her and then joined Marian in Kraków. From there, in 1943, they decided to move to Warsaw.

In Warsaw, they were sent to Jadwiga Goetel, the wife of a famous Polish writer, who greeted them warmly and helped in every way she could. She found a position for Rosa as a seamstress and a job for Marian as an engineer. She kept them in her own home for three months, until they were able to find an apartment for themselves. Once the Warsaw Uprising broke out, Marian volunteered to fight and was killed in battle. Rosa and Edward were sent to a transit camp in Pruszków and were liberated from there by the Russians in January 1945. Rosa returned to Judaism, remarried, and moved to Israel with her new husband and son in 1948.

Róża Reibschheid's testimony from 1946 provides additional details of the assistance she, her husband, Marian, and young son received from various priests and nuns in the Kraków area, including Rev. Wojciech Bartosik of Wawrzeńczyce, Rev. Waclaw Radosz of Proszowice, and an unidentified priest from Michałowice. Rev. Ferdynand Machay was the chaplain at the Norbertine Sisters' convent and church of St. Augustine in Kraków, where Róża Reibschheid was sheltered temporarily. Afterwards, the Reibschheids moved to Warsaw where they were also helped by numerous Poles. (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record Group 301, number 1713; Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* [Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006], pp. 315–16.)

When they started to collect Jews from nearby towns in Wawrzeńczyce, Nowe Brzesko county, Poles warned us that something was about to happen, especially after stories of the events in Tarnów reached Wawrzeńczyce. The pastor, Rev. Wojciech Bartosik, who was very kind to us, referred us to Buchowski [Władysław Bukowski], the owner of a nearby country estate, who took my husband on as a mechanic for all his farm machinery and tractor operator, and his wife recommended me as a seamstress to neighbouring manors. ... Materially we were well off there, but peasants from Wawrzeńczyce came by who knew us. Some Pole betrayed us. The Germans looked for us in the entire area ... but found out nothing ... The sołtys (village administrator) warned me and sent his daughter to the warehouse to warn my husband. When the girl was in the warehouse, Gestapomen were already circulating in the courtyard. My husband got on a bicycle and was able to escape undetected by the Germans. I went with my son to the Bukowskis, who did not allow me to leave because all the field roads and highway were guarded by the Gestapo, and the train at the train station was held up for three hours and all the passengers searched. I took my son to the barber to have his head shaved so he would not be recognizable, and there I learned from clients' conversations of the arrival of a punitive expedition who searched all the brush along the Vistula River.

In the meantime my husband went by bicycle to a priest he knew in Michałowice who allowed to take him in for the night. I went to Proszowice to seek advice from Rev. [Waclaw] Radosz. He reproached me for not having told him earlier that I was a Jew, as he would have found my husband a position in Radom. He sent for horses to take me to Michałowice. The next day a carriage arrived with a pair of horses (later I learned that the priest rented the horses for 300 złoty), and I travelled to Michałowice like a lady. There I met my husband at the priest's house. I arranged with my husband to meet in Kraków.

In Kraków I endured a real hell. Our Polish acquaintances were afraid to take us in, so we spent every night somewhere else. Rev. [Ferdynand] Machay showed us great compassion, and found a shelter for me with the Norbertine Sisters in Salwator. He helped us financially and found a position for my husband as a mechanic on an estate in Olszanica, seven kilometres from Kraków. After leaving the convent I had nowhere to live so we decided to go to Warsaw.

As mentioned earlier, Rev. Machay provided baptismal certificates and other forms of assistance to many

Jews, among them, Felicja Seifert (later Ela Manor), who passed as Elżbieta Smoleń.⁷⁵¹ Rev. Machay vouched for Ewa Rose-Boratyńska, her husband and her mother when they were arrested in Kraków in March 1943 on suspicion of being Jews, and thus helped secure their release.⁷⁵²

When she was three years old, Janina Katz (born in 1939) was smuggled out of the Płaszów concentration camp, where she was imprisoned with her mother, and entrusted to the care of Stefan and Maria Kapłański of Dobczyce, south of Kraków. The local priest was taken into their confidence. He baptized Janina and she was taught Catholic prayers by her adoptive parents. The family was well known in the town so it was impossible for the community not to have known the truth about Janina. The child lived there peacefully throughout the war. After the war, she was reclaimed by her mother.⁷⁵³

After being smuggled out of the Płaszów work camp with the help of a Pole named Kajdas, Tadeusz Jakubowicz (born in 1939) and his parents stayed with Katarzyna Siwek in Kraków, before taking refuge in the village of Kornatka near Dobczyce. A number of Jews were hiding in the forest, and soon the entire village became aware of their presence. The priest from the nearby parish in Dobczyce urged his parishioners to help the Jewish fugitives, and not to betray them. Villagers, among them the Krupa, Morajek and Kopera families, provided them with food and, during the winter months, they would allow them to stay overnight in their homes, barns and stables.⁷⁵⁴ (Przemysław Miśkiewicz, interview with Tadeusz Jakubowicz, “Dzięki nim żyję, dla mnie to bohaterowie,” *Dodatek Narodowy Dzień Pamięci Polaków ratujących Żydów*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, March 26, 2018.)

We hid in dugouts in the forest ... in the village of Kornatka. Close by there were more than ten other persons, but they all kept in small groups. For reasons of safety, they didn't form a camp. We spent the entire day lying so that we would not be seen. Only in the evening did we crawl out in order to straighten out bones somewhat. Practically the entire village knew that we were hiding. Imagine, even the priest said in his sermon, "You know that Jews are hiding here in the forests. You have to help them, and do not betray them." And these people helped us. Without them we would have had no chance of survival. There was terrible poverty in the village. My mother, who had Aryan features and documents, travelled to Kraków and bought food, which we shared with our benefactors. I remember many people who helped us. To me those people are real heroes.

Winter of 1943/1944 was exceptionally frigid. The temperature would fall to minus 30 degrees (Celsius). Good people who lived near our hideout helped us out. They took us in overnight. I slept in the stable with animals. ... While there was frost, we spent every night with farmers. A member of the household would stand guard observing the vicinity to see if Germans were approaching. When today I hear someone say that Poles behaved badly, I can't agree with that. Of course no society is without its faults, whether they are Poles, Jews or Russians. ... But my family encountered wonderful people and to them we owe our salvation from the Holocaust.

After the liquidation of the ghetto in Nowe Brzesko, northeast of Kraków, in September 1942, Rozalia Elbinger and her daughter Pola took shelter in the parish rectory, where Rev. Józef Zduń resided with his sister.

However, when their presence there became known, Mrs. Elbinger took her daughter and joined her husband who was hiding in a nearby village with their son.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵¹ Aleksandra Mianowska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044043>>.

⁷⁵² Testimony of Ewa Rose-Boratyńska in Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 559.

⁷⁵³ Wierzbieniec and Rączy, *Righteous Among Nations*, 50; Janina Katz, *Moje życie barbarzyńcy* (Warsaw: Jacek Santorski, 2006).

⁷⁵⁴ See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 263–66; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 371; *Witnesses to Polish-Jewish History: The Stories of Holocaust Survivors, Former Prisoners of Nazi German Concentration Camps and Righteous Among Nations* (Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2016), 40–41.

⁷⁵⁵ Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 32, 40; Testimony of Emanuel Elbinger, 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/emanuel-elbinger>>.

Fela Rotsztajn, who lived in the village of Jeziorna near Warsaw, recalled her many Polish benefactors, among them Rev. Antoni Konieczny, the pastor of Słomczyn. (Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, p. 308.)

I am a resident of Jeziorna near Warsaw where my family has lived for generations. I survived the occupation years in this area thanks to kind people. This wasn't for a day or a month, but my wanderings lasted more than three years. Risking their own lives people lent me a helping hand. These were: Wojciech Dominik of the village of Lęg, Edmund Komorowski of Konstancin, Rev. Antoni Konieczny of Słomczyn, Kazimierz Wandel of the village of Lęg, Władysław Moskalewicz of Słomczyn, Stanisława Suchecka of Słomczyn, Władysław Zduńczyk of Słomczyn, Bolesław Zawadzki of Klarysew, Andrzej Rossman of the village of Bielawa, Kornelli of the village of Bielawa, Jerzy Mrówka of Mirków, and Zbigniew Kępka of Mirków.

Anna Forkasiewicz (née Niuta Studnia), a Jewish survivor residing in Melbourne, Australia, described the assistance she and her family received from numerous Poles—three Polish families (consisting of 11 people), three individual Poles, four priests, and a boarding school run by nuns—in the vicinity of Radom and Warsaw. The following priests who extended help were identified by name: Rev. Bolesław Skwarliński, Rev. Józef Kuropieska, the pastor of Garbatka-Letnisko, and Rev. Jan Podsiadły of Mszczonów.⁷⁵⁶ (Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, pp. 26–27.)

So much is heard about the unsympathetic attitude of the Polish clergy towards the Jews that I want to place special emphasis on two names:

Father Boleslaw Skwarlinski [Bolesław Skwarliński], Prefect from Radom: Whilst I was hiding for six months at the parsonage in Garbatka near Radom, the Prefect was a frequent guest of Father Jozef Kuropieski [Józef Kuropieska], who provided me with all the care and attention a pregnant woman requires. I had to leave when my baby's birth was approaching and it was then that I went to live with the Stopinski [Stopiński] family.

Father Jan Podsiadly [Podsiadły], my husband's school friend: We were guests of his cousin during Easter of 1943 while he was still studying for the priesthood. In 1943 when the Germans evacuated areas on the right bank of the Vistula, we were taken to a camp in Pruszkow [Pruszków], where I was separated from my husband who was sent to the Dachau concentration camp. I was left with my baby in Sochaczew in tragic circumstances. (My striking Jewish features were only partially offset by my faultless Polish accent.) With the help of the local curate (who did not know my origin) I reached Mszczonow [Mszczonów] near Zyrardow [Żyrardów] where Father Podsiadly was a curate. He took care of my child and me, by lodging us with a childless couple and visiting us frequently; although the visits could have led to his arrest and even death, they served to allay suspicion about my Jewish appearance.

Rev. Józef Kuropieska of Garbatka-Letnisko provided false baptismal certificates in the name of Łucjan and Edward Rakoczy for the sons of a Jewish woman from Warsaw. All three members of this family were sheltered by the Karpała family from 1943 until liberation in January 1945.⁷⁵⁷ Anna Dembowa also credits an unidentified priest near Mszczonów with helping her and her husband, Franciszek Dembowy, securing a hiding place.⁷⁵⁸

After the outbreak of the war, Zofia Pilichowska (née Weiser), born in 1927, moved to Warsaw with her parents and sister from their hometown of Łódź. After their escape from the Warsaw ghetto in November 1942, the entire family underwent baptism at the church of the Holy Saviour (Najświętszego Zbawiciela). The ceremony was officiated by Monsignor Seweryn Popławski, pastor of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary parish on Leszno Street. The entire family assumed false identities (Testimony of Testimony of Zofia Weiser Pilichowska, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2826):

All our family members were baptized in the parish of the Saviour in Warsaw. Father [Seweryn] Popławski agreed to baptize us at once without any further questions. Our Polish friend directed us to this priest. Our baptismal

⁷⁵⁶ See also the testimony of Anna Forkasiewicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 31814.

⁷⁵⁷ Ryszard Śmietanka-Kruszelnicki, “Matka zostawiła otwartą powzięć z ziemniakami,” “Nieznane historie z dziejów ratowania Żydów pod okupacją niemiecką,” Supplement to PlusMinus, *Rzeczpospolita*, March 23–24, 2019.

⁷⁵⁸ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 536.

certificates became the proof that we were Aryan. My mother got her birth certificate under the name of an already deceased parishioner, Maria Anna Kowalewska. My father became Aleksander Franciszek Będzikowski. I and my sisters kept our original surname.

After residing for a time in Henryków, a friend named Heininger directed Zofia to the Kosiński family in Buków outside Warsaw. The Kosiński family were also helping other Jews. Mrs. Kosiński introduced Zofia to Rev. Zygmunt Siedlecki, the pastor of Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą. Zofia stayed in the parish rectory for about three months helping his housekeeper with farm chores. Because her presence attracted too much attention, Rev. Siedlecki directed her to the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Blessed Virgin Mary in that same town, as someone who wanted to pursue a religious vocation. Zofia was sent to the order's mother house in Mariówka near Przysucha, where she lived in the novitiate for the remainder of the war. She left the convent after the war and was reunited with her family.

Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak, a Jewish partisan who fought in the People's Guard, recalled the assistance he received from a number of Poles, including members of the Catholic clergy, after he was wounded in partisan warfare near Opoczno. (Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., p. 533.)

After I was wounded in a skirmish near Osa [Ossa] in Opoczno county, many people cared for me: Miroslaw Krajewski, Elzbieta Krajewska, Mrs. Pieszczyk—the owner of a laundry near Jasna Street in Warsaw, Wacław and Ryszard Strzelecki, the teacher Gromelski, the engineer Bukowski, Rev. [Jan] Gałęza, Sister Stefania [Miaškiewicz], Irena Ciesielska and doctors whose names have faded in my memory because of the passage of time. Those are the people who, in the fall of 1942, during a period when the occupier heightened their terror, risked their lives and the lives of their families to come to my assistance.

When his safety was endangered, Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak was dressed in Rev. Jan Gałęza's soutane and escorted by Sister Stefania Miaškiewicz, a Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, to a safer place.⁷⁵⁹

Several unidentified priests in the vicinity of Włodawa, in the voivodship of Lublin, are mentioned in Jewish memoirs. Mirka Bram (later Erlich), a Jewish girl born in 1936, recalls (Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* [London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996], pp. 139–40):

Mrs Szusterowa [from Adampol] told me I should go and see the priest in Włodawa, and that he would certainly help me. We went to Włodawa across the gardens and fields so that no one would see us. She left me by the church and forbade me to go back to her house, because she was very much afraid. I went to the church and went looking for the priest ... I saw the priest by the little house behind the church and I went up to him. I said: 'Good morning, Mr. Priest. I'm an orphan, please can you help me?'

The priest [Rev. Józef Sobieszek, the local dean] smiled and said: 'Go and see Mrs Orzechowska, the doctor's wife, and tell her that I sent you.' And he gave me Mrs Orzechowska's address, even though I knew where she lived, but I did not say anything because I was pretending not to be from Włodawa. But Mrs Orzechowska and her husband recognised me straightaway and told me not to be afraid. I burst into tears and told them everything. Then Mrs Orzechowska sent me into the country to a priest she knew who knew that I was Jewish. The priest taught me how to talk so that no one would know that I was Jewish, how you must not say 'Mr Priest' but 'father', and many other things. I stayed there for several days.

According to Jewish records, Masza But (born in 1934 in Włodawa), who lived in Dubeczno, was entrusted to a local farmer by her father, who paid for this arrangement. She remained with the farmer for about a month. Afterwards, she was sheltered by an unidentified priest, assuming the identity of Marysia Bidziek. Dubeczno was located in the parish of Hańsk. After the war, Masza was taken by the Jewish Coordination Committee to a children's home in Łódź.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁹ Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Ratowały, choć za to groziła śmierć," Part 1, *Nasz Dziennik*, March 10, 2008; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, "Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzieliły się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at pp. 184–85.

⁷⁶⁰ Masza But, Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel), catalog no. 1265, and catalog no. 3735, registry no. 16061R"M.

Harold Werner, a Jewish partisan active in the area between Włodawa and Parczew, recalls in his memoirs, *Fighting Back: A Memoir of Jewish Resistance in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), at page 191:

In a small village not far from the Bug River, we went at night to the house of a friendly local priest and asked him to take us to the shallowest point of the river. He led us to a spot where the water was waist deep, and with our weapons over our heads we crossed, with the priest leading the way. When we got to the other side, we directed him to go back.

Diane Armstrong (née Baldinger), born in 1939 and known as Danusia, together with her parents Henek and Bronia, spent the war years in the small town of Piszczac near Biała Podlaska under the protective umbrella extended to them by Rev. Roman Soszyński, the parish priest. The remarkable story is told in Armstrong's moving saga, *Mosaic: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (Milsons Point, N.S.W.: Random House, 1998), at pages 294–307, and 573–83. During a recent visit to Poland she visited the town where her family hid for three years under assumed identities and posing as Catholics—the Bogusławskis. There they were befriended by the priest who played chess with her father. The Gestapo was close by and they lived in fear of being denounced.

Ever since my father [Henek] had arrived in Piszczac, the problem of making friends had been on his mind. Being newcomers made him and Bronia too vulnerable, because all new arrivals were suspected of being Jews until proved otherwise. He'd noticed that all the other newcomers in the village, who were Catholics, soon found mutual friends or church connections which made them accepted, but neither he nor Bronia could claim such links. He'd already asked the church organist to enter his certificate of baptism into the parish records. Although it was a false certificate, once it was entered it would appear genuine and he'd be able to make copies if he ever needed proof of baptism.

It was vital to make friends and become part of village life as fast as possible. ... A few weeks after the new priest [Rev. Roman Soszyński, then 32 years old] had arrived, Henek was heading towards the post office. ... He was about to walk into the post office when he heard a cart rattle along from the direction of Chotyłów [Chotyłów]. The driver tugged the reins, the cart stopped, and out stepped the new parish priest, brushing the sleet off his black soutane. His heart beating at his own audacity, Henek hastened towards him and apologised for accosting him in the street. 'On the contrary, my dear Dr Boguslawski,' replied Father Soszynski with a disarming smile. 'I'm the one who should apologise for not having called on you, but I've been following the bishop's orders [not to call on his parishioners, but let them seek him out]. What can we do, we live in such dangerous times!'

Heartened by the priest's friendly manner, Henek pressed on. 'This evening my wife and I have invited some friends over to our place. If Reverend Father would come and have a glass of tea with us, we'd be honoured.'

Roman Soszynski looked with interest at this greying man whose neatly trimmed moustache and slight limp added to his air of distinction. He'd already heard about the new dentist from the organist, who'd reported the conversation about the baptism certificate with a look which had implied some doubt. But he liked Dr Boguslawski's sincerity and his direct gaze. 'I'll be delighted to come tonight and meet your good lady,' he replied.

When Henek told Bronia the good news, her forehead crinkled like a washboard. 'How do I know what to say to a priest?' she fretted.

'Don't worry about anything, leave the talking to me,' Henek said. 'Anyway, he seems very approachable.' As it turned out, the evening proceeded better than either of them could have hoped. Roman Soszynski was an entertaining raconteur with an easy flow of conversation, and although his observant gaze missed nothing, he knew how to put people at ease.

He loved to hear what was going on in the parish and laughed at jokes as loudly as anyone, but with his Jesuit training he also enjoyed arguing, debating and exchanging ideas. One of his regrets about coming to this sleepy hollow was that there would be little opportunity to sharpen his wits, so he was delighted that the dentist was a thinking man, well read and cultured. ... Before leaving that evening, Father Soszynski told Henek that he'd welcome a game of chess in the presbytery. While they washed the glasses after their guests had gone home, Henek couldn't help smiling. 'Just imagine, the son of Reb Danil Baldinger playing chess with a priest!' ...

Not a day passed without some traumatic incident which threatened to reveal their secret. ... before long, rumours about the Boguslawskis were spreading through the village. ... Father Soszynski had heard rumours about the Boguslawskis. ... 'At school today one of the children said that Danusia was Jewish,' he said casually. Henek's eyes were boring into his face. 'I told them it wasn't true,' Father Soszynski continued. ... he [Henek] understood that the priest was letting him know that he was on his side.

Diane Armstrong's recent meeting with the priest, now in his 80s, restored a lost part of her childhood and gave her a new perspective on those years in hiding. She had always been angry at the villagers and their

rumours. Now she understood that everyone had suspected they were Jewish, but no one had denounced them. The village, under the guidance of the priest, had protected them. Her anger now turned into wonder and gratitude.

Benevolence shines from Father Soszynski's face. In a voice that's surprisingly strong for a man of eighty-three, he says, 'I was thinking about you just two days ago. I thought about your parents and wondered whether little Danusia was still alive. While I was in town today someone said that people from overseas were looking for me. I thought of you straightaway. Danusia! I thought, and flew home like a bird!'

Why should this telepathy astonish me, when the fact that I am looking into the face of the priest who helped us survive the war in Piszczac is beyond anything I ever dreamed of? ...

While he speaks, I keep pushing back the question that is nagging at me. Not yet, I keep thinking. Not yet. Suddenly Father Soszynski stuns me by answering my unspoken question. 'Of course I knew that you were Jewish. We all knew.' ...

Father Soszynski continues his reminiscences. 'Not long after I arrived in the village, your father asked the organist to enter his certificate of baptism into the parish records. This seemed a strange request, and I wondered then whether he had bought this certificate somewhere. If so, it was a very smart move because once the information was recorded, he'd be able to obtain authentic copies. Still, in those days it was better not to know too much so I decided not to inquire too closely into it and we entered your names in the parish records.' ...

One day in 1944, Mrs. Forycka, the doctor's wife, came to see me and dropped a bombshell. "Has Reverend Father heard the latest? The whole town is saying the Boguslawskis are Jews!" I thought to myself, Jesus Maria, can this be true? Then I recalled that business with the baptism certificate, that embittered fellow Mr Jozek [Józek] who came to work with your father but turned out to be a Jew, your mother's nervousness, your father's constant vigilance ...

Next day, your father came to see me. He was not the same person. He had lost all his strength, he was a crushed man. Despair in his eyes. So sad to see.' ... "Catastrophe, Reverend Father!" he told me. "They're saying that we are Jews ..." ...

'When your father came to see me that day, I felt like weeping,' he says. 'Such a cultured, witty man, so intelligent and companionable. How could I not extend a helping hand? I said, "Doctor Boguslawski, let's look at it another way. There's no merit being born a Pole any more than there is disgrace being born a Jew. It's not up to us. It's up to God. I can't feel proud of being born a Pole any more than another should feel ashamed of being born a Jew. But the issue is that to accuse someone of being born a Jew today is to sentence them to death."' He leans towards me. 'You know, the Gestapo were stationed only three kilometres down the road in Chotyłow.

'So I said to your father, "Doctor, let me figure out how to climb out of this pit. I won't run from house to house, but what I will do is come to your place this afternoon with my sister, and we will walk down the centre of the main street of the town so that everyone will see that we're coming to visit you as if nothing has happened. Let them all see. Will you give us a glass of tea when we come?" ...

'I can still see the relief on your father's face when I told him that I'd come over that afternoon and keep coming to visit him,' says Father Soszynski. ... For the first time in my life I realise that our only hope of survival, however slight, rested entirely with Father Soszynski. ...

'After that visit with my sister, I kept coming more often than usual, to demonstrate my support. When the villagers saw their priest socialising with your parents, they figured out that I must know what I was doing, and decided that they had no business gossiping about them.'

Leaning towards me, Father Soszynski says with great emphasis, 'And no-one in that village denounced you, even though everybody knew that you were Jews. In your case, Piszczac passed with flying colours. We had drunkards, thieves, and cheats amongst us, but on that occasion, everyone behaved beyond reproach.' ...

Throughout my life I had been angry that our existence in Piszczac had been so tenuous, that dangerous rumours had proliferated and that, had the war continued, one of our neighbours or acquaintances would have denounced us to the Germans. But Father Soszynski's account of our survival helps me to see it in a different light. During the Holocaust it took only one person to send hundreds to their death, but it sometimes took one hundred people to save a single Jewish life. For the first time I realise that by their silence the people of Piszczac had helped us to survive.

An unidentified village priest in the vicinity of Drohiczyn on the River Bug assisted Bella Bronstein, an orphan, by finding her a position with a local farmer under her new Christian identity, Antonina Bujalska. Later the priest visited her when she was hospitalized, provided her with money, and invited her to sing in the church choir. Bella Bronstein was helped by many Poles as she moved from village to village, even though she was recognized as or suspected of being Jewish. The priest also kept a Jewish housekeeper who went by the name of Wanda, who was not pleased with the arrival of another Jew. (David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Drohiczyn*, [Tel Aviv: n.p., 1969], pp. 29–42 (English section).)

I came by a Catholic church, and sat down to rest a while chanting a holy Christian hymn. An old man came out of a little house and invited me in. I accepted the invitation willingly. The old man was the warden of the church. After he gave me some warm food in his cozy little room I asked him if I could find employment around the place. He suggested that we go in to see the priest who might take me in as help to his housekeeper. It turned out later that the priest's housekeeper was also a refugee Jewish woman who was not too anxious to have another Jewess around ... (not unusual in those terrible days).

The priest however, was glad to help a child in distress and sent me to one of his rich parishioners, with a recommendation. I was accepted and was again rechristened Antonina. My new patroness was the wife of a rich farmer. She offered me the job in the cow barn and sheep shed, in which they had over eighty heads. I was too timid and scared to refuse the job although I knew that it was really too hard for a girl. I was willing to try and so I remained in the service of this family.

The churchwarden left me there, and I again felt at home with good people. At night I heard them talk about the horrible situation and how the poor Jews were being exterminated. ...

The rainy season began. Every day I had to take the sheep to pasture, and I returned soaking wet. Yet I didn't mind the cold or the discomfort of my wet clothes. I was determined to go on; until one day I caught cold, and got sick; but I was afraid to tell anyone how miserably sick I was. However, my kind mistress noticed how I suffered, and when she measured my fever it was above 40 degrees C. The doctor came and I was ordered immediately to the hospital. Now it was a struggle for life and all my thoughts were how to get well again.

One night I dreamt that my mother came to me and said that soon I would get well; I should then try to get away from this hospital as far as possible. The priest also came to visit me. All the nurses took an interest in me, but I avoided all their questions about my past. I was afraid I might be discovered. During my recuperation period, I got acquainted with a nurse named Sophia. This nurse suggested that I should not go back to the farm. Instead she offered me a place with her sister who needed help with her little ones. I was considering the change but dared not tell my former patrons, who were very good to me. When I was well again I decided to leave the hospital under cover of darkness. ...

Sophia's sister received me gladly and offered me her home. I kissed her hand and immediately began to attend to the two little girls, who soon took a liking to me. They never asked me who I was and where I came from. Evidently, the letter I brought from Sophia explained everything.

Once I was so exhausted from work in the field that I fell asleep on the spot. I was brought home to rest, and was not even scolded. I felt happy in my new home, and even attended religious services with all the other children of the village. Once when I came to church I noticed that I was being pointed at. I thought that again I was recognized as being Jewish. So after the services I slowly slipped out into the street and was again on the road, feeling once more the gaze of hostile eyes on me. As I was walking along I found myself before a group of German policemen, two of which turned out to be Polish. I thought that the best thing would be to go on walking calmly and briskly. But then I heard one of them calling me to stop. They said "Gut Morgen" rather politely and walked away. One of them, however, remained behind. Now, I thought, is the crucial moment. It turned out that this was a young Polish policeman whose name was Solick. He was a native of Drohichin [Drohiczyn] and recognized me.

"You are Jewish, aren't you? Your uncle's name was Sholem. I know all about you. Let me see your identity card."

Trembling I handed him the card with the name of Antonina Bujalska. Again he looked at me and said: "You are not telling the truth, but I shan't do you any evil. You better clear out of here, for somebody else might recognize you. Then, you shall be among all the other dead of your people." He let me go but wrote down the place where I lived.

Again I was facing danger. I didn't sleep all night, planning how to find safety elsewhere. I did not run away the next morning for I was hoping that the war would end soon. So a few months passed and it was already the eve of Passover, the season when good Catholic Christians go to church to confess their sins. I, too, went to the "father confessor" with the other children of the village.

On the way to church the children were discussing how and what to confess and made fun of the whole thing. Wanting to be part of the conversation, I decided to say something positive and affirmative. So I said that we must perform the duties of our religion, and urged them to hurry lest we be late. I was glad to be last to remain in the church after everybody had already gone and made as if I was praying devotedly. I drew the attention of a fine middle-aged lady who came over to me and asked why I had remained in the empty church so late. I took the opportunity to tell the lady about my sad lot. I told her how difficult it was for me to stay with the family I was living, and expressed the wish to find work with some other family, attending to children or taking care of an old woman. She immediately offered to take me with her as she had two children and an old mother.

I couldn't believe my ears, but here I was already walking by the side of my new benefactress. As we were walking the distance of about 3 kilometers from church to her home, the woman told me how her Jewish neighbors were taken out to be killed. I listened to her story of horror but made no reply.

When we came into the house, I met the old lady her mother. I bowed, kissed her hand and greeted her in the manner that good Polish Christian children do. Her reply was also cordial and traditional, but I noticed tears in her eyes and a benevolent smile on her face. Later, when all left for the fields and I was left alone with the old lady and the two children I again felt at home hoping that now I would resume a normal life as a refugee Christian girl under

the name of Antonina Bujalska. The old lady took a liking to me and told me her own story. It appeared that she too, was Jewish, but eloped with her Polish lover when she was only 16 and never returned to her family. Now she would recall her old father who never recovered from the shock of his daughter's conversion, while her old mother perished in the Warsaw ghetto.

Hearing her mention Warsaw, I burst out crying. The old lady then told me that she knew right away I was Jewish by my appearance and gentle manners. ...

I remained with this family for several months, and everything appeared normal for nobody but the old grandmother knew that I was Jewish.

One sunny Sunday morning I was in the fields with the children of my adopted family and I felt fine. The children wanted me to sing for them, so I began a church hymn I knew well. Just then I heard the voice of the local priest who remembered me from the time I was in the hospital. He was glad to see me again and said: "Good morning, Antonina ... what are you doing in my parish?" I answered that I was already a year with the Timinsky [Tymiński] family and was fine and happy. Complimented [sic] me on my singing he invited me to come and sing in his church choir. Without waiting for a reply he handed me some money to buy myself some decent clothes before I come to church.

I was in a real predicament. To appear in a church choir before many people where somebody might recognize me was dangerous. But it was equally dangerous not to accept the priest's invitation. I was also afraid to tell my patroness. So I decided to seek the advice of the old grandmother. I came to her room when everybody in the house was already asleep kissed her hand and sought her opinion in regard to the priest's invitation. The wise old woman listened carefully and advised me to accept the offer; buy new shoes, dress nicely and join the choir. She was sure my outward appearance could never betray my being Jewish.

Next morning I did exactly as the wise old lady told me to do. I washed and dressed neatly and went to the priest's house. From there I was taken by the priest's housekeeper (who was also Jewish) to buy the right sort of clothes for a good Christian choir girl. We bought a pair of sandals, a beret, and a nice blue knitted skirt. When I was all dressed, Wanda (that was the housekeeper's name) slyly remarked that now I really look like a "Jiduwka [Żydówka]" (a Jewish girl) ...

I was really frightened, but soon Wanda calmed me by saying that nowadays anyone who looked gentle and cultured is suspected as Jewish ... We both knew the truth about each other, but acted as if we didn't, and so parted, to our respective non-Jewish "homes."

I was nervous and impatient, during the last days of the week, thinking how it would be on Sunday morning—my hour of trial. At nine o'clock, when I heard the church bells ringing I was ready but jittery. I only plucked up courage when grandma, my old friend, wished me good luck saying: ... "Sing well. Think of me when you stand before the public, and have no fears".

So I did. Standing there among the other girls in the choir, I felt the priest's approving look, and saw the old man's lips whispering: "Dobje [Dobrze]" (Polish: well done!)

My first appearance was successful. The next time it was easier. They got used to me and no one seemed to question my origin. I was well liked in the village and at times I was even permitted to substitute my master on night watch duty with the other villagers. No one suspected my Jewishness. Yet, I was often tormented by the thought of being the only Jewess left in the world.

So the days and months passed. ...

Rev. Jan Auder, the pastor of the village of Ostrożany, about 30 kilometres northwest of Siemiatycze, was known for his protective attitude toward Jews. Hinda Sarashka (Seroszko), who was sheltered by Poles in that area, recalled ("Christians Treated Me Well," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Drohiczyn*, pp. 400–404):

In Ostrożany the pastor was Auder, a decent man, very good and smart. He summoned all the Christians to church and told them that one must obey the Ten Commandments, help everyone who is in need, first of all those who are homeless. If one does not want to help, then one should allow them to go their own way. Many Jews survived thanks to that priest.

After their escape from the ghetto in the town of Siemiatycze, Chana Lisogurski Broder, then a four-year-old child, her parents and her grandmother were given shelter by several Polish families, most notably, the Kryński family in the hamlet of Morze, near Ostrożany. The Lisogurskis lived there for a year and a half in a bunker under a barn, coming out only late at night when it was safe to do so. The Kryński family gave them the sustenance to survive all that time, until the Soviets overran the area in 1944. When their Polish benefactors were at their wit's end because of the fear of German reprisals if their charges were discovered, in desperation Mrs. Kryńska turned to her pastor, Rev. Jan Auder, for guidance. He told her,

“What you are doing is very good. They are innocent people. If you can, continue to hide them.”⁷⁶¹

The Sisters of Divine Providence (*Siostry Opatrzności Bożej*, commonly known as *Siostry Opatrznościanki*) sheltered Irena Likierman (later Bołdok), born in Warsaw in 1932, in Międzyrzec Podlaski, where Irene’s family had sought refuge. A Polish railroad worker the girl and hid her temporarily before she was given over to Mrs. Cydzik, a friend of her mother’s. Afterwards, she stayed in two institutions run by nuns, an orphanage and a home for the elderly. (Account of Irena [Agata] Bołdok, née Likierman, “Back to Being Myself!” in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, volume 2, pp. 30–32.)

I came from the train station to Mrs. Cydzikowa’s. I had jaundice. I remember that I looked completely different from the other kids. My mother’s friend let me stay for a little while, but then she said, “You know that I have two sons. I can’t take such a risk.” She turned me over to the nuns. These were the Sisters of Providence—located at 69 Lubelska Street [in Międzyrzec Podlaski], a place donated by Count Potocki. There was a barracks for orphans there. I was the oldest, but there were thirty other little ones. The nuns knew very well that I was Jewish. I was emaciated, with little braids, yellow like a lemon because of the jaundice.

I don’t know how long I stayed with those nuns. One time, Germans came and told the nuns that if they had any Jewish children, they would have to give them up. They ought to go back to wherever they came from. The nuns decided to send me back to the woman who had brought me there. You should have seen the expression on Mrs. Cydzikowa’s face when she saw me. She said that she was very sorry, but that unfortunately, she could not take me in and that I should return to the nuns. I didn’t really know what to do; I went back and forth maybe twice. ... I spent the night on the doorstep of a church mortuary. ... Gendarmes came in the morning. They asked, “What are you doing here, little girl?” I answered astutely that I was waiting for my mother, even though she wasn’t there, of course. “Where’s your mother?” “She went to the store.”

They came back once—I was still sitting there. A second time—I was still sitting. They said, “Come with us, your mother probably won’t come back.” They took me to the town hall, to the mayor. ... I think his name was [Franciszek] Majewski. ... The mayor got the idea to send me to a home for the elderly, so that I could wait out the worst period there. He figured out that I was Jewish. When someone asked me what my name was, I answered “Irena Likierman.” What more did he need?

At the home for the elderly, I sat under someone’s bed. I would only come out to eat and wash myself. I was already there for some time (months or weeks), when I once went outdoors. ... In any case, some woman saw me and began screaming ... I ran back into the home, and the nuns that were running it, afraid that this woman would come after me, took me back to the sisters where I had stayed before. I spent the following year with them. ...

In 1944 the Russians entered. Some time before, when the front was approaching and there was nothing to eat, the nuns handed me over, as the oldest of the girls, as a servant to a woman teacher. I was twelve years old already. ...

When the front passed, I went back to the nuns (those at the orphanage, not with the elderly), and in 1945 I went to school. I had never gone to school before ...

Sister Romualda Józefa Kuliberda, who was the head of the convent, offers an additional perspective on this rescue. In 1943, the nuns at St. Michael’s parish, who included Sisters Hermina Helena Jaskulska, Wincenta Wiktoria Klęk, and Innocenta Janina Skowrońska, opened an orphanage for homeless children in Międzyrzec Podlaski. As a result of a denunciation, the Gestapo from Lublin arrived at the mayor’s office to investigate. The mayor, Franciszek Majewski, quickly sent a confidant to the convent warning of the Gestapo’s impending inspection of the convent; ultimately, he succeeded in convincing the Gestapo that the denunciation was fabricated. For a time, Irena Likierman was hidden in the church belfry. The mayor also warned Rev. Stanisław Nosek, the pastor and dean, that he was sought by the German authorities for issuing false baptismal certificates to Jews. During the deportation of Jews from Międzyrzec, two Jewish families, originally from Żyrardów and resettled in Międzyrzec, escaped from the train to the Treblinka death camp and made their way to the convent, which was located near a palace occupied by the German authorities. The nuns sheltered the Jews for a short period of time, providing them with food and treating a Jewish child who had injured his leg when he jumped from the train.

⁷⁶¹ Paweł Rytel-Andrianik, “Ratowali od zagłady,” *Nasz Dziennik*, August 3, 2013; Paweł Rytel-Andrianik, “Trzeba uczcić ich pamięć,” *Nasz Dziennik*, December 2, 2013. Chana Lisogurski Broder’s account, “The Lisogurski Family,” dated April 2005, was submitted to Pier 21, Canada’s Immigration Museum, Internet: <https://www.pier21.ca/wp-content/uploads/files/stories/displacedrefugee/Polish_Displaced_People_and_Holocaust_Survivors_The_Lisogurski_Family.pdf>.

Afterwards, dressed as peasants, they were taken by a neighbour in a cart to the forest.⁷⁶²

The Sisters of Divine Providence also sheltered Jews, mostly children, in their convents in Przemyśl, Rodatycze near Gródek Jagielloński, Rzeszów, Skole near Stryj, and Sterdyń near Sokołów Podlaski. Three of the girls rescued in their convent in Przemyśl went under the assumed names of Maryla Lewkowicz, Anna Mikołajczyk, and Czesława Wolska. The nuns most actively involved in the rescue effort were Mother Laurencja Szwandron of Przemyśl, Sister Aurelia Prokop of Rzeszów, Sister Małgorzata Filak of Skole, Sister Jolanta Puchałka of Sterdyń, and Sister Kamila Kadłubkiewicz of Rodatycze.⁷⁶³

After her escape from the ghetto in Łosice, Stella Zylbersztajn took shelter in several villages in the vicinity of Łosice. In total, 25 Polish families helped her survive the war. The attitude of local priests proved to be beneficial in assuring her survival.⁷⁶⁴ (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 288–89, 295–96.)

Having been taught by experience, we gave our most valuable belongings to Poles for safekeeping and they were all we had later. On the day that the ghetto was destroyed several women stood on the boundary in front of our window in order to help us out in some way. Out of the window we threw things that we had no hope of carrying off and we did not lose any of them. ...

I left my mother and fled to the garden of Mrs Piotrowska. This was only 200 metres (650 ft) from the market square where everyone had been assembled.

At noon Mrs Piotrowska's sister-in-law brought me milk and bread. But too many children knew of my hiding place so in the evening I went to Świniarów [Świniarów]. Along the way I had to ask where Mr Śmieciuch, our customer, lived. Village patrols showed me the way but guessed I was a refugee and asked Śmieciuch to send me on further. So, after spending the night and eating a good breakfast I moved on towards Wyczółki. There I knew the head of the hamlet and his family. People were already returning from Church after High Mass. I avoided large groups but joined a peasant who was walking alone. I asked him the way and he asked me about myself, where I was from, and so forth. He quickly guessed the truth and put his whole heart in simple words:

'You still have time to get to Wyczółki; the Kalickis will take you in later, too. In the meantime come to my place; in the bay of my barn I have a hiding place for pigs, and no one will find you there, you can hide there.'

He was moved to pity at the thought of my pampered childhood and compared me with his daughter. [Her benefactor, a complete stranger, was Waclaw Radzikowski of the village of Szańków. At the mass he attended in the church in Łosice, the pastor, Rev. Stanisław Zarębski, had spoken of the terrible fate of the Jews and urged his parishioners to assist them: "All people are brothers and you should help everyone."] ...

Whenever I went my hosts always guessed [that I was Jewish] but we got on well together and they kept me as long as they could. Only when the entire village started frightening them [about the danger and possible repercussions for the entire village] did they pay me for my work and advise me where I should go further. I was looking after children in Kornica where once again my hostess was 'advised' to send me away for I would bring misfortune down on the village. Shortly after that I heard at the Sunday sermon: 'Fear the Lord more than people. When they tell you to turn over your pigs, you know how to conceal them though you could give them up without a sin. But when they tell you to give away Jews, the Germans must not be obeyed for God said "Thou shalt not kill" and we must help them, give them food and shelter' ..., etc. I do not know whether or not the priest already knew something about me or whether he saw me under the organ loft but I do know that talk about me in the village died down. (And I know that he gave a lead by way of example more than by word—a female catechumen of the family of Abraham came to the presbytery daily for lessons in the catechism. [She later learned that Rev. Czesław Chojecki, the vicar, had informed the pastor of Radzików, Rev. Zygmunt Wachulak, that a Jewish woman was hiding in the

⁷⁶² Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 448–50; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 292–93, 308–11; History of St. Michael's Parish in Międzyrzec Podlaski, Internet: <<http://www.mikolaj.miedzyrzec.pl/historia.php?i=207>>.

⁷⁶³ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 128–29; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 448; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 74–75; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 298–99, 321–22; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 143.

⁷⁶⁴ Stella Zylbersztajn provided additional details about her rescue in her memoir, *A gdyby to było Wasze dziecko?: Wspomnienia antysemitki w getcie, komunistki w klasztorze i uniwersalistki wśród Ludu Wybranego, Umiłowanego* (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1994; Łosice: Łosickie Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju Equus, 2005), especially at pp. 36, 52, 55–56, 58–64, 145.

area, and the pastor appealed to the congregation to extend help to Jews.]

Though I looked like a baited hare, the photographer took my picture and the community [county office] issued me a Kennkarte without any document of previous registration. Someone who wished me well brought me the card so that I would not have to show myself without need. I felt I was saved.

At Christmas the priest went around but he deliberately did not ask me about the catechism. On Christmas Eve, C.G. gave me verses of his sister and Rena X [Renia, Regina Hądzyska]. She was 13 years old. Father [Henryk] Sulej [from the Marian monastery in Bielany, a suburb of Warsaw] saved her and got her a Kennkarte and guardians. Since my hostess was too poor to keep me through the winter I got myself other work. It is with emotion that I recall that the poorest paid me best and showed me the most affection. How delicately Halina warned me not to tell anyone that 'Mother used to bake chała [plaited white bread]' or pretended that she did not notice my ignorance about the Catholic faith! They probably all knew who I was but they didn't let me feel it.

It happened that a woman known to have a long tongue recognized me to be the daughter of 'that sweater maker' ... I told the priest [the vicar] about it. He became gloomy for a moment, but then he immediately comforted me: 'I'll take care of that.' And the woman did not let the cat out of the bag.

During the bombing in 1944 a family I knew from Siedlce took shelter in the home of my host. They had previously concealed a small Jewess but she took ill and died, so they asked me to come to their home. After the war I gladly took up their offer because thanks to them I was able to resume my interrupted schooling. My former hosts and the priest [the pastor] continued to help me materially and gave me whatever I needed when I asked for it.

After so much proof of people's goodness I come back to what I started from. Was that relative correct when she said that 'If they could, the Poles would murder us all?' I know that there were such persons, although they were exceptions for me. But there were more true human beings ...

I once heard of a charge made by Mr. T., an engineer, that 'Catholics concealed us in order to convert us to Catholicism.' Though I passed through many homes which I could not even list here, I never ran across this. I was taught my prayers and how to behave in church so that I might not give myself away; the rest was left to God and His mercy.

In Konstancin, east of Łosice, Rev. Aleksander Kornilak, the pastor and dean, had a good relationship with the Jews and helped the Jews in the ghetto. (The Polish police would often look the other way, thus helping the Jews to leave the ghetto and smuggle goods into the ghetto.)⁷⁶⁵

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Lily Fenster (née Luba Skórka) took refuge in Łuków north of Lublin, where she passed as a Pole. With the help of Dr. Kornacki, she secured a job as a nurse at the local hospital run by the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. It was there that she happened to witness the execution of a priest who assisted Jews. (Testimony of Lily Fenster, November 8 and 10, 1994, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/fenster/>> (section 28).)

I endangered her life. It's true. I did. If they caught her [Mrs. Zajac, for whom Fenster had worked as a maid], they would kill her and burn her like, that's what they did to a lot of Gentiles. I've seen they killed a priest, ksiądz Rosak ... He saved a couple of Jews ... in the parish there. They took him out. I was going [to the cemetery] with [a woman to] put flowers on the grave [of her mother]. She said, "Jesus Christ, that's ksiądz Rosak. What are they doing to him?" ... So we hid under the [grave] stones ... The whole city was crying that they killed [the priest] ... Shot in the cemetery because he saved some Jews.

Frieda Cukierman (later Halina Bartosiak) was born in Warsaw in 1921. She left the Warsaw ghetto shortly before the uprising in April 1943. She made her way to Łuków, but soon had to leave that town during the liquidation of the ghetto. She was sheltered by a priest, who "helped her a lot," in a nearby village. She stayed in the rectory for several weeks where she rested and was cared for by the priest's housekeeper, who gave her a peasant skirt. It appears that the priest provided her with a false birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Halina Chruścicka, which she used to pass as a Pole. Frieda Cukierman survived the war with the help of a number of Poles.⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁵ Testimony of Louis Hofman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 13655.

⁷⁶⁶ Testimony of Halina Bartosiak, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 31545.

Together with her mother, 10-year-old Estera Borensztajn jumped from a train headed for Treblinka. They got separated and Estera never saw her mother again. Helped by random Polish farmers, Estera managed to reach her mother's home village of Osiny, south of Stoczek Łukowski, where they arranged to meet. There, "the peasants arranged among themselves that each would hide a Jewish girl for a certain period so that 'everyone would be guilty and no one could inform.'"⁷⁶⁷ She obtained identity documents in the name of Teresa Wiśniewska. Since she was well known in the village, Estera eventually moved on, staying with other farmers, among them the Gołowski family, until she reached the village of Kłoczew. She was taken in by the Pieniak family and remained with them for two years. Once again, her presence became widely known in the village. During anticipated German raids, she was sheltered by Rev. Stefan Kosmulski, the local pastor, who extended his protection to the child. After the war, Estera was placed in a Jewish orphanage and eventually settled in Israel.⁷⁶⁸

Lea Starowiejska, a young girl from Warsaw with Semitic features, somehow managed to make her way to Żeliszew Podkościelny, a village lying between Mińsk Mazowiecki and Siedlce. She was taken in by Rev. Julian Borkowski, the local pastor, who taught her Catholic prayers so that she could play the part of a Polish orphan. The appeal for a Polish family to take her in was answered by the Górzyńskis, who cared for her like a daughter. They lived in the hamlet of Łęki, where everyone was aware that the child was Jewish. No one betrayed them.⁷⁶⁹ (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 557.)

On a summer day in 1944, in the village of Leki [Łęki] near Siedlce (Lublin District), Aleksander and Genowefa Gorzyński [Górzyński] were attending a memorial prayer service in the village church. At the end of the service, they learned that there was a Jewish orphan girl in the village in need of a home. Her situation touched their hearts. Aleksander was particularly moved since he himself had been orphaned at the age of four. The Górzyńskis, the parents of one child, decided to take in the Jewish orphan. The Górzyńskis renamed the little orphan girl "Halinka." She had dark hair and Jewish features, but so did Aleksander and his son, which made it easier for her to blend in to the family. Despite the risk, they decided to leave her with them. Her real name was Lea Strowieska [Starowiejska] and she was from Warsaw. After her parents died, she had wandered through the villages, until she finally ended up in the village of Leki, where she came to the home of the priest. It was the priest who was the one to hand her over to the Górzyńskis. Aleksander and Genowefa treated her warmly and at once she began to call them "Mama" and "Papa." She played with their little son and helped look after him, and they grew to love her. She remembers how lovingly they cared for her. After the war, her aunt came and took her; they also found her younger sister. She immigrated with the two of them to Israel.

Rev. Szczepan Zasadziński, a priest of the splinter Mariavite Church (a Catholic-based sect not in communion with the Roman Catholic Church) and Home Army chaplain, prepared a hideout under the church in the nearby village of Żeliszew Duży, which was used by members of the Polish underground and fugitive Jews. Rev. Zasadziński also arranged for a shelter for Karolina Mantel, the aged mother of a Jewish convert to Catholicism. She was housed in the rectory in the village of Wiśniew near Mińsk Mazowiecki, where she was known by the name of Maria. A Jewish boy (born in 1930) who arrived at the Mariavites' orphanage before the war, and whose his Semitic appearance betrayed his origin, lived openly in Wiśniew throughout the entire German occupation without being betrayed by the villagers. The parish

⁷⁶⁷ Testimony of Estera Borensztajn, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2989, as cited in Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945*, 27. See also Czajka, Młodkowska, and Umińska-Keff, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 2001–3000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 2001–3000*, vol. 3, 369.

⁷⁶⁸ Waldemar Piasecki, "Gdzie jesteś Teresko," *Dziennik Związkowy* (Chicago), March 9, 2009; Wojtek Maślanka, "Dlaczego, Teresko... dlaczego nie chcesz się spotkać...," *Nowy Dziennik* (Garfield, New Jersey), August 3, 2015; Wojtek Maślanka, "Szczęśliwy finał 44-letnich poszukiwań: Spotkanie po 44 latach," *Nowy Dziennik* (Garfield, New Jersey), November 26, 2016. Józef and Marcjanna Gołowski were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2017; Genowefa and Bolesław Pieniak do not appear to have been recognized.

⁷⁶⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1021; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 304; *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2008), 53.

in Wiśniew, which was under the care of Bishop Wawrzyniec Rostworowski (Father Maria Franciszek), extended help to many Jewish fugitives who came around begging for food. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 489.)

Dr. Maria Mantel [née Klosińska] was the wife of a Polish officer of Jewish ancestry who was murdered at Katyn in the [1940 Soviet] massacre of Polish prisoners of war. Mantel, who lived in Warsaw and ran a private medical clinic in her home, invited her mother-in-law, Karola Mantel, 70, who until then had been hiding in various places in and around the city, to come live with her. Despite the danger to her life, Dr. Mantel took care of her mother-in-law, nursed her, and provided for all her needs. Because of the many patients that visited her clinic in the house, Dr. Mantel feared that the elderly woman's identity would be revealed. After a few months, Dr. Mantel moved her mother-in-law to an institution run by priests in the city of Minsk-Mazowiecki [Mińsk Mazowiecki], where she remained until the Red Army liberated the area in August 1944. In 1943, Mantel also hid Erwin Aleksandrowicz, an old acquaintance, in her apartment. He, like Mantel's mother-in-law, had also been forced to wander from one hiding place to another. Mantel also found a hiding place for Irena Aleksandrowicz, Erwin's daughter, until he found a more permanent place for her in an institution run by nuns.

Members of the numerically small Mariavite clergy were instrumental in rescuing a number of Jews in other places as well. In his memoir, Simcha Guterman describes how he, his wife, Ewa, and young son, Yaakov (Jakub), born in 1935, were sheltered in Warsaw by Mariavite nuns as well as other members of that city's Mariavite community. At his father's request, Yaakov was taken from Warsaw by a nun who travelled to Wygoda, a village near Łowicz, to visit relatives. There, the nun arranged for Yaakov to live with a family in the next village for whom he tended cows.⁷⁷⁰ Sister Makryna (Natalia Siuta), a deaconess in Jędrzejów Nowy near Mińsk Mazowiecki who collaborated with Żegota, sheltered several Jews, among them Frajda Gewis, Jan Himilbach, and relatives of Ludwik Landau.⁷⁷¹

Kitty Felix (later Hart-Moxon) was 12 years old when the war broke out. She fled from her hometown of Bielsko near the German border with her parents and younger brother, and took refuge in Lublin where they were confined in the ghetto. While in Lublin her mother made the acquaintance of a priest, identified as Rev. Krasowski, possibly Rev. Aleksander Krassowski, pastor of St. Nicholas' parish. "He saved our lives," Kitty recalled.⁷⁷² Rev. Krassowski sheltered them in the rectory and provided them with false identity documents identifying them as Catholic Poles. He also devised a rescue plan, which required them to separate in order to increase their chances of survival. He found a hiding place for Kitty's father, Karl Felix, in Tarnów, but he did not survive. Kitty and her mother, Lola Rosa Felix, joined a group of Poles being sent to Germany for forced labour. Unfortunately, their guise was discovered at the factory where they worked. They were deported to Auschwitz but both of them survived. (Account of Kitty Hart-Moxon in Wendy Whitworth, ed., *Survival: Holocaust Survivors Tell Their Story* [Lound Hall, Bothamsall, Retford, Nottinghamshire: Quill Press in association with The Aegis Institute, 2003], pp. 204–205; Internet: <<https://web.archive.org/web/20110721162030/http://www.hmd.org.uk/assets/downloads/1251978650-120.pdf>>.)

Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 566, 574–76; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 304; Sławomir Gołębiowski, "Pochylając się nad historią," *Mariawita*, nos. 11–12 (2004); Urszula Grabowska, "Mariawici i Żydzi—rzecz o pomocy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 4 (2008): 442–65; Urszula Grabowska, "Stosunki mariawicko-żydowskie czasu Zagłady: Kilka przykładów z Mazowsza i Podlasia," in Zofia Chyra-Rolicz, Renata Tarasiuk, and Edward Kopówka, eds., *Żydzi na Podlasiu* (Siedlce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Podlaskiej, 2010), 341–55, at pp. 346–51.

⁷⁷⁰ Simcha Guterman, *Leaves from Fire* (U.S.A.: CreateSpace, 2015); Sicha Guterman, *Kartki z pożogi* (Płock: Towarzystwo Naukowe Płockie, 2004). See also the testimony of the Mariavite nun, Weronika Białkowska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3577.

⁷⁷¹ Urszula Grabowska, "Mariawici i Żydzi—rzecz o pomocy," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 4 (2008): 442–65; Urszula Grabowska, "Stosunki mariawicko-żydowskie czasu Zagłady: Kilka przykładów z Mazowsza i Podlasia," in Chyra-Rolicz, Tarasiuk, and Kopówka, *Żydzi na Podlasiu*, 341–55, at pp. 342–46; Testimony of Natalia Siuta, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6129.

⁷⁷² Testimony of Kitty Hart-Moxon, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45132; Kitty Hart-Moxon, Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, Internet: <<https://www.hmd.org.uk/resource/kitty-hart-moxon/>>.

Soon a small section of the town was allocated to the Jews and we all had to move into this section—which became the Lublin Ghetto. Leaving the ghetto area was punishable by death. ...

My mother, who was a qualified English teacher, made contact with a Catholic priest whose vicarage was opposite the Gestapo headquarters. She gave him English lessons in return for food. Crawling through the city sewers, she too risked her life, but without our endeavours we would have died of starvation. ...

Conditions were now intolerable there and we could not find anywhere to live even though there were constant deportations. Once again my father decided to take us out of the ghetto. Disguised as peasants with bundles on our backs, we walked out before the ghetto was completely sealed off from the outside world. ...

We hid in the forest some three weeks, living mostly on berries. Eventually [in September 1942] we made our way back into Lublin— not to the ghetto but to the vicarage of the Catholic priest, who had obtained non-Jewish documents for us that were to help save our lives. I now had a new identity. My name was Leokadia Dobrzyńska [Dobrzyńska], born in Lublin.

The priest had worked out a survival plan, but we would have to part, as together we were unlikely to survive. My father was to go to Tarnow to be employed in a sawmill. My mother (now my aunt with a different name) and I would to go into a Lublin collection centre where the SS were holding non-Jewish Poles they had grabbed off the streets to dispatch them to work in German factories. We got to the centre and soon found ourselves in a train, on our way with a group of Poles into the German Reich. Our destination was Bitterfeld, the ammunition plant of IG Farben.

Sonya Bimko (later Sarah Salamon, born in Lublin in 1922) was married to Stanley Litwiński, with whom she had two children, Henry and Barbara. Her father, Zeleg Bimko, had befriended a Catholic priest in Lublin who visited his home regularly before the war. Before her arrest and deportation to a concentration camp, Sonya's father arranged with that priest to leave her daughter on the steps of a church on Zamojska Street, in Lublin. When she returned to Lublin after the war, she learned that the priest had given the child over to a nursery. However, she was unable to find her daughter because the priest was arrested by the Soviets and imprisoned in the Soviet Union. Her son, Henry, who had been left in the care of a Polish woman, was shot by the Germans shortly before the arrival of the Soviets when he was recognized as a Jew while playing in the street.⁷⁷³

After being separated from her parents and siblings, Szyfra Fiszbaum (later Stefi Altman, born in Lublin in 1926) obtained false identity documents with the help of a teacher and a priest in or near Lublin. When the Germans discovered that she was Jewish, she was beaten and taken to jail. Apparently, the priest, whose identity is unknown, was hanged. Eventually, she escaped from a camp in Dorohuczka, a branch of the Trawniki labour camp for Jews. After wandering about, she was taken in by a farmer in Płuszwice near Lublin. She spent the remainder of the war in a makeshift cave within his barn with another Jewish family.⁷⁷⁴

In Lubartów, a town north of Lublin, Jan Maluga, the sexton of the parish church, hid Mrs. Zylber and her son from Lublin in a cellar under the church with the approval of the vicar, Rev. Władysław Pardyka. After a stay of several weeks, they were moved to more comfortable premises where they survived the war.⁷⁷⁵

After escaping from the Lubartów ghetto during its liquidation in October 14, 1942, Mojżesz Apelbaum

⁷⁷³ Testimony of Sarah Salamon, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 748.

⁷⁷⁴ Stefi Altman, Obituary, *Houston Chronicle*, December 4 & 5, 2017, Internet: <<https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/houstonchronicle/obituary.aspx?n=stefi-altman&pid=187421957&fhid=7433>>. Several Jewish families survived the war hiding in the village of Płuszwice. The six-member Roset family were sheltered by an unidentified farmer See Alter Roset, "Grupa partyzantów spod Płuszwic," in Adam Kopciowski, ed., *Księga pamięci żydowskiego Lublina* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 2011), 548–50; Testimony of Rubin Rosset, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 37105. The Mazur family sheltered 13 Jews. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 501–2; "Rodzina Mazurów," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/historie-pomocy/historia-pomocy-rodzina-mazurow>>.

⁷⁷⁵ Zdzisław Ligęza, *Lubartowskie drogi Armii Krajowej* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 1998), 50–52.

made his way back to his hometown of Firlej, where he turned to the local priest for help. Rev. Szymon Tomaszewski hid Mojżesz Apelbaum and his daughter in the attic of the rectory until the arrival of the Soviet army in July 1944. As a Home Army chaplain, the Communist authorities put Rev. Tomaszewski on trial after the war on trumped up charges. Mojżesz Apelbaum came forward to testify on his behalf.⁷⁷⁶

Rev. Wincenty Szczepanik, the pastor of Kurów near Lublin, assisted Hersh and Helen Kotlar by holding on to their money and paying out sums as required for their upkeep, and by finding Christian families willing to take in their two young daughters. The Kotlar family, consisting of the parents and two daughters, survived the war, receiving shelter and assistance from numerous Poles along the way.⁷⁷⁷ (Kozak Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10578550>>.)

The Kotlarzes were a Jewish family living in Kurów, Poland. Hersz and Chana had two daughters, Golda and Basia, and ran a large textile shop that had many non-Jewish customers. They were a well-respected family in the local Jewish community and had good relations with the local Christian leaders as well, particularly the Catholic priest, Wincenty Szczepanik.

When the war began Hersz was able to give the priest a sum of money for safekeeping, a resource which later helped him immensely. When the town's Jews were deported in May 1942, the Kotlarzes managed to stay behind with a small group of Jews who were left to work in the German dairy and to produce fur clothing for the Wehrmacht. This group, too, was murdered in 1942, but the Kotlarzes escaped in the nick of time.

By the time they escaped, Hersz and Chana were without their children. When the danger had become great, Szczepanik had suggested that the infant Basia be hidden with the Zarzycki family (recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1978⁷⁷⁸) in a nearby village, while Golda, who was then 7 years old, was taken in by Aleksander Kozak and his wife, Janina. Aleksander was a forest ranger who took a liking to little Goldele and promised to take good care of her. He was a good, intelligent man, and there were other Jews hiding in the forest that was under his care, of which he was obviously aware.

After surviving the liquidation of the ghetto, the Kotlarzes went to the Kozaks to hide there as well. For a few days Aleksander and Janina kept them safe, but then, fearing for their own family's safety, they asked them to find another place. They said, however, that Golda could stay. The older Kotlarzes set out to wander the surrounding area in search of a place. It was winter and cold, and they were unable to find anything. A couple of weeks later, they returned to the Kozaks. The welcome was warm, and Aleksander even built them a hideout for the winter months.

In the spring, when more people were around, this became unsafe again. While her parents once again needed to find a better place, Golda remained at the ranger's house. The Kozaks told strangers that she worked for them, herding their cow, and she did help their cowherd, a boy named Janek. In the summer of 1943, however, someone reported the Kozaks to the Germans, and soldiers came on a raid. Golda was not discovered, but she could no longer stay there.

The Kotlarzes were therefore forced to pick up their daughter and go to the Zarzyckis, who let them stay together with both girls until the liberation. After the war they went to the United States. Chana, now Helen, Kotlarz wrote a book about their survival story, in which she sang the Kozaks' praises and said in general that there had been quite a few good people around willing to lend a hand to the persecuted Jews. She lived in California until the ripe old age of 102.

In her memoir, Helen Kotlar wrote (Helen Kotlar, *We Lived in a Grave* [New York: Shengold Publishers, 1980], pp. 53, 89–90):

The only money that was still ours was entrusted to the priest. ... The priest was a good-natured and just man. He was concerned about the great sufferings of the Jews. Hersh was friendly with the priest. ... When the Nazis began

⁷⁷⁶ Aleksander Baca, "Ks. Szymon Tomaszewski (1886–1957)—kapłan, który ocalił Żydów," *Głos Ziemi Urzędowskiej* 2012, 36. See also the testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2013, noted in Michał Czajka, Maria Młodkowska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 2001–3000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 2001–3000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2001), vol. 3, 15.

⁷⁷⁷ See also Antoni, Sulek, "The Righteous from the Barłogi Hut—The Story of the Kozak Family," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/righteous-barłogi-hut-story-kozak-family>>.

⁷⁷⁸ See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 925.

to confiscate Jewish belongings and the Polish zlotye [sic] was devaluated, Hersh endeavored to exchange both our textile and yardgoods for gold coins. Both of us realized that in the future there will be a need for this type of currency. Having succeeded in selling some of our merchandise for payments in gold, we looked for a place to hide our money as well as the unsold goods. The priest helped us immensely. He hid our gold coins for us in his house.

One day he said to us, "In case I will not be present when you will be in need of the money, it is important that you know the location of the hiding place." He also assured us that only one other person knows about the money. This person, he told us, is an honest man, reliable and trustworthy. ... Had it not been for the priest we would not have been able to make the payments to the peasants who gave us shelter. The priest was an honest man and was fond of Hersh because he knew of Hersh's good reputation in the community.

Two Jews who hid in the Skrzynice forest near Lublin received assistance from an unidentified priest they happened to encounter in the forest. (Account of A.G. in Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution*, p. 169.)

The next morning, we watched a priest and a peasant roll a wagon into the forest to get firewood for the church. We went up to the priest and asked for some bread. The priest said he had no bread with him, but in the afternoon, when he came to the forest for more wood, he'd bring us some. Later, he did bring us bread and two bottles of milk. The bread and the bottles were hidden under the straw in the peasant's wagon, and he didn't know it. While the peasant was busy gathering wood, the priest told us to go to the wagon, where to look for the bread and milk, we found it and left.

Gitel Hopfeld and her two young children moved from village to village in vicinity of Bełżyce and Wronów, near Lublin, until the arrival of the Soviet Army. While few farmers were prepared to shelter them for any length of time, almost no one turned them away empty-handed, and no one betrayed them to the authorities. Eventually, they were taken in by the regional leader of the Home Army. Along the way they encountered the kindness of two unidentified priests.⁷⁷⁹

Ryfka Goldiner, a newborn at the time, was sheltered by Stanisław and Helena Wiśliński in Bełżyce near Lublin. Although the villagers were aware of her origin no one betrayed them. The local priest did not agree to formally baptize the child in the event her parents survived the war. In fact, they did survive and reclaimed her after liberation.⁷⁸⁰

An unidentified priest came to the rescue of Simon Grunwald (born in 1933), who worked as a farmhand moving from one farm to another in around the village of Sadurki in the vicinity of Nałęczów parish, west of Lublin. When a drunkard for whom the boy had worked identified him as a Jew, the priest insisted that the boy, going by the name of Staszek Rudzki, was not Jewish. From then, no one questioned his origin.⁷⁸¹

Edwarda Kleinfeld (born in 1935, later Rorat) fled from Warsaw with her parents, who were professionals, and her older sister and eventually arrived in the Lublin area. After her parents were shot by the Germans, villagers urged the two girls to run away. The head of the village of Olszanka, a prewar acquaintance of Edwarda's father, took an interest in the girls' fate. He arranged for each of them to work on separate farms. After Edwarda left the first farm because of ill-treatment, she was taken in by Jan and Stefania Rorat, a poor, elderly couple. Having lost their only son in the war, they treated Edwarda like their own daughter. The fact that she was Jewish was an open secret in Olszanka and in the nearby village of Krzczonów, south of Lublin, where she attended school. Edwarda enjoyed the protection of her teachers who would hide her when the Germans came to the village. The parish priest, who was very fond of her and allowed her to borrow books from his personal library, did not press her to convert. Edwarda

⁷⁷⁹ Gitel Hopfeld, *At the Mercy of Strangers: Survival in Nazi Occupied Poland* (Oakville, Ontario and Niagara Falls, New York: Mosaic Press, 2005), 87, 99.

⁷⁸⁰ Anna Dąbrowska, ed., *Światła w ciemności: Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata: Relacje* (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka-Teatr NN," 2008), 56–61. See also Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 630–31.

⁷⁸¹ Simon Grunwald, *Trilogie de la Persécution* (Paris: Éditions des Écrivains, 2000), 71–72; Testimony of Simon Grunwald, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 26862.

remained with the Rorats after the war, resisting efforts by the Jewish committee to remove her. Her sister also survived.⁷⁸²

Thirteen Jews were sheltered by the Jarosz family in Piaski near Lublin. Marianna Krasnodębska (née Jarosz), who was awarded by Yad Vashem along with her parents and two brothers, recalled their rescue and the help the Jewish fugitives received from many residents including priests. (*Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* [Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2008], p. 79.)

“We had to help them,” she reflects on the Jews. “It was simply the duty of any human being. They helped us too, as is normal when living together.”

Marianna lived in Piaski, near Lublin. Her father was a clerk, one of the town’s elite; they let a tenement house and owned a large farm. There were eight children in the family. All of them were part of the underground from the very moment the occupation started. The Germans murdered four of Marianna’s brothers and her grandfather for harboring the guerillas. Her Home Army codename was “Wiochna.”

“With absolute confidence and with a clear conscience,” she states, “I can say that none of the residents of Piaski ever betrayed the Jews in hiding. They might have been too afraid to help, but would not sell one out. There were two informers, but they were executed by the Home Army.”

She enumerates the Jews hiding in Piaski. Nina Drozdowska from Warszawa [Warsaw] at Janek Król’s, Mrs. Makosiowa and her son at the Baranowskis’. There was a Jewish boy with the Świtacz family, a German or Czech Jew at the Siedliska [Jan and Aleksandra Pasternak rescued Johewet Netzman of Piaski in Siedliszczyki⁷⁸³], and an entire family at the Zajączkowski’s. Zajączkowski was of great help to the Jews, and so were priests, and also doctor Bażański, who provided them with medication and bandages. The friends of her family who were saved, with their help, also included: Godel Huberman, Mendel Plinka and Józef Honig with his father and brother.

She accounts their stories in her book “Stories Told”.

“Every war,” she says, “brings out either the heroes or the beasts in people. And people are the same, no matter the nation.”

Samuel Gruber, a Jewish partisan leader, described the attitude of a village priest in Pyszczoła Góra near Lublin, in his memoirs, *I Chose Life* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1978), at pages 83–84.

The [Jewish] partisans, the priest told the assembled mourners, were not robbers but fighting men, regardless of whether they were Christians or Jews. They were human beings who wanted to live and not be caught by the Germans. Accordingly, the priest warned his congregants, if a band of partisans came to your farmstead you should give them food and shelter for the night and not tip off the Germans, at least not immediately. You could always make the report the next morning after the partisans had left. Just be sure you don’t inform the Germans while the partisans are still in your house, because if you do, you will end up having trouble from both sides, from the Germans for having taken in partisans, and from other underground fighters for having reported their friends.

It seems that the villagers took the words of their priest to heart, for the next day they treated us with unusual deference and hospitality. They gave us food, clothing, and even shoes, “so you can march better,” they said. However, this was not enough for some of our men. They went out on their own and, instead of asking peasants for what they wanted, acted the part of thieves and holdup men.

Tema Rotman-Weinstock, who was born to a poor family in Frampol, a small town north of Biłgoraj in Lublin province, had only four years of schooling, but her Polish was fluent and she was familiar with village customs. Penniless, she moved from farmer to farmer and from village to village—Trzęsiny, Gorajec, Czarnystok, Smoryń, Kajetanówka—in the surrounding countryside offering her services as a labourer. She too encountered the protective support of a priest, probably the pastor of Trzęsiny parish, when she hid in the village of Kajetanówka with a woman named Niedźwiecka. Of her numerous

⁷⁸² Rorat Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7075782>>; Oral history interviews with Edwarda Rorat, April 15, 1995 and February 25, 1996, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

⁷⁸³ “Piaski,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/piaski/5,history/>>. Many other rescue stories are recorded in that article.

benefactors, only Aniela Chmiel and her daughter, Janina, have been recognized by Yad Vashem.⁷⁸⁴ Her story is recounted in Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), at pages 227–29.

From the beginning of the Nazi occupation, Tema, dressed as a peasant, smuggled food from the countryside to the town to help support her family. During the last stage of the war she roamed the familiar countryside. She worked hard and had to move from employer to employer, most of whom were hungry themselves and found it hard to feed her. Constantly exposed to raids, cold, and hunger, Tema fought against her feelings of hopelessness.

One winter, while searching in vain for shelter, she suffered frostbite in three of her toes. A peasant woman who could hardly support herself and her retarded daughter took pity on Tema and kept her for three months. But the days when peasants were willing to keep her were [because of their fear—M.P.] coming to an end. Tema's frostbitten toes continued to hurt her, and hunger made her grow thin. Finding solace in prayers, she persevered. For a while she hid out with a few meager provisions in the attic of a small roadside chapel. But hunger drove her out, and she went on until she found a hut. There she met a cousin who had come in from the forest to buy provisions. He told her that he and his wife lived in a bunker in the forest. Tema begged him to let her join them. He refused. She continued to roam the countryside, sick and often starving. When she was on the verge of collapse, kind peasants took her into their home. She describes her stay.

"I could not regain my health. I stopped feeling hunger, vomited a lot, and suffered from headaches. I was hardly able to work. And after a month, afraid to keep me, this peasant, Popko, directed me to a woman who lived on a farm with her daughter. This woman had a hard time running the farm, yet she was too poor to hire a farmhand. The village was called Kajetanówka [Kajetanówka], and the name of the peasant woman was Niedźwiedzka [Niedźwiecka]. Her hut was far from the main road, and the Germans were unlikely to come there ... She was not [visibly—M.P.] afraid to take me in; and I worked for her as much as I could. ..."

The year 1944 brought the Russian front closer. Tema's health continued to deteriorate. She could barely eat, yet she had to work hard. Her employer seemed pleased with her; then somehow the word spread that Tema was Jewish. Fortunately, no bad consequences followed because she found a powerful protector in the local priest. He baptized Tema and defended her against those who still saw her as a Jew. "The priest stood up for me, arguing that conversion was a wonderful Christian deed ... Slowly, I began to feel better, my health improved, and the wounds on my toes healed ... Then a miracle happened. I saw my mother, dressed the way she had been when we parted. She entered the hut, smiling, and said that we wouldn't be suffering much longer because on the 23rd of July the Soviets would come to liberate us." When Tema reported this vision to her employer and neighbors, they laughed at her. She herself began to doubt her dream or vision. But "the miracle happened—on July 23, 1944, the first Soviet soldiers came to our village and to the next one."

After the Soviets came, a group of women rushed into Tema's house, calling her Santa Teresa. Each wanted her to come and stay. Each brought delicious food, insisting that Tema eat it. Like the people around her, Tema believed in miracles and saw herself as a saint. Eventually, however, Tema decided to return to her Jewish faith. She settled in Haifa, Israel ... Tema stayed in touch with the peasants who were kind to her.

Krystyna Modrzewska (Mandelbaum), a twenty-year-old Jewish woman who had converted to Catholicism before the war, and her mother, Franciszka Mandelbaum, survived with assistance of nuns and Rev. Paweł Dziubiński, the pastor of the Conversion of St. Paul parish in Lublin. Rev. Dziubiński provided temporary shelter and other assistance to his former neighbours, the Mandelbaums. His housekeeper, Sister Pelagia, the superior of the Sisters of the Family of Bethany (*Siostry Rodziny Betańskiej*), arranged for Krystyna Modrzewska to be housed in a convent of that order in Mełgiew near Lublin. Krystyna's mother was groomed to be a Catholic at the rectory and then taken by Sister Jadwiga Szafran to a home belonging to the Sisters of the Family of Bethany in Międzylesie near Warsaw. She lived there with a nun, passing as Maria Górská, a displaced Polish widow.⁷⁸⁵ Rev. Dziubiński also provided baptismal and birth certificates to Sara and Lea Bass, whose story is found later on. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 277–80.)

(At the beginning of March 1941 the landlady of the flat found out that the Jews were to be deported the following day.)

She was afraid to share this news with anybody, but she simply had to tell us, her lodgers. ... Unfortunately, I have

⁷⁸⁴ Testimony of Tema Wajnsztok, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7214; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 137.

⁷⁸⁵ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 653.

no illusions. We began nervously to pack our suitcases, but that of course was no answer. What were we to do with ourselves? My mother and I were invited for lunch on the same day by a priest (Father Dziubiński), our former neighbour, who throughout had been taking a genuine interest in our welfare and assisted us whenever he could and as much as he could. Mother was very upset and told him about our new trouble. He said not to worry at all for we could simply stay with him and wait until the deportation was over—if it really did happen—and we would see later what could be done. He said this in a matter-of-fact voice, as if it were quite obvious and needed no comment, though sheltering a Jew was punishable by death then. We stayed at his parsonage.

Our fellow lodger was promised a new place. Should her new flat prove too big for her, we could move in. But only my mother went to live with her; since I, following the priest's advice, got out my hidden 'Aryan' documents and from 15 March 1941 began the life of a new person. The priest recommended me to Sisters [of the Family of Bethany] from a convent (in Melgiew, near Lublin).

Winter passed. The spring of 1942 began grimly. One of the Sisters returned one day from Lublin with hair-raising news. Piles of bodies lay in the streets following several days' massacres of Jews in that town. Blood was flowing in the gutters. Ukrainian soldiers of the SS were breaking into homes, killing whole families, throwing children out of windows, ordering sons to hang their parents, husbands their wives. Terrible manhunts were taking place in the streets. 'Your mother is probably no longer alive,' the Sister concluded her story. It was quite probable. I prepared myself for the worst, and in the evening held council with Marysia (a clerk the author got to know in the Village Council, where she was working). She kept vital statistics records and promised to help me should anything happen. She already knew about the massacre in Lublin. They had talked about it in the Council. Marysia promised to search the archives for the necessary documents: somebody's birth and marriage certificates and to issue a provisional identity card in that name. I was to give it to my mother and perhaps with the help of friends she would be able to find a hiding place somewhere. But there was a great deal of work in the office the next day and Marysia could not spare the time. The next day was Sunday. Thus it was Monday by the time we set off for Lublin. Marysia did not want me to walk about the town in those terrible days all by myself. She dressed me in a big country-style scarf, and I took a basket and we went by train to Lublin.

In Lublin, I went first to the priest who was in touch with my mother but he said he knew nothing about her. In the Jewish quarter terrible things were happening; it was impossible to go there. The four of us: the priests, Sister Pelagia (his housekeeper and at the same time Mother Superior of a convent), Marysia and I held council as to what should be done. The bell suddenly rang and my mother entered. She had come to say good-bye to the priest and ask him to take care of me. She brought a letter for me and her wedding ring. She was to report to Majdanek the same day at noon. All Jews with names beginning with the letter M were to go there. The priest ripped off the band from her arm.

'You'll stay here,' he said quietly. And mother stayed at the parsonage. She was rapidly coached on how to be an 'Aryan'. Sister Pelagia taught her to pray and after a few days sent her in the company of another Sister to Międzyzlesie near Warsaw, where the nuns had a small place. It was really of no importance, just two attached houses in a garden, looked after by one Sister. There was peace and genuine, literal poverty. Mother went to live there as an elderly lonely woman, a resettled widow. For the time being I could stop worrying about her. But I was filled by apprehension, by a nagging fear. ...

I escaped again to my village but, afraid to appear with my suitcases, went first to Marysia. She was really glad to see me and told me at once that the head of the village was sorry that I had left, that they were about to offer me a permanent position, and that I should not be afraid, everything would be all right! She would defend me if I were suspected, but I should keep up a bold front and on no condition admit who I was. Naturally! I went to the Sisters after I had arranged for a job at the Village Council, and though they were not particularly enthusiastic, they took me back—as a Village Council employee—into their uninviting home. There followed long days of dull office work. Marysia stood guard over my life, she constantly watched everything and everybody. When she saw through the window that strangers were approaching the office, she prudently hid me in the archives. Later she would come to inform me: 'It's all right. You can go back to the office, it's a local girl dressed in town clothes.' Or sometimes: 'Stay here. It's some woman from Lublin. I'll come again when she's gone.'

Several times I had to hide with a beating heart among dusty volumes of old documents waiting for some 'suspicious' person to go.

Sabina Irena Czerkies (née Ossowska) was married to Jakub Czerkies, a Jew who was forced into the Warsaw ghetto. Her husband was eventually sent to Treblinka and not heard of again. Just before the Great Deportation started in July 1942, two of her husband's cousins, Ruta Helman (born in 1936, later Ruth Haberman) and Zdzisław Dynlacht (born in 1936, later Sigmund Dynlacht), managed to escape from the ghetto. Mrs. Czerkies, who had two children of her own, took charge of hiding the two Jewish children. After Mrs. Czerkies began receiving threats from blackmailers, she left Warsaw in May 1943. While in Puławy, she was arrested and imprisoned in Lublin. The Jewish children were placed in an orphanage in Lublin run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of

Stara Wieś), where Ruta was known as Basia Ossowska. Through bribery, Mrs. Czerkies was released from prison after three months. In June 1944, when the front was approaching Lublin, she was asked to take the children from the orphanage. Ruta was placed in the home of friends in Puławy who knew she was Jewish, while Mrs. Czerkies took Zdzisław with her to Warsaw where, together, they survived the uprising. After the war, Mrs. Czerkies found Ruth in a Jewish orphanage in Pietrolesie. She handed the children over to the Jewish Committee. They were adopted by a Jewish family from the United States.⁷⁸⁶

Another Jew recalls some of the Jewish survivors, who had received help from priests and nuns, whom he met in Lublin just after the war. (David Zabludovsky, “Horrors, Death and Destruction (Experiences of a Holocaust Survivor),” *Chosen Pages From the Zabludow Yiskor Book*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/zabludow/Zabludow.html>>, translation of Nechama Shmueli-Schmusch, ed., *Zabludow: Dapim mi-tokh yisker-bukh* [Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Zabludow in Israel, 1987].)

I meet with remnants of the survivors of our nation. ... I speak with a few sisters that wandered in the forests and the priest of the village provided them in secret food and clothing; he consoled them and foresaw for them “God tells me that you’ll remain among the living.”

Everyone has the miracle of their staying alive and their experience: A Jew in mid-life, hidden in an attic in a house outside the city by a priest. On the day of liberation when the Russian forces entered the city, he wanted to greet the liberators, full of happiness and enthusiasm. To his misfortune, the priest removed the ladder from which he would descend on the same day. The Jew fell and broke his spine and limbs. ...

The kitchen manager of the Jewish town representatives in the branch where I got my meals, was a Jewish woman with Aryan features. Her husband, a well-known surgeon, was cremated with all the Jews. She wandered as a Christian; they said that only recently she left a cloister but still wears a crucifix on her neck It’s impossible to convince her that there is no reason to fear that as a Jew nothing bad will happen to her. But no reason would help. She has a fear complex and cannot escape it.

Rev. Józef Rukasz, the pastor of Żyrzyn near Puławy, Rev. Stefan Bielawski, the vicar, and their housekeeper Stanisława Woś provided food for Jews who came to the rectory begging for food. After German gendarmes took over part of the rectory, the Jewish fugitives no longer came around.⁷⁸⁷

Assistance was provided by the pastor of Wąwolnica parish near Lublin. Rev. Józef Gorajek extended protection to Danuta Winnik and her seven-year-old son, Eugeniusz, who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in 1942. Rev. Gorajek was awarded by Yad Vashem.⁷⁸⁸ At a Holocaust remembrance ceremony in Los Angeles on April 14, 1988, Rev. Gorajek stated:

In Wąwolnica, where I am living, before the war the Jews constituted fifty percent of the entire population. ... From the very beginning of the occupation, the Polish residents, being motivated by feelings of compassion and love of their fellow man, helped the Jews, even though helping Jews was punished with death without judicial process. At the beginning of the occupation, an organization called Ruch Oporu or the Opposition Movement, consisting of partisans to oppose the enemy, was created. I belonged to this organization as a chaplain. I did not use arms. At the organizational meetings, we decided on the type of warfare and assistance for the persecuted and this included the Jews. In order to save Jews, I issued [baptismal] certificates at the parish attesting they were Catholics, and thus enabling them to secure identity documents. Many of the Jews were placed with religious communities, for others we found jobs with a certain amount of security. ... There was real solidarity, solidarity and mutual aid between the Jews and the Poles ...

I recall from those days a rescued Jewish girl who, as a child, was found on the property of the Polkowski

⁷⁸⁶ Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org/pl/en/news/polin-museum-hosts-righteous-medal-award-ceremony>>; “Małżeństwo Halina i Jerzy Wesolowscy oraz Sabina Irena Czerkies uhonorowani tytułem Sprawiedliwych Wśród Narodów Świata,” Internet: <<http://dzieje.pl/aktualnosci/malzenstwo-wesolowskich-oraz-sabina-czerkies-uhonorowani-tytułem-sprawiedliwych-wsrod-na>>; Testimony of Ruta Helman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 997.

⁷⁸⁷ Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 3: *Dystrykt lubelski Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020), account 146.

⁷⁸⁸ See also the entry in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 246.

family.⁷⁸⁹ I advised them to help save this child since her parents had been killed. At night I baptized the child, recording another name for her in order to safeguard these good people who together with me, were risking their lives in the performance of this good deed. The Jewish girl now lives in London, England, under the name of Barbara Tennis. I am in contact with the Polkowski family, for whom a tree was planted in Jerusalem.

One of those assisted by Rev. Gorajek was Eugene Winnik, who gave the following testimony:

I was born in 1933 into an affluent Jewish family in Warsaw. My father was a dentist and my early years were spent in a large home with servants and a nanny. When we were relocated to the Warsaw Ghetto, it was apparent to my father, David Winnik, that the only chance my mother and I had for survival was to escape. My mother was an elegant, beautiful woman who spoke perfect Polish without any identifiable accent and whose face revealed no specific nationality. ... A Christian family from Warsaw had friends in a town called Niezabitów. They did not inform these friends that my mother and I were Jews, and, one night we escaped from the Ghetto and went to live with this family. I never saw my father again.

I was expected to attend the small church in Wąwolnica. Father Józef Gorajek was the priest and he was aware that my mother and I were Jews. I attended church daily. When it came time to receive my First Communion, it was given to me by Father Gorajek. A group of villagers had begun to suspect that we were Jews and they went to the priest and said that he must not under any circumstances give me Communion because I was a Jew. The priest was very angry with the villagers. He told them that I was a Catholic, that I would continue to receive Communion and that they were never again to say such a thing. The villagers, having respect for the word of the Father, were silent throughout the years.

During the entire war, Józef Gorajek continued to protect me. My mother was deeply involved in the Polish underground and had formed a strong friendship with Stanislaw Witek, the leader of the partisans in the village area. Together they spent much time away from the village and I was alone, under the protection of Father Gorajek. [Father Gorajek arranged for the young boy to care for the village's herd of cattle.] At no time did this courageous priest, who risked so much, ever encourage me to leave my faith or my people.

A further account by Eugene Winnik appeared in the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* on April 15, 1988, under the heading "Priest's 'deed of love' remembered."

"The entire village could have been destroyed were it known he offered us protection."

Gorajek said he quieted the local townspeople after hearing rumblings that protecting was dangerous.

He said he took in other Jews during the war, placing them in convents and religious orders, and issued Christian birth certificates to Jewish babies he had never seen.

"I knew I could be executed, along with the entire village, without any question," Gorajek said. "I only meditated for a moment: Did I have a right to affect so many people?"

Towards the end of the war, Rev. Aleksander Zalski, the pastor of Sobieszyn parish near Ryki in the Lublin voivodship, sheltered a Jewish girl named Rachela Zonszajn (born in October 1941), who had false identity documents as Marianna Tymieńska. As a one-year old, Rachela had been snuck out of the Siedlce ghetto by her mother, Cypora Zonszajn (née Jabłoń), and given over to her mother's Polish friend, Irena Zawadzka, who lived with her mother, Sabina Zawadzka. For several months Rachela was under the care of the Albertine Sisters in Siedlce, her stay there having been arranged by a priest misidentified as Rev. Szesewski. As in other orphanages, conditions were far from ideal. The orphanage was overcrowded, and food, medicine and clothes were in short supply. Rachela was removed from the orphanage when she

⁷⁸⁹ See also the entry in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 630–31.

she fell ill.⁷⁹⁰ Afterwards, Zofia (Olszakowska) Glazer, another friend of Cypora's, took Rachela to Zakrzówek near Kraśnik, where they stayed with Zofia's sister, Irena (Olszakowska) Egierszдорff, for about six months. In the early winter of 1944, Zofia moved with Rachela to Sobieszyn. The last part of the story is related by Zofia Kubar, a Jewish woman who passed as a Catholic Pole and worked as a teacher in Sobieszyn. (Zofia S. Kubar, *Double Identity: A Memoir* [New York: Hill and Wang, 1989], pp. 154–58.)

To be safe and inconspicuous, we decided to teach not in the school building in Ryki but in a nearby hamlet, Sobieszyn. ...

The first Sunday after our course began, all the teachers were invited to the parish priest's house for afternoon tea. Although most of us were atheists, we accepted the invitation; it was customary for newcomers in small parishes to visit the local priest. For myself, the visit had a special meaning. For the first time in my life, I was going to meet a priest socially.

The Reverend Alexander [Aleksander] Zalski was a tall, somewhat bulky man in his forties. Although he was kind, good-humored, and hospitable, my fellow teachers—young intellectuals— immediately attacked his theological beliefs, taking full advantage of his lack of argumentative skills. ...

Suddenly we heard a child crying, "Father! Father!" A girl, about four or five years old, ran into the room. I had rarely seen a child of such beauty and natural grace. Her curly hair and eyes were raven-black. Her complexion was dark. There could be no doubt that she was Jewish. I was startled by her presence in the priest's home.

The next moment she was in his arms. Still sobbing and out of breath, she reminded him to tell the story he always told her at mealtimes. "Father" is the term by which people usually address a priest, but I felt that this child actually considered him her protector, as she would have looked on her own father. Later I would see how he fed her, comforted her, and stayed by her bedside until she fell asleep.

During our first visit, Father Zalski seemed slightly embarrassed by the little intruder, but he did not reprove her. Solemnly he promised to tell the story later, and Marianna, happy and reassured, left the room. Afterward, he mumbled a few words of apology. Although as a priest he had no experience in raising children, he said, he had undertaken to care for this child because her parents, both dead, had been distantly related to him.

Did he realize that we knew the girl was Jewish? Was he alarmed because we had seen her? I do not think so. It seemed inconceivable that he would fear that we would denounce him. Besides, her presence at the parish must have been widely known; one could not keep such a secret in a small village. ...

I deeply admired Father Zalski's devotion to the Jewish child and his courage in harboring her. His risk was great, for the punishment meted out by the Nazis was merciless. I personally knew of seven Sisters of Charity at the orphanage of Saint Stanislaus in Warsaw who were executed for hiding Jewish children. ... The Polish priests were widely engaged in helping Jews. This was but a part of their activities in the Resistance for which they were subsequently persecuted by the Nazis. More than 4,400 Catholic priests and brothers were put into concentration camps, where half of them were killed. Of 1,100 nuns imprisoned in concentration camps, about 240 perished.

I regretted that I never had the opportunity to express my feelings to Father Zalski, but the Jewish child was not a topic to be discussed then. ...

Only recently I learned about the fate of Father Zalski and the child. Father Zalski stayed in his parish until his death in the 1960s. Little Marianna, whose real name was Rachela, survived. Her mother had taken poison in Siedlce during the deportation. An old school friend of her mother's had rescued the child. Later, after being passed from hand to hand, she was entrusted to Father Zalski's care. In 1946, with the help of Mrs. [Zofia] Glazer-Olszakowska, Marianna was sent to an uncle in Israel and was brought up in a kibbutz there. Eventually, she studied economics, married, and has two children. Mrs. Glazer-Olszakowska visited her in Israel and reported that she had become a highly respected civil servant. I never saw her after that early spring of 1944 in Father Zalski's parish house in Sobieszyn.

⁷⁹⁰ See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 928, where the rescue efforts of several Polish women—Sabina Zawadzka, her daughter, Irena Zawadzka, Lucyna Rzewuska, Zofia Glazer-Olszakowska, and Irena Egierszдорff (recognized in 2014)—are acknowledged, but not Rev. Zalski's. See also the Testimony of Irena Zawadzka, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32553; Testimony of Zofia Glazer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 33574. Zofia Glazer (née Olszakowska) requested the assistance Rev. Szesewski (?) to place Rachela in an orphanage run by the Albertine Sisters. See Amira Keidar, *Lalechka* (Israel: Amira Keidar, 2012; U.S.A.: CreateSpace, 2015), 147–49. Irena Zawadzka recalled that the decision to take in one-year-old Rachela Zonszajn in August 1942, when she was brought to their home by the child's mother, was spontaneous. "We didn't think about it. Someone we cared about had turned to us, so we had to help. We just had to figure out how." They did not take pains to conceal Rachela. "None of the guests we had were people we were afraid of. Family members and friends—they all knew about Rachela. You didn't think about fear, you thought about normal life." See The Zawadzki Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-zawadzki-family>>.

References to the activities of Rev. Zalski can also be found in other rescue stories. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 563.)

During the German occupation, Irena Janicka (née Życka) ran her family estate in Uleż Górny (Garwolin County, Lublin District). In 1941, Irena was contacted by a friend who had had considerable business dealings before the war with David Springer, from the city of Ryki. Through the initiative of David's son, Israel, who was later murdered, and with the assistance of the local priest [likely Rev. Aleksander Zalski of Sobieszyn], his sister, Leah (later, Fein), received a birth certificate under the name of Helen Wiśniewska. Irena Janicka was contacted by her friend, who told her that Leah was Jewish, and decided to employ her, providing her with the board, food, and clothes. Irena informed other members of her staff that Leah, who spoke impeccable Polish and regularly attended services at the church, was a young orphan girl. Irena Janicka also sheltered on her estate an elderly Jewish couple who used the name of Wójcicki during the war and, for shorter periods of time, other Jews from the nearby village of Żabianka. She took no financial payment for the assistance she gave to the Jews and, according to her daughter, was motivated by her desire to help people in need. After the liberation, Leah Springer left the estate and immigrated to Australia.

Rev. Jan Poddębniak of Krężnica Jara near Lublin, was the chancellor of the diocesan curia. He helped many Jewish youths from Lublin, among them Lea Bass, Sara Bass-Frenkel, and Manfred Frenkel. With his assistance the Bass sisters were able to register for labour in Germany. Rev. Poddębniak corresponded with the sisters so as to allay suspicion as to their identity, but their lack of discretion could have cost him his life. He was awarded by Yad Vashem. Rev. Paweł Dziubiński, a prelate from Lublin, provided the Bass sisters with false birth and baptismal certificates.⁷⁹¹ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, pp. 296–97.)

In September 1942, during the liquidation of the Lublin ghetto, 20-year-old Sara Bas [Bass] and her 13-year-old sister, Lea, escaped from the ghetto after their entire family had perished. Since none of their Polish acquaintances were prepared to take them in, they roamed from village to village for about a month vainly trying to find shelter. At night they hid in abandoned ruins and in Lublin's old cemetery. In early November 1942, when they were on the verge of despair, Władysław [Władysław] Janczarek, an old acquaintance of their father's, noticed them and approached them cautiously, offering them help. Since Janczarek was unable to put the two girls up in his home, he arranged to meet with them the next day and bring them two Aryan birth certificates of relatives of the same age, so that they could register for work in Germany. The two sisters, however, continued wandering around Lublin for several months until they found work in the home of a Polish woman. Since they were well known in their hometown, the sisters feared discovery and therefore decided to ask the nuns who worked in the local hospital for help. The nuns [Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, one of whom was Sister Maria Gulbin⁷⁹²] put them in touch with Jan Poddębniak [Poddębniak], a priest, who advised them to register for work in Germany. Enlisting the help of the Chief Recruitment Officer, Father Poddębniak arranged for the two sisters to be sent to Germany, where they worked in a hospital for foreign workers until the area was liberated. Father Poddębniak made a point of sending them letters to allay suspicion as to their identity.

Rev. Jan Gosek, the pastor of Kanie near Chełm, provided false documents which enabled a Jewish woman to pass as a Pole and survive the war. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, p. 649.)

Until the war broke out, the five members of the Wagner family lived in the village of Wolka Kanska [Wólka Kańska] near the city of Chełm [Chełm], in the Lublin district, and had been friends of the Puch family. During the occupation, after the Germans began liquidating the Jews, the Wagner family tried unsuccessfully to find a place to hide in the area. By 1942, of the entire family, only the 15-year-old daughter, Gita Wagner (later Stanisława [Stanisława] Konopka), remained alive. In her despair, she arrived at the home of Antoni and Maria Puch, who, although unable to take her into their own home, did not wish to abandon her to her fate. With the help of the local

⁷⁹¹ Dąbrowska, *Światła w ciemności*, 194.

⁷⁹² Testimony of Rev. Jan Poddębniak in Dąbrowska, *Światła w ciemności*, 191–94. The Bass sisters wrote postcards from Germany in which they addressed Rev. Poddębniak as “Mr. Priest” and thanked him for what he had done for them. See also “Janczarek Władysław,” Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/528,janczarek-wladyslaw/>>.

priest [Rev. Jan Gosek, the pastor of Kanie⁷⁹³], they arranged to have a Christian birth certificate issued to her with their own surname. Their daughter, Danuta, who was a young woman at the time, took responsibility for the care of Gita upon herself and tried to find a safer place for her to hide. Despite her young age, Danuta set out on her own at her parents' behest to distant Warsaw to the home of Janina Wroblewska [Wróblewska], an acquaintance of Jewish extraction who was living there under an assumed identity. After Wroblewska agreed to take Gita under her wing, Danuta traveled with her by train to the capital and got her a job with a dentist. Gita Wagner stayed with Wroblewska until the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1944 and survived. After the war, Gita Wagner remained in Poland.

Diana Topiel, a native of Warsaw, was deported to Majdanek concentration camp. After she succeeded in escaping, she was taken in and cared for by Rev. Świątlik, in the village of Urzędów near Kraśnik, posing as his relative.⁷⁹⁴

Irena Sznycer (later Rina Feinmesser) was just two years old when the war broke out. Before her arrest in Kraków, Irena's mother managed to send her daughter to stay with her aunt in Warsaw who was being sheltered by a Polish woman. Because of Irena's Semitic features, the Polish woman asked a nun to take the child. Irena was placed in an orphanage. When her Jewish origin became known to the other children, her aunt decided to remove her from the orphanage. She asked her acquaintance, Ksawera Brogowska, who was working as a housekeeper in Warsaw, to help find a safe place for the child. With the assistance of Maria Leszczyńska, Brogowska took the child to her brother's home in the village of Bełzec near Tomaszów Lubelski. Irena remained with Maciej and Cecylia Brogowski, who had three children of their own, for over three years. They treated her like a daughter. Irena lived there openly and many of the villagers were aware of her Jewish origin. In order for the child to pass as a Pole in the event of a German inspection, they turned to Father Ireneusz (Kazimierz Kmiecik), the administrator of the local parish and member of the Reformed Franciscan order, to have her baptized. After liberation, Irena was placed in a Jewish orphanage and later settled in Israel.⁷⁹⁵ Remarkably, some other Jews also survived in Bełzec, within sight of the notorious death camp. Julia Pępiak sheltered Salomea Helman, her former neighbour and friend, and her young daughter Bronia (born in 1938), something that also became widely known in the village.⁷⁹⁶ Julia Pępiak's son, Zygmunt (born in 1919), was a Reformed Franciscan priest known as Father Sebastian. Such rescues were unheard of in the environs of concentration camps in Germany and Austria, and indeed in any village in those countries.

Rev. Leon Janczewski, the pastor of Narol near Tomaszów Lubelski, provided false birth and baptismal certificates to some Jewish women from the nearby village of Łówcza. After this came to the attention of the German authorities, he had to flee. He hid in two monasteries in Lwów, that of the Armenian Catholic priests and afterwards with the Reformed Franciscans. After the danger appeared to subside, Rev.

⁷⁹³ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 440. See also Dąbrowska, *Światła w ciemności*, 348–50.

⁷⁹⁴ Testimony of Diana Topiel-Czerska, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.33/1310; Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 244.

⁷⁹⁵ Maciej and Cecylia Brogowski, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5684693>>; The Brogowski Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-brogowski-family-0>>; Testimony of Irena Schnitzer (Sznycer), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4638; “Zagłada Żydów Biecha—Sprawiedliwi wśród Narodów Świata,” Internet: <<http://krzyprzy.zso4.gliwice.pl/zaglada/sprawiedliwi/sprawiedliwi.htm>>. Ksawera Brogowska and Maria Leszczyńska were not recognized by Yad Vashem; Kalisz and Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945*, 113 n.205.

⁷⁹⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 597; Zuzanna Schnepf-Kolacz, “Pomoc Polaków dla Żydów na wsi w czasie okupacji niemieckiej: Próba opisu na przykładzie Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata,” in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Zarys krajobrazu: Wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 236; Karolina Dzięciołowska, “‘I forgot about the terror, the fear and the consequences.’ The Story of Julia Pępiak,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/i-forgot-about-terror-fear-and-consequences-story-julia-pepiak>>.

Janczewski returned to Narol in 1943.⁷⁹⁷

Lucia Grinszpan (later Rotman) was thirteen years old when she travelled from Lwów to Lubaczów to join her sister, Miriam. She asked her brother-in-law, Meir Szenker, to get “Aryan” papers for her, so he turned to Zofia Pomorska, the Polish woman with whom they were staying: “... she had pity upon us, and she sees it as necessary to save us. She succeeded in obtaining a document for me from the local priest, in the name of a Polish girl who was exiled to Russia, since her father was a Polish sergeant.” Lucia then travelled to Przemyśl, where the woman’s sister “greeted me nicely. She had already expected my arrival, and was ready to help me.” Under her new identity of Janina Kogut, Lucia volunteered for labour in Germany, where she survived the war passing as a Christian Pole. The szenkers also survived with the help of Zofia Pomorska, allegedly the town’s “greatest anti-Semite.”⁷⁹⁸ According to Polish sources, the priests from the Lubaczów parish provided assistance, especially food, to Jews who had escaped from the ghetto.⁷⁹⁹

Ludwik Ehrlich, a renowned jurist from the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów and convert to Catholicism, was sheltered by a number of Poles including Rev. Wojciech Wanielista, the pastor of Bieliny near Nisko, where he was active for the Home Army Bureau of Information and Propaganda. After his capture by the Germans, Ehrlich was freed from the jail in Biłgoraj on September 24, 1943, together with 72 other prisoners, by a Home Army unit under the command of Major Tadeusz Sztumberk-Rychter. Subsequently, Ehrlich joined the Podkowa Home Army unit stationed in Puszcza Solska (Sól forest) where he monitored radio broadcasts.⁸⁰⁰ For a short time, Ehrlich found refuge at the Franciscan (Bernardine) monastery in Radechnica near Zamość.⁸⁰¹

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Opole Lubelskie in October 1942 two young Jews escaped and arrived unexpectedly at the home of the vicar, Rev. Władysław Krawczyk. His account, “Żydzi zwracali się ku kościołowi,” is found in *Opoka*, London, no. 11 (July 1975), at page 83.

When the ghetto in Opole Lubelskie, in the county of Puławy, was being finished off in 1942, I had the misfortune of seeing from the church tower the market square of the ghetto which was covered with corpses and blood. They [the Jews] had all turned toward the church when they were being shot at. A few days earlier some had visited the church and said that this was their nemesis for having once called out: “His blood be on us, and on our children.” [Matthew, 27:25]. The Schupo, dressed in green, shot them. Our police, dressed in navy, refused to do so. The dean, who had also ascended the tower, almost fainted. I held on to the frame of the window. We descended quickly but awkwardly since I had to hold up the dean. It is difficult not to have a great deal of sympathy for that nation and it is entirely understandable that one would have wanted to protect them from that historical nemesis and hatred. That day, the 23rd of October 1942, when they were being liquidated, two young Jews managed to arrive at

⁷⁹⁷ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 286; Henryk Wolańczyk, “Narolski proboszcz,” *Kresowiak Galicyjski*, no. 4 (161) (April 2010), 6.

⁷⁹⁸ Lucia Rotman-Greenspan, “A Nine Year Old Girl Bears the Burden of the Generation,” in H. Rabin, ed., *Lizhensk: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Lizhensk she-nispu be-shoat ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lezajsk in Israel, 1970), 54 ff., translated as *Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Lezajsk Who Perished in the Holocaust*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Lezajsk/Lezajsk.html>>; Zofia Pomorska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=pomorska&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=6749024&ind=0>.

⁷⁹⁹ Wincenty Urban, *Droga Krzyżowa Archidiecezji Lwowskiej w latach II wojny światowej 1939–1945* (Wrocław: Fundacja “Semper Fidelis,” 1983), 120.

⁸⁰⁰ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 1st ed., 459; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1029, 1034. Ludwik Ehrlich’s daughter, Konstancja (Constance) Krystyna, became an Ursuline nun (of the Roman Union) known as Sister Emilia, and worked under Pope John Paul II at the Vatican. Konstancja Ehrlich (born in 1924 to an American Episcopalian mother) was raised as a Catholic and attended an Ursuline convent school. She too had a tumultuous wartime experience. While living in Warsaw under the care of Maria Jezierska, she was caught in a street round-up and imprisoned in Majdanek. Her release was secured through a bribe. She returned to Warsaw, enrolled in an Ursuline school, took part in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising as a Home Army nurse, and was deported to the Bietigheim slave labour camp near Stuttgart. See Aleksandra Klich, “Papież i zakonnica,” *Magazyn Świąteczny, Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 26, 2011.

⁸⁰¹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 478.

my home. I had only one room. The office of the Gestapo was next door and a [German] commander occupied the dwelling above mine. The building was well guarded. The punishment for hiding a Jew was death. Despite this, I fed them, gave them provisions, and around midnight led them across some fields to a forest about three kilometres away. There there already were [Polish] partisans and among them the son of the local rabbi.

A similar eyewitness's testimony—that of Maria Bill-Bajorkowa—is recorded in Shmuel Meiri, ed., *The Jewish Community of Wieliczka: A Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: The Wieliczka Association in Israel, 1980), at page 75.

Beaten, kicked, shot, fainting, the Jews fall to the ground. They cry, they scream, we hear their voices: "Jesus Christ, since our Jehovah has forsaken us, take pity on me and I will convert to Your faith." Others cry out: "If there was a Jehovah he would not have allowed what they are doing to us happen. There is no Jehovah, there is no God. We perish and no one helps us. Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ, have mercy on us."

The theological ramifications of accepting the tragedy that befell the Jews as the will of God—something that strikes one as particularly harsh and glaring in retrospect—are explained by Leon Wells, a Jewish survivor from Lwów, from the traditional Judeo-Christian vantage point. (Harry James Cargas, *Voices from the Holocaust* [Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993], pp. 91–92.)

I read the Lubavitch in '43, '44—it's not proper to mention—Soloveitchik and all the others, they said the Holocaust was sent from heaven and did good because it is the time of the coming of the Messiah. Even the Lubavitch in '43, I have here the document where he said enjoy, enjoy, because the Messiah is coming. And he said that Haman does not come by himself. He's sent by God. I said to a major Jewish theologian recently, "Why are you only condemning the Pope? Or about what Cardinal O'Connor in New York said about the Holocaust?" I said, "Didn't the Lubavitch and others say the same, that it's God's will and we should believe it? It is only cleansing, because of our sins. God threw us out from our land because of our sins." And he said, "Yes, if you are a religious man and if I would be the Pope, I couldn't behave differently because I cannot say it's not God's will because he can stop everything." I said, "Fine. So why don't you as a leading Jewish theologian come out and ask why are we jumping so much about the Pope and all?" He said, "What should I do? It is the people, it is their will. They know what they want to hear and I know what I want." And I said to myself, it is theological, they have no other choice. There is no other choice. If you believe in a God, then it's the will of God. We'd have to change the whole religious outlook in order to see it differently. But as of the moment, we believe in God's will.

Rabbis throughout Poland were inclined to attribute the calamities that befell the Jews to divine presence in terms of Divine punishment: "it was the process of the abandonment of religion that had caused all the current disasters of the Jews. Some rabbis explicitly claimed that the wartime reality was punishment for the community's sins, while many others believed that the Jewish community's return to and strengthening of religion would lead directly to an improvement in the situation."⁸⁰²

When the Jews of Brańsk were being rounded up on November 7, 1942 to be transported to Treblinka, that town's chief rabbi, Itzhak Zev Cukerman, addressed the crowds in the following words: "The judgment was passed in Heaven. We have to die. But I believe that those who survive will inform the world of our suffering."⁸⁰³ Similarly, in the face of imminent annihilation, Rabbi Shimon Rozovsky was reported to have said to the Jewish community leaders of Ejszyszki: "Jews, you see our end is approaching rapidly ... God did not want us to be saved. Our destiny has been decided, and we must accept this."⁸⁰⁴ Another observation by a Jewish survivor, now an American sociologist, is also worth noting. (Samuel P. Oliner, *Restless Memories: Recollections of the Holocaust Years* [Berkeley, California: Judah L. Magnes Museum, 1986], p. 98.)

⁸⁰² Havi Dreifuss, "'The Work of My Hands is Drowning in the Sea, and You Would Offer Me Song?!': Orthodox Behavior and Leadership in Warsaw during the Holocaust," in Dynner and Guesnet, *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis*, 486.

⁸⁰³ *The Story of Two Shtetls, Brańsk and Ejszyszki: An Overview of Polish-Jewish Relations in Northeastern Poland during World War II*, Part Two (Toronto: The Polish Educational Foundation in North America, 1998), 78.

⁸⁰⁴ Perets Alufi and Shaul Kaleko (Barkeli), eds., *Eishishok, koroteha ve-hurbanah: pirke zikhronot ve-'edyot (be-tseruf temunot)/liket* (Jerusalem: Committee of the Survivors of Eishishok in Israel, 1950); translated into English by Shoshanna Gavish, "*Aishishuk*"; *Its History and Its Destruction: Documentaries, Memories and Illustrations* (Jerusalem: n.p., 1980), 62.

During the tragic moments in the Bobowa ghetto [near Gorlice], the rabbis had one standard answer. All the rabbis I ever met or saw said the same thing: "Children, go and pray because the day will come when the Messiah will appear and he will protect us. The Lord knows what he is doing. He will help us." There wasn't one rabbi or other leader I know of who said to his people: "Children, let's take up arms. Let's train ourselves. Let's fight. Let's barricade ourselves and save our lives. Let's not obey the German laws any longer."

As one scholar has observed, "There are many such stories in the literature, describing rabbis who encouraged their followers on the way to execution by singing, reciting psalms, even dancing, so as to prepare themselves spiritually for the great honour and privilege that God had given them—to die for *kidush hashem*."⁸⁰⁵ Rabbi Kalonymos Kalmish Shapira, a prominent Hasidic leader, wrote in the Warsaw ghetto: "We must persist in our belief that whatever God does is exactly what must be done."⁸⁰⁶

While confined in the Wilno ghetto, Zelig Kalmanovich, the wartime voice of the Orthodox community, kept a diary that is replete with scriptural and rabbinical quotations. Why, Kalmanovich asks, did God allow the Jews of Wilno to be destroyed? Because the destruction would serve as a sign (1) that what was once a proud Jewish community was already rotting, crumbling from within, and (2) that future generations—unaware of this decay and left only with the detritus of the external destruction—would have something useful, even inspiring, to remember. According to David G. Roskies, "Jewish Cultural Life in the Vilna Ghetto," in Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, *Lithuania and the Jews: The Holocaust Chapter. Symposium Presentations* (Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004), at pages 36–38:

God's purpose in destroying the community of Vilna [Wilno] was perhaps to hasten the redemption, to alert whomsoever might still be alerted that there is neither refuge nor hope for life in the Exile. ...

But if we take a hard look we can see that it was necessary for the destruction to come from without. The fortress had already been destroyed and laid waste from within. Vilna had put up no resistance to the assimilation and the obliteration of the Jewish character; had not stood up to the spiritual destruction decreed by the Red conquerors. ...

And these undesecrated stones will serve as a memorial to our Exile, for their merit was not to have been desecrated through the hands of their own children, by those who had once built the walls, but rather, through the hands of a savage nation, acting as the emissary of God.

Similar views were expressed by Rabbi Hirsh Melekh Talmud of Lublin, in endeavouring to comprehend how God could allow His "Chosen People" to be punished to the point of destruction.⁸⁰⁷ Rabbi Elazar Menachem Schach, in 1991, advanced this explanation for the Holocaust: It was God's punishment of the Jews for their sins in the last few centuries.⁸⁰⁸

The late Satmarer Rebbe, Rabbi Yoel Moshe Teitelbaum (Bernhard H. Rosenberg and Fred Heuman, eds., *Theological and Halakhic Reflections on the Holocaust* [Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV, 1992], p. 121),

is clear and unambiguous. ... he decides that the Zionists were responsible for the tragedy of the six million. The arrogance of nationalistic self-determination in trying to build a Jewish state caused the great destruction. The fact that so many Zionists were secularists, nonbelievers, only made matters worse. They violated the injunction to remain passive, refrain from interfering in the divinely preordained plans of redemption, and to await the

⁸⁰⁵ Jonathan Webber, "Jewish Identities in the Holocaust: Martyrdom as a Representative Category," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 13: *Focusing on the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (London and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000), 140.

⁸⁰⁶ Rabbi Kalonymos Kalmish Shapira, *Sacred Fire: Torah from the Years of Fury 1939–1942* (Northvale, New Jersey and Jerusalem: Jason Aronson, 2000), 306.

⁸⁰⁷ Gershon Greenberg, "The Theological Letters of Rabbi Talmud of Lublin (Summer–Fall 1942)," in Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, *Ghettos 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival. Symposium Presentations* (Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), 113–27.

⁸⁰⁸ Dina Porat, *Israeli Society, the Holocaust and Its Survivors* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2008), 372–73.

miraculous coming of the Messiah. Hence, the Zionists were guilty, and all the Jewish people suffered because of their sins.

Rabbi Avigdor Miller suggested that the large-scale self-atheization of Jews in Poland was not only a reality, but also one that had provoked God's anger, bringing on the Holocaust. Rabbi Avigdor Miller wrote (ibid., p. 122):

Because of the upsurge of the greatest defection from Torah in history, which was expressed in Poland by materialism, virulent anti-nationalism, and Bundism (radical anti-religious socialism), God's plan finally relieved them of all freewill and sent Hitler's demons to end the existence of the communities.

Such views are still held by some Jewish religious leaders today (Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky, *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*, New edition [London and Ann Arbor, Michigan: Pluto Press, 2004], p. 31):

Many Haredi rabbis, for example, assert that the Holocaust, including most particularly the deaths of one-and-a-half million Jewish children, was a well-deserved divine punishment, not only for all the sins of modernity and faith renunciation by many Jews, but also for the decline of Talmudic study in Europe. The Haredim and their traditional Jewish followers attribute the death of every Jew, including each innocent child, not to natural causes but to direct action of God. The Haredim believe that God punishes each Jew for his or her sins and sometimes punishes the entire Jewish community, including many who are innocent, because of the sins committed by other Jews.

Writing in 1962, an Orthodox rabbi asserted that Polish Jews were punished, through the Holocaust, for their apostasy and self-atheization (Avigdor Miller, *Rejoice o Youth! An Integrated Jewish Ideology* [New York: n.p., 1962], p. 279.)

The Polish Jewry, which had a greater number of loyal Jews, were given two decades more after World War I. But on the upsurge of the greatest defection from the Torah in history, which was expressed in Poland by materialism, virulent anti-Torah nationalism, and Bundism (radical anti-religious socialism), G-d's plan finally relieved them of all Free Will and sent Hitler's demons to end the existence of these communities before they deteriorated entirely.

Many commentators misunderstand the collective nature of Divine punishment, asking, for instance, why God would punish a religious Jew alongside an atheist Jew for the apostasy of the latter. Miller clarifies this, "When the destroyer is let loose, he does not discriminate between the righteous and the sinners (Mechilta, Shmos 12:22)." (Ibid., p. 263.)

Some religious Jews also continue to share those views. A woman who was rescued by Poles in Volhynia described the following experience (Testimony of Peppy Rosenthal, July 1, 2009, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/rosenthal/>>):

I have two boys. One lives in New York, he's a religious Jew, very religious. ... their idea about the Holocaust is enough to ... upset you. ... My grandson in New York called and asked me if it would be too hard for him to tell him some things. He had to write it for one of his yeshiva classes. And I was really surprised that ... they believe the Holocaust ... happened because we didn't follow God.

Religious Poles who witnessed this cataclysm also endeavoured to find an explanation for the horrific and unimaginable events occurring around them. As historian Andrzej Bryk explains, their "rationalization" had little, if anything, to do with actual malice toward the Jewish victims, nor was it an acceptance of the violence directed at the Jews. According to Andrzej Bryk, "The Struggles for Poland," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1989), volume 4, at page 378:

For the average Polish peasant, Jews were an integral part of the landscape, like the things of nature, the sky above, and himself. He might not have liked them, might have maintained only the most superficial trading relations with them, but their disappearance was unimaginable. They were part of God's universe, even if an inferior part, viewed

with suspicion. [This was, essentially, the mirror image of traditional Jewish attitudes toward Christian Poles⁸⁰⁹—M.P.] The complete extermination of his neighbours in a small town or village was for that peasant not only a crime in human terms but a fundamental violation of the universal order, of God's order. It was such a monstrous and absurd deed, that it could have been possible only through the will of God himself. Had he not, after all, been taught that Jews were guilty for the death of Jesus, the death of God? So, perhaps, this was the sentence for that deed? Hence the fatalism in perceiving the Holocaust, a certain self-defence through rationalisation against the madness of a deed equal only to the anger of God. Of a deed which must have been inspired by some hidden logic. The extermination was so terrible, surpassing human imagination to such an extent, that there had to be some hidden meaning in it.

Some Poles embraced the same sort of theological explanations to rationalize their own fate. A Jewish woman recalled the response she received from an elderly peasant woman when asked “Are the Germans giving you much trouble?” The Polish woman replied, “It’s the Anti-Christ! He’s come to punish us for

⁸⁰⁹ Albert Marrin, former head of the history department at Yeshiva University in New York City, writes candidly about how Jews traditionally viewed Poles, in a manner seldom encountered in the writings of academics who deal with Polish-Jewish relations.

Many traditional Jews held stereotypical views of the Poles—that is, opinions that were overly simplified and prejudiced. Thus, on the basis of limited experience, traditional Jews might make unfair, negative generalizations about Poles as a group. The Yiddish word *goy* (plural, *goyim*), for example, meant more than “a gentile person.” It implied ignorance, coarseness, and sinfulness. “What do they know, these goyim?” a Hasid asked. “A goy knows nothing, a goy does not think, the only thing he knows how to do is beat up Jews.” A young male goy, called a *sheygetz*, was allegedly a brute who thought with his fists. This mythical Pole guzzled vodka until he became so *shiker* (drunk) that he lost his senses. A Yiddish folk song put it this way: “*Shiker iz a goy—Shiker iz er—trinken miz er—vayl er iz a goy*” (“A goy is a dunkard—but drink he must—because he is a goy”). Similarly, the term *shikse* meant more than “a young gentile woman”; it also implied immodesty and sexual “looseness.”

Apart from the belief in one God, traditional Jews saw nothing in common between their religion and Christianity. To them, Christianity mimicked paganism, worshipping “idols”—statues and paintings of God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. In their view, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, and the Resurrection were mere “superstitions.”

Traditional Jews showed their disdain in various ways. For example, at many rural crossroads in Poland, travelers would see a crucifix—a cross with the figure of the crucified Christ on it—signifying divine protection. Jews refused to look at this “graven image.” Author Elie Wiesel, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986, was born in Romania, but his attitudes mirrored those of Polish Jews. “[Christian] rituals,” Wiesel recalled, “had no interest for me; quite the contrary, I turned away from them. Whenever I met a priest ... I would avert my gaze and think of something else. Rather than walk in front of a church with its pointed and threatening belfry, I would cross the street. ... Christians were more present in my imagination than in my life. What did a Christian do when he was alone? What were his dreams made of? How did he use his time when he was not plotting against me?”

For many traditional Jews, marrying a Christian amounted to a betrayal of everything Jewish. The scandal stained the entire family in its own eyes and in the eyes of the community. Traditional Jews disowned the offending daughter or son. Parents tore their clothes in shame and despair, as if mourning the death of a family member. When, for instance, the daughter of a rabbi converted to Catholicism and married a Polish policeman, her parents could not contain their grief. “[They] followed the carriage, crying and screaming and beating their heads to a bloody pulp on the sides of the wagon pleading with their daughter. ... After this shameful tragedy, the [bride’s] ... three sisters never married, neither did their cousins in the nearby town. Nobody would marry them.”

Such behavior troubled Isaac Bashevis Singer. A character in his novel *The Manor* asks: “How can anyone move into someone else’s home, live there in total isolation, and expect not to suffer by it? When you despise your host’s god as a tin image, shun his wine as forbidden, condemn his daughter as unclean, aren’t you asking to be treated as an unwelcome outsider? [It’s] as simple as that.”

See Albert Marrin, *A Light in the Darkness: Janusz Korczak, His Orphans, and the Holocaust* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2019), 41–44. On this controversial topic see Mark Paul, *Traditional Jewish Attitudes Toward Poles*, Internet: <<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>>. The 2020 film “An American Pickle” is remarkably candid about these attitudes and traditional Jewish religious beliefs. Herschel Greenbaum tells Ben that he, Ben, may be may be “stupider than a Polish person and they are THE stupidest.” Herschel later refers to Mary, Jesus’ mother, as a prostitute who made up the story of the Immaculate Conception to cover for her whoring: “I don’t think I’m saying anything controversial when I say everybody know Jesus Christ mother was prostitute. And she invent story of Christianity to cover up the fact that she prostitute. So if you believe in Jesus, you stupid idiot.”

our sins.”⁸¹⁰ In the final days or hours before their execution condemned priests often spoke of their acceptance of the will of God. The conservative Catholic author Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, a co-founder of Żegota, the wartime Council for Aid to Jews, wrote in her postwar diary that the suffering and humiliation of Polish women she witnessed as a prisoner in Auschwitz was God’s punishment for having enjoyed themselves before the war, for wearing lipstick and silk stockings.⁸¹¹

Occasionally one encounters charges that priests urged the faithful not to provide assistance to Jews or even incited the populace against them. These charges are based on second or third-hand accounts. Priests in rural areas were ordered by German officials to read—at Sunday masses—official notices regarding matters such as the delivery of mandatory agricultural produce and animal quotas imposed on farmers and warnings not to assist partisans and Jews under penalty of death. Not to do so would not only have put the delinquent priest personally at risk, but also would have subjected him to the moral dilemma of withholding from his parishioners information about the serious risks that such activities could entail for them and their families. An example of such a notice is the circular issued to local pastors by the reeve of the village of Zakrzówek near Kraśnik, pursuant to instructions from the Kreishauptmann (German county head), dated December 4, 1942, which reads: “In accordance with the orders of the Kreishauptmann of October 10, 1942, ... all residents and their neighbours will be punished by death for sheltering Jews, providing them with food or assisting them in escaping, in particular anyone who allows Jews to use their carts.”⁸¹² In some regions of Poland, however, there was considerable resistance on the part of priests to reading German notices in church.⁸¹³

Hearsay accounts have led uninformed Jews, including Holocaust historians, to accuse priests who simply read such notices of preaching against the Jews. It is telling that no authentic, firsthand accounts of “sermons” that allegedly incited Poles against the Jews are known to exist, even though hundreds of Jews

⁸¹⁰ Kuchler-Silberman, *My Hundred Children*, 17.

⁸¹¹ Władysław T. Bartoszewski, *The Convent in Auschwitz* (London: The Bowerdean Press, 1990), 19.

⁸¹² The circular is reproduced in Chodakiewicz, *Polacy i Żydzi 1918–1955*, 185.

⁸¹³ See, for example, Marian Matysik, Małgorzata Rudnicka, and Zdzisław Świstak, *Kościół katolicki w Jasielskiem 1939–1945* (Przemyśl, Brzozów and Stalowa Wola: Biblioteczka Przemyska, Muzeum Regionalne PTTK [Polskiego Towarzystwa Turystyczno-Krajoznawczego] im. Adama Fastnachta, and Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski—Filia, 1991), 19, 88, 103, 211–12; Jerzy Adamski, Mieczysław Ligonowski, Franciszek Oberc, and Tadeusz Śliwa, *Kościół katolicki w Brzozowskiem i Sanockiem 1939–1945* (Brzozów and Przemyśl, 1992), 202; Witold Jemielity, “Diecezja łomżyńska,” in Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 74.

who passed as Christians attended church services throughout occupied Poland.⁸¹⁴ In some Jewish accounts, readings from the New Testament during Holy Week in Polish, and even prayers and intercessions said in Latin (especially on Palm Sunday and Good Friday), which were part of the universal Catholic liturgy mandated by Rome, are also represented as “sermons” delivered by priests to incite Poles against the Jews. (Given the length of the Good Friday liturgy, the afternoon service that day generally did not have a sermon.) It must be borne in mind, however, that Jewish teachings about

⁸¹⁴ An egregious example of falsely attributing to a Catholic priest from Kowel, Volhynia, an alleged vituperative sermon attacking Jews is found in Anthony J. Sciolino, *The Holocaust, the Church, and the Law of Unintended Consequences: How Christian Anti-Judaism Spawned Nazi Anti-Semitism: A Judge's Verdict* (Bloomington, Indiana: iUniverse, 2012), 163. Sciolino does not provide a source for his reference to that priest, but it appears to be based on Ben-Zion Sher's article “Thus the City Was Destroyed,” in Eliezer Leoni-Zopperfin, ed., *Kowel: Sefer edut ve-zikaron le-kehilatenu she-ala aleha ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kowel in Israel, 1957); translated as *Kowel: Testimony and Memorial Book of Our Destroyed Community*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kovel1/kovel1.html>>. The problem is that the priest in question is not identified in that memorial book (at p.416) as a Catholic priest. In fact, this was a Ukrainian Orthodox priest who preached to Ukrainian villagers. Another vivid “firsthand” account of a priest—actually a fictitious bishop—delivering anti-Jewish sermons is found in the pseudo-memoir of Henry Gribou (Haim Grzybower). Gribou describes at length the exploits of a lecherous, anti-Semitic bishop named Taranski, who resided in the village of Dobre (which conveniently, and ironically, happens to translate as “good”) outside Warsaw, and was “at the very heart of the Church”. No bishop or priest by that name, however, ever existed. The bishop's entourage consisted of other immoral priests who raped teenage girls and had them undergo abortions. Gribou uses this lurid tale as a prop for the “moral” of his story, namely, the condemnation of the Catholic Church: “So that was the story of Halina's mother and the bishop. That, apparently, was the way people lived at the highest levels of the Catholic Church in Poland.” Of course, as could be expected, the bishop, who allegedly had a Ph.D. in theology from Rome, was anti-Semitic to the core both publicly and privately:

The bishop was getting worked up, his face flushed, his fist pounding the air, his heavily robed vehemence out of proportion to the little country church. I could tell this was not an act—he really believed this. And his passion was infectious, with the congregation murmuring in assent.

Even I came under the spell.

Yes, I thought, I hate those Jews he's talking about. My head was spinning. ...

The bishop thundered on. “And God will punish the Jews, he will send them all to hell for what they did to Jesus. He will send them all to hell!”

I discovered soon enough that I had only gotten a hint of the bishop's hatred of Jews.

One afternoon, after lunch, I was walking with him in the garden, and the talk turned to the Warsaw ghetto. I made some remark—with a detachment in my voice that amazed me when I heard myself—about how none of the Jews in there would probably survive.

“Good riddance,” he said in a frighteningly flat voice—as if he were talking about exterminating rats.

Then, warming to the topic, he turned to me and said intently, “Do you know what those Jews do? Do you know how they make that, that bread of theirs—what do they call it, matzoh?”

“I don't know,” I said.

“They make it,” he said, pausing to make sure the message was clear, “with Christian blood!” ...

“Yes,” he went on, “the Jews mix the bread dough in large vats. And in the sides of the vats, nails stick through toward the dough. Then they hire Christians to mix the dough, and as they stir it, the Christians' fingers are cut and their blood spills into the mixture.”

Near the end, I was in Dobre, standing at night with the bishop outside his house, looking toward the city [of Warsaw]. The sky was lit up so bright with the flames from the burning ghetto that you could have read a newspaper. “This is for killing our Jesus,” the bishop said in solemn tones.

See Henry G. Gribou, *Hunted in Warsaw: A Memoir of Resistance and Survival in the Holocaust* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2012), 144, 146–55, 159–61, 179. If such events were genuine, why is it that the only known story that was recorded “first hand” (by Gribou) is pure fiction? After all, hundreds, if not thousands, of Jews came in contact with Catholic priests during the war. Gribou also claims that “Cardinal Wysziński” (sic) was a frequent visitor at Dobre, and that he [Gribou] held himself out as the cardinal's nephew in order to enhance his assumed Christian identity: “Cardinal Wysziński, after all, was the archbishop of Poland.” Ibid., 194–95. It is trite knowledge that, at the time, Stefan Wyszyński was a little known priest. He was appointed bishop of Lublin in 1946. He became the archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, and thus Primate of Poland, in November 1948, after the death of Cardinal August Hlond. He was created a cardinal in 1953.

Christians were no less problematic.⁸¹⁵ Today, “liberal” journalists are among the most ardent purveyors of the black legend about the Catholic Church. At a public event in Brooklyn, New York on June 12, 2016, Svetlana Alexievitch, the Belarusian journalist who won the 2015 Nobel Prize in literature, assured her audience—based on her conversations with “liberal” Polish journalists—that “Poles were worst of all in how they treated the Jews. *Priests directly called for killing Jews in their sermons.*”⁸¹⁶ There is no credible known case of a Polish priest calling for the murder of Jews. We should not be surprised, however, if we soon hear some publicists and historians accusing the Polish clergy of organizing the mass murder of Jews. Another bogus charge that one sometimes comes across in Holocaust literature is that Polish priests were in the business of “selling” identity documents to Jews, often for enormous sums. Again, there is no credible evidence that that was the case. Many priests worked closely with the Polish underground and supplied them with church birth and baptismal certificates, both genuine and forged, free of charge. When individual Jews, posing as Christians, approached priests they did not know directly for such documents, like any other such person, they had to pay a small fee for the issuance of the document. (Clergymen had no pensions and relied on such fees for their support.) Not to request the fee when dealing with unknown persons posed an obvious risk. One could never be sure who was behind the

⁸¹⁵ A Jew from Chelm recalled what it was like growing up among Christians and what he was taught about them in his yeshiva, a religious school for teenagers:

Our relations with the non-Jewish population were never very good ... There were the Polish-speaking Gentiles who were Roman Catholics, some more pious than others. We were most afraid of them. We considered them idol worshipers. My parents were proud to point out to me that they taught their children to consider the images on their walls as gods. There was not a home without at least three images: one of Jesus, with His heart showing; one of the *matka boska*, the “mother of God”; and one of Joseph, the husband of Mary. The priest would come to the village at times and bring the “transubstantiated” wafer, which they believed became the flesh and blood of the Messiah. But at that time the priest’s coming only hardened our hearts. We knew we worshiped the only true God, and not priests and images. ...

In these early years I had few contacts of any sort with Christianity. At about this time I learned the stories of Jesus from the Jewish point of view. They are given in the infamous book of legends composed in the Middle Ages and entitled *Toledot Yeshu (The History of Jesus)*. Some of the material is already embodied in the Talmud: that Jesus was born an illegitimate child and He forced Mary His mother to admit it; how He learned sorcery in Egypt; how He made Himself fly up into the sky by sewing the ineffable name of Jehovah into the skin of his leg, but a famous rabbi did the same and brought Jesus down! ...

Thus in the yeshiva, the Talmud reigned supreme. The Old Testament Bible could be used only for reference and there were no secular studies whatsoever.

I had no contacts with Christianity at all. On the way to school we passed a Roman Catholic church and a Russian Orthodox church, and we spat, pronouncing the words found in Deuteronomy 7:26, “... thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing.” I said it halfheartedly because of my previous favorable contact with Christianity and because some questions were beginning to creep into my mind. Why should we say such horrible words? The people looked pious. They came from surrounding villages to worship, and they never bothered us.

As I continued studying the Talmud, I came to a passage that told of a cruel punishment for that Sinner of Israel, meaning Jesus. For one sin of deriding the rabbis, He was punished forever and ever with cruelty as to be “judged in boiling excrement.” I did not like this story at all. Did it really mean what it said? Could I possibly be in full agreement with this? Did not I also have doubts about the rabbis’ claims that their teachings were given to Moses on Mount Sinai? What then would *my* punishment be? It was many years before I dared to proclaim these doubts openly.

See Rachmiel Frydland, *When Being Jewish Was a Crime* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1978), 17, 51, 54–55. These teachings were also common in cheders (lower level religious schools), which many, if not most, Jewish children in Poland attended for some period of time. The authenticity of the *Toledot Yeshu* (“The Life Story of Jesus”) is beyond question among serious scholars. It was written by Jews, most likely in the 8th century, as an internal Jewish response to the Gospels and Jesus, and is unambiguously anti-Christian. The anti-Christian motifs within it go back at least to the time of the Babylonian Talmud—to a time and place (Sassanid and later Islamic Iraq), where Christians were in no position to persecute Jews, thus refuting the exculpatory argument that Jewish polemics against Christianity only developed when Christians were persecuting Jews. Some of the Talmudic themes in *Toledot Yeshu* include: Bavli Shabbat 104b—Jesus, the sorcerer, the son of Miriam (a hairdresser and adulterous woman), and Jesus the illegitimate Son of Pandera (Ben Pandera); Bavli Sanhedrin 43a—the death of Jesus Christ, vicariously by stoning, at the hands of the Jews; Bavli Gittin 56b-57a—Jesus is forced to spend eternity in hell in boiling excrement. See Peter Schäfer, Michael Meerson, and Yaacov Deutsch, eds., *Toledot Yeshu (“The Life Story of Jesus”) Revisited: A Princeton Conference* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

⁸¹⁶ “Belarusian Nobel Prize Laureate Accuses Poles of Persecuting Jews in Holocaust,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, July 6, 2016.

request, perhaps the person was a German plant.

Fifteen members of the extended family of Isaac and Leah Gamss were hidden from 1942 to 1944 in the attic of a farmhouse belonging to Stanisław and Maria Grocholski in the vicinity of Urzejowice near Przeworsk. The villagers knew the Grocholskis were hiding Jews because some of these Jews called on a number of villagers to ask for food and, tellingly, it was the only house that in the winter did not have snow on the roof. A priest urged a villager who had accepted some property from Jews for safekeeping to return it to them. Leslie Gilbert-Lurie, the daughter of one of the hidden Jews, states: "I would say it took a whole village of people for my mother's family to survive." (Leslie Gilbert-Lurie with Rita Lurie, *Bending Toward the Sun: A Mother and Daughter Memoir* [New York: HarperCollins, 2009], pp. 46–47, 58, 293.

At the earliest opportunity, on the next moonless night, Aunt Tsivia and Uncle Libish snuck back to their neighbor's home, several miles away, to retrieve the leather coat. They tapped on her rear window, and when she appeared, they explained their plight. But she did not take pity on them. To their shock, she said no. The war was not over, so they could not have their coat. Thinking on her feet, Aunt Tsivia said that without the coat, our family would be killed and the blood would be on this neighbour's hands. As my aunt had hoped, this troubled the neighbour, a devout Catholic, and she went to talk to her priest the following day. He encouraged her to give up the coat and whatever else she could. When Tsivia and Libish returned a few nights later, the coat was left for them, along with milk and bread. ...

My father [Isaac Gamss] and uncles began taking turns sneaking out at night in search of food. In the summer, they stole plums, apples, and pears from neighbors' gardens. And they went into fields to gather carrots, radishes, tomatoes, and onions—vegetables that could be eaten raw.

Besides what they picked outside, they also gathered food that sympathetic neighbors left out for them on doorsteps. Because they knew that as Jews we kept kosher, neighbors mostly set out potatoes, beans, or bread. From time to time, my father and uncles chanced knocking on the doors of casual acquaintances. Often they were turned away with angry replies, which was not surprising. Even if they were not anti-Semitic, Poles were terrified of being caught helping a Jew. ...

"I had many friends in our village," Uncle Max said proudly, "including Stashik [Staszek] Grajolski [Grocholski]. While we had grown up near each other, we became good friends in the army. That's why, when he agreed to hide my brother's and sister's families, he asked me to come as well, to act as a liaison." ...

"I spent my days and nights in the attic worrying about how to feed my beautiful family ... You and I are the only ones who know the gentiles in the community," Uncle Max told his eldest brother, Isaac. "Since I am single, I should be the one to sneak out."

To avoid being seen, Uncle Max picked the darkest nights, with the worst weather. From time to time, neighbors prepared small bundles of food that they either left out for him on their doorstep, or handed him when he tapped on the door.

"Here's some beans and bread," a kind neighbor would whisper, opening the door just wide enough to pass the package through.

"This is for the children," another villager told Uncle Max, handing him a bag with bread and fruit. "We pray for you each night," he added.

"Once, a friend gave me a ham sandwich, but I couldn't eat it because it was not kosher," Uncle Max said.

Rev. Henryk Uchman, the pastor of Sieniawa near Przeworsk, assisted in the rescue of six Jews: Emil Tamme, Izrael Bant, Helman Mechel, Jakub Posascher, Samuel Zins, and Helman Landau. These persons were presented as witnesses on Rev. Uchman's behalf when he was put on trial after the war by the Communist authorities for his continued support of the anti-Communist underground.⁸¹⁷

Rev. Józef Ulanowski, the pastor of Nowosielce near Przeworsk, assisted in the rescue of Felicja and Tadeusz Wilder of Lwów, who were sheltered by his niece, Henryka Ulanowska in Nowosielce. Henryka acquired the birth and marriage certificates of her brother and sister-in-law, Tadeusz and Felicja Mazurek, which her charges used to pass as Polish Catholics. They were joined by Felicja Wilder's sister, Cecylia Motyl, who passed as Ziuta Górna. While in hiding, Felicja Wilder gave birth to a son, Andrzej, who was baptized by Rev. Ulanowski and provided with a birth and baptismal certificate. The Jewish charges

⁸¹⁷ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 77, 146; Rączy and Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 172–73.

remained in the house until the arrival of the Soviet army in July 1944.⁸¹⁸

Frank Morgens (then Mieczysław Morgenstern) took refuge in Olsztyn, a small town near Częstochowa, with his wife and children. Although the family was suspected of being Jewish, they survived under the protection of local Poles, as did several other Jewish families passing as Poles. The solicitous attitude of Rev. Józef Michałowski was described by Frank Morgens in his memoirs *Years at the Edge of Existence: War Memoirs, 1939–1945* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1996), at pages 97 and 99.⁸¹⁹

Mrs. Michalska, a young woman with a boy of about seven. ... He had a light complexion, his features were Semitic and our suspicion that they were Jews in hiding proved later to be correct. ... When the war ended, we learned through the grapevine that Mrs. Michalska's husband had also survived in Olsztyn and that the entire family had emigrated to America. ...

The name of Judge Horski was uttered with respect, but always with a sort of knowing look which we did not comprehend at first. ... It was obvious he, too, was Jewish. His wife and daughter were Semitic-looking as well. The Horskis had moved to Olsztyn from Cracow [Kraków] at the beginning of 1941, a fact that was vastly reassuring to us. That a man with such a face could pass for a Pole and not be denounced to the Germans by those who suspected him of being Jewish, made us feel much safer.

The village of Olsztyn, only 8 miles from Czestochowa [Częstochowa], and having a population of under 2,000, could not possibly sustain a dentist, and yet there was one. The minute we opened the door of Dr. Nawrot's office on Villa Row, we knew that we were with one of our own. Dr. Nawrot was of medium height, his hair was dark, his face though not typically Jewish, was not Slavic either. His short, plump, dark-complexioned wife would never have survived a confrontation with the Gestapo, and neither would their young son. Yet Dr. Nawrot had been practicing in town for about two years without incident. This, too, reinforced our belief that we had settled in the right place. So far, I could count four Jewish families casting their lot with the Poles of Olsztyn.

But the greatest influence on the people and the tranquility of the village was exerted by the parish priest, Father Jozef Michalowski [Józef Michałowski]. About 60 years old, of medium height, slim and bespectacled, he evoked reverence when walking in the street and gently greeting his parishioners. His sermons preached love and humaneness, and during the crucial period of 1942–1944 his urging to save lives and not to betray fellow citizens gave us fortitude and courage to go on with our fight for survival. A denunciation to the Gestapo about this kind of sermon would have meant deportation, at least, for Father Michalowski, but he was fearless and steadfast in his activities, as dictated by his conscience and his faith.

The misconduct of one person could not only frustrate a rescue effort supported by others, but also unfold a chain of disaster and fear. Yehudis Pshenitse (Judith Pszenica), a young girl from Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki near Warsaw, turned to the local priest for assistance. That priest was killed by the Germans for providing shelter to the girl, after refusing to divulge her whereabouts even under torture. Her testimony from the Nowy Dwór Memorial book is reproduced in *From A Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry*, Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., (New York: Schocken Books, 1983); Second, expanded edition (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), at pages 177–78.

I went to see the priest, who had known me as a small child, when I used to go into the church with our Christian maid. I wept and begged the priest to save me. I told him what had happened to my parents. He calmed me and promised me that he would give me as much help as he could. He hid me in his cellar. Every day I went to church with him, and I became one of the best singers in the church choir. After a time he gave me false papers, with my name listed as Kristina Pavlovna [Krystyna Pawłowska]. I began to feel like a genuine, born Christian.

That didn't last long, however. One day, when I was walking to church, a Christian stopped me on the street and said, "What are you doing here?" I ran away in terror. When I told the priest, he calmed me, telling me to go back into the cellar and be as quiet as possible.

The same day two Germans went to the priest, demanding that he surrender the Jewish girl whom he had hidden. He denied that there was anyone in his house. They threatened to shoot him, but he continued to insist that he was hiding no one.

The Germans tortured him in various ways, but he continued to refuse to give me up until he fell to the ground

⁸¹⁸ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 389–90 (Henryka Kowalska-Ulanowska); Ulanowska Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4015800>>.

⁸¹⁹ See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 211; Frank M. [Morgens] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–1294), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

covered with blood. His body was pierced in several places, and his face was unrecognizable. Then the Germans left him as he was and went away. Before he died, the priest asked his housekeeper to take me out of my hiding place and bring me to him because he wanted to bless me.

When she led me to him, all I saw was a pool of blood and the priest's body, torn into pieces. I fainted. When I came to, he raised his crushed and broken hand and caressed me. Finally he told his housekeeper to give me over to trustworthy people, to behave toward me like a mother so that no one would suspect I was Jewish. Thus, leaning against him, I felt his body grow cold.

Once again he asked that I be hidden in a safe place, and then he died. I can't remember the priest's name. He was a parish priest in *Novy-Dvor* [*Nowy Dwór*].

The housekeeper led me away from the priest and cleansed me of his blood. She changed my clothes, and at five in the morning she led me to *Modlin*. She left me there and disappeared.

William (Wolf) Ungar had taken refuge in the town of *Nowy Dwór*, north of Warsaw, in territory incorporated into the Reich, where he lived with the family of his Jewish friend. He decided to leave that town and return to *Lwów*, when it appeared that the ghetto in *Nowy Dwór* was about to be evacuated. In March 1943, Ungar approached a Polish smuggler who agreed to take him and another Jew, who had a very bad appearance, across the border to the General Government. The smuggler directed Ungar to an unidentified priest in Warsaw for assistance. (Ungar, *Destined to Live*, pp. 235–36.)

We waited as the chief smuggler talked to the fisherman. When he finished he came over to me and said, "You shouldn't stay here. It's not safe. ... This man here,"—gesturing toward the fisherman—"can take you to the other side. There's a railroad station not too far off. You can get a train there for Warsaw."

"Okay," I said, "that's what we'll do. We want to thank you for your help."

"One more thing," he said. "Take this." He gave me a piece of paper. "It's the address of a priest in Warsaw who can help you get train tickets. You might not be able to do so yourselves."

The fisherman had a rowboat tied to a little pier that jutted into the river. We climbed in and two minutes later we were on the other side. There the fisherman led us to a path. "Follow this a mile or so," he said, "and it'll take you right to the railroad station."

... At the station the ticket window was already opened and I bought two tickets for Warsaw while my friend hung in the background keeping out of the ticketmaster's view. ...

I Warsaw we found our way to the priest's address the smuggler had given us. My impression was that this priest was probably working for the Polish underground. He didn't ask a single question, he just did what he could to help. He gave us food, then went out and bought us train tickets to *Lvov* [*Lwów*]. With hindsight, I guessed he was part of the organization that was working with the Jewish underground, helping Jews acquire arms, or escape, or putting children into monasteries and other safe places. There were networks that did such things, as I learned later on, and more than a few Catholic priests were involved.

Jola Hoffman (born in 1931) and her parents, refugees from Germany, were able to escape from the Warsaw ghetto shortly before the start of the uprising in April 1943 with the assistance of Polish friends. Their friends, who worked with the Polish underground, also provided hiding places. An unidentified priest who worked with the underground provided names of deceased persons which were used to obtain false identity documents.⁸²⁰

Anna Kovitzka (later *Kaletska*, born in 1912) escaped from *Grodno* during a German *Aktion*. Complete strangers gave her assistance as she fled the city. She remained in the countryside for several weeks until things quietened down and she was able to return. An unidentified priest sheltered Anna, made enquiries about her husband, and drove her part of the way home in his cart.⁸²¹ (Anna Kovitzka's account is posted at *Voices of the Holocaust*, Internet: <http://voices.iit.edu/interview?doc=kaletskaA&display=kaletskaA_en>.)

The Germans were grabbing the people and dragging them to work in Germany. I wanted to return to the ghetto. Then thousand Jews were deported that day. The ghetto was surrounded. One couldn't get in, nor could one get out.

⁸²⁰ Testimony of Jola Hoffman, November 3, 1987, Oral History Interview of the Kean College of New Jersey Holocaust Resource Centre, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Accession Number 1993.A.0088.74, RG Number: RG-50.002.0074.

⁸²¹ Niewyk, *Fresh Wounds*, 208.

Part were going to Treblinka, and to get in one also didn't know how. I ran into a Christian—he was a working man. I told him I am a Jewess—"I can't get into the ghetto." And he said, "Get out of the city. You do not look Jewish. Go where ever you can, but don't remain here. You see here it burns." And so I departed alone, without papers, into the woods. I did not know the roads. Through the woods, into a Russian village. [N.B. There were no Russian villages in that area. The population was mostly Polish, with some Belorussians. M.P.] I entered. "Give me some water." If one is alive, one has to drink water. And sometimes one has to eat. Everybody gave me something. I did not look Jewish, but they knew—what else could be driving me in the snow through the woods? Everyone kept me for one night.

The Christians—I can't complain. Everybody gave me warm water to wash myself. They gave me food, so that I should have strength to wander farther. And there was a preacher—A Christian, a Catholic. He hid me "for strength" for eight days. But it drove me back to Grodno to find out what was going on. The priest encountered some Jews that were going to work. She he asked them: "Do you know whether Jack Kovitzki is there?" So they said: "He is there, he has remained alive." Three thousand Jews were still in Grodno. So he said, "Tell him that his wife is alive—that she does not want to remain among us. She wants to go back, and in a few days she will be back." The next week he took me out part of the way in a cart—to go further, he was afraid. And I went alone towards Grodno—I can't remember how many kilometers. I arrived in Grodno. It's the same story again—how does one get in—into the ghetto? And then it occurred to me that my father had a chauffeur, a Christian, a decent man.

He was a good business man; so he had an automobile and a driver—a very decent person. He lives now in the yard of the house that once belonged to my father-in-law. So I went to him. He didn't know me, but I gave the name of Meyer Kovitzki, and he said: "Don't be afraid. You can be with me as long as you want." But he had a wife and a child, and I did not want to cause him anxiety. So I went down to the cellar, and he went to the ghetto to find out about things, and Friday morning his own wife went with me through the streets, and she led me to the ghetto. Then another Pole helped me to get in. But before I went in, he told me: "You know where you are going?" And I said, "Where is my man, and where is my place?" That was on Friday noon.

Dr. Antoni Docha, a deeply religious man, figures in several rescue stories. Together with his wife, Janina, also a doctor, they ran a medical practice in the village of Indura, about 25 kilometres south of Grodno, where they lived with their three daughters. Dr. Docha arranged for hiding places for professional acquaintances of his and their families whom he helped to escape from the Grodno ghetto. In the case of Helena Szewach (later Bibliowicz), she was a complete stranger who arrived unexpectedly at Dr. Docha's doorstep with her friend, Fania Halpern (or Galpern, later Lubitch), after escaping from the Grodno ghetto. Helena was directed there by a priest, Rev. Jan Kunicki, the pastor of Indura, whom her family had befriended in Grodno before the war. Rev. Kunicki had promised to help Helena in her time of need. Dr. Docha placed the two young women with the Strzałkowski family in the village of Boryski and assisted with their upkeep.⁸²²

An interesting case is that of Dana Kuroczycka-Rusiecka, the Polish Catholic wife of Dr. Aron Rusiecki. The couple married in Wilno soon after the Soviet occupation of that city in the fall of 1939. After the German invasion in the summer of 1941, they moved to Raduń with their newborn son. Although a Jew, Dr. Rusiecki was employed at the military hospital. The German commander urged Dana to leave her husband but she steadfastly refused. After learning that Dr. Rusiecki was treating an injured Jewish girl at the hospital, the German commander ordered the execution of Dana and her son as punishment, but kept Dr. Rusiecki on because of a shortage of surgeons. Dana's son was killed during the execution but somehow she managed to survive her gunshot wounds. Some villagers, who were ordered to bury the victims, decided to hide Dana. She was taken in by Rev. Czesław Sztejn, the local pastor, who cared for her for several months. The local Polish police commander warned the priest that the German authorities were looking for Dana, and brought her to his own home. Afterwards, he placed Dana with Rev. Sykstus Hanusowski, the pastor of Ossowo, where she stayed for about one month. She was then transferred from

⁸²² Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 180–81; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 55–57; Maria Ciesielska, The Docha Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-docha-family>>; Testimony of Helena Bibliowicz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6485; Testimony of Helena Bibliowicz, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, item 5339450, O.3/7017; Margaria Fichtner, "I Shall Not Die": From Holocaust Horror to an 'Impossible' Reunion," *Chicago Tribune*, December 12, 1988. According to her Shoah Foundation testimony, Helena Bibliowicz's parents' house was adjacent to a Catholic church and convent on Brygidzka Street in Grodno. They formed a close friendship with Rev. Jan Kunicki, an elderly priest, and with the nuns who resided there. The church in question is the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the nuns were Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth. For several years, Helena attended a Catholic school where she says she was treated very well.

one villager to another until the arrival of the Soviet army. Dr. Rusiecki managed to escape from the hospital and joined up with Soviet partisans, but was killed shortly before the German retreat.⁸²³

Several priests in this area are credited with coming to the assistance of Jews, including an unidentified priest from Raduń who provided food to Jews.⁸²⁴ The pastor of Raduń at that time was Rev. Czesław Sztejn. After escaping from an execution site in the forest near Werenowo, Czesława Żołnierczyk (then Kagan) hid with various farmers. With the assistance of a Polish farmer, in 1944 she became the housekeeper for a priest whose name she could not recall. The priest baptized her on November 18, 1944, and issued a baptismal certificate indicating she was baptized in the parish of Pielasa near Raduń. At the time, the pastor of Pielasa was Rev. Jan Wienożyndzis. She remained with the priest until the end of the war.⁸²⁵

Several Jewish accounts mention the selfless deeds of a priest from Dziewieniszki, located between Lida and Wilno: intervening on behalf of abused Jews, safeguarding their possessions, placing a Jew with a parishioner, providing Jews with false identity documents. The pastor at the time was Rev. Antoni Weryk, who also served as a chaplain for the Home Army. (David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Divenishok: Yad vashem le-ayara yehudit* [Israel: Divenishok Societies in Israel and the United States, 1977]; translated as *Devenishki Book: Memorial Book*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/dieveniskes/dieveniskes.html>>.)

[Eliahu Blyakher:] *One day, a German group appeared in town seeking entertainment. They gathered the town's youth in the marketplace square, facing the church, and forced them to perform exercise tasks. They then forced them to run around the marketplace, followed by more tasks. After a few hours of torture, one German made a wild anti-Semitic speech, and the Germans got excited. Thanks to the priest who came out and pleaded for us, sacrifices were then avoided.*⁸²⁶

[Kalmen Kartshmer:] *After that, the wandering from village to village and from peasant to peasant began again, and to each one I gave some of the belongings I had left with Lodvik [Ludwik]. Once, a peasant demanded goose feathers. I sent a woman to the town priest and he informed the peasant that I had deposited with him 20 kilograms of feathers and that he would give the woman the feathers. Thanks to that I stayed with the peasant for a long while. Whenever I felt the situation was worsening and I was in danger, I would escape to Lodvik and he would shelter me for a few weeks until the storm passed. I want to emphasize that I remained alive only thanks to Lodvik.*⁸²⁷

[Pinkhas Lipkunski:] *A young man named Shalom arrived to our house and asked to reside with us. We welcomed him as a family member. The town's priest, who visited us, saw the young man and asked who he was. We told him the matter, and on the spot he expressed his willingness to save his life under the condition that he would convert. After the war he would be able to return to the fold of Judaism. The young man agreed—and then he disappeared without a trace.*

When we arrived to Israel and settled in Ramot Remez in Haifa, we became friendly with our neighbors who were former residents of Vilne [Wilno]. Once, on Rosh Hashanah, we found a Jew at their home whose leg was amputated after being wounded at the front. He recounted the whole story before me: The priest got him a job as a laborer in a farm near Divenishok [Dziewieniszki]. When the Russians arrived, he returned to Judaism and volunteered to the

⁸²³ Tamara Omeljančuk, "Smutna historia miłosna," *Nasz Czas* (Vilnius), no. 9, 2005. There is also mention of a helpful priest from Ossowo in Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland*, 33.

⁸²⁴ Yaffa Eliach, *There Once Was a World: A Nine-Hundred-Year Chronicle of the Shtetl of Eishyshok* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1998), 599.

⁸²⁵ Bejze and Galiński, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa polskiego 1939–1956*, 205, based on the testimony of Czesława Żołnierczyk; Larysa Mikhaïlik (Larysa Michajlik), *Kościół katolicki na Grodzieńszczyźnie 1939–1956* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN; Rytm, 2008), 153.

⁸²⁶ Eliahu Blyakher, "A Partisan's Story," 175 ff. in David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Divenishok: Yad vashem le-ayara yehudit* (Israel: Divenishok Societies in Israel and the United States, 1977); translated as *Devenishki Book: Memorial Book*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/dieveniskes/dieveniskes.html>>. See also Zelig Rogol, "In Battle Against the Nazi Enemy," in *ibid.*, 169 ff.

⁸²⁷ Kalmen Kartshmer, "In the Claws of the Nazi Beast," in Shtokfish, *Sefer Divenishok*, 162 ff.

*Red Army. He was wounded in action and his leg was amputated. He was among the ma'apilim [illegal immigrants] in Cyprus and now he lives in Ashdod.*⁸²⁸

Rev. Borys Kaminski, an Orthodox priest from Głowsiewiczze near Slonim writes: “During my visits to Lida I remember seeing groups of Jews, herded to work by members of the Gestapo, collectively removing their hats in respect, at the appearance of a Polish Catholic priest.”⁸²⁹

Sometimes, Christian benefactors were put at risk because of internal rivalries and bickering within the Jewish community, as in the case of Lida, in the Nowogródek region.⁸³⁰ (Shmuel Spector, ed., *Lost Jewish Worlds: The Communities of Grodno, Lida, Olkieniki, Vishay* [Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1996], pp. 212–13.)

In December 1941, all the Jews of Lida were concentrated in a ghetto ... At this time Aktionen were being carried out in Vilna [Wilno], and a few hundred Jewish survivors fled from there to Lida. By paying off Polish municipal clerks, the Judenrat was able to obtain residence permits for the refugees. However, not long afterward a group of Jews was caught while trying to steal the Jewish property that had been left for safekeeping with the local [Orthodox] priest. The thieves were taken to prison. Their wives demanded that the Judenrat intercede to obtain their release. When the Judenrat refused to act, the detainees told the authorities about the permits the Judenrat had arranged for the Vilna refugees and promised to disclose the identity of the latter as well. On March 1, 1942, all the town's Jews were assembled in the square next to the new post office. They were then made to walk through a narrow passage, where one of the thieves identified five people. They were immediately arrested and two days later were shot in the prison courtyard. Some 200 sick and elderly Jews who could not get to the site were murdered in their lodgings. A week later a number of the Judenrat's senior figures, including the chairman, Lichtman, were arrested, tortured, and murdered.

Eliahu Damesek describes the events in the Lida memorial book as follows (Alexander Manor, Itzhak Ganusovitch, and Aba Lando, eds., *Sefer Lida* [Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Lida in Israel and the Committee of Lida Jews in U.S.A., 1970], pp. viii ff.):

One day, a party of Jewish thieves made an attempt on the life of a Russian [Belorussian] clergyman in the town and tried to rob him of the property which the Jews of Lida entrusted to him. The attempt did not succeed and some of the attackers were arrested. The wives of the thieves appealed to the Judenrat for assistance in obtaining the release of their husbands. The Judenrat could not take upon themselves their request and turned them down. Upon the thieves being informed of this fact, they decided to revenge themselves upon the Judenrat.

They then approached the Nazi authorities offering them cooperation in finding out the Jews of Vilno [Wilno] who had infiltrated into Lida.

The Nazis chose a day in March 1942 for the betrayal of the Jews from Vilno. ... all the Jews were driven from their homes and ... were led to a square opposite the new post office. There they were lined up in the snow and cold and forced to enter a narrow passage so that the thieves could point them out. Fifty Jews were arrested and shot shortly thereafter in the courtyard of the prison. ... All the children whose parents had left them at home due to the intense cold, and all the aged, the sick, and the dying who did not go out to the identification parade, were found lying in their own blood ... In this manner, on that day, over 200 souls were murdered.

A week after the betrayal by the Jewish thieves, the heads of the Judenrat were arrested ... These people were tortured and met a violent death.

Two Pallottine Sisters (Missionary Sisters of the Catholic Apostolate) who worked in the hospital in

⁸²⁸ Pinkhas Lipkanski, “The Story of an 11-Year Old Boy,” in Shtokfish, *Sefer Divenishok*, 242 ff. This account may refer to Shalom Shorenzon. See the testimony of Shalom Shorenzon, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9887.

⁸²⁹ Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland*, 33–34.

⁸³⁰ Another version of the story is that the Jews who broke into the Orthodox church and stabbed the priest when he confronted them were a family of thieves named Zimleich who stole horses from “from the goyim.” The Germans ordered the Jewish council to turn the burglars over, but the three of them escaped from Lida. Instead, the council handed over some refugees who were acquainted with the criminals. In an effort to save themselves, they revealed to the Germans that the council issued false documents to Jewish refugees. See Chaim Basist, *The Story of the House of Plotnik-Monco-Basist*, December 2008, Internet: <<http://museumoffamilyhistory.com/wims-basist-02.htm>>.

Nowogódek, Celina Bławat and Jadwiga Kaczykowska, gave shelter to five Jewish doctors, their co-workers, during the first large *Aktion* of December 8, 1941. Those doctors later escaped from Nowogródek and joined Soviet partisan groups operating in the vicinity. The head doctor, Dr. Zenon Limon, asked the nuns to shelter his wife, a Polish woman from Lida named Wanda (née Gierasimowicz), and their young son Henryk. They were transferred for safety to the order's mother house in the nearby village of Rajca. They remained there until the spring of 1943, when they joined Dr. Limon. All three survived the war and relocated to the Gdańsk area.⁸³¹ Herzl and Tina Bencjanowski (Benson) placed their one-year-old daughter in a convent, probably the Pallottine Sisters, with the help of Mrs. Bencjanowski's sister, who was married to a Christian.⁸³² Sister Irena Przybysz sheltered several Jewish children in the children's home run by the Pallottine Sisters. The nuns also provided food to the ghetto from 1941 until its liquidation in 1943.⁸³³

Hundreds of Jews jumped from trains headed to the Treblinka death camp and some managed to escape

⁸³¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1022; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 406–7; Zofia Kaperczak, "Siostry Misjonarki Apostolstwa Katolickiego," in *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, vol. 8 (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 1995), 77–110, at p. 96.

⁸³² George Lubow, *Escape: Against All Odds: A Survivor's Story* (New York: iUniverse, 2004), 45.

⁸³³ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 407; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 145.

from the camp itself. These destitute fugitives received extensive assistance from Polish villagers.⁸³⁴ Often they knocked on the doors of parish rectories seeking assistance. As historian Philip Friedman has noted (*Their Brothers' Keepers*, p. 126):

⁸³⁴ Examples of assistance received from farmers and railway workers by escapees from Treblinka or trains headed there are plentiful, despite the frequent manhunts carried out by the Germans for Jewish fugitives and the death penalty facing those Poles who extended any form of assistance to Jews. Of the approximately 200 prisoners who managed to break out of the death camp during the revolt on August 2, 1943, about 100 were still alive at the end of the war thanks to assistance received from Poles. Short-term help was particularly frequent. See Mark Paul, "The Rescue of Jewish Escapees from the Treblinka Death Camp," in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, and Paweł Styrna, eds., *Golden Harvest or Hearts of Gold? Studies on the Fate of Wartime Poles and Jews* (Washington, D.C.: Leopolis Press, 2012), 117–37. According to three separate testimonies by Jewish escapees from the death camps of Treblinka and Sobibór, they "walked about the villages" where they were "known to everybody," including the farm-hands and school children, without being denounced. See Teresa Prekerowa, "Stosunek ludności polskiej do żydowskich uciekinierów z obozów zagłady w Treblince, Sobiborze i Bełżcu w świetle relacji żydowskich i polskich," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, vol. 35 (1993): 108; translated as "The Attitude of the Polish Population Towards Jewish Escapees from the Treblinka, Sobibór, and Bełżec Death Camps in Light of Jewish and Polish Testimonies," in Chodakiewicz, Muszyński and Styrna, *Golden Harvest or Hearts of Gold?*, 97–116. Polish railway workers were known to open train door during stops allowing Jews to escape, provided them with water, and supplied pliers, hammers and crowbars with which to break open doors and cut the barbed wire covering the small openings in the wagons. Poles who approached stationery trains to give Jews water or food were brutally beaten by German guards and railwaymen and threatened with deportation to the death camp. Karol Socha, a switchman, sheltered a Jewish fugitive for several days and went to Sandomierz to bring him false identity documents and money. See Franciszek Ząbecki, *Wspomnienia dawne i nowe* (Warsaw: Pax, 1977), 46–47, 49–50, 75–76. Stanisław Wójcik, a railway machinist who lived in Wólka Okraglik with his wife, provided clothes to a naked Jewish fugitive who knocked on his door at night. See Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 426–28. Yosef Haezrahi-Bürger, one of the operatives of Jewish organizations who, after the war, tracked down Jewish children sheltered by Christian Poles, described the fate of two Jewish teenagers who managed to escape from a train on its arrival in Treblinka and were sheltered in a village near the camp: "in one of the transports, two siblings—a boy and a girl—were among the Jews in the wagons that reached the Treblinka village railroad station before they could be moved to the extermination camp. While they were waiting, the people in the wagon broke through the wooden floor and several escaped. The guards chased and fired at them but the two children managed to reach a house in the village and hide there, terrifying the owner, whose own children were playing in the yard. When she saw the guards pursuing them, the woman directed the guards to her own house. The guards shot the woman's children, assuming that they were the fugitive Jewish youngsters who were hiding in the house. The terrified woman regained her composure quickly and decided that if this was her fate, she had no choice but to raise the Jewish youngsters. The operative did not know the source of the information about these children after the war but was told that emissaries had been sent to remove them several times, failing each time. In 1947, when he was asked to deal with their removal, the children were sixteen and seventeen years old. They knew they were Jewish but refused to leave their 'mother,' as they called their rescuer, since she had lost her own children and had saved them. The mother left the decision up to them: both persisted in their refusal and remained in the village." See Emunah Nachmany Gafny, *Dividing Hearts: The Removal of Jewish Children from Gentile Families in Poland in the Immediate Post-Holocaust Years* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 202–3, 281. Sura Bursztyn (Barbara Tyl), a native of Wołomin, was deported with her parents to Treblinka in 1942. On arrival in the camp, in the ensuing chaos, the young girl managed to escape and wandered in the vicinity until she arrived at the home of Jakub and Janina Krajewski in the village of Krajewo Budziły near Zambrów, dishevelled, injured and hungry. The Krajewski family took her in and she remained with them until 1948. See Righteous Medal Award Ceremony, May 28, 2019, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/aktualnosci/ceremonia-sprawiedliwych-w-lazienkach-krolewskich-w-warszawie>>. Marian (Maniek) Płatkiewicz, a native of Plock, who escaped during the uprising in Treblinka, recalled that the Germans encircled the forest with troops and the majority of the escapees were killed by the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators by the morning. Płatkiewicz and a few of his friends succeeded in avoiding detection. For several months they stayed in a hideout behind the barn of a friendly farmer in a nearby village, and later joined a partisan group. See Marian Płatkiewicz, "A Revolt in Hell," in E. Eisenberg, ed., *Plotzk: Toldot kehila atikat yomin be-Polin* (Tel Aviv: World Committee for the Plotzk Memorial Book, 1967), 79–81, translated as Plotzk: A History of an Ancient Jewish Community in Poland, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/plock/Plock.html>>. Abraham Bomba and his colleagues, Yankel Eyzner (Jacob Eisner), Moshe Rapaport (Rappaport), Yechiel Berkovitch (Berkowicz), and Yechezkal Kofman (Kaufman, Cooperman), received help from several farmers in the area after their escape from Treblinka: "Lying in the field, we saw a peasant in a wagon go by. We called him over and told him that we had escaped from Treblinka and, perhaps, it would be possible if he could take us into his barn. ... In the end, we convinced him and he showed us his barn in the distance and we went inside. But he doesn't know of anything. And if they would ask, we should say that we sneaked in. That is what we did. We were there the entire day. At night, the head of the village came and told us that he would lead us out of the village and show us the way to go. He indeed took us to the main road, and we traveled all night until the morning. In the morning, we came to a village. We saw, in front of a house, that a woman opens the door. We went over to the house and the woman told us to come in. We were there for a week. The second week, we were at the friend of the peasant in the same village. I remember this peasant's name: Piotr Supel [Sopel?]. ... This was in the village Zagradniki [Zagrodniki] near Ostrovek Vengravski [Ostrówek Węgrowski]. The peasant traveled with us to Warsaw." See A.L. Bombe, "My Escape from Treblinka," *Czenstochov: A New Supplement to the Book "Czenstochover Yidn"*,

A number of priests in the neighborhood of the death camp at Treblinka gave food and shelter to Jews escaping from transports on the way to the camp.

Among the priests who came to the assistance of Jews that escaped from Treblinka or jumped from trains headed there was Rev. Sergiusz Góralczuk of Ugoszcz near Kosów Lacki. Rev. Góralczuk hid in the parish rectory in two young Jewish men who escaped during the August 1943 revolt and provided temporary shelter and food to several other Jews who moved on in order to leave the vicinity of the camp.⁸³⁵ Catholic priests are known to have stood up to malfeasants who harassed and robbed Jewish fugitives. (Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, p. 245, based on the Czyżew Memorial Book.)

Jentel Kita [Kitaj] recounts the following incident which occurred in the village of Lachow [Łochów], Wysokie Mazowieckie county. Several villagers assaulted a rather well-dressed woman, trying to strip her of her clothes. A priest suddenly appeared, approaching the attackers and asking them why they were harassing a lone woman. They told him that she was a Jewess who had jumped out of a Treblinka-destined train. Upon hearing that, the priest demanded that they leave her alone: he told them that she had suffered enough. The victim of the assault took advantage of his intercession and of the ensuing argument to withdraw speedily. Then the priest also walked swiftly away.

The following account was recorded in Grynberg, *Drohobycz, Drohobycz and Other Stories*, at pages 151–52.

... they took him and his wife to Treblinka. They were ordered to throw all their valuables, jewellery, dollars onto a sheet—death if you didn't. Everyone did, but Grandpa thought to himself, they'll kill my anyway, but what if I survive? So he bent down as though he were throwing, and picked things up again and again. Then, they selected several stronger men, put them back in the train, and Grandpa was one of the chose. As they rode at night, they managed to push out the bars of the window. The German shot, but missed him. Cut and bruised, he dragged himself to a settlement where he saw a church. The priest gave him clothes and money for the train, because he couldn't pay in dollars. When he got back to Warsaw, his friends said: "We'll introduce you to Jędrzek Korczak of the HA [Home Army] who is hiding in the Ujazdów [military] hospital." In this way, Grandpa became one of General Horodyński's charges. [Horodyński was head of the surgical department—M.P.] ... the colonel on the officer's ward is a Jew, a pharmacist who'd studied along with Horodyński. And the major is also a Jew, a music teacher. And the quiet, devout soldier with the bamboo walking-stick who wears a crucifix on top of his pajamas. And that rheumatic lady who claims that we're suited to each other, Grandpa knew her well in Kraków. Even poor Lieutenant Doliński had a Jewish mother.

Joseph S. Kutrzeba, then known as Arie Fajwiszys, recalled the assistance he received from several priests in the vicinity of Brańsk. In particular, Rev. Stanisław Falkowski, who was awarded by Yad Vashem, played a key role in the rescue of this 14-year-old boy from the Warsaw ghetto who had jumped from a train headed for Treblinka. After wandering in the countryside for several months, hiding in forests, fields and barns, the boy asked farmers to give him work and shelter. He turned to a priest in Hodyszewo, Rev. Józef Perkowski, to whom he disclosed his identity. That priest referred him to Rev. Falkowski, a young vicar who was posted in the nearby village of Nowe Piekuty. The boy knocked on his door in the dead of the night. Rev. Falkowski gave him a warm reception and tended to his wounds. Since the Germans had taken over the parish rectory, the small premises Rev. Falkowski had to rent for himself were not conducive to rescue. He arranged a hiding place for the boy in the courtyard near the church, where he stayed for four months. Afterwards, Rev. Falkowski arranged for the boy to work for Polish farmers in the area, among them Trzeszczkowski and Stanisław Olędzki. Rev. Roch Modzelewski, the pastor, was aware of the boy's true identity and assisted in the rescue effort. The boy also received help from another young vicar, Rev. Janiecki, who visited Rev. Falkowski, and from a priest in a nearby village who was a homeopath. Bishop Stanisław Łukomski of Łomża,⁸³⁶ who had been taken into confidence, consented to the boy's wish to be baptized in the spring of 1943. Through Stanisław Olędzki, the village head of

⁸³⁵ Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 301, 328–29.

⁸³⁶ For information about Bishop Łukomski's interventions on behalf of Jews with the German authorities in the summer of 1941 and his pleas for support for Jews directed to the faithful, see Damian Bednarski, "I vescovi polacchi e la salvaguardia delgi ebrei," in Mikrut, *La Chiesa cattolica in Europa centro-orientale di fronte al Nazionalsocialismo 1939–1945*, at pp. 753–54.

Szepietowo, Rev. Falkowski arranged for Aryan papers for the boy under a new identity, Józef Kutrzeba, which enabled him to register for work in Germany. Rev. Falkowski kept in touch with Józef the whole time while he worked in a factory, writing him letters to keep up his spirits and sending him food parcels. Rev. Falkowski also helped other Jews, which the boy was not aware of at the time. Joseph Kutrzeba wrote the following statement (which is the editor's possession) in May 1994.⁸³⁷

During the first days of September 1942, at the age of 14, I jumped out of a moving train destined for Treblinka, through an opening (window) of a cattle car loaded to capacity with Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto.

Wandering over fields, forests and villages, at first in the vicinity of Wołomin, and later of Zambrów, I found myself, in late November, in the area of Hodyszewo (at the time district Łomża).

Throughout my wandering, the peasants for the most part were amenable to put me up for the night and to feed me—some either suspecting my origins or pressing me to admit it.

I am the son of the well-known musician, composer, professor and conductor, Izrael Fajwiszys, and of Malka Hakman, murdered by the German Nazis together with my sister Rela.

Generally, I was aiming to reach the forests of Lublin as I'd heard within the resistance movement in the Warsaw Ghetto, Hashomer Hatzair, to which I belonged (and whose leader was Mordechai Anielewicz) that a Jewish partisan unit of that movement was being formed there. The peasants were afraid to shelter me longer than overnight since an officially announced death penalty had been decreed by the German occupiers for any assistance rendered to Jewish escapees.

Several times I was advised to seek out "a priest" who, as the peasants believed, could baptize me and thus to "save" me. While still in the area of Wołomin, I looked up a pastor (whose name I don't remember). He had handed me a prayer book advising me to somehow take care of myself and to learn the basic prayers etc., and to look him up again after I have mastered the prayers. Then "we'll see," he said. Because, as he stated, he was afraid to shelter me. I never saw him again.

But at the end of November 1942, when heavy snow covered the ground, I followed the advice of a peasant who suggested that I look up, as it turned out, the parish priest (canon) Józef Perkowski in the church at Hodyszewo (housing the Miraculous Image of the Virgin Mary), the post-war rector of the Catholic Seminary in Łomża, with whom I corresponded after the war. Rev. Perkowski, having fed me, suggested that I repair at night, over heavy snow, to find a young vicar; Rev. Stanisław Falkowski, in the village of Piekuty Nowe, near Szepietowo.

Rev. Perkowski maintained that German gendarmes were constantly milling about in Hodyszewo and thus it would be difficult for him to hide or shelter me. However, as he put it, Piekuty Nowe was a small village, out of the way (as it turned out, there was also a gendarmerie post there), and that Rev. Falkowski was a "young idealist" who might agree to help me.

Father Falkowski opened the door for me on a dark evening, asking me to come into his one-room dwelling unit where, as a young vicar, he'd found a locum with a family, since the parish house in Piekuty Nowe had been requisitioned by the Germans, and the parish priest, Father Roch Modzelewski, had had to move into the house of the organist.

At first, Father Falkowski had put me up in his only room where I slept on the sofa. I had been covered with lice and with sores over my body. Father Falkowski fed me, arranged to clean me up, boiled my clothes, somehow coming up with an ointment for my sores. At the same time, we held many conversations evenings, rising at five in the morning to attend dawn Mass during Advent (December 1942).

From the start, Father Falkowski's superior, pastor Modzelewski, had been fully taken into confidence (I often visited him—a short walk) and fully cooperated in assisting me. Both priests resolved that it was most important that I learn the catechism and the basic Catholic teachings—that is because that, if they would eventually attempt to place me with a peasant as a "working hand," or to tend the cows—due to my "good" appearance and Polish speech—I would not give myself away with regard to my origins.

Over time, as I learned later, the bishop of Łomża, Stanisław Łukomski, had been taken into confidence; also, when the time came, in the spring of 1943, he had also granted permission to Father Falkowski to baptize me. When I took ill with jaundice, Father Modzelewski took me by sleighs to another village where a well-known homeopathist-priest cured me with herbs.

Another young vicar [Father Janiecki⁸³⁸], a friend of Father Falkowski, had also visited us several times; he'd brought over a violin which he and I both played. He, too, was taken into confidence. However, active assistance

⁸³⁷ See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 211–12; Anna Pyzewska, "Pomoc dla ludności żydowskiej w Okręgu Białystok w latach okupacji niemieckiej," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 955–56; Joseph S. Kutrzeba, *The Contract: A Life for a Life* (New York: iUniverse, 2009), 59–60, 80–164, 197–98, 203, 207, 217–18; Zbigniew Romaniuk, *Słownik historyczny miejscowości i postaci z terenu gminy Nowe Piekuty* (Nowe Piekuty: Urząd Gminy Nowe Piekuty, 2014), 169–70, 197, 208.

⁸³⁸ See Kutrzeba, *The Contract*, 95–102.

was rendered to me mainly by Father Falkowski and Father Modzelewski including the subsequent placements with several peasants, as a Catholic, and later even with the head of a cluster of villages (wójt).

Father Falkowski suggested a new last name for me—Kutrzeba (the first name remained as at my birth)—and that for two reasons: 1) it had a very “Polish” ring to it, and 2) to honor Gen. Kutrzeba who resisted the German invasion to the last moment.

When, during a particular stay with a peasant, things began to get “uncomfortable”—either owing to very hard work ... or due to gradually emerging suspicions which I’d promptly report to Father Falkowski, the priests would move me to yet another peasant—usually located at an isolated homestead, away from the main village where I would not be regarded with suspicion by passers-by or by visitors.

Over time, steeped in prayers, I began to cling to them, as they became my only inner refuge and a spiritual nourishment, especially while co-existing with simple people with whom I shared very little, nor could I share anything about myself or about my past in order to alleviate some of my inner torment. Owing to much hard work and security reasons, I was allowed to visit Father Falkowski and Father Modzelewski solely after church on Sundays or holidays where I wouldn’t attract much attention among throngs of people. (After the war I learned that the housekeeper of Father Modzelewski whom I got to know well, was also a Jewess, and that Father Falkowski also helped to shelter several other Jews.)

These visits meant spiritual rescue for me. As time went by, Father Falkowski became my only source of survival and hope, spiritually and otherwise. When, at one point, he proposed baptism to me, I agreed. Now, recalling my mental state of the time, I believe that: 1) I came to believe in Christ in whose name Father Falkowski had extended to me an unequivocal love of one’s neighbor, constantly risking his life in the name of his ideals; 2) to a certain extent, I felt neither could I disappoint my benefactor whom I came to love; and 3) it seemed to offer a better chance for survival. In addition, I recall as how Father Falkowski expressing it with some levity perhaps, added the conversion of souls was not only a priest’s mission, but that it would also put him “in good stead” with his bishop (I remember also that I had to write a formal letter to Bishop Łukomski stating my reason for my desire to be baptized, in order to receive his permission therefor.) I felt that I could not disappoint him, although he’d assured me that even if I should eschew baptism, he would still care for me.

When, toward the end of summer, things started to get “hot” (as I was almost found out by a certain mason—a “wiseguy” from Warsaw who worked there), Father Falkowski took me in again and, together with the parish priests, put together the following scenario:

The plan was for me to report to the general population registration, then in progress in the German-occupied Białystok voivodship, where new identity cards were being issued; with the partial cooperation of the village elder (who had to verify my identity, based on the priest’s assurance—not being aware of my true origin), I was granted a new identity card (Polish Catholic).

With it in hand, I “volunteered” for civilian labor in East Prussia, as the Germans, in addition to forcibly deporting young people for labor, were also conducting a broad propaganda campaign to recruit volunteers.

With tears in my eyes, I took leave of Father Falkowski who felt that my only chance to survive would be “in the lion’s den,” since the Germans embarked on a wild hunt for Jewish escapees, and a death penalty—often on the spot—was meted out to those assisting them.

I was received by the German Amtskomissar in Szepietowo who dispatched me by train for labor in a factory in Insterburg, in East Prussia.

From September 1943 to January 1945 I worked there, all along corresponding with Father Falkowski. Because nourishment was very scarce, Father Falkowski would continuously provide me with packages containing bread loaves; inside the bread, in a hollowed-out cavity, I usually found a ring of kielbasa [sausage], which, by the way, was strictly against the law (the remittance of meat products during the war-time food rationing). In the event that I would be found out (as four other Poles were employed in that same factory), without doubt it would have caused a tragic end for my friend.

Moved to Germany proper where I was liberated by the American Army (in the city of Erfurt), I reestablished contact with Father Falkowski. Since then, allowing for some interruptions, we’ve been in constant touch for over 50 years: twice I brought him to the United States for visits, and to Israel (where he received the highest honors); I visited him in Poland a number of times. Currently he is retired, following two heart surgeries, at age 78, residing in the village of Klukowo, district Łomża. ... Throughout his entire life he displayed great dedication in restoring churches, in furthering education, especially among children (he was imprisoned for two years in Białystok under Stalin), and always leaving parishes behind in an improved state. ... (As far as I know, he also assisted, and possibly sheltered, the well known deceased writer, Paweł Jasionica.)

Leaving him, en route to East Prussia, I had been asking him how I would ever repay him (taught by my parents that one should not take from others without intending to give). He replied, I remember, “don’t even try, only pass it on to others.” ... Fifty years later, from a present perspective, I asked him, among others, whether he’d received any instructions from his Church superiors with regard to aiding or sheltering escapees or Jews. He answered: “I didn’t need any, for I had my instructions from Christ—‘Love thy neighbor’ or ‘I am my brother’s keeper.’”

In the course of our long conversations when I was under the care of Father Falkowski (1942–43), I was asking

him, among others—as a 15-year-old boy, why were we being persecuted and murdered. His answer then, apparently the product of his state of mind at the time, or else his scope of “knowledge” acquired in the seminary, or in the environment, expressed itself thusly: “The Lord Christ told the Jews: ‘My blood will fall upon you and your offsprings.’ (I am not able to quote directly but such was the contents.) And this has to be fulfilled.” When I questioned that—“but why upon us, the innocent?” “Father, you have imbued me with the love of one’s neighbor as the foundation of Christianity, and the Germans are a Christian nation ...” He would reply: “Certainly, every Christian has the duty to realize these principles of faith, but apparently, in order to fulfill the prophecy of Christ, the Lord, in ways incomprehensible to us, is using Hitler as His Attila’s whip.” In addition, he told me that one could attain salvation solely through Christ and through a belief in Him.

These days he does not recall having said the former, and as for the latter, he maintains that such an approach is undergoing changes in the philosophy of the modern-day Church—many roads can, apparently, lead to salvation.

Rev. Stanisław Falkowski penned the following account about the rescue of Joseph Kutrzeba (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 344–46).

During Advent in 1942, when I was vicar in the parish of Piekuty, Wysokie Mazowieckie County, a young boy of 16 came to me one evening, asking me to help and save him. He introduced himself as the son of Professor Fajwiszes [Izrael Sruł Fajwiszys] of Łódź, director of synagogue choirs in Poland before 1939. While being transferred from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka the boy had jumped out of a window of the train and then had wandered from ghetto to ghetto in small provincial towns, frequently slipping out of the hands of the Germans until he came to Father [Józef] Perkowski, then curate in Hodyszewo and now rector of the Theological Seminary in Łomża. Father Perkowski concealed him for a short time in the home of a parishioner and when there was danger of discovery he sent the boy to me, in the neighbouring parish of Piekuty.

I hid him in my room for a couple of weeks, conversing with him for hours on end, teaching him the foundations of the Catholic religion, so that he could more easily adapt himself to the Catholic milieu where I was planning to place him. At the time, I admired the rare intelligence and ability of the boy. He knew Hebrew and he delighted other people with the beautiful translations of the psalms (I had given him the Bible in Hebrew by Kittel). From memory he reproduced a musical composition for three voices composed by his father during imprisonment in a concentration camp for Jews; could write down any melody he had just heard for the first time.

After a couple of weeks of our constant association, when he had learned the prayers and catechism well, and after he had read the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament I took him to the settlement, to a parishioner, and requested a place for him to live in as one of my cousins. He was at times cross-examined by the peasants but whenever they appeared to become suspicious he always managed, by his knowledge of the religious truths and quotation of the catechism, to dispel their suspicions. But he had to change his place of residence very often. He was frequently saved by his identity card, issued in the name of Józef Kutrzeba (he still bears this name today), that he had received while still living with me. On 25, March 1943, I baptized him in the church of Piekuty parish, giving him the Christian name he had since birth—Józef. The parish curate, Father Roch Modzelewski, knew of all this and he helped us, displaying great courage and wisdom in helping the oppressed.

When things became truly difficult for my Józef in this parish I advised him to volunteer for work in Germany. ... We corresponded quite often. ... Later, when the front drew near in 1944, I lost track of him. Not until 1946 did I receive the first letter from him from Munich ...

Rev. Roch Modzelewski, the pastor of Nowe Piekuty, provided various forms of assistance to Jews. As mentioned by Joseph Kutrzeba, he engaged a Jewish woman as his housekeeper. His beneficiaries included Zofia Mocko and her daughter, Dr. Szejna (Zofia) Kamieniecka from Brańsk, Maria Bardzińska, and a Jewish woman called Kasia. He also came to the assistance of Marianna Jurczuk, a convert, and her children.⁸³⁹ Her son, Jerzy Jurczak, stated: “He was a very decent man. He helped everyone who had to hide regardless of whether he was a Jew or a Russian.”⁸⁴⁰

Rev. Józef Perkowski, the aforementioned pastor of Hodyszewo, helped several Jews survive the war together with a network of helpers. Dr. Szejna (Zofia) Kamieniecka from Brańsk stayed initially at the parish rectory with her young son, Arie (Jan). The priest’s housekeeper, Franciszka Krakówka, was also involved in the rescue, as was Adela Bińczak, a nurse from Brańsk. Afterwards, Dr. Kamieniecka and her son were sheltered separately by Polish families, one of them being Władysława Tomczak and her

⁸³⁹ Romaniuk, *Słownik historyczny miejscowości i postaci z terenu gminy Nowe Piekuty*, 170.

⁸⁴⁰ Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 956.

husband. They survived the war and settled in the United States. Rev. Perkowski also sheltered the five-year-old daughter of Josl Tykocki, a merchant from Brańsk. This young girl, baptized as Teresa, died not long after the war. Rev. Perkowski was also involved in the rescue of a young boy named Henry. The boy was sheltered by the Wróblewski family, who nursed him back to health, and was also helped by Walerian Szymborski.⁸⁴¹ With the assistance of the Franciscan Sisters, Rev. Perkowski provided shelter and material assistance to Mina Charin (later Omer), whom he baptized as Maria Jadwiga.⁸⁴² The following account is from Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 433.

Mina Charin, later called Omer, was 16 in 1942, when she escaped from the Warsaw ghetto and arrived in the town of Lapy [Łapy], in the Bialystok [Białystok] district, where her brother [Józef or Julian Charin] worked as a doctor in the local hospital. After meeting with her brother, Mina began working in one of the estates close to the town, until one day all the Jews of the vicinity were ordered to report to the nearby police station. The owner of the estate, considering it her lawful duty to obey the German order, decided to drive the [registered] Jewish worker to the Gestapo and hand her over. When they were on their way, Mina asked her employer to stop near the home of Maria Kuzin, a practical nurse who worked with her brother, so she could say goodbye to her. Kuzin, who knew very well what fate awaited Mina, asked the owner of the estate to continue on her way and promised she herself would accompany the Jewish woman to the Gestapo. Mina was hidden in a hiding place arranged for her in the yard of Kuzin's home, where she remained for a few months. When the German searches of the houses in the vicinity became more frequent, Kuzin transferred the Jewish refugee to a nearby village, where she found shelter in the home of the local priest [Rev. Józef Perkowski], who looked after her with devotion and generosity. She remained there until her liberation in July 1944. Even while Mina was in the priest's home, Kuzin continued to visit her, to provide her with her needs and to boost her morale.

Rev. Józef Perkowski also took in Stella Szczerańska, a young Jewish girl from Białystok who had been thrown out of a train on the way to the Treblinka death camp. She survived the occupation and moved to Israel. (Luba Wrobel Goldberg, *A Sparkle of Hope: An Autobiography* [Melbourne: n.p., 1998], p. 98.)

In a separate bunker near the village Hodyszewo [Hodyszewo] was hiding Chaim Wrobel, they called him kewlaker with a nine year old girl, Stella Szcrecranska [sic]. This is her story how she came to the Bransker [Brańsk] group. Stella was born in Bialystok [Białystok] at the polish [sic] end of town. Her father was a chemist and they talked only polish. She was on a train with her parents on the way to Treblinka gas chambers when her mother wrapped her in a towel and threw her out of a train window. Polish people were walking alongside the train where dead bodies of Jews were laying shot while jumping from ther [sic] trains. ... In between the dead they found Stella alive. The people picked her up and took her to the priest in Hoduszewo [Hodyszewo]. Haim Kewlaker came to the priest for food, so the priest gave him lettle [sic] Stela [sic] and told him to take care of her. The priest helped Chaim with food and Chaim took Stella to his bunker.

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⁸⁴¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 829; Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, "Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej," *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 372; Romaniuk, *Słownik historyczny miejscowości i postaci z terenu gminy Nowe Piekuty*, 53–54; Engelking and Grabowski, *Dalej jest noc*, vol. 1, 171.

⁸⁴² Testimony of Fania Charin, August 6, 1948, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3950; Testimony of Mina Omer, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2668.

Dr. Józef (Julian) Charin, the brother of the previously mentioned Mina Charin, was assisted by Rev. Henryk Bagiński, the pastor of Łapy, and afterwards by Rev. Feliks Zalewski, the pastor of Topczewo,⁸⁴³ as well as by Maria Kuzin and some other Poles. (Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012], volume II, Part A, p. 917.)

Julian Charin, a prominent local physician and a member of the Polish Home Army (AK), received assistance from many Poles, arranged mostly by Henryk Bagiński and Feliks Zalewski, the respective heads of Roman Catholic churches in Łapy and Topczewo village. However, after another Pole betrayed Charin's hiding place, he was shot on March 18, 1943, outside of Topczewo, by members of the Topczewo [German] Gendarmerie post. The AK likely revenged his murder by executing the informant. Charin's sister, Mina (later Omer), survived the war, sheltered first by Charin's fiancée, Maria Kuzin, then by [Rev.] Zalewski, and finally by another priest in Hodyszewo village, most likely Józef Perkowski. In Łapy, [Rev.] Bagiński was determined to protect Kretowicz [Jadwiga Chinson], whose conversion to Christianity he had sponsored. He used his Sunday homilies to urge parishioners not to reveal the hiding places of Jews to authorities. She survived the war, as did the sisters Lea and Rivka Srebolov [Srebolow], sheltered by the owner of a Łapy cycle shop.

According to other sources, Dr. Charin last resided in the village of Sieški, where he was sheltered by the Tur family. He was discovered accidentally by German gendarmes, who shot him on March 19, 1943. Four members of the Tur family were arrested, but were miraculously released on the intervention of Rev. Zalewski, who had directed Dr. Charin to their home.⁸⁴⁴ Rev. Bagiński, a member of the Home Army, issued baptismal and birth certificates for Jewish children who were placed with Polish families with the assistance of aforementioned Maria Kuzin.⁸⁴⁵

In her Yad Vashem testimony, the aforementioned Mina Charin (Omer) identified Rev. Jan Idźkowski, the pastor of Poświętne near Łapy, as having helped her and several other Jews including Zalman Sukman and his two daughters from the nearby village of Pietkowo, as well as a ten-year boy from Bydgoszcz.⁸⁴⁶ Zalman Sukman recorded that he turned to priests, whom he did not identify by name, while hiding in the countryside with his two daughters. (Zalman Sukman, "In the Village of Pietkowo," *Sokoły: In the Fight for Life*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokoly/sokoly.html>>, translation of Shmuel Kalisher, ed., *Sokoły: B'ma'avak l'hayim* [Tel Aviv: Organization of Sokoly Emigrés in Israel, 1975], pp. 221–23.)

Sometimes I would go to Christian friends, even priests who were among my friends, and [from them] I received bread and other food. Without this, we would have died of hunger.

Several testimonies from the Sokoły area near Białystok mention the help of the Catholic clergy. Most of them, however, do not identify the priests and nuns who assisted Jews. A priest in Sokoły condemned those who preyed on Jewish fugitives.⁸⁴⁷ Rev. Leon Ostalczyk, the pastor of Waniewo, did likewise. He

⁸⁴³ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 829; Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, "Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej," *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 372.

⁸⁴⁴ Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 321–22. See also A. [Alter] Trus and J. [Julius] Cohen, eds. *Bransk: Sefer hazikaron* (New York: Bransker Relief Committee of New York, 1948), 370, translated as *Bransk: Book of Memories*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Bransk/Bransk.html>>.

⁸⁴⁵ "Łapy—ks. Henryk Bagiński," Społeczne Muzeum Żydów Białegostoku i regionu, Internet: <<https://www.jewishbialystok.pl/%C5%81apy--ks.-Henryk-Bagi%C5%84ski-i-Maria--Berta-Kuzin,5472,2822>>.

⁸⁴⁶ Testimony of Mina Omer, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2668.

⁸⁴⁷ Borwicz, *Vies interdites*, 109.

encouraged his parishioners to help Jews and provided food to Jews living in nearby forests.⁸⁴⁸ Joshua Olshin recalled his survival as a partisan and the help he received from the Catholic clergy. (David Kranzler, *Holocaust Hero: The Untold Story and Vignettes of Solomon Schonfeld, an Extraordinary British Orthodox Rabbi Who Rescued 4000 Jews During the Holocaust* [Jersey City, New Jersey: KTAV, 2004], p. 211)

I survived partly because I worked with the partisans and partly thanks to the help of a priest and a Franciscan nun. When the Russians came back to Bialystok [Białystok] in the summer of 1944, we Jewish survivors organized a Jewish Committee of sixty persons, of which I became the president. We searched the surrounding villages for Jewish children who had survived the war. By 1945, thanks to my contacts with the priest of our locality, we had gathered a total of forty-eight Jewish children.

The Sokoły memorial book also refers to a priest from the village of Jabłonka, who “endangered his own life and property and hid a number of pregnant Jewish women in his home, who gave birth there.”⁸⁴⁹ It is not clear whether this refers to the parish priest of Jabłonka Kościelna (to the west west of Wysokie Mazowieckie) or perhaps the parish priest of Jabłoń Kościelna (to the east of Wysokie Mazowieckie). The evidence below suggests the latter. After surviving an execution by German gendarmes in which her three children were killed, the wounded and destitute Zeldka Kaczerewicz made her way to the village of Jabłoń Kościelna near her hometown of Wysokie Mazowieckie. She was nursed back to health by Rev. Adolf Kruszewski, the local pastor, who had helped her in the past, and by Antonina Jabłońska, the priest’s housekeeper, and her daughter, Helena Pluszkiewicz. Several months later, after her wounds had healed, Zeldka found shelter with Maria Drągowska and her husband in the nearby village of Jabłoń-Zarzeckie. Two Jewish children were left in the village of Jabłoń Kościelna by their mothers. A Jewish infant girl found on the doorstep of the parish rectory in December 1942. Rev. Kruszewski entrusted the child to his housekeeper, Antonina Jabłońska, who looked after her for more than two years. A Jewish woman, the wife of a mill owner from Sokoły, left her nine-month-old son, Józik Żółty, along with a note requesting that he be raised as a Christian. The child was found by the teenaged sisters Janina and Stefania Grabowska. After staying with the Grabowski family for a time, the boy was taken in by the Jankowski family, and then by Teresa Jabłońska. In order to protect this child, the village headman registered him as a Polish foundling and Rev. Kruszewski baptized him. He was given the name of Józef Jabłoński. Both these children survived the war and were sent to a Jewish children’s home in Chorzów. After settling in Israel, the boy was known as Józef Gedali Wanger. For a time, Rev. Kruszewski and his housekeeper provided food to an elderly Jew from Sokoły named Arko and his two sons. However, the Germans later shot Arko and his elder son.⁸⁵⁰

A rescue account from Jabłoń-Zarzeckie, which lies in the parish of Jabłoń Kościelna, doubtless refers to Rev. Kruszewski, and exemplifies his attitude towards the rescue of Jews. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 328–29.)

Paweł [Paweł] and Władysława [Władysława] Kalisiewicz lived with their five children in the village of Jabłon Zarzecka [Jabłoń-Zarzeckie], in the county of Wysokie Mazowieckie, Białystok [Białystok] district. In November 1942, five Jewish women—Perl Weisenberg, her daughters Yaffa and Nechama, and her two sisters, who had fled from the Wysokie Mazowieckie ghetto, arrived in the village. The Kalisiewiczes were the only ones who agreed to shelter the five refugees. For the 22 months until the liberation, the Kalisiewiczes, at great personal risk, hid the five

⁸⁴⁸ Testimony of Jerzy Śliwowski, Społeczne Muzeum Żydów Białegostoku i regionu, Internet: <<https://www.jewishbialystok.pl/Soko%C5%82y--Izaak-Wac%C5%82aw-Kornblum,5485,6782>>; Testimony of Izaak Wacek Kornblum, Centropa, 2005, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/izaak-wacek-kornblum>>.

⁸⁴⁹ “Preface,” *Sokoły: In the Fight for Life*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokoly/sokoly.html>>.

⁸⁵⁰ Testimony of Zeldka Kaczerewicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2246; Testimony of Zeldka Kaczarewicz (sic), Yad Vashem Digital Collections, item 3714522, record group M.11, file 376; Szymon Datner, *Las sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1968), 57; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 738–39; Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, “Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej,” *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 372; Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 173–75; Romaniuk, *Słownik historyczny miejscowości i postaci z terenu gminy Nowe Piekuty*, 83–84; *Historia wsi Jabłoń Kościelna*, Internet: <http://www.jablon.nowepiekuty.pl/obrazki_tresc/Historia.doc>.

refugees in a small storehouse. Despite their straitened circumstances, Władysława came each day to the hiding place to bring the refugees food. In their subsequent testimony, the survivors described their saviors' warm and humane attitude toward them throughout their stay, despite the terrible tragedies they were experiencing at the time: Their son Waclaw [Waclaw] was murdered by the Germans during a raid in the village while another son died of an illness. In her anguish, Władysława turned to the local priest, asking him if the tragedies were a punishment for hiding Jews in her home. The priest reassured her that, on the contrary, God would reward her and her family for saving Jews. The Kaliszewicz's adult sons, Józef [Józef] and Waclaw, also took an active part in the rescue operation. During one of the raids, the Germans ordered their nine-year-old son, Mieczysław [Mieczysław], at gunpoint to reveal the Jews' hiding place, but the little boy refused to be intimidated. Later, one of the survivors wrote: "Despite their great suffering, they did not abandon us, and we never heard a sharp word from them. They shared what little food they had with us, and watched out for our safety..." After the war, the survivors immigrated to Israel.

At least two other families—Harasimiuk and Kobosko—were active in rescuing Jews in Jabłoń-Zarzeckie, among them the Nosko and Kopytowski families.⁸⁵¹ Thus, the presence of Jews in that village, as in Jabłoń Kościelna, was widely known among the villagers.

In his Yad Vashem testimony, Alter Trus mentions the sermons of Rev. Bolesław Czarkowski, the pastor of Brańsk, imploring his parishioners to help those in need (understood to mean the Jews), and the assistance provided by his vicar, Rev. Józef Chwalko.⁸⁵² After their escape from the ghetto, six Jews—the Szapiro brothers, Fajwel and Lejb, their parents, Lejb's fiancée Mina Wasser, and Sonia Weinstein-Rubin—were sheltered in town for about a week by the pharmacist Janina Woińska. Rev. Chwalko then found them hiding places with the Popławski family in the nearby village of Oleksin and continued to assist the Jewish fugitives.⁸⁵³ Rev. Henryk Opiatowski, another vicar, was also involved in rescue efforts on behalf of Jews and escaped Soviet prisoners-of-war, which resulted in his arrest and execution by the Germans on July 15, 1943.⁸⁵⁴ The attitude of the priests from Brańsk, in the Podlasie region, is described in Eva Hoffman's *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), at pages 205–208, 224, 232, 235, and in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, at page 880.

One night early that month [i.e., November 1942], someone jumped over the ghetto fence and ran into the pharmacy. It was Lejb Shapiro [Leon Szapiro], the pharmacy's prewar owner. He told [Janina] Woińska that the ghetto was surrounded, and nobody knew what was going to happen. He wanted to hide with his wife, his two sons, and his brother's fiancée in the basement of the pharmacy. Woińska, and the two other women living in the building, decided that this was a suicidal plan: the pharmacy was right in the ghetto, and frequented by Germans and Poles. Instead, it was agreed that the Shapiros should go to another building, close by but outside the ghetto area. There, Woińska made a hiding place behind the piles of lumber. Together with the two other women, she brought the fugitives food for the next few days. ...

Her sense of danger was sharpened, however, after a close call with the Gestapo, who came to the pharmacy a few days later and ordered a search. By that time, with the help of a young priest [Rev. Józef Chwalko], the Shapiros had gone on to another, safer place outside Brańsk. The Gestapo found their suitcases, left behind in the pharmacy's attic. ...

... As it happened, the whole "aristocracy" of Brańsk had gathered in the pharmacy, including a doctor, a priest, and a teacher. They all knew about the hiding place. No one said a word.

During the search, another Gestapo man started hitting a peasant quite viciously. ... He ordered the pharmacy cordoned off more securely from the ghetto.

"It's a miracle we survived," Woińska says. ...

The young priest who arranged for the Shapiros' second hiding place, and who escorted them on their short but

⁸⁵¹ Romaniuk, *Słownik historyczny miejscowości i postaci z terenu gminy Nowe Piekuty*, 84.

⁸⁵² Testimony of Alter Trus, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.11/374; Testimony of Alter Trus, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2113.

⁸⁵³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 633, 880.

⁸⁵⁴ Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 174; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 315.

hazardous journey, was Vicar Józef Chwalko. His superior, Rector Bolesław Czarkowski, reiterated in his sermons that “one must help people” who were in need. A priestly word, a priestly example, carried enormous moral authority in a congregation such as Brańsk’s ...

... the Nazis announced a hunt for the hidden Jews. The Catholic priest, to his credit, preached a sermon in which he told people to “wash their hands” of such murderous activity, and enjoined them to help those in need. ...

... in July 1943 a priest named Henryk Opatowski, who was a member of the Home Army, was executed for helping Jews and Soviet deserters from labor camps. ...

The forest partisans continued to function and even to grow, adding people who escaped from Białystok after the liquidation of the ghetto and even from the train transports to Treblinka. From 1943 on, there were more than eighty Jews trying to survive in this way. They organized themselves into a unit, consisting of a “family camp,” which sheltered those who could not use weapons, and a defense camp. Their supply of arms was replenished by “intelligent Poles,” who were sympathetic to their plight and who included schoolteachers and a priest.

During the war, Janina Wońska [Woińska] lived in Brańsk [Brańsk] in the district of Białystok [Białystok]. She was a pharmacist and the owner of the only pharmacy in the town and Poles and Jews were her regular customers. The pharmacy was located on the border of the ghetto. When the liquidation of the ghetto began, Leibko (Leon) Szapiro turned to Janina and asked her for help and shelter. Janina set up a hideout in a service building and Leibko and his brother, Faivel (Filip), as well as Leibko’s fiancée, Mina Waser, moved wood that was stored there and created space that resembled a room. Janina delivered food to the hideout and after a week a priest [Rev. Józef Chalko], who knew Janina, arranged a new hiding place for the Szapiros with the Poplawski [Poplawski] family. The Szapiros left Janina but stayed in touch with her and also received medicines from her.

After her husband’s execution by the Germans, Eugenia Wirszubska and her daughters Regina (born in 1931, later Szymańska) and Adela (born in 1935, later Boddy) escaped from the ghetto in Prużana. They survived with the help of a number of Poles. They moved to Wysokie Litewskie, where they obtained Aryan papers from a family friend, Lidia (Lidka) Lichnowska, the daughter of the prewar mayor. In the fall of 1942, Wirszubska and her daughters relocated to the village of Narew, southeast of Białystok, where they were extended protection by two priests. Rev. Stanisław Łukaszewicz, the local pastor, provided them with additional church documents. Rev. Henryk Kardasz arranged for lodging for them with his mother.⁸⁵⁵ (Account of Regina Szymańska, “Fear and Dread,” in Gutenbaum and Latała, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, volume 2, pp. 301–302.)

Just before the establishment of a ghetto in Wysokie Litewskie (one was created there as well), thanks to the intensified effort by Lidka Lichnowska, we obtained Aryan papers. We could then leave for Narew. It was Lidka Lichnowska, I believe, who brought us the news that a ghetto would be created. Her father, who was the prewar mayor, continued to carry out his duties during the war. His attitude toward us remained very friendly. ...

I think that people did not treat us any differently as Jews in Wysokie Litewskie, because of our assimilation and the type of life my parents led.

During the war, on two occasions, we managed to escape virtually “from under the knife,” once, from the ghetto in Prużana [Prużana], the day before its liquidation, and afterward, from Wysokie just before a ghetto was established there. From Wysokie we found our way first to Bielsko [Bielsk Podlaski]. We stayed with friends of Lidka Lichnowska, physicians. We were there for two or three nights. From there, equipped with letters of recommendation, we went to Narew, where we spent the rest of the occupation. We were helped by a Catholic priest [Rev. Stanisław Łukaszewicz] to whom we were referred by Mrs. Lichnowska. It is difficult to say whether the townspeople knew we were Jews.

My mama was very likeable, pleasant, hardworking, and very obliging. We did not go to school. We played practically the whole time with the local children. My sister, in spite of having very dark brown hair, had a sub nose and never looked Jewish. Therefore, she could move around freely. With me, it was different; I have a long nose and chestnut-colored hair. During the entire occupation, Mama kept me hidden and bleached my hair with peroxide. My hair was so damaged by these treatments that I had to wear a white crocheted beret the whole time. Mama told everyone that I had bad sinuses, and that is why I had to be shielded from the sun. I think that people might have suspected the truth; however, they were tolerant.

⁸⁵⁵ Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 293; Testimony of Regina Szymanska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 28361. Regina Wirszubska Szymańska misidentifies the local pastor as Jakubowski, which was the name of his relatives with whom her family also interacted. See also Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 928, 979, which repeats the misinformation and provides an incorrect interview code (28351). The testimony of Adela Wirszubska Boddy (interview code 45233), the younger sister, is far less reliable given her age at the time.

We lived through the rest of the occupation relatively peacefully. ...

Later, Mama was offered a tiny room in exchange for her cleaning. We lived there until the end of the occupation. ... The landlady was the mother of a priest [Rev. Henryk Kardasz]. She was a very decent old woman, who embraced us warmly. She later arranged for a better job for Mama, cooking dinners for the clerks in the community office. Such a job made it possible to always get something to eat.

Jewish accounts from Białystok speak of priests imploring the faithful to assist and show compassion for the Jews, assisting Jews to escape from the ghetto, and providing them with false birth and baptismal certificates. An unidentified parish priest called on his congregation to show compassion toward the Jews and to assist them.⁸⁵⁶ Rev. Franciszek Pieściuk, the pastor of nearby town of Choroszcz, sent food to the family of Jakub Lichtensztejn who were confined in the Białystok ghetto.⁸⁵⁷ After being issued a pass to leave the ghetto for a few hours, Józef Zeligman encountered a priest who had taught religion at the private high school where Zeligman had once been the principal. The priest took Zeligman, who wore a Star of David, by the arm and escorted him along the road to his destination.⁸⁵⁸ After escaping from the ghetto in January 1943, Henia, who had a pronounced Jewish appearance, went to a parish with her six-year-old son Marek and requested birth and baptismal certificates, which the priest provided. He also offered to shelter her son but she declined. Henia and Marek lived on the outskirts of Białystok passing as Christians, where they survived the war.⁸⁵⁹

Rev. Adam Abramowicz, the pastor of St. Roch's parish in Białystok, found shelters for Jews and provided them with false documents.⁸⁶⁰ A rabbi from a nearby town, who was acquainted with Rev. Abramowicz, directed Jakub Sławiński (then Hirsz) to the priest for assistance. Sławiński obtained a false birth and baptismal certificate and a school certificate which enabled him to get a job.⁸⁶¹ Several children also survived with documents from St. Roch's parish. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: Poland, Part 2, pp. 761–62.)

During the occupation, Tadeusz Strzelczyk lived in the city of Białystok. He was married to a Jewish woman named Maria (née Józefowicz). In the same home lived his sister, Helena [née Strzelczyk] with her husband, Michal Kempinski [Michał Kępiński, who was a Jew]. In June 1941, upon the Nazi invasion of Białystok, the two families lived within the ghetto borders. However, in mid-1942, both families managed to escape to the Aryan side of the city. Soon afterwards, Maria Strzelczyk (née Józefowicz) received a request from Mrs. Kaplan to save her daughter, Pola (later Anna Brinsein), then three years old. Tadeusz and Maria agreed to help, but it was Michal Kempinski who fetched the child and brought her to Tadeusz Strzelczyk. Tadeusz took the girl into his home, arranged a secure shelter for his wife and the child and managed to acquire forged documents for them as well. [The forged birth and

⁸⁵⁶ Żbikowski, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 3, 129; Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem*, 417–18.

⁸⁵⁷ Anatol Leszczyński, “Zagłada ludności żydowskiej miasta Choroszczy,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 79 (September 1971): 49–67, at p. 50. After a Soviet lieutenant was shot in Choroszcz on June 24, 1941, then under Soviet occupation, Rev. Franciszek Pieściuk was arrested by the Soviets, who claimed, falsely, that the shots were fired from the church tower. Although summarily sentenced to death, Rev. Pieściuk's life was, for some reason, spared by the Soviet soldier assigned to execute him. When Rev. Pieściuk knelt and asked permission to pray, the soldier shot in the air and receded. However, three residents who went to intervene on Rev. Pieściuk's behalf with the Soviet staff—Dr. Izaak Friedman (a Jew) and the orderlies, Jankiel Sidrański (a Jew) and Henryk Klimowicz (a Catholic)—were brutally massacred outside the town, having been stabbed with bayonets, their eyes plucked out and their tongues cut off. Suppressed by the Communist authorities, the memory of this event is now preserved in a monument at the execution site. See Krzysztof Bielawski, “They Gave Their Lives for a Priest,” Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.shtetl.org.pl/en/cms/story/1175,they-gave-their-lives-for-a-priest-/>>.

⁸⁵⁸ Gustaw Kerszman, *Jak ginąć, to razem* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2003), 51.

⁸⁵⁹ Halina Grubowska, *Haneczko, musisz przeżyć* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, 2007), 37, 44, 75–76.

⁸⁶⁰ Boćkowski, Rogalewska, and Sadowska, *Kres świata białostockich Żydów*, 42–43; Szymon Datner, “Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at p. 133.

⁸⁶¹ *Polacy ratujący Żydów w latach II wojny światowej: Materiały dla nauczyciela* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), karta 42.

baptismal certificate under the name of Anna Strzelczyk was obtained by Stanisława Horodko from St. Roch's parish.⁸⁶² "Three weeks later, my sister-in-law, who had Aryan papers, as Helena Strzelczyk, née Woźniak, with her daughter, Anna Strzelczyk, were brought to the village of Kowale, about 40 kilometers away. The child had lung disease and the doctors recommended a change of climate," wrote Michał Kempinski in his testimony to Yad Vashem. "The foster-mother and the child survived safely there." After the war, the Strzelczyks, along with Anna, moved to Łódź and brought up Anna as if she were their own daughter.

After escaping from Treblinka, Avrom-Leyzer Rubin, a 35-year-old blacksmith from Goniądz, made his way to Białystok where he hid in the crypt of St. Roch's church for more than a month. Afterwards he was sheltered in the home Ada Liskowska, a Polish woman. A Polish cobbler put him in touch with Jewish underground liaisons who brought him to the partisans in the forest.⁸⁶³ The Missionary Sisters of the Holy Family worked closely with Rev. Adam Abramowicz, and provided food and other forms of assistance to Jews.⁸⁶⁴ Rev. Abramowicz was arrested by the Germans at one point but was not deterred in his mission to help the downtrodden.

Maryla Różycka, a liaison officer and courier for the Jewish underground in Białystok, also attested to Rev. Abramowicz's extending help to Jews.⁸⁶⁵ On missions between Białystok and Nowogródek, Różycka would stay at Catholic parishes.⁸⁶⁶ She also recounted how a Jewish child was taken out of the ghetto in Białystok to a parish rectory outside the city.⁸⁶⁷

Mira Kwasowicer (then Glikfeld, later Becker) was 21 years old when she was taken out of the Białystok ghetto in the summer of 1943 with her husband and put on a transport headed to Treblinka. Mira jumped off the train with her husband. Her husband was shot dead, but Mira managed to escape and began walking back to Białystok. With the help of several random Poles she met on the way, Mira eventually arrived at the house of Marianna Kazuczyk, a prewar acquaintance, who agreed to shelter her in a hideout in her attic. (Marianna also helped and sheltered other Jews.) Marianna, a widow with a teenage son named Zygmunt, was involved in the black market with some German soldiers, so it was risky to keep Mira in her home. Several weeks later, Marianna decided to transfer her charge to her sister-in-law, Maria Kazuczyk, a widow who lived alone in a small house on the edge of the village of Janowicze, near Białystok. Maria knew full well that hiding a Jew was punishable by death, but still took Mira in without reservations. Maria was a tertiary, a lay person affiliated to a religious order who lived outside an organized religious community. In her testimony to Yad Vashem, Mira described Maria "as a devout and pious old lady who had a heart of gold. She could not read or write, and was extremely poor: her only assets were a few chickens and a pig. There was just one pot in the house: the pig ate first, then the two women." Villagers became aware of Mira's presence, but no one betrayed them. The village headman, who was responsible for registering all residents under pain of death, was fearful for the fate of the villagers and wanted Mira to leave the village. Maria turned to the local priest, in the nearby village of Juchnowiec Kościelny, who stood up for her and protected her charge. One day, German soldiers arrived

⁸⁶² Tadeusz Strzelczyk, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4017699>>; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1148220>>; Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie*, 50.

⁸⁶³ Chaika Grossman, *The Underground Army: Fighters of the Bialystok Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1987), 331; J. Ben-Meir (Treshansky) and A.L. Fayans, *Our Hometown Goniądz* (Tel Aviv: The Committee of Goniądz Association in U.S.A. and in Israel, 1960), 701 ff.

⁸⁶⁴ Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej: Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945*, First edition (Kraków: Znak, 1966), 165–66; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 48–49, 51–52, 55; Maria Halina Horn, *A Tragic Victory* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1988), 82.

⁸⁶⁵ Tadeusz Krahel, "Ksiądz prałat Adam Abramowicz," *Czas Miłosierdzia*, no. 154 (February 2003).

⁸⁶⁶ Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 653.

⁸⁶⁷ Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 654.

in the village with dogs. They searched every house looking for partisans. Mira hid inside an old stove, and Maria locked the door and went to church to pray for Mira's safety. Fortunately, the Germans passed her house. After the area was liberated, Mira returned to Białystok, afterwards left for Germany and immigrated to the U.S.A.⁸⁶⁸

In his Sunday sermon, an unidentified priest in Grajewo, a small town northeast of Łomża, appealed to his parishioners to come to the aid of children, among them Jewish children, in the orphanage in nearby Szczuczyn. The priest in question may have been the aforementioned Rev. Aleksander Pęza. Franciszek and Regina Blaszkowski took in 4-year-old Benjamin Katz, whom they had baptized as Remigiusz. In 1947, they surrendered the boy to the Jewish Committee in Kraków.⁸⁶⁹

The Catholic priest in Ostryna, a town northeast of Grodno, counselled the faithful at mass not to participate in the German persecution of the Jews and smuggled food into the ghetto.⁸⁷⁰ Similarly, the Catholic pastor of Holszany near Oszmiana, Rev. Józef Chomski, a Home Army chaplain, publicly rebuked those who wanted to plunder Jewish property. In his sermons, he condemned the killing of Jews and urged his parishioners not to harm Jews. He also arranged shelter for Jews in the convent of the Missionary Sisters of the Holy Family located near the church.⁸⁷¹

Shoshana Feigelson lived in Wilno until 1941. After the German conquest, she hid in a convent as a Polish woman for six months. In 1942, she left the convent and married a Christian. She gave birth to a daughter named Anna in Holszany in 1944. Her Polish husband was conscripted into the Soviet Army and fell in battle. Szoszana moved to the redrawn Poland in 1946 and lived with her husband's family. She placed her daughter, Anna, in a Jewish children's home in Łódź. Their subsequent fate is not clear.⁸⁷²

Father Andrew of Jesus (Andrzej od Jezusa, actually Franciszek Gdowski) was the superior of the Discalced Carmelite monastery in Wilno and the pastor of St. Teresa of Avila church, adjacent to the ancient city gate which housed the chapel and revered icon of Our Lady of Ostra Brama. Father Gdowski hid a number of Jews in the monastery. He also tended to their spiritual needs by setting aside a well-camouflaged room which was used by his "guests" as a synagogue.⁸⁷³ Father Gdowski collaborated closely with Anton Schmid, an Austrian sergeant (Feldwebel) of the German army stationed in Wilno who helped a large number of Jews escape from the ghetto. Father Gdowski supplied false baptismal certificates to a number of Jews, among them Hermann Adler, his wife, Anita Distler, a Viennese opera singer, and Luisa Emaitis. A refugee from Germany, Hermann Adler fled to Czechoslovakia and then to Poland, eventually arriving in Wilno when it was under Lithuanian rule. When the Germans invaded in June 1941, Adler was confined in the ghetto. Finding himself outside the ghetto past the curfew for Jewish workers, he had nowhere to go. He decided to put his fate in the hands of unknown priests.

⁸⁶⁸ Kazuczyk Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8490751>>; Testimony of Mira Kwasowicer-Glikfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2007; Marianna Kazuczyk, Memory and Identity: International Information Center, Internet: <<http://pamiecitozsamosoc.pl/en/marianna-kazuczyk-her-husband-son-zygmunt-maria-kazuczyk>>.

⁸⁶⁹ Righteous Medal Award Ceremony, May 28, 2019, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org/pl/aktualnosci/ceremonia-sprawiedliwych-w-lazienkach-krolewskich-w-warszawie>>.

⁸⁷⁰ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 932.

⁸⁷¹ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part B, 1057; Shepsl Kaplan, "In di yorn fun der deytsher yidnoysroyung," in *Lebn un umkum fun Olshan* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Olshan in Israel, 1965), 175–77; Testimony of Szabtaj Kaplan, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1828; Cyprian Wilanowski, *Konspiracyjna działalność duchowieństwa katolickiego na Wileńszczyźnie w latach 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Pax, 2000), 98. There were two priests by name of Chomski residing in Holszany: Józef Chomski was the pastor; the other was Antoni Chomski. Jewish sources refer to the priest only by his surname. According to Tadeusz Krahel, the priest in question was Antoni Chomski. See Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 119.

⁸⁷² Anna Feigelson, Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel), catalog no. 3135, registry no. 11478R”M.

⁸⁷³ Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers*, 125–26.

According to his testimony (Danutė Selčinskaja, comp. and ed., *Hands Bringing Life and Bread* [Vilnius: Vilna Gaon Jewish State Museum, 2009]),

I heard the bells ring. It was the end of the mass at St. Theresa church. My legs carried me there. I rang the bell at the presbytery door. The older man introduced himself: the parish priest Andrzej Gdowski.

The church of St. Theresa, as well as the Chapel of the Gates of Dawn [Ostra Brama], belonged to the Monastery of the Discalced Carmelites at the time. There were other premises of the monastery next to the former defence wall of the city: cells of the brothers Carmelites, the library, the refectory and a beer house. The Discalced Carmelites looked after single elderly people, orphans, and served the parish of more than a dozen thousand church-goers.

Parish priest Andrzej (called Franciszek) Gdowski was not only a Christian of noble and humane soul. He had studied at Linz University, was consecrated as Father Andrzej at the Győr (Hungary) Discalced Carmelite Monastery, and he had supervised Carmelite fraternities ...

Ostra Brama Monastery with the Black Madonna [Mother of Mercy] Chapel was famous in the entire Polish speaking region to which Vilnius [Wilno] City belonged for quite a while. Then I, with no rights, persecuted fugitive of the ghetto, became friends with parish priest Andrzej Gdowski, who, risking his life would hide me in the times of danger.

The story then continues there in the third person:

Herman Adler used to receive shelter frequently at the Discalced Carmelite Monastery. To avoid being caught and locked in the ghetto he would rush to the Carmelite brothers and would often sleep in the monastery and it was there he started writing his poetry and prose books. However, for Anita the doors of the male monastery were closed. Hermann decided to look for a place to hide his wife. Father Andrzej referred him to sergeant Anton Schmid, the head of the Wehrmacht distribution point. The parish priest had no doubts that Schmid would help. Quite recently Anton had visited the parish priest asking to issue a baptism certificate to one girl who had escaped from the ghetto. Anton Schmid was not German, he was Austrian, from Vienna. He hated the Nazis and would arrange a good certificate for Hermann too. Actually, Schmid gave much more: he let the Adler couple stay in his official three-room-flat. Father Gdowski got them the documents. These were the passports of the members of the parish died and secretly buried, which relatives agreed to give to the persecuted ghetto fugitives. When living in Schmid's flat, Hermann used to visit the Discalced Carmelite Monastery. He was not the only guest there. Other fugitives found shelter in the monastery, next to the railway. It was a group of Jews who managed to escape from a train of people deported on 14 June 1941. Here they believed better times would come when the deportations were over. However, better times did not come, the Germans occupied the city and the fugitives had to stay in the cellars of the monastery.

When living in the flat of the head of the distribution point, Hermann and Anita were safe but they also tried to help other ghetto prisoners. They persuaded Anton Schmid to transport the groups of prisoners to other towns where the liquidations were not taking place yet. Anton Schmid transported about 300 people from the ghetto with a government truck from Vilnius to Voronovo [Werenowo] or Bialystok [Białystok] to work in factories.

However, Anton Schmid was turned in by somebody and in the middle of January 1942 he was arrested by the Gestapo. During the search, the Adler couple were in the back room and managed to escape through another entrance. Once again the road led them to Father Andrzej. "Gdowski told us the addresses of his friends in Warsaw and provided us with the documents and we left."

Their way back to the West was probably even more agonizing than their escape to the East. The Adler couple were the witnesses and participants of the Warsaw rebellion. After Warsaw they were imprisoned in Hungary, in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp on Germany ... However, they both survived ...

The Gestapo arrested all of the Carmelites, including Father Andrzej Gdowski, in March 1942, and they were confined in prisons and concentration camps for the duration of the war. Anton Schmid was put on military trial and sentenced to death. He was executed by firing squad on April 13, 1942. Hermann Adler wrote about the heroic deeds of Anton Schmid and Father Gdowski in his memoir *Ostra Brama: Legende aus der Zeit des großen Untergangs* (Zürich: Helios, 1945), and paid tribute to their heroism. Although Anton Schmid was recognized by Yad Vashem, Father Andrzej Gdowski was not.

Father Andrzej Gdowski is also credited with rescuing Jewish children at the Carmelite boarding school in Wilno. One of the Jewish charges at this institution was Michael Stołowicki (Stolowitzky), who had settled in Wilno at the beginning of the war, after fleeing from Warsaw with his mother Lydia and his Catholic nanny, Getruda Babilińska. His mother died shortly after their arrival in Wilno and the young boy was cared for by his Polish nanny, who passed the child off as her own. After the Germans occupied Wilno in the summer of 1941, Babilińska had to seek protection for young Michael, who was not only

circumcised but also did not have proper identity documents. She confided in Father Gdowski, who agreed to take him into the church boarding school without charge. Father Gdowski was known to preach sermons about the importance of helping one's neighbour. (Ram Oren, *Gertruda's Oath: A Child, a Promise, and a Heroic Escape During World War II* [New York: Doubleday/Random House, 2009], pp. 188–93).

She [Gertruda Babilińska] concluded that the church could be their only refuge. Michael remembered the first day he went there with Gertruda. In a blend of fear and embarrassment, he followed her into the big hall of the Ostra Brama Church. The cement arches supporting the ceiling, the paintings of the crucified Jesus, and the gilded altar stirred mixed feelings in him. It didn't take Gertruda long to make him understand why he had to go with her. He understood very well that, for the outside world, he was the son of a Christian mother; and the pretense he had to adopt was a pledge for his life. ...

The church was full of local residents and a group of German soldiers and officers who came to Sunday mass. The priest, Andras Gedovsky [Andrzej Gdowski], passed among the worshippers, nodding to people he knew. Michael looked at him with curiosity, examined his kind face and his white robe as he moved like an angel hovering toward the altar and sank down in prayer. ...

Father Gedovsky mounted the pulpit and preached a sermon about the importance of helping your neighbor, quoting the appropriate passages from the New Testament. ...

After mass, the priest stood in the door of the church, smiling, shaking hands with the worshippers, and exchanging a few polite words with everyone. ...

Gertruda waited until everyone had gone and then went to the priest, who looked at her affectionately. Ever since Lydia's death, Gertruda had come to church with Michael almost every Sunday.

"Father," she murmured, "can I talk with you in private?"

The priest looked at her gently, "Of course, my child."

She asked Michael to wait for her on a bench in the church, and let the priest lead her to the office. Once inside, the priest closed the door. His eyes looked at the woman's face lined with distress and anxiety. Out the window, the day turned grey and long shadows crept into the room.

Gertruda wanted to speak, but tears choked her voice. Uncontrollable weeping racked her body. The priest put his warm hand on her shoulder.

"How can I help, my child?" His voice soothed her.

"I don't know what to do, Father," she said at last. "I don't know who to turn to."

He waited patiently for her to tell him her distress. ...

"It's about my child," said Gertruda.

"The sweet child with the blue eyes sitting there outside?"

"Yes."

Fear of what she was to reveal in this room nailed her to the spot. Her body was shaking, but she knew she had to go on. The priest was the only person she could pour her heart out to, the only one she could trust.

She told him the truth and he looked at her with eyes opened wide in surprise.

"I didn't realize that the child was a Jew," he said.

She called Michael.

"Do you know who Jesus was?" asked the priest.

"The man everybody prays to," replied the child. He remembered the prayers he had heard in church.

"And what is the Holy Trinity?"

Michael frowned and repeated what Gertruda had recited to him: "The Father ... the Son ... the Holy Spirit."

The priest sprinkled holy water on him and said a prayer.

"From now on, you're a Christian like all of us," he said. "Tomorrow morning you'll start attending the church school."

"But," she stammered, "I don't have money to pay."

"I'm not worried," he said. "God will reward me."

The priest sat Michael on his lap and stroked his hair.

"You want to hear a story?" he asked.

"Yes."

"In chapter two of the book of Daniel, there's a story of a king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, who woke up one night in panic after a horrible dream. In his dream, the king saw a statue with a head of gold. A big stone suddenly smashed the statue into slivers. The king called the sages of Babylon and asked them to interpret his dream. None of them could. When the prophet Daniel learned of this, he came to the king and interpreted. The statue, he said, is your kingdom. The stone symbolizes the kingdom of Heaven that decided to smash your kingdom to dust."

A slight smile hovered over the priest's lips.

"You know what is the kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar?" he asked.

Gertruda nodded. The comparison with the Nazis was obvious.

"I promise you," said the priest, "that the end of the wicked will be as the end of Nebuchadnezzar's statue."

She left with Michael and hurried home. The child was saved, at least for the time being, and that was what was most important. She wasn't worried about his Christian baptism. She was sure that, just as Michael was born a Jew, he would go back to being a Jew when the war was over

On the morning Michael was about to enter the school of Ostra Brama Church, Getruda dressed him in his best clothes, packed up his belongings in a small suitcase, and went with him to Father Gedovsky's office, where they were greeted warmly

"Leave the boy here and go in peace." He said. "Here he'll be protected from every evil."

Gertruda kissed Michael's sad eyes.

"Don't worry," she said. "I'll come to visit you often."

The priest went with Michael to the school building next to the church, showed him his bed in one of the dormitory rooms, and then put him in class. The children looked at him with curiosity and at recess tried to size him up. He said what Gertruda taught him to say: that his mother was the widow of a Polish officer and that he was her only son. ...

Despite the strict studies and the fear that accompanied Michael day and night, life in the boarding school was rather comfortable. There was enough food, he had his own bed, and Father Gedovsky kept an eye on him. The children in the boarding school were divided, as always, into better and worse. Some wanted to be his friend. Other looked for his weak points and teased him a lot. He was glad to make friends with children he was fond of, and avoided responding to the teasing from the others.

Michael Stolorowicz recalled that he even became an altar boy. (*"When They Came to Take My Father": Voices of the Holocaust*, Leora Kahn and Rachel Hager, eds. [New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996], p. 150.)

I grew up as Gertrude's son. We lived together in an apartment in Vilnius [Wilno] very near the Vilnius ghetto. I used to see how they took Jews from the ghetto. I was outside it thanks to her. There was this very large sign outside our house that said, If you are caught hiding a Jew you will be executed without a trial.

Just outside the ghetto was the main church of Vilnius. Gertrude was Catholic, and she enlisted the priest's help in hiding me. I became an altar boy. Every Sunday, there I was, dressed in a white gown with a red apron.

This rescue is also described in Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous*, at page 227, and in Gay Block and Malka Drucker, *Rescuers: Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust* [New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1992], at pages 166–69. The following account appears in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at pages 65–66.

At the outbreak of war, Mr. Stolorowicz [Stolorowicz] was living in Paris. When the Germans occupied the city of Warsaw, Mrs. Stolorowicz decided to escape with her four-year-old son, Michael, and his nanny, Gertruda Babilinska [Babilińska], a teacher by profession and a native of Gdańsk [Gdańsk] (Danzig). The three made their way to Vilna [Wilno], Lithuania, en route to Paris. When, however, the mother discovered that her husband had died, she suffered a stroke and, realizing that her days were numbered, asked Babilinska to do all she could to take her son to Israel. After Stolorowicz died, Babilinska continued looking after Michael. After she informed some priests that the boy was Jewish, they took Michael on as an acolyte in a church in Vilna. Although the Germans were in the habit of conducting impromptu raids on the apartments of the refugees from Warsaw, Babilinska continued to look after Michael and care for his needs. Babilinska, who was fluent in German, worked as an amanuensis, writing petitions to the authorities on behalf of local farmers, for which she received eggs, dairy products which she used to smuggle into the ghetto for her friends. After the war, Babilinska returned with Michael to Gdansk to take leave of her family. Although her family tried to persuade her to stay, she stood by her promise to Michael's mother and took him to the displaced persons camps in Germany, and a passage was arranged for them on the SS Exodus. Despite assurances by members of the Hagana that they would look after the boy and make sure he reached Israel safely, Babilinska insisted on coming with him, declaring her willingness to throw in her lot with the other clandestine immigrants. Babilinska and Michael endured hardships on the journey to Israel, until the ship was ordered back to Hamburg. Undaunted, Babilinska embarked with Michael on the SS Transylvania, reaching the shores of Israel in 1948. Babilinska settled in Israel, where she raised Michael as her son, and was awarded Israeli citizenship. She passed away in Israel at a ripe old age.

The Redemptorist Congregation, among them Fathers Franciszek Świątek and Leon Fraś, were engaged in rescue activities in Wilno by issuing baptismal certificates, by preparing for baptism Jews who wanted to convert, and by providing hiding places and material assistance. Among those helped was the family of Rabbi Salit, who were sheltered by a Polish family, and a woman known as Mrs. Mościcka and her

daughter. Unfortunately, the latter were denounced by a Jewish relative. Although tortured by the Gestapo, Mrs. Mościcka's daughter refused to divulge any information about Rev. Świątek. Mrs. Mościcka and her daughter were executed. Warned about their fate, Rev. Świątek went into hiding.⁸⁷⁴

Isaac Kowalski, who was active in the Jewish underground in Wilno, described the assistance provided by a number of priests, among them Rev. Bolesław Sperski, the pastor of All Saints church located on Rudnicka Street near the ghetto, as well as a cross-section of the city's Christian population. Rev. Sperski, who was known for his caring attitude toward the Jews, counselled parishioners to help Jews. He permitted a tunnel to be dug from the ghetto to the church, through which Jews escaped when the ghetto was being liquidated. From there they fled to the forests outside the city. Rev. Sperski urged his parishioners to help Jews. According to another report, Rev. Sperski sheltered a Jew in a crypt of the church for eight months.⁸⁷⁵ Jewish fugitives mention other priests from All Saints church, among them Rev. Julian Jankowski, who came to their assistance.⁸⁷⁶ Rev. Witold Pietkun, another vicar at that parish, helped his brother, Jan Pietkun, who was hiding three Jews, and then took them in when they had to leave that hideout for their safety.⁸⁷⁷ (Isaac Kowalski, *A Secret Press in Nazi Europe: The Story of a Jewish United Partisan Organization* [New York: Central Guide Publishers, 1969], pp. 216–25.)

*Professors [Aleksander] Januszkiewicz and Michajda [Kornel Michejda]*⁸⁷⁸ helped their friends who were Jewish doctors.

... [Rev.] Dr Jazas Sztakauskas [Juozas Stakauskas], director of the government archives, together with a Lithuanian teacher Zemajtis and the Polish [Benedictine] nun Milkulska [Maria Mikulska], hid 12 Jews: Dr. Alexander Libo with wife and daughter, Grigori Jaszunski and wife, Engineer Jacob with wife and daughter, Miss Ester Jafe, Mrs. Bak and her son, the young artist Zalman [Samuel].

Profesor Aka [Jan Oko], Professor Czizowski [Tadeusz Czeżowski],⁸⁷⁹ Professor Petruszewicz [Kazimierz Petruszewicz], lawyer Josef Czelecki [Józef Cielecki]⁸⁸⁰ helped hide some Jewish acquaintances. Merila [Maryla]

⁸⁷⁴ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 717; Maciej Sadowski, *Redemptoryści polscy w latach 1939–1945* (Kraków: Homo Dei, 2005), 325; Marian Brudzisz, “Redemptorist Ministry among the Polish in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Lithuania and Byelorussia, 1939–1990,” *Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris*, vol. 61 (2013): 57–121, at pp. 79–80, 94.

⁸⁷⁵ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 385, based on J.M. [Józef Mackiewicz], “Ghetto wileńskie,” *Lwów i Wilno*, no. 17 (1947). This Jewish man survived the war and left for Italy.

⁸⁷⁶ In her memoir, Pola Wawer, a young Jewish doctor from Wilno, mentions the assistance of Rev. Julian Jankowski, a vicar at All Saints church, who obtained a birth and baptismal certificate for her under the name of Zofia Januszkiewicz from the parish in Podbrodzie. See Pola Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem* (Warsaw: Volumen, 1993), 17–18, 83–84. Regarding Rev. Jankowski, see also the testimony of Stanislovas Rubinovas (born in 1930 as Aron Rubinov), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 13165. Roza Fartus also mentions the helpfulness of an unidentified priest from All Saints church. After learning of her predicament, the priest allowed her to remain in the church until evening and provided her with a yellow patch that enabled her to join a group of Jewish workers returning to the ghetto. See the testimony of Roza Fartus, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5589.

⁸⁷⁷ Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell’arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 657; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 334. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 607 (entry for Jan Pietkun).

⁸⁷⁸ On Kornel Michejda see Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 511–12. Drs. Kornel Michejda and Aleksander Januszkiewicz performed operations for Jews in the Wilno ghetto. Dr. Michejda collected a large sum of money from Poles to assist with the contribution imposed on the Jews by the Germans. See Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 22, 314.

⁸⁷⁹ On the Czeżowski family see Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 160. On the rescue activities of Professor Tadeusz Czeżowski, Dr. Jan Janowicz, and Maria Fedicka, see the account of Alexander Libo in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 320.

⁸⁸⁰ On Józef and Maria Cielecki see Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 146; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 176–77.

Abramowicz-Wolska⁸⁸¹ made counterfeit papers for Jews. At 16 Puhulanka [Pohulanka] Street she hid tens of Jewish people and helped them with food and money. Mrs. Wiktoria Grzmilewska [Grzmielewska]⁸⁸² hid scores of Jews in every apartment and showed friendliness to them. It is in place here to mention Mrs. Maria Fedeka [Fedeka],⁸⁸³ who saved a lot of Jews from death, by helping them to run from the ghetto. The above women carried out their mission from pure human motives.

A great many Aryan domestics showed human feelings for their employers, by helping them with food and in some cases, even hid them. Aryan governesses hid Jewish children, whom they helped to raise. Some help for Jews came from Catholic priests. Markowicz [Rev. Tadeusz Makarewicz, pastor of St. John the Baptist church], a Pole, and Lipniunas [Alfonsas Lipniūnas] had spoken to their people to give back Jewish property. Lipniunas was arrested. Father Krupowicius [Mykolas Krupavičius], who showed sympathy to the Jews was sent away to a German concentration camp, Tilsit [Tilsit]. Father Waltkaus [Mykolas Vaitkus] hid the Trupianski child in a Catholic orphanage, and helped save other Jewish children.

... There were occasions when priests met Jewish workers on the street and encouraged them by telling them that they would soon be free.

Our friend, the old Masha, told me one day, when she met me on the way to the ghetto from work, that her Pastor [Rev. Bolesław Sperski] from the “Wszystkich Świętych” [All Saints] church which was located only a few feet from the ghetto gates, advised her during confession that she should help us with everything possible.

The Jews in the ghetto knew about his [i.e., Rev. Sperski's] human attitude to our suffering people and dug a tunnel from the ghetto to the church. A few escaped on the day of the liquidation of the ghetto through the church to the city and then to the woods.

Eta Lipenholtz tells about Leokadia Piechowska and others. ... “We were 24 people saved at this place called Tuskulany farm. ... The Polish people who kept us for a whole year until the liberation, were Mrs. Stankiewicz and Mrs. Gieda.”

Dr. Anthony Panski [Antoni Pański], the Social Democrat, helped the writer Herman Kruk financially. ...

In his book *Balberiszki* [Balberyszski]⁸⁸⁴ describes a neighbor, Kozłowska [Zofia Kozłowska], who returned golden valuables even after the Balberiszkis had been in the ghetto for quite some time and thus helped them to overcome hunger and need.

Victoria Nazmielewski [Wiktoria Grzmielewska], Maria Fedeki [Fedeka] ... Maria Wolski [Maryla Wolska], at one time or other, helped the partisan-poet Szmerke Kacerginski and other Jews. ...

Jadzia [Janina] Dudziec was a practicing Catholic. She was in contact with the Scheinbaum-group and supplied them with small arms. She perished August 13, 1944.

Irena Adamowicz was also a devoted Catholic. She was a very active scout-leader and very friendly with some Chalutz-leaders. Irena volunteered to be a courier for the Hechalutz and travelled many times to various ghettos in Poland and Lithuania. ...

In the last days before Vilna [Wilno] was liberated, Esther Geler, wounded by a bullet, Robotnik and Feiga Itkin, the last survivors of the H.K.P., managed to escape. They came to a Polish woman in the Antokol section of Siostry Miłosierdza [Miłosierdzia—Sisters of Charity] Street, where Mrs. Guriono let them sleep in the basement and gave them food, until the liberation of the city. ...

It is also worth while commenting those nationals who, although they did not proffer any direct help, yet they made believe they did not see the Jew, disguised as an Aryan, when they met him in the street; they did not run as informers to the authorities ...

The aforementioned Kornel Kornel Michejda, who was recognized by Yad Vashem, sheltered two colleagues from the Stefan Batory University, Michał Reicher and Ignacy Abramowicz, in his summer cottage in Gulbiny near Rzesza, outside of Wilno. Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski entrusted them into the care of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, whose convent in Wilno had been shut down by

⁸⁸¹ On Maryla and Feliks Wolski see Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 466; Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem*, 42–43.

⁸⁸² On Wiktoria Grzmielewska see Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 211, 466; Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem*, 42–43. Grzmielewska helped in the rescue of Szmerke Kacerginski, who was sheltered by Maryla and Feliks Wolski, as well as Adolf and Lena Smilg. She was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018.

⁸⁸³ On Maria Fedeka see Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 212; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 194.

⁸⁸⁴ Mendel Balberyszski, *Stronger Than Iron: The Destruction of Vilna Jewry 1941–1945: An Eyewitness Account* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2010).

the Germans.⁸⁸⁵ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 511–12.)

Kornel Michejda, a professor in the Stefan Bathory [Batory] University in Vilna [Wilno], was known before the war for his liberal views and as a friend of the Jews. When the Germans occupied Vilna in June 1941, Professor Michejda gave asylum to his friends Professor Michal [Michal] Reicher and Professor Ignacy Abramowicz, moving them to a hiding place on his summer estate in the nearby village of Gulbiny. In order to keep the presence of the two Jewish fugitives secret, Professor Michejda handed the estate over to nuns who had nowhere to live after the Soviet authorities, which had ruled Vilna until the German occupation, drove them out of the convent that had been their home. Paid by Michejda to do so, the nuns were required to care for and safeguard the two Jewish fugitives and provide for their every need. Reicher and Abramowicz remained in their hiding place under the protection of Professor Michejda until their liberation in September 1944. After the war, they remained in Poland, earning reputations as outstanding men of science.

Herman Kruk, the chronicler of the Wilno ghetto, describes the reaction of the largely Polish population of that city to the ghettoization of the Jews in September 1941 and later events. (Herman Kruk, *The Last Days of the Jerusalem of Lithuania: Chronicles from the Vilna Ghetto and the Camps, 1939–1944* (New Haven and London: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 109–110, 112, 280–81.)

Today [September 8, 1941], at Ostra Brama [in the chapel located above this ancient gate was the holiest Catholic shrine in Wilno which housed the icon of the revered Madonna of Ostra Brama—M.P.], there was a prayer in honor of the martyrdom of the Jews. People say that Jews are now bringing in full bundles, which they got in the city as gifts from Christians in the street.

In the street, at a Maistas [meat cooperative established by the Soviet authorities], masses of Christians brought packages of meat and distributed them to the Jewish workers marching to the ghetto.

The sympathy of the Christian population, more precisely of the Polish population, is extraordinary.

[September 15th] Christians come to the ghetto. People say that Christian friends and acquaintances often come. Today a priest came to me, looking for his Jewish friends.

[May 6, 1942] From Vilna [Wilno] and the whole area, masses of young men are being taken for work in Germany. Yesterday one of those groups was led through Szawelska Street and a lot of Jews saw them. In the street, guarded by Lithuanians, they stormily sang the national battle song [actually, the Polish national anthem—M.P.], “Poland Is Not Yet Lost,” and as they approached the Jewish ghetto, they shouted slogans:

“Long live the Jews!...”

A mood I only want to note here.

Raizel Medlinski (later Nachimowitz), a widowed school teacher, and her daughter Batia (born in 1938), managed to escape from the Wilno ghetto and survived the war in the countryside with the help of a number of Poles including two priest, Rev. Hieronim Olszewski, the vicar of St. Teresa’s Church (the adjoining ancient city gate known as of Ostra Brama housed a revered icon of the Mother of God), and Rev. Aleksander Łukaszewicz, pastor of Konwaliszki. (Testimony of Shoshana Roza Gerszuni Nachimowitz (Medlinski), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3956.)

We were in the ghetto on the Gaon Street, near the main gate. Real troubles began. There was no food to eat, but I was always a vigorous woman. I got a connection with Polish people, who sent me packages from the lofts tied to a rope. ... I thought all the time about how to escape from the ghetto. ... Another day, when I lay with my daughter, a Polish man appeared. This was probably the doorkeeper of the building. They sent him to check and to report if Jews were left in the building. I told him that I was a teacher; and I worked not far from there. He understood our situation and had pity on us. He went away; I didn't even notice when. He came back with some bread and milk. He told me that if I want to survive, I have to come to the same place and he will take us to a wide road. I learned that they used to put a ladder to the loft; and the corridor led to a tailor shop, where Jewish tailors worked for the Germans.

I went back to the ghetto early in the morning. I found my mother-in-law in the ghetto. She was an old woman; I

⁸⁸⁵ Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 44–45. Michał Reicher became the deputy head of the medical corps of the Wilno District of the Home Army.

couldn't escape together with her. I already thought of leaving the ghetto. Sunday, before the action, before the liquidation of the second ghetto, I went to the loft, keeping my daughter by hand, I knocked. The doorkeeper came and took us through the ladder to a wide street. I didn't have an exact plan but I wanted to go to Lipówka. I knew some people there. It was a suburb of Vilna [Wilno]. I knew a Polish woman there, who worked in my house. They received us in a friendly way. We spent a few weeks there, with my daughter, but the neighbors began to look and understand that Grisha is hiding a Jewish woman with a child. I had a feeling that we had stayed there long enough and had to leave the place. One nice day, early in the morning, I took my girl and went to the town. I knew that our ghetto was already liquidated. Nobody survived. I didn't know what to do. ... My plan was to leave my daughter in an orphanage and escape Vilna. I went to Rase [Rossa Street]. A cloister [of the Sisters of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary] was there, full of priests. A priest was coming toward me. I saw him for the first time in my life. I asked him who was in charge of the orphanage. ... I spoke to him Polish and I told him that I am a teacher and he was a teacher too. He pitied us and took us to his room. I cry out there all the bitterness of my heart. He already planned how to save me. He told me to come back in a few days. When I came back, he asked me what I want to be called. He probably kept stamps, so I got a birth certificate for me and my daughter. When I got the documents, I went back to Lipówka, to my Pole. People from the neighborhood used to visit him. One of them took my daughter and me to Wielkie Sołeczniki [a town distant 45 km from Wilno]. We came to the governor [reeve?]. He already had the information from my Pole, that I am not entirely "kosher" in spite of speaking not bad the Polish language and having Catholic papers. One must run the risk a little. We learned that the Goy didn't want to take a risk. He was afraid to lose his head. He often declared that he can't keep me any more. He told me that not far from him, just a few kilometers away, is a big forest. In the forest lived a forester, a very good man. He would be able to hide me for some time. So I went to meet the forester. For the time being, I left my girl there, in Wielkie Sołecznik. When I came to the forester, he told me that he could not take such a risk, but that not far from there, I don't remember how many kilometers, I could find a property named Umiastów with a very good priest and an orphanage. They would receive me there. I came to Umiastów and found no priest living there. He lived in a town named Konwaliszki and had some influence over the orphanage. So, I went to the priest from Konwaliszki [Rev. Aleksander Łukaszewicz] and told him all the truth about me, who I was and who gave me the papers. He took out a book with the addresses of all priests and saw that I was not lying. He wanted to help me. He went to the orphanage in Umiastów and asked the woman-master of the house to take me with the child into the property. ... She didn't want to accept me in the house in any terms. It was Sunday. The priest [Rev. Łukaszewicz] received me very well with good food on the table. I don't remember his name, but the other priest, who provided me the papers, was named Olszewski [Rev. Hieronim Olszewski]. He used to pray in Ostrobroma [Ostra Brama]. When the priest from Konwaliszki didn't obtain anything, I sat with him and asked for advice on what to do next. We decided, both of us, that I had to visit Umiastów once again and beg the orphanage master to let us join the house. I went alone. I left the child behind. Her first question was: "Why did you come again? I already spoke to the priest. I can't accept you. I don't have enough maintenance for the children." I told her: "Listen to me. You are still a religious woman, a Catholic. You go each time to the priest to confess and when you see a woman being drawn down, you don't want to help."

After a long discussion, after many ups and downs, she finally allowed me to stay the first few weeks in Konwaliszki. I took my daughter with me; and we stayed there three to four weeks. After that, I couldn't stay any longer in Konwaliszki. I got a connection with one teacher from the area, who advised me go to Dziewieniszki to find a teacher who was now a village head. His name was Kucharski. "Go to him; show him your documents; and ask him to book you in." One morning, I went to Dziewieniszki. I didn't tell him the truth. I showed him the certificate of birth and he asked me about the other documents, but he understood everything. He quoted the sentence of the Polish poet Słowacki: "Shall the living not loose hope." He took my document, went out to his office and told to his secretary Stieszka: "Take her document from the woman and book her on the list of our village." To Stieszka came many people from the area; and he turned to Kucharski, the head of the village in these words: "I will not do it! How do you know who the woman is?" The head of the village answered nothing, opened the door in silence and stepped in into his office. The secretary booked me in temporarily in Umiastów. During the time, when I was in the property of Umiastów. I worked as a nurse, but most important, I didn't have to appear as a Jew. When Christmas came, I knew all the Christmas carols, which I learned years ago in the Polish teacher's seminary. I joined in the Christmas carols with them. I used to sit with all the children, about 40–50 orphans, on my knees, together with my daughter, making the sign of the Cross, praying all the right prayers, and going to the church from time to time. My daughter was exceptionally religious. She used to sit at night near the bed on her knees and pray all the prayers. One day two young and pretty girls came to visit us, Zosia and Wanda. Zosia told Wanda not to say who she is. But when I looked at Wanda. I recognized her as one of my students from school, a Jewish girl, probably a member of Arkin family. They owned a bonbon factory in Vilna. She was a cousin to them.

Wanda, of course couldn't tell that she doesn't know me. Silently, they used to say that a Jewish community grows up here. But from where did the girls come? Kucharski knew all my secrets. The girls worked near Vilna, in a place with an aerodrome; and one day a German said to them: "Dear children, run away from here. They are going to get rid of you. At the end of the war, I will know where to find you." They were young and pretty girls ... Kucharski knew my secret; and he let them stay here for a while. Meanwhile this event happened: a Polish woman, whose two sons

were with us in Umiastów, informed [the authorities in Lida], that Kucharski employed Jews and she, the former wife of an officer, can't get a job there. Finally, came a complaint against Kucharski. They sent a German Commission to find the truth. When the Germans came, the girls hid themselves. I walked around with a kerchief on the head. They didn't even notice that I am Jewish and went away. After this, the girls couldn't stay with us one minute longer. The Polish woman who informed Lida was shot as a black market dealer. ... In 1943, when they changed our master, a Lithuanian came to replace her. This was a time when some Belarus regions became a part of Lithuania. All the benefits went to the Lithuanians. Then, the Lithuanian government came and sent us a Lithuanian master. The old woman master knew all my secrets. She went to meet the priest who said: "Let her still stay here." It seems that the priest did for others what he did for me, so they caught him and shot him. ...

I had a feeling that the earth is burning under my feet; and I wanted to run away from there. But at this time, our master was still a Pole, Wolkowski. He told me: "Everybody knows everything about you here and nobody will hurt you. ..." This held me back and thanks to this, I could stand it. Sometimes, we had to hide in the fields and in the woods. I stood it until 1944, before the end of the war. I saw Vilna in flames. I was 65 kilometers from Vilna. It was a terrible fire. We saw a big part of Vilna houses burned out.

Many village priests in the archdiocese of Wilno, in northeastern Poland, extended help to Jews. According to Polish sources, Rev. Mieczysław Akrejć, the dean and pastor of Brasław, together with his sister who resided in the rectory, cared for a young Jewish girl who had been left behind when Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941.⁸⁸⁶ A Jewish memorial book describes the assistance provided by a number of priests from Brasław and the surrounding area.⁸⁸⁷ Rev. Mieczysław Akrejć of Brasław, who had generously contributed to the levy imposed on the Jewish community by the Germans, died of apoplexy on June 25, 1942, when a group of Jews took refuge on his property on the day the Germans were liquidating the ghetto in that town⁸⁸⁸; Catholic priests, such as the one in Słobódka, who provided

⁸⁸⁶ Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 67.

⁸⁸⁷ Ariel Machnes and Rina Klinov, eds., *Darkness and Desolation: In Memory of the Communities of Braslaw, Dubene, Jaisi, Jod, Kisłowszczyzna, Okmienic, Opsa, Plusy, Rimszan, Słobodka, Zamosz, Zaracz* (Tel Aviv: Association of Braslaw and Surroundings in Israel and America, and Ghetto Fighters' House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1986), 124 ff., 259, 571–72, 575, 595–96.

⁸⁸⁸ This version is based on the memorial book, *Darkness and Desolation*, where Yitzchak Reichel related, at p. 259:

After this, I had no chance of returning to our bunker. I ran toward the lake. I wanted to swim to the other shore, but unfortunately on that side were Germans with machine guns, and they shot anyone who succeeded in approaching. I stayed close to the ground, lacking strength. Recovering slightly, I raised my head and saw Jews running toward the priest's yard. I too began to crawl toward his house. A large group of Jews had gathered there, even though the Germans were shooting at us. I entered one of the buildings near the priest's house and went up to the attic. Above I saw an opening, through which it was possible to go down into the granary, which was locked on the outside. I entered and dug myself into a pile of straw.

After a number of hours the Germans arrived, accompanied by local police, and they opened fire on the Jews who were hiding in the priest's buildings. With the first shots, the priest, a good-hearted man, came out and saw the scale of the tragedy befalling the Jews of his town. He became very upset, suffered a heart attack and died immediately. In those hours, the killers didn't enter the granary where I was hiding. I stayed there for three days.

According to another version, Rev. Akrejć was shot by the Germans for trying to help Jews who had fled while taken for execution. See Tadeusz Krahel, "Ks. Mieczysław Akrejć—dziekan brasławski," *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 12, December 2001; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 126, 195; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at pp. 656–57.

encouragement to peasants who confided that they were harbouring Jews⁸⁸⁹; a Catholic priest supplied David of Bizne and a young boy with crucifixes to wear round their necks to help them pose as Christians; a priest who sheltered the five-member Barkan family of converts in Krāslava, Latvia, near the Polish border, turned to a priest in Plusy (also known by the older spelling of Plussy), on the Polish side of the border, identified as Bilcher (probably Rev. Franciszek Bilsza, the pastor), who found the Barkans a safe home with the family of Michał Kizło in Szemielki (Szemelki) and later provided medicine to the charges who fell ill⁸⁹⁰; a priest named Petro from Belmont; priests from the villages of Prozoroki (given as “Prysaroki”) and Ikażń (given as “Ikaznia”); a priest helped Józefa Sawicka (?) in sheltering Rachel Gurewicz and her two daughters, Hanka and Riwetka, in the village and parish of Urbany near Brasław. (There is more information about some of these rescues later in the text.) According to Jewish sources, Catholic priests from Brasław—Szlenik, Kowalski, and Wasilewski (their exact identities have not been established; Wasilewski may have been an Orthodox priest—M.P.)—“gave some material and spiritual help to the Jewish population” and reprimanded those involved in excesses committed against the Jews.”⁸⁹¹

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Brasław in June 1942, Avraham Biliak and his family turned to a priest named Petro in the nearby village of Belmont. According to Polish sources, the prewar pastor of the parish was Rev. Wincenty Bujnowski, who died in 1946. (Testimony of Avraham Biliak in Ariel Machnes and Rina Klinov, eds., *Darkness and Desolation: In Memory of the Communities of Braslaw, Dubene, Jaisi, Jod, Kislowszczizna, Okmienic, Opsa, Plusy, Rimszan, Slobodka, Zamosz, Zaracz* (Tel Aviv: Association of Braslaw and Surroundings in Israel and America, and Ghetto Fighters’ House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, 1986), pp. 241–42; Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Braslaw/Braslaw.html>>.)

We knew our shelter was just temporary; we had to flee. Even before the massacre, my father had gone to speak with farmers from the neighboring villages. They showed a willingness to help us when needed. One of them was our friend Petro—the priest from the Belmont church [Belmont was about seven kilometers southeast of Braslaw]. On Friday night [June 5], we decided to try our luck. We went out: Father; my sister Masha and her husband Yankel [Glazer], my sister Libka, my brother Tevka and me. Mother remained in the hiding place with her two grandchildren—Masha’s children. With them also was my sister Gutka [Sara-Gutka], who didn’t want to leave mother alone with the children. We decided: We’ll find a safe place, then come back and take them with us.

At the entrance to Belmont, there was a large bridge, well guarded by the Germans, so it was necessary to go around it. We asked for help from an acquaintance who lived near the bridge. After midnight he put us all into a boat, made a big detour far from the bridge and brought us into Belmont. The priest was surprised to see us and happy that we’d come. He’d thought for sure that we’d been killed. He received us with food, drink and tears in his eyes, and promised to help us survive. First, he took us into the church and locked it. To his congregation he said, “It’s better for the church to be locked and not used as a hiding place by undesirables who are passing through.” On Sundays, he’d return us to his house and open the gates of the church to the worshippers.

⁸⁸⁹ Testimony of Boris Berkman in Machnes, *Darkness and Desolation*, at pp. 445 ff.:

After few nights of walking, I arrived to the village of Berkovyszyzna [Borkowszczyzna] and to Mylkavitz [Milkiewicz], the peasant who was one of our family friends. ... I told him what had happened to the Jews and to our family and asked him for a place to hide. For my delightfulness, he agreed immediately. At the same day, Mylkavitz and his boys, which were about the same age as I was, prepared me a place to hide in the barn. I stayed here for an extended time. During one of the days, the boys of Mylkavitz told me that their father had already discussed with the priest in Slobodka [Słobódka] the fact that he provided me with a shelter in his house. The priest told him that it is a great righteousness to save a hunted Jew, even if a strong element of danger is embedded in it. That man was known for his good treatment of the Jews.

The pastor of Słobódka during the German occupation was Rev. Stanisław Kuderewski. Rev. Bolesław Zajęc served as vicar from 1943 to 1945.

⁸⁹⁰ Testimony of Anna (Niuta) Zelikman in Machnes, *Darkness and Desolation*, 124 ff.; Sara Bender and Pearl Weiss, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 8: *Europe (Part II)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), see the entry for “Kizhlo” under Belarus.

⁸⁹¹ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part B, 1170.

A number of days after the massacre, the oppressors passed through Braslav [Brasław] and announced on loudspeakers that all those who were hiding could come out; nothing bad would happen to them. My mother, my sister, the children and many others with them who had survived believed the announcements and went outside. All of them were gathered into the yard of the Judenrat and some days later they were all taken to the pits; their end was like those who'd gone before them.

Yankel, Masha's husband, decided to return to Braslav and bring the children, mother and my sister. We didn't yet know that they'd already surrendered themselves and been killed. When he reached Braslav, he was caught; they beat him and killed him. The priest [in Belmont] began to look for safer places for us. He took Masha to a farmer in the village Zaravtzi [Ozierawce], where they hid her under a large Russian stove; the chickens were also kept there. Father, me, Tevka and Libka he brought to the village Piatoshki [Pietuszki] to two brothers who weren't married. They hid us in the cellar under the cowshed, and at night we'd go up in the attic, where we had a lot of air and a larger living space than in the cellar. We paid them generously for all of their kindnesses: the lodgings and the food, the communication between us and the goodness of their hearts. For just one thing was compensation impossible—the fear. Whoever hid a Jew lived in constant fear. The villagers were warned continuously not to hide Jews, and woe to the person who had a hidden Jew found in his house. His fate, the fate of his family and his possessions, was sealed. The house and its contents would be burned, the animals taken, and the entire family would be killed. Once the brothers hinted to us that a few of us would have to find another place [to hide]. We heard that in Opsa [18 kilometers southwest of Braslav] a ghetto still existed; we had acquaintances there. We decided to separate: Father and my sister Libka would stay where they were, my sister Masha would move to a neighboring village, and I and Tevka would go to Opsa. We said our goodbyes, and we parted from the brothers who'd put their lives in danger because of us. They told us how to go on the roads and paths, through the forests and villages. On the way, villagers helped us. All the time, we faced dangerous threats; we were afraid but continued onward.

Additional examples of assistance by village priests in northeastern Poland are described in northeastern Poland is described in Peter Silverman, David Smuschkowitz, and Peter Smuszkowicz, *From Victims to Victors* (Concord, Ontario: The Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, 1992), at pages 246–47.

We were taken to the main jail [in Głębokie]. In front of the building a police commander motioned to the guard to take us to the basement. In this two storey building the basement held all those who were condemned to death. ... As we descended the steps to the basement two Belorussian guards welcomed us with a severe beating. We were told to sing Russian songs and dance. Each time we were struck by their rifle butts until both of us collapsed bleeding and unconscious on the cement floor.

When we regained consciousness we were lying on wooden boards covered with straw. Two Roman Catholic priests had dragged us into the room and lifted our bodies onto the boards. They were sitting by us as we awoke. The priests had been arrested by the Germans and condemned to die. One was from Prozaroki [Prozoroki] and the other was from Ikażno [Ikażń]. They knew from their training how to speak to people near death and they tried to give us moral support. The other prisoners were escaped Russian prisoners of war. They all knew we had only hours to live.

When my mother heard we had been arrested and we were to be shot she ran directly to the Judenrat (Jewish Council). Her screams and tears caused a great commotion and forced the council to take steps to try and save us. Within hours a large amount of gold coins and jewelry were collected. The Judenrat had a connection with the Gestapo, a Jewish girl named Peske. She was young, extremely good looking and intelligent. She had developed an intimate relationship with the captain of the Gestapo and we found her in his office when we were escorted to see him. The gold had been used to arrange our release. Peske understood that the only way she could save our lives was by claiming she knew us well and that we had worked for the Germans in Głębokie [Głębokie] for a long time.

...

Several days later we discovered that all the prisoners in the basement had been taken to Barock [Borek forest near Berezwezc] and shot. The actual executions were performed by the local collaborator police under the supervision of the Żandarmeria (Gendarmarie) and German police. The two priests were in that group. ... Later, when we met Jewish survivors from the vicinity of Prozaroke [Prozoroki] in the forest, we discovered more about the priest. He had been personally friendly towards Jews. In his Sunday sermons he had urged his congregation to keep their hands clean of the slaughter of Jews and to aid them where possible.

According to Polish sources, Rev. Władysław Maćkowiak was the pastor of Ikażń and his vicar was Rev. Stanisław Pyrtek. They were arrested in December 1941 for their ardent preaching and illegally teaching religion to children, and detained in the jail in Brasław. They were transferred to the jail in Głębokie, together with Rev. Mieczysław Bohatkiewicz, who was arrested in the border town of Dryssa in January 1942. All three of these priests were taken by German gendarmes and Belorussian policemen on March 4,

1942 to Borek forest near Berezwezc, outside Głębokie, where they were executed.⁸⁹² The pastor of Prozoroki at the time was Rev. Czesław Matusiewicz, who continued to work in this area for the duration of the war.⁸⁹³

The following account refers to assistance provided to Jews by priests in Dunilowicze and Wołkołata, as related by Joseph Riwash in *Resistance and Revenge, 1939–1945* (Montreal: n.p., 1981), at page 144.

I know of heroism also among the village priests in White Russia [prewar Eastern Poland] during the years of Nazi occupation. The parish priests of Dunilowicze [Dunilowicze] and Wolkolaty [Wołkołata] were feeding and sheltering Jews along with escaped Russian prisoners of war in their parsonages. When the Gestapo found out that the priest of Wolkolaty [Rev. Romuald Dronicz] was hiding Jews, they sent a local policeman to arrest him. The policeman, however, felt uneasy about arresting a man of God.

“I can’t arrest you, Father”, he said to the priest. “Why don’t you ask your guests to leave your parsonage and then go underground yourself?” The priest, for his part, did not want to endanger the policeman’s life and insisted that the policeman carry out his orders. When this valiant priest arrived at Gestapo head-quarters, he was shot at once.

In fact, Rev. Romuald Dronicz, the pastor of Wołkołata, was arrested by the Gestapo in June 1942, imprisoned in Głębokie, and executed in Berezwezc together with four other Polish priests on July 4, 1942.⁸⁹⁴ The pastor of Dunilowicze at the time was Rev. Czesław Kardel.

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Łyntupy by Lithuanian police, Irene Mauber Skibinski, then a young girl of about six, and her mother escaped and took shelter with Rev. Józef Pakalnis, the local parish priest, who instructed his housekeeper to hide them in the cellar of the rectory. They remained there for about ten days before moving on. They survived the occupation with the help of a number of Polish peasant families.⁸⁹⁵ (Irene Mauber Skibinski, “Through the Eyes of a Child—My Childhood in Lyntupy,” in *Kanc, Svinzian Region*, column 1446.)

My mother crawled through the window and fell on the ice. She lost her shoes on the way. She pulled me out and we ran. People were peeking through windows and quickly hiding behind the curtains. My mother ran to the local priest, whose name was Father Pakalnis. We knocked at the door. His housekeeper opened the door and told us to leave immediately, but Father Pakalnis overheard our voices and asked us to come in. He was happy to see us alive. He told my mother he owed his life to her because my mother had protected him from being sent to Siberia by the Russians. He told his housekeeper to take us to the cellar and keep us there until things quieted down.

We stayed in the cellar for about ten days. ...

It was time for us to leave. Father Pakalnis gave my mother his old boots. We had to find other clothes for me to wear, since it was a small town and people could easily recognize me just from my clothing. My mother always dressed me in the finest clothes she could get. At that time my coat and hat were of a blue color, and my mother wanted me to be less conspicuous.

And so we left. We walked in the snow, and once in a while villagers gave us rides. Most of the villagers knew my family because they had worked for my father, transporting wood from the forest to the processing place at the railroad station. When we asked for shelter, they refused, saying they could not keep us, but they said they would not report us to the police because my parents had treated them well.

With no place to hide, my mother decided to go to the Svenciany [Święciany] ghetto. I do not remember much about life there. We had a corner of the floor in a very crowded room. There was no food. Our former housekeeper

⁸⁹² Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 38–39, 58; Walerian M. Moroz and Andrzej Datko, eds., *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945: Duchowni i świeccy z ziem polskich, którzy prześladowani przez nazizm hitlerowski dali Chrystusowi ofiarą życia świadectwo miłości* (Marki-Struga: Michalineum, 1996), 9–18; Tadeusz Krahel, “Nasi Męczennicy,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, May 1999; Tadeusz Krahel, “Błogosławieni Męczennicy z Berezwezca,” March 2001; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 185–86, 210–11, 227–28.

⁸⁹³ Tadeusz Krahel, *Doświadczeni zniewoleniem: Duchowni archidiecezji wileńskiej represjonowani w latach okupacji sowieckiej (1939–1945)* (Białystok: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne–Oddział w Białymstoku, 2005), 84–85.

⁸⁹⁴ Tadeusz Krahel, “Ks. Romuald Dronicz,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, July 2000; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 195.

⁸⁹⁵ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part B, 1088.

Amelia, who lived in Svenciany with her sister, found out we were in the ghetto. She started bringing bread whenever she could and passing it to us through barbed wire. ...

When we saw the first Red Army unit, we felt free. In Pabradzie [Podbrodzie], we met some Jewish families. We did not stay long, because we were anxious to get to Lyntupy. ...

We went to see Father Pakalinis, the priest who helped us at the moment of extreme danger. My mother did not coach me, she did not have to. I understood quite well I owed my life to him and many other kind people. I buried my face in his kind hands and cried.

Pola Wawer, a young Jewish doctor who escaped from the ghetto in Wilno together with her parents, Don and Dr. Maria Komaj, also recalled a Catholic priest in Lyntupy who worked closely with a local rabbi to provide material assistance to refugees from other towns, including her family.⁸⁹⁶ She also mentions the assistance of Rev. Julian Jankowski, a vicar at All Saints church in Wilno, who obtained for her, from the parish in Podbrodzie, a birth and baptismal certificate under the name of Zofia Januszkiewicz.⁸⁹⁷

Chana Mirski (later Hana Shachar) was given over for safekeeping by her paternal grandfather, Nathan Mirski, to his acquaintance, Stanisław Świetlikowski, who smuggled her out of the ghetto in Podbrodzie, a town northeast of Wilno, in September 1941. She had been brought to Podbrodzie following her mother's death in Głębokie, shortly after giving birth to Chana in early 1940. Stanisław and his wife Katarzyna had Chana or Anna baptized as Katarzyna Świetlikowska, as their own child. Given her age at the time, it would have been apparent to the priest, even if he had not been told, that the child was likely Jewish. The birth and baptismal certificate facilitated the cover-up. Their neighbours also suspected that this was a Jewish child, but no one betrayed them. In 1946, the Świetlikowski family resettled within the new Polish state borders. Chana was transferred to a Jewish children's home in Łódź in 1947. In 1948, she was reunited with her father in Palestine, who had settled there shortly before the war broke out. (Świetlikowski Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8995952>>.)

Chana Shachar (née Mirski) was born in 1940 in the town of Głębokie. Her father had immigrated to Palestine in 1939. Her pregnant mother was supposed to follow him, but then war broke out, and she could not leave the country. In her despair at finding herself alone with a young baby during wartime, she took her own life. The baby was put in the care of her paternal grandparents, in the town of Podbrodzie. In June 1941 the German army invaded the area. All Jews were ordered to move to the ghetto, and rumors about mass murders in neighboring towns started to spread. Understanding that they were all in mortal danger, Chana's grandfather decided to try to save her. He contacted an acquaintance of his, Stanisław Świetlikowski, and asked him to take the little girl.

Stanisław Świetlikowski and his wife, Katarzyna, were poor farmers who lived with their three children—Jan, Maria, and Piotr—in a nearby village. Chana, a toddler not yet two years old, was handed over to Świetlikowski, along with her grandparents' milking cow to help provide for the child. The rescuers' daughter Maria recalled in her testimony that "one day, when we returned from school, there was a little girl in the house who could not yet walk and did not speak but three words. Father said, 'We have this child, and we need to respect her, love her, and watch out for her, so no harm will come to her.'" The Świetlikowskis had Chana baptized and registered as their fourth child. They were constantly concerned about a possible denouncement by the neighbors, who figured out that the sudden new addition to the "Świetlikowski family was a Jewish girl. This, however, did not stop the Świetlikowskis from caring for her. From the moment she arrived at their home, they treated her as a member of the family, a beloved youngest child. "They were a very loving family," wrote Chana in her testimony, "and I was the apple of my mother's eye. I never forgot them, never will, and I will carry them in my heart for the rest of my life."

Zvi Mirski, Chana's uncle, was long acquainted with the Świetlikowski. He was hiding in forests in the area of Podbrodzie after jumping off a train that was taking him to Ponar [Ponary]. He took it upon himself to watch over little Chana, and from time to time he came to visit her. He would come at night, and the Świetlikowskis would leave a window open so he could enter without anyone noticing. After the war Zvi returned to Podbrodzie. A single man without any means, however, he could not care for his little niece, so she stayed with the Świetlikowskis. Maria would bring Chana to visit her uncle, until he immigrated to Palestine in 1945. In 1947 a man from the Jewish Coordinating Committee arrived at the Świetlikowskis wanting to take Chana. Stanisław Świetlikowski fiercely objected to being parted from the girl he had raised as his own for six years. He refused offers of money and was

⁸⁹⁶ Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem*, 36.

⁸⁹⁷ Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem*, 17–18, 83–84.

only finally convinced by the argument that Chana had a father waiting for her in Palestine and that there she would receive an education he could not afford to give her.

In 1948 Chana arrived in Israel and was united with the biological father she had never met. For the first few years, she kept in touch with the Świetlikowskis, exchanging letters and packages with the help of her uncle Zwi, as she could not read or write Polish herself, but this connection was cut off at some point. Chana never forgot her adoptive family and never gave up on reconnecting with them. In 2005 she finally managed to locate Maria, the only member of the Świetlikowski family still alive. In 2006 Maria came to Israel for a visit and the three—Chana, Zwi, and Maria—were finally reunited, 60 years after they had all last met in Podbrodzie.

Rev. Kazimierz Mitka, the pastor of Balingródek near Świeściany rescued J. Szapiro and L. Orman from Podbrodzie.⁸⁹⁸ After fleeing from their hometown of Podbrodzie, the brothers Irving and Morris Engelson (then Engelczyn) together with their mother made their way to the home of a Polish woman. Their stay there was interrupted when a Lithuanian policeman came around searching for Jews on the run. The woman's teenage son ferried them across a river to help them escape. They eventually spotted the steeple of a church and decided to approach it. The exact locality and priest are not identified. (Morris Engelson, "The Story of My Survival," 2009, Internet: <http://www.kesserisrael.org/pdfs/Morris_Transcript.pdf>.)

Suddenly, way, way in the distance, there is a spire—there is a very tall building, and the tip of the building can just be seen between the trees. It turned out that this spire was the top of a church. My mother followed the direction of this building that we could see, and after a while we came out in a clearing. There was a village there, and in the village there is a church with a very tall spire or steeple ...

My mother just came to the church and knocked on the door. She had no choice. A woman came out. She was the housekeeper. She explained that the priest was not there. He had heard that the Jews were being killed, and he went in to see if he could help in some way. I doubt that he could help, but anyway he went. But he had given her instructions what to do if Jews should happen to show up, if Jews had escaped and they happened to come to the church. And she said what we needed to do was go to a certain place, to a certain house, to a certain individual, tell him that the priest had sent us, and he would help us. So that's about all she said. And she gave instructions, she gave directions to my mother where in the village to go and find this person.

So we went. We got to this house, and the individual happened to be in. He came out. My mother explained that the priest said that he could help us, and he said yes he could. ...

It turns out that he was one of a whole range of individuals that were part of a smuggler gang, or a smuggler group. ... The priest knew who he was and everything was just fine. It was OK to do it, apparently. And this fellow was called an honorable smuggler. He was not out to kill the Jews or anything else. He could have gotten a good bounty by handing us over.

The smuggler ended up taking the Engelsons to the ghetto in Soły where Mrs. Engelson's sister resided. Afterwards, her husband found them there and, with the help of two Polish brothers, Adam and Bronisław Sienkiewicz, brought them to the Sienkiewicz's farm. Later, the Engelsons stayed in the barn of another Polish family, the Bogdanowskis, who were a large and very poor family.⁸⁹⁹

Rev. Witold Szymczukiewicz, the vicar of Rukojnie parish near Wilno, was instrumental in saving the lives of several Jews by furnishing them with false documents and finding shelters for them. The Jews of Rukojnie requested that Rev. Szymczukiewicz say a mass for them when they were being deported by the Germans. He was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile in 1966 for rescuing his high school friend, Faiga Reznik, and her son, Jonatan. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, p. 807; Jadwiga Romanowska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6953824>>.)

Witold Szymczukiewicz, a priest, lived in Rudomino, near Vilna [Wilno], during the war. One day an old acquaintance of his told him that she had recently been in Lida where she bumped into Faiga Reznik [later Zipora Berkovicz Barkai], a high school friend of Witold [from Drohiczyn]. Faiga asked her to relay a message to the priest that she needed help in getting Aryan papers for her and her son [Jonatan, born in 1937]. "Obtaining such

⁸⁹⁸ Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 118; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941-1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643-61, at p. 653. Based on J. Marinow, "Dać świadectwo," *Czerwony Sztandar* (Vilnius), May 21, 1987.

⁸⁹⁹ Oral history interview with Morris Engelson, March 26, 1990, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

documents was not a hard task for me. Therefore, I sent the documents that Mrs. Reznik and her son needed via an acquaintance. I was glad that I could help them and save someone from death. I did this not as a priest, but as a human being,” wrote Szymczukiewicz in his testimony to Yad Vashem. Witold “took us out of the Lida ghetto, brought us to his home and later to Vilna, where we stayed [with Jadwiga Romanowska, a trusted parishioner] under the cover of being ‘Christians’ until the end of the war;” wrote Jonatan Barkai, Faiga’s son. He added that Witold also arranged papers for another friend of the Rezniks, Jadwiga [Edzia] Szejniuk Bergman, and helped other Jews as well.⁹⁰⁰

Szymczukiewicz took his refugees to the house of Jadwiga Romanowska in Vilna [Wilno]. Romanowska, who worked at the local hospital, looked after the refugees and saw to all their needs. When it became clear that the neighbors were suspicious about her tenants, Romanowska found an alternative hiding place for the Rezniks, but continued to provide them with food and other necessities.

Rev. Giedymin Pilecki, the pastor of Hermaniszki and chaplain of the Nowogródek region of the Home Army, sheltered two Jewish women from Wilno in his rectory. He provided a birth and baptismal certificate to Dawid Lipnicki, whom he baptized as Andrzej, and placed him in the home of his sexton, Wacław Misiuro. Rev. Pilecki furnished supplies of food for the Wilno ghetto.⁹⁰¹

Brocha Bernan escaped from the Wilno ghetto with her three young sons in the fall of 1941. They made their way to the vicinity of Porudomino, south of Wilno, where they hid in the forest. They survived by begging for food from local farmers. Brocha decided to entrust her two youngest sons to two Polish families. Kazriel Bernan was taken in by Apolonia (Polina) Tarasewicz and her husband, a childless couple. Samuel Bernan was taken in by Monika and Ludwik Koszyc. In order to pass as Poles, the boys were baptized, most probably at the Catholic church in Porudomino, and secured birth and baptismal certificates in the names of Antoni Kasiński and Michał Kasiński, respectively. The administrator the parish at the time was Rev. Florian Markowski. Both boys survived the war. Their mother and oldest brother disappeared. Tragedy befell Apolonia Tarasewicz. While her husband was away, she learned that someone had denounced her. Warned of a police raid, she told Kazriel to hide in the forest. When the police arrived, they found children’s clothes, seized Apolonia, and set fire to the farm buildings. Apolonia was beaten and then shot to death on January 1, 1943. She was recognized as Righteous among the Nations by Yad Vashem in 2013, under the name of Polina Tarasevich, at the behest of Kazriel Bernan, now Anatolii Kasinskii.⁹⁰²

After her escape from the Wilno ghetto in the summer of 1942, Joanna Malberg made her way to the home of Wincenty and Jadwiga Antonowicz, casual acquaintances from before the German occupation who lived in the village of Gowstany. The Antonowiczes gave her a warm welcome and prepared a hiding place for her behind a closet in their daughter’s bedroom. Later, when the Germans began rounding up local Jews, Malberg was sent to Wincenty’s mother’s home, where their daughter Lucyna took care of her. In the winter of 1943, the Antonowiczes obtained Aryan papers for Malberg, under the name of Bronisława Malinowska, from the local village head (*wójt*) and Rev. Witold Banczer, the pastor of Niemenczyn. Malberg was then able to live openly in the nearby town of Niemenczyn, where she worked as a private French teacher until the area was liberated in July 1944. Since Malberg had a marked Semitic appearance, she was widely suspected of being of Jewish origin. The Antonowiczes also assisted in the rescue of 24 other Jews who fled from the HKP labour camp (Heereskraftfahrpark or Army Motor Vehicle Repair

⁹⁰⁰ See also Fayga Reznik, “My Savior Was a Catholic Priest,” in David Shtokfish, ed., *Sefer Drohiczyn (Drohichin Book)* (Tel-Aviv, 1969), 484–90; Testimony of Zipora Feiga (Reznik) Berkowicz Barkai and Jonatan Berkowicz Barkai, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2827 [ID: 3560228]; Tadeusz Krahel, “Kaplani wśród ‘Sprawiedliwych...’,” *Czas Miłosierdzia*, no. 161 (September 2003).

⁹⁰¹ Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 337.

⁹⁰² Teresa Worobiej, “Nie ma większej miłości...: Wojenna historia mieszkanki Porudomina,” *Tygodnik Wileńszczyzny*, November 20–26, 2014.

Park) in Wilno.⁹⁰³

Rev. Jan Sielewicz, the pastor of Worniany near Wilno, helped a number of Jews by organizing hideouts for them with parishioners in the surrounding villages. He was assisted in this undertaking by the vicar, Rev. Hipolit Chruściel.⁹⁰⁴ Rev. Sielewicz was awarded by Yad Vashem in 2000. He was nominated by Zvi Borodo, formerly Hirsz Borodowski, who had escaped from the ghetto in Wilno with his mother. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 614.)

In June 1942, after the father, Avraham Borodowski, and son, Arie, were murdered at the Ponary murder site near Wilno (today Vilnius, Lithuania), the mother, Genia-Szeina (née Lurie), with her 13-year-old son Hirsz (later, Zvi Borodo) fled the Vilna [Wilno] ghetto for the surrounding villages in order to seek safety. A Polish acquaintance in one of the villages sent them to the priest Jan Sielewicz in the town of Worniany (Vilnius-Troki County, Wilno District), telling them that he was helping Jews and would also assist them. The priest Sielewicz indeed took them under his protection and sent them to farm families in the surrounding towns and villages who needed working hands in exchange for food and lodging. Their employers did not know that they were Jews. However, when they were asked to register at the local police [as they were required to do], both returned to Father Sielewicz for a temporary hiding place until he could find them work and secure lodging elsewhere. In 1943, while a new hiding place was being sought for Genia and her son Hirsz, they learned that the priest had died. The mother and her small son returned to wandering through villages and towns until the liberation by the Red Army in the summer of 1944. When he grew up, Hirsz Borodowski became a well-known opera singer in Isarel, under the name of Zvi Borodo.

Zvi Borodo recalled:

We wandered in the forests for a long time before we reached the village of Worniany. Here we learned that the Catholic priest Jan Sielewicz helped rescue Jews. The priest placed people like us in distant colonies (hamlets) in the vicinity of Worniany and Świr. They were poor farmers who fed us country bread and soup. It seemed to us then that there was nothing more delicious on earth. And we helped out with their work. And thus, thanks to the truly saintly man Jan Sielewicz, my mother and I survived.

Some of the Jews that Rev. Sielewicz placed with his parishioners had been directed, and sometimes transported personally, to the countryside by Rev. Michał Sopoćko, professor of theology at the Stefan Batory University in interwar Wilno. Rev. Sopoćko was also the spiritual advisor of the recently canonized Sister Faustina (Faustyna Kowalska). His rescue activities included providing Jews with baptismal certificates (some of the Jews underwent conversion voluntarily), finding hiding places for them, and sheltering Jews in his residence. A Jewish couple wrote of their experiences thus:

Rev. Sopoćko was deeply concerned about the fate of the Jews who were already suffering repression, and helped many of them. Some of these persons underwent baptism, which he prepared us for. ... At the beginning of September [1941], a ghetto was created in Wilno. Thanks to Rev. Sopoćko, who furnished us with fictitious documents and placed under the care of [Rev. Jan Sielewicz], the dean of Worniany, we were able to get by until the spring of 1942. Afterwards, we managed on our own ... Rev. Sopoćko was highly respected in Wilno, and helped many people at the risk of his own safety. Our salvation and survival in those years is thanks to the help of many people, but at the beginning of that chain stood Rev. Sopoćko.

Among those Rev. Sopoćko assisted were Dr. Aleksander Sztajnberg, who assumed the name Sawicki, and his wife Franciszka Wanda (née Berggrün); Dr. Erdman, who became Benedykt Szymański, his wife,

⁹⁰³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 58–59; Antonowicz Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4024932>>; Testimony of Waclawa Dobrzyńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5427.

⁹⁰⁴ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part B, 1153; Tadeusz Krahel, “Kapłani wśród ‘Sprawiedliwych...’” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, September 2003; Tadeusz Krahel, “Ratowanie Żydów przez bł. ks. Michała Sopoćkę,” *W Służbie Miłosierdzia*, November 2008; Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell’arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 650.

and their daughter; and Dr. Juliusz Genzel⁹⁰⁵ and his wife. The Gestapo uncovered some tracks of Rev. Sopoćko's activities and detained him for several days. Upon learning that he was again wanted, Rev. Sopoćko fled to the countryside in March 1942. He hid for two years in the convent of the Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus in Czarny Bór, on the outskirts of Wilno, where he had previously directed Jews. Rev. Sopoćko assumed a false identity working as a gardener and carpenter. Several Jewish families also hid there until the arrival of the Soviet army.⁹⁰⁶ The following account attests to Rev. Sopoćko's dedication to rescuing Jews.⁹⁰⁷ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 182.)

On the eve of the German occupation, Franciszka-Wanda Sawicka (née Berggruen) lived with her husband, a doctor, in Vilna [Wilno]. After the occupation, before the establishment of the ghetto, the Sawickis decided to go into hiding. Polish acquaintances of theirs referred them to a priest [Rev. Michał Sopoćko], who agreed to help them. In September 1941, the priest found a separate shelter for each of them with friends of his. Franciszka-Wanda Sawicka was sent to Anna Dolinska [Dolińska], who gave her a warm welcome although she was a stranger and saw to all her needs, without expecting anything in return. After Dolinska, an activist in the Polish underground, obtained Aryan papers for Sawicka and her husband and supplied them with clothing and other necessities, the Sawickis left Vilna for [Worniany, where they were welcomed by Rev. Jan Sielewicz, and then taken by Rev. Hipolit Chruściel to the hamlet of Kuliszki near Worniany. They stayed there for several months before relocating to the hamlet of] Onzadowo [Onzadowo] near Oszmiana, where they lived as Polish refugees until the area was liberated in July 1944. While living in Onzadowo, the Sawickis occasionally went to Vilna to visit Dolinska, whom they considered their guardian angel. After the warm Dolinska was arrested by the NKVD for belonging to the AK [Armia Krajowa or Home Army] and exiled to Siberia for eight years. After her release, she moved to an area within the new Polish borders, where she renewed contact with the Sawickis, who had moved to Warsaw.

Rev. Sopoćko mentions Rev. Tadeusz Makarewicz, pastor of St. John the Baptist church, and Rev. Jan Kretowicz, pastor of the Bernadine church of the Seraphic St. Francis and St. Bernard, as priests that baptized Jews who had expressed a desire to convert.⁹⁰⁸ In her testimony, Ida Lewkowicz Kaplan states that she received forged documents from Rev. Makarewicz.⁹⁰⁹ At the request of Anastazja Bitowt, the nanny to whom Ruth had been entrusted by her mother, Masza Siemiatycka (Śmiaticki), Rev. Jan Kretowicz agreed to baptize the child (born in 1939), knowing that she was Jewish. Ruth assumed the identity of Irena Siemiatycka. Both she and her mother survived passing as Polish Catholics, with the assistance of several Poles.⁹¹⁰

Stefania Dąmbrowska's family owned a manor in Orwidów Dolny near the city of Wilno, where a number

⁹⁰⁵ Dr. Genzel was sheltered in Wilno by the Sisters of the Angels, and survived. See Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 154.

⁹⁰⁶ Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 139.

⁹⁰⁷ Supplemented by information from Yad Vashem Archive, file M.31/8361; Anna Dolińska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: < <https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4014618>>; Tadeusz Krahel, "Ratowanie Żydów przez bł. ks. Michała Sopoćkę," *W Służbie Miłosierdzia*, November 2008; and Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 101, 114–15; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 398.

⁹⁰⁸ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 52–53, 422–23.

⁹⁰⁹ Testimony of Ida Lewkowicz Kaplan, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3643 [ID: 3557228].

⁹¹⁰ Anastazja Bitowtowa, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8210214>>; Testimony of Anastasia Bitovtova (Anastazja Bitowtowa), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2338.

of Jews found shelter: Stefan and Natalia (Nata) Świerzewski (Świerzawski), Miriam Kurc,⁹¹¹ Sonia Tajc, Lusja Wajnryb, and Artur and Helena Mińkowski (who later moved to another hiding place and perished). Recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, she mentions the assistance of two priests from Wilno: Rev. Jan Kretowicz and Rev. Henryk Hlebowicz (misidentified below as Chlebowski). Rev. Hlebowicz provided a birth certificate to Miriam Kurc, who became Maria (Marysia) Nowicka. Rev. Kretowicz provided a birth certificate to Lusja Wajnryb, who became Helena Snarska. Lusja had escaped from a transport to the death camps and was initially placed with his brother, Onufry Kretowicz, in Orwidów Górny.⁹¹² The Plechoć and Alejski families were also involved in the rescue effort in these adjoining hamlets,⁹¹³ yet only Dąmbrowska was awarded by Yad Vashem. (*Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* [Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2008], p. 45.)

The first to come to the manor in Orwidów Dolny in the Wilno region were a pair from the Dąbrowicz family, with their goat Sabina. "They were not Jews, though I am unsure where the goat was descendent from."

Later on there appeared: Stefan Świerzewski with his wife Nata, a Catholic from a Jewish background.

"I called together all the workers and asked: The Świerzewskis want to go to Warsaw. I am offering them the opportunity to stay, but you must decide. And everyone answered: Miss, let them stay, because if we help them here maybe someone will help our people in Russia too."

Ms. Dąmbrowska's mother was transported deep into Russia in 1941.

It continued like this: she went to Wilno, she stopped for a visit with the Fedeki family, they had a house and were hiding a young married couple on their veranda, the Mińkowskis. He was a lawyer from Sosnowiec and she was the daughter of a well-known dentist from Wilno. They asked if she would take them in. By all means, the house is large.

Then she was in Wilno again. "Ma'am," someone turned to her, "you can save a child." The girl was named Miriam [Kurc] and was three years old, she was blond and spoke only Russian, they carried her from the ghetto.

The last to come was Sonia Tajc, the granddaughter of the Nitsons, wealthy landowners [from Karolizski near Niemenczyn]. She was 15 years old and did not speak Polish very well. What to do? She came up with an idea: Sonia [called Stasia] will herd the cattle with Janusz, so they will have to leave early in the morning and return after dusk.

But that's not all. There were also acquaintances from the poets' group "Po Prostu", different Jews who stayed two or three days, and also Helena Snarska, whose real name was Lusja Wajnryb, who had jumped from a train heading to Treblinka and had somehow made it to Wilno to the priest, Father [Jan] Kretowicz, who, like Father Chlebowski [Henryk Hlebowicz], managed to obtain birth certificates for Jews.

Emanuela and Stanisław Cunge together with their son Jan, natives of Łódź, took refuge in Wilno at the beginning of the war. There they converted to Catholicism under the guidance of Rev. Leon Puciata, a professor at Wilno's Stefan Batory University and the archdiocesan seminary. They passed as Poles in the vicinity of Żodziszki near Smorgonie, where they mixed in the company of many friendly and helpful Polish and Belorussian landowners and professionals, some of whom were aware of their Jewish background or suspected it. Emanuela enjoyed the protection of Rev. Paweł Czapłowski, the pastor of

⁹¹¹ Miriam Kurc's rescue is described in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 164–65, which misspells the rescuer's surname as Dąbrowska. Her grandparents managed to smuggle three-year-old Miriam out of the Wilno ghetto and placed her in the care of a Polish acquaintance who obtained Aryan papers for her. Since the Polish acquaintance was unable to look after her, she handed Miriam over to a friend, Stefania Dąmbrowska, who looked after Miriam and raised her as her daughter, without expecting anything in return. In July 1944, when Miriam's grandmother came to reclaim her, she found her granddaughter safe and sound.

⁹¹² See also Story of Rescue—Stefania Dąmbrowska, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dambrowska-stefania>>; Testimony of Stefania Dąmbrowska, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32872; Stefania Dąmbrowska, European Resistance Archive, Internet: <https://www.resistance-archive.org/en/testimonies/stefania-dambrowska/#/clips/BgVHtuDr1ow?_k=s59vv9>; Stefania Dąmbrowska, European Resistance Archive, Internet: <https://www.resistance-archive.org/en/testimonies/stefania-dambrowska/#/clips/TfsmCOeGqpc?_k=9yzbm1>; Stefania Dąmbrowska, Internet: <<http://dmst16wapo.blogspot.com/2009/04/>>.

⁹¹³ Leszek Augustyn Rzeźniczak, "O ratowaniu Żydów w Orwidowie koło Wilna," *Znad Wilii*, no. 4 (2018): 100–2. After the arrival of the Soviet Army, one of the Jews assisted by the Plechoć family accused them falsely of having stolen some fabric he had hidden away, and threatened them with deportation to the Gulag. The NKVD officer who accompanied this Jew rebuked him sternly: "A Pole saved your Jewish life and you want to send him to Siberia."

Żodziszki, who was executed by the Germans for his involvement with the Polish underground.⁹¹⁴ In addition to the Cunge family, Rev. Puciata also protected the Holcman family.⁹¹⁵ He placed Helena Kac with Janina Strużanowska, who sheltered a large number of Jews in her home in Wilno.⁹¹⁶

Hasya Grin (later Geselevich), a young Jewish woman from the town of Širvintos near Ukmergė, relocated to Wilno, where she was sheltered by Polish nuns under a false identity. Fearing that her true identity had been discovered, the nuns placed her with the Anužis family, who were Lithuanian. She survived the war living in Wilno and Kaunas.⁹¹⁷

Barbara Turkeltaub (née Gurwicz, born in Wilno in 1934, called Basia) and her younger sister Leah (born in 1936, later Kalish, called Lusja) were smuggled out of the Wilno ghetto by a Polish farmer named Kubicki and taken to his home in Wierszuliszki, a village outside of Wilno. Since the farmer's family was going hungry and fearing that sheltering the young girls had become too dangerous (Leah had a very Semitic appearance), the girls decided to leave this home and hid in nearby brick factory. They heard an approaching wagon and as it drew near, the girls could see that it was being driven by a priest. The priest, later known to them as Father Jan, probably Fr. Jan Kozak, a catechist, suspected that the girls were Jewish. He had them climb into the back of the wagon and covered them up with hay so that they would not be seen. He took them to a nearby convent located on a farm near the forest. The two girls were later moved to a Benedictine convent in the city proper. The girls continued to live in the convent, where they were well treated, for two years after the war ended, until they were found by their mother, Mina Gurwicz. Mina also took another Jewish girl, Halina Lewkowicz (later Brudner), who had been sheltered by these nuns and reclaimed her son, Hanoch (later Henry Grant), who had been cared for by a Polish family.⁹¹⁸ (Tammeus and Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People*, pp. 140, 144–48.)

After this incident with the buses [where children were seized from the children's center in the ghetto attended by Barbara and Leah], Barbara's father sat down and explained as much as he could about the realities of war for her Jewish family. "My father put me on a little stool and lowered himself to the same level and said, 'Basha, there is a terrible war going on. In order for us to survive we need to separate. You will go with your sister to a farmer. Mother is going to stay in the ghetto and there's a special place where she's going to hide.' She was expecting a baby then. My father and two older sisters were going to the partisans. He told me, 'Never admit that you speak Yiddish and never say your last name. Say a bomb fell on your house and you don't know where everyone is and you're lost. And you are always to take care of your sister.'" As Barbara's father said all this, her mother was standing next to her, crying, and "I was clutching to her dress and she was holding my sister and she was praying."

So Mojshe and Mina [Gurwicz] made arrangements with a farmer whom Barbara and Leah were taught to call "Uncle," but whose last name may have been Switzky [Kubicki]. The family knew him because he made regular deliveries of milk to them before there was a ghetto. Switzky put them in his wagon, covered them up with hay, and slipped them past bribed ghetto guards. "We were lucky. Sometimes the Nazis would stick bayonets into wagons like this but they didn't do that this time." They went to his home in the nearby village of Wierszuliszki. The Gurwicz gave the farmer and his wife some money or jewelry to cover the costs of extra mouths to feed, and Barbara said the Switzky family probably did this more for the money than for any altruistic reason. [The risk assumed by the farmer

⁹¹⁴ Emanuela Cunge, *Uciec przed Holocaustem* (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1997), 129, 137–38, 178, 182–83, 193, 207, 234–35, 253, 261, 273, 277; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 650; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 348.

⁹¹⁵ Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 101; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 650.

⁹¹⁶ Justyna Giedroń, "Dwie znaczące daty Polskiego Studia Teatralnego w Wilnie," *Kurier Wileński*, November 13, 2015, Internet: <<https://kurierwilenski.lt/2015/11/13/dwie-znaczace-daty-polskiego-studia-teatralnego-w-wilnie/>>; Ilona Lewandowska, *Tak teraz postępują uczeni ludzie: Polacy z Wileńszczyzny ratujący Żydów* (Vilnius: Instytut Polski, 2019), 124.

⁹¹⁷ Anužis, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4037046>>; Testimony of Hasyah Geselevich, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45574.

⁹¹⁸ Testimony of Barbara Turkeltaub, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 14190.

and his family was hardly commensurate with any compensation the girls' parents had given for sheltering them.—M.P.] But, she said, Switzky "wasn't a bad person."

The Switzky family "had a whole bunch of children, like five or six kids," Barbara said, though none of them knew that she and her sister were Jews. ...

Mrs. Switzky was a nervous woman, Barbara said, who was "afraid for her own family." It was clear to Barbara that the woman was not happy with her husband's decision to hide Jewish children, and she did not hide her angst well. ...

Barbara and Leah stayed with the Switzky family for just four or five months, during which time they never saw their own parents. Only later did they learn that their mother, hiding in the sewers of Vilna as the Germans were destroying the ghetto, had given birth to their brother, Henry, who Mina had tried—but failed—to abort.

Then one evening at the farm Barbara overheard Mrs. Switzky tell her husband that the next day he must go to the German authorities and turn in these Jewish children to receive the award being offered—some sugar. [This was likely done to scare the girls into leaving on their own, as those who turned in Jews whom they had sheltered risked severe punishment.—M.P.]

"So I was afraid to wait until the morning," Barbara said. As her sister slept that night, Barbara sneaked into the pantry and cut off some bread from a large loaf. While in the pantry, she saw some jars of what she took to be honey on the shelf. So she slathered some on a piece of bread and went to wake up Leah, who always seemed to be hungry.

...

After Barbara got Leah dressed, they slipped out of the house and took off quickly down the road in the dark. "I didn't know where to go, just down the road," Barbara said.

The girls were cold and tired, and Leah was not happy to be running in the dark. So eventually they located the brick kiln where Father Jan found them and from which he took them to the Benedictine convent. ...

It was still dark when the clip-clop clip-clop of horse hooves awakened Barbara Gurwicz and her little sister, Leah, near the brick kiln where they had found rest and warmth. Barbara looked up and saw a priest driving a buggy. He slowed and gazed at the girls, and they at him, but then he drove on. So not knowing what else to do, Barbara (called Basha) and Leah went back to sleep. ...

An hour or so later the priest returned. "this time he looked at us, and he stopped," ... The priest asked the girls if they were Jews. Barbara's father had prepared this little girl well for exactly this question. No, she lied. Bombs had fallen on their family's house, she told him, and she and her sister did not know where anyone was. They were lost. That was the story she had rehearsed and rehearsed. And she thought she told it well.

The priest nodded and smiled. Barbara later decided that the man knew right then and there that the girls were, in fact, Jews. "Would you like to come with me to a safer place?" he asked. Barbara, speaking for herself and for her younger sister, said yes.

So the priest loaded them in his buggy, hid them under some blankets, and took them to a nearby convent run by Benedictine nuns on a farm not far outside Vilna [Wilno]. The priest, known to Barbara only as Father Jan (she never knew his last name) took them to safety, to survival, to a future that many times in the war before then had nearly been cut off. ...

When Father Jan drove up to the convent with the girls in his buggy, nuns quickly emerged and rushed them inside. They were fed, bathed, and given a warm bed. In a few days they were into a routine, rising early in the morning, attending Mass, then having breakfast, after which came quiet time. Nuns began to teach them basic reading and math, and the girls had some housekeeping chores to do, too. ...

But rarely did they have anyone to talk with except themselves. The nuns generally spoke little, except when leading the girls in their lessons. None of them, for instance, ever asked the girls if they were Jewish. Rather, they simply taught them as if they were Catholic, instructing them in traditional practices. Barbara and Leah neither saw nor heard any other children at this convent, so it was a lonely existence, but not an unhappy one—especially for Barbara, who enjoyed the peace, the security, the rhythm of life, the tender care of the nuns, and the chance to draw pictures, read, and write poetry. Barbara, in effect, created her own tightly ordered world and became attached to the convent's structured pattern of life. She was baptized, took Communion, and learned to be an obedient Catholic. She believed the theology she was learning "very, very much," she told us.

There were, of course, special rules for the children—who the nuns knew were Jewish. "We were told not to venture from the house by ourselves. I usually was a very good girl and listened."

Usually. But not always. One day Barbara wandered into the forest adjacent to the convent. As she did so, she began to hear what she described as popping sounds in the woods. Curious, she moved toward them. "I stayed behind a tree," she said. "Then I saw a group of people undressed by a huge ditch. I began to hear voices. I saw a group of women undressed. Some were holding babies in their arms. The Germans were shooting randomly and the women and babies were falling. I was so stunned I couldn't move. I was like hypnotized. Very soon afterward, somebody grabbed me and carried me from there. It was one of the older nuns."

Barbara later learned that she had inadvertently wandered into the Ponary killing fields and watched Germans murdering Jews. The memory never left her, even though she "was told not to mention that. Forget about it. Erase it

from my mind.” [Since the two girls were sheltered on a farm north of Wilno, it is unlikely that they wandered into Ponary, which is located south of the city. The executions at Ponary were carried out by Lithuanians. M.P.]

The nuns decided Barbara and Leah could not stay there any more. So they fetched Father Jan again, and that same day he took them to the main convent in Vilna. Again they hid under hay in his buggy. When they got there, nuns quickly took the girls inside, fed them, bathed them, and gave them their list of rules, including an important prohibition against going beyond the small area to which they were assigned inside the building. This time, Barbara listened and obeyed. While at this convent, she occasionally heard the voices of other children but almost never saw them. It was, she decided later, a way of making sure children did not give away other hidden children if pressured by the German authorities.

At this convent, Barbara and Leah fell into the rhythm of cloistered life. Nuns continued to teach them school subjects as well as prayers and other religious practices. But the girls' contact with the outside world was so limited that news of the end of the war did not reach them until 1947, two years after the fighting stopped. That was when their mother, who had been searching for them the whole time, finally found them. She had gone door-to-door, asking people if they had seen her two girls, one blonde, one with dark hair. Finally, a woman told her that she may have seen at least the blonde girl singing in the choir at a worship service at the convent.

Mina went to Mass to see for herself. And there she saw two girls she was sure were her own. She asked to speak to the priest who celebrated Mass there, Father Jan, to tell him of her search and to ask to meet with the girls.

“He came to me,” Barbara told us, “and said there is a woman who lost her children—he didn't tell me that she was Jewish or anything—and is looking for them. She thinks that maybe you might be one of her children. Right away I was on guard. Everything in my background I had put away, far, far, away. I never forgot my parents. I never forgot my grandmother. But I thought that being a Jew must be something really, really bad if people are killing them and doing all those awful things. And I was scared to think about it.”

So Barbara did not want to see the woman who might be her own mother. She had found comfort and security in a Catholic convent and was loathe to lose it. “But then Father Jan came again and again. I think what an angel he was. He told me the lady is crying and looking for her children, so ‘would you please reassure her that you'll help her to look for them?’ So that's how I said OK.”

But the woman Barbara then met with did not match the image of her mother in her memory. That image was of a tall, strikingly beautiful woman with black shiny hair and shiny eyes. By contrast, this woman was “bent down,” wore glasses, and had a babushka over her gray hair. “I did not recognize her. But I started to talk to her and I said, ‘Don't cry. You will find your children.’ And she said, ‘My daughter, Basha. I'm your mother.’ And I recognized the voice. But then I ran away. Isn't that something? I was so scared. I just ran to the door. And they let me run.”

A few days later Father Jan came again and asked Barbara if she was ready to see her again. “I said yes. She was sitting there smiling. I remembered her smile. And she said, ‘My daughter, my daughter.’”

Leah reunited with her mother first. Somehow she was more ready than Barbara to reconnect. “She probably forgot my mom. But by their second or third meeting she just went to her like you wouldn't believe. My mother hugged her and kissed her and Leah was sitting on her lap. I thought to myself, how could she do that and I could not? I had so many questions I wanted to ask her. I was angry with her. Why did she leave us? Why did we separate? There was so much emotion. Where was our father? There was anger about that. But she didn't want to tell us everything.”

Out of this anger and this questioning, Barbara made an extraordinary demand of her mother. “When the time came for us to leave, my mother had to promise me that she would come to the church and she would convert and she would be coming to the Mass.”

Her mother, in turn, indicated to Barbara that she would do that, but in fact that was just a way of gaining custody of her daughter. Her mother never did convert, and Barbara, after a short time, became an observant Jew again.

Zlata Rozhanska (Złata Różańska, later Zolotareva) was rescued by Stanisław and Bronisława Wiszniewski in the village of Dubinki near Worniany. She was able to pass as Helena Wiszniewska thanks to false documents obtained from Rev. Piotr Niemycki, the pastor of Ostrowiec. (Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, p. 631.)

During World War II, Stanisław Wiszniewski, a forest warden, and his wife Bronisława, a childless couple, lived with Stanisław's elderly father on a remote farm in Worniany (Wilno District). In the autumn of 1943, Stanisław came across a Jewish girl, Zlata Rużańska, who had succeeded in escaping from the Vilna [Wilno] ghetto on August 23, 1943, one month before its liquidation by the Germans. As she was terribly exhausted, he brought her home and he and his wife nursed her back to health. At Stanisław's request, Jan Nemycki [Niemycki], a priest from Ostrowiec, issued her a birth certificate in the name of Helena Wiszniewska, enabling her to live in the open. She learned Christian customs and accompanied the Wiszniewskis to church on Sundays. So well did she integrate into the life of the community that the [Lithuanian] policemen who arrived to check her identity, after being alerted by an informer, suspected nothing. In the course of time, Zlata took notice that Bronisława was preparing more food than the three

of them needed, but only after the liberation did she learn that the Wiszniewskis had also been helping a group of Jews from Ostrowiec and Gudogai [Gudogaj] who were hiding in the forest. In June 1944, upon the arrival of the Red Army, Zlata found her younger sister, Cilia, who had also hidden in the area. Their parents did not survive. After the war, Zlata settled in Vilnius [Wilno] and stayed in touch with the Wisniewskis until their death.

Rev. Aleksander Hanusewicz, the elderly pastor of Raków, a small town east of Wołożyn, provided food for Jews confined in the local ghetto. He sent food to the orphanage of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, under the direction of Sister Katarzyna Kral, which took in Jewish children as well as Polish and Belorussian ones. Rev. Hanusewicz also helped to place some of the Jewish children with local farmers. After the liberation, Rev. Hanusewicz asked the survivors who had returned to Raków whether there was anything he could do for them. They asked the priest to announce in the church on Sunday that those who had taken belongings from abandoned Jewish homes return them.⁹¹⁹

The following account describes the fate of a Jewish family from Wilno by the name of Perewoski, who took refuge in an area located near the town of Gródek or Horodek, near the prewar Polish-Soviet border. A number of Poles, among them Home Army members, as well as the local priest came to their assistance. The pastor of Gródek at the time was Rev. Stanisław Budnik. (Korsak Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6202407>>.)

When war broke out, Shmuel and Dora Perewoski were living in Vilna [Wilno] with their two small children, Eli (Leszek) (b. 1935) and Celina (b. 1939). The family owned a lumber business. After the first wave of killings, Shmuel realized the hopelessness of the situation and in early 1942 decided to smuggle his family out of the ghetto. Tadeusz Korsak, a prewar business acquaintance, offered to help. The first to be taken out of the ghetto was Eli. Shmuel, who was employed in forced labor outside the ghetto, took his son out of the ghetto with him in the morning, concealing him among the lines of Jews marching to their work place. The children's former nanny, a non-Jew, was waiting at a pre-appointed place on the street, and took Eli to a temporary hiding place. Soon his mother and sister joined him. Then the nanny took them in a horse-drawn cart to Korsak's home in the village of Balcery (today in Belarus). Sometime later, Shmuel escaped from the ghetto and arrived in Balcery. The reunited family lived in the basement of the Korsak home under the guise of a Polish family. Young Eli even served in the local church as altar boy. [Probably to Rev. Stanisław Budnik, the pastor of Gródek—M.P.]

The danger for both families—the Jews and their rescuers—was very high. In addition to possibly being detected by the Germans, they were threatened by the pervasive enmity between ethnic groups in the region as well as political struggles between the Polish national underground and the Soviet-oriented partisans. One day in the summer of 1943, Shmuel was captured by Soviet partisans. The following day his body was found in the fields, riddled with bullets. Eight-year-old Eli, his mother and Tadeusz Korsak identified the body and secretly buried it. Many years later, Eli tried in vain to relocate the burial place.

Locals began to grow more and more suspicious of the family living with the Korsaks, and the situation became very precarious. Eli and Dora escaped to the forests and joined the partisans. Three-year-old Celina stayed with the Korsaks, who promised to take good care of her until the war was over. However, the Korsak family, too, fell victim to the turbulent times. A few months after the death of Shmuel Perewoski, Tadeusz Korsak and his two daughters were also murdered by Soviet partisans. Władysława, who had lost her entire family, took Celina and fled to her relatives, Jan and Maria Michałowski, who lived in the small village of Jerozolimka. Although the Michałowskis had five children of their own, they took in Celina and cared for her until liberation, when her mother and brother came to collect her.

Franciszka Dynin and her two children, Jerzy (born in 1925, later George) and Aviva Marcela, natives of Łódź, arrived in Horodyszczce, north of Baranowicze, at the beginning of 1942, posing as Polish aristocrats. Franciszka secured a position as German translator for the local mayor. Previously, the Dunins had been residing on the nearby estate of Count Jan Plater-Zyberk and his wife Halina, where Aviva Marcela chose to be baptized by the local parish priest of her own accord. The Plater-Zyberks, as well as their relative the Baroness of the Czernichów estate, maintained a visible friendship with the Dynins, who

⁹¹⁹ Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, 64; “Rakov under Nazi Occupation,” 141, Internet: <http://www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/rakov/rkv_pages/rakov_stories_occupation.html>; Frącek, *Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Maryi w latach 1939–1945*, 127; Teresa Antonietta Frącek, “Siostry Franciszkanki Rodziny Maryi: Dzielili się z Żydami chlebem, sercem, schronieniem,” *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 172–92, at p. 182; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 119.

went by the aristocratic sounding name of Dunin, when they moved to Horodyszczce, thus bolstering their guise. To pass as Poles the Dynins frequented the local Catholic church. Jerzy was on excellent terms with the priest, Rev. Stanisław Ryzko, who received him very kindly, and became an altar boy. His mother, however, fumbled through the religious rituals. Jerzy recalled, “Mother was the one who fared the worst in church. ... I would see her make mistakes in the prayers: she didn’t cross herself on time, and she forgot to kneel at the proper times.” Given their ostensible social status, it is difficult to imagine that the priest did not notice and see through their guise, though discretion prevented him from being open about his suspicions. Thus the protection of the Platers and the priest undoubtedly played a large part in the survival of the Dunin family, as rumours began to circulate in the town that they were actually Jewish. Jerzy became involved with the local branch of the Home Army, and his mother supplied intelligence information thanks to her position in the mayor’s office.⁹²⁰

Rev. Antoni Mackiewicz, the pastor of Mir, is mentioned in several accounts, as are the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Resurrectionist Sisters). Rev. Mackiewicz refused to identify wealthy Jews from among the 190 Jews driven to the market square by the Gestapo in July 1941. During a German *Aktion* in November 1941, some 30 Jews were hidden on the grounds of the convent of the Resurrectionist Sisters, where Rev. Mackiewicz had taken up residence. During the liquidation of the ghetto in August 1942, two young Jewish women took refuge in the convent. At the request of Jews, the nuns took in some belongings for safekeeping and returned them after the war.⁹²¹ Rev. Mackiewicz was arrested in the summer of 1942, together with two dozen members of the local Polish intelligentsia. He was imprisoned in Stołpce, and then transferred to the Kołdyczewo concentration camp, where he was executed on November 14, 1942. (Miriam Swirnowski-Lieder, “The German Occupation and Liquidation of Our Little Town,” in N. Blumenthal, ed., *Sefer Mir* [Jerusalem: The Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 1962], p. 41 (English section); Nechama Tec, *In the Lion’s Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1990], pp. 72–73.)

On the 19th of July [1941], another section of S.S. men arrived from Steibitz [Stołpce], called on all Jewish homes, and chased out all, from the age of 15 to 60 years, into the market place. There they demanded goods which were hard to find due to the fires, nevertheless we took pains to deliver everything. After a few hours of fear, they fired shots into the air, ordered all to disperse, and to come tomorrow with yellow patches on the chest and back. We did not sleep that night. We realized that trouble had commenced, and who can tell how it will end. The next morning, the 20th of July, again they chased the Jews into the market. Meeting the priest of Mir, Mackiewicz, they asked him: “where live the wealthy Jews?” He answered that he was only the catholic clergyman, and did not know anyone. In the market had gathered 190 Jews. Then the S.S. ordered the same hooligans to choose victims from the ranks. Then 19 men, 10 per cent of those present, were taken out and buried alive in the Yablonovchina [Jabłonowszczyzna] forest.

At the very beginning, disregarding their own safety, the cantor and the rabbi’s son-in-law ran through the streets calling in suppressed, yet weeping voices, “Jews come out to your slaughter!” This was their way of warning about the imminent danger. They wanted to alert the people to the threat, hoping that somehow some will succeed in eluding the enemy. Some did. A few escaped by hiding with or without help from the Christian neighbors. Among those protected by Christian neighbors was the rabbi’s wife.

Mir had a convent of the Order of the Sisters of the Resurrection where four Polish nuns lived. During the day of destruction a number of Jews found shelter there. The frantic soldiers overlooked the place, as they did all other non-Jewish quarters.

During the Russian occupation, because of the spaciousness of the convent and the Soviet persecution of Poles, the Catholic priest, the Dean Antoni Mackiewicz, and his sister had decided to move in with the nuns. On November 9, [1941] some Jewish families came to the door of the convent. Mackiewicz let them in. Inside they pleaded: “Please have mercy on us, hide us!” “Because of my position I am not allowed to lie. If the Germans will ask me if

⁹²⁰ George Dynin, *Aryan Papers* (Bloomington, Indiana: Archway Publishing, 2014), chapters 5 through 8, especially at pp. 125–26.

⁹²¹ Aniela Wójcik (s. Maria Euzebia CR), “Zgromadzenie Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa: Prowincja warszawska,” in *Żenskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947* (Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, 2002), 77; Agata Mirek, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 138–39; Monika Wiśniewska, “*Fortis mulieribus*: Zakonne sprawiedliwe wśród narodów świata,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 96–112, at p. 106.

there are Jews in my house, I will not be able to deny it. But in the yard there is a stable, a pig sty, a barn. All these places are open. I am not responsible for what is in the yard. Go out there. I don't want to know about it." The fugitives understood, they scattered and hid in all those places. They were spared. A few managed to survive the war.

For the rest of the onslaught Mackiewicz stood close to the window that faced the main road. Bewildered, helpless, unable to move, he watched. His eyes had a faraway strange look. As if transfixed, he seemed unaware of the silent tears that kept running down his cheeks. ...

Oswald Rufeisen, a native of the Żywiec area, found himself in Wilno when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. After leaving Wilno in October 1941, Rufeisen was engaged as a farm worker by Lubomił Żukowski near Ponary. He was sheltered for a brief period in Nowa Wilejka by Rev. Stanisław Miłkowski, the local pastor, who also provided refuge to a 15-year-old Jewish girl.⁹²² Afterwards, Rufeisen was directed by Michał Sobolewski to his brother, who lived in the town of Mir. There, Rufeisen, who spoke fluent German, decided to pass as a German. He was employed as an interpreter by the Belorussian police and German gendarmerie until his cover was exposed by a Jew in August 1942. Rufeisen took shelter briefly with a Polish family, and then in the small convent of the Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Mir. He remained with the nuns for 16 months, until December 1943, hidden in the loft of the convent's granary. To avoid detection by the Germans, he dressed as a nun when he came down from his hiding place. After the nuns were forced to leave their home and relocate to a building that held German supplies and was closely watched, Rufeisen decided to leave them for his safety and joined the Soviet partisans. Euzebia (Władysława) Bartkowiak, the superior of the convent, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2002.⁹²³ Three other nuns also resided at the convent, among them, Andrea Głowacka and Laurencja Domysłowska. (Tec, *In the Lion's Den*, pp. 98–99, 163–66, 172, 173–76.)

Since in Mir most Poles were removed from the official Nazi machinery, and because Oswald had more in common with the Poles than with the Belorussians, he decided to cultivate his relationships with Poles. ...

He also made a point of staying away from the Polish priest, Mackiewicz. ... He explains, "I did not trust the priest. I did not know him. Nor did I know that he had a positive attitude toward the Jews. This I discovered much later ..."

For the same reasons that he avoided the priest, he kept his contacts with the nuns to a bare minimum. ... Only much later the nuns served as intermediaries between Oswald and the Jews. This happened when Oswald supplied the Jews with blank document forms. Oswald had stolen these forms from his office. Such papers facilitated a move to the forbidden Christian world. He was told by his contacts that the nuns would deliver these items to the ghetto.

...

It is ironic that when the Russian occupation of Mir ended and the Nazis took over, the Polish priest, Mackiewicz, conducted a special mass thanking God for the termination of the Soviet occupation and the arrival of the Germans.

The night after Oswald saw the parked trucks, in the Mir region alone twenty-five Polish men and women, all defined by the Nazis as the intelligentsia, as leaders of their communities, were arrested. Balicki and the priest Mackiewicz were among them. In Mir only one Polish man was spared, the one who listened to Oswald's warning and ran away. In the vicinity of Nieśwież scores of other members of the Polish intelligentsia were rounded up.

Of the arrested all were taken to the prison in Stolpce, where they remained for about two months. From there they were transferred to the concentration camp in Kołdyczewo. ... In fact, these Polish arrests fit well into the overall Nazi policies that aimed at the elimination of the Polish elite. ...

This policy was put in effect for the entire country. In the [north]eastern part of Poland the Nazis tried to give the impression that moves against the Poles were not only initiated and executed by Belorussians but also motivated by Belorussian nationalists.

Eventually all the Poles arrested that night were gassed in special trucks in the Kołdyczewo concentration camp.

...

It was Sunday, August 16, 1942, five o'clock in the morning. Except for an occasional animal sound, the stillness in Mir was complete, a stillness soon interrupted by the pounding of wooden clogs against cobblestones and by a dangling of keys. The shoes and the keys belonged to Sister Nepomucena Kościuszek, who, still absorbed in her

⁹²² Halina Węzyk-Widawska, "Ksiądz Stanisław Miłkowski (1881–1961)," *Chrześcijanie*, vol. 7 (1982), 99–100; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 54; Kraheł, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 117.

⁹²³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 532. See also the testimony of Oswald Józef Rufeisen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3726.

morning prayers, had come to open the convent's gate.

Suddenly through the half-opened space a man jumped into the courtyard. "Jesus Christ" escaped from the nun's lips, as her hand made the sign of the cross. She barely recaptured her composure when she recognized Oswald. She knew the authorities were looking for him. Oswald was guilty of two crimes: he was a Jew and he had betrayed the Germans. Each required a death sentence.

Confronted with this dangerous runaway, the nun quickly relocked the gate and then asked him to follow her into the house. Inside, Oswald met the Mother Superior, Euzebia Bartkowiak, and the only two other inhabitants of the convent, Andrea Głowacka and Laurencja Domysłowska. Of the four Laurencja Domysłowska, in her thirties, had as yet not taken her final vows.

Except for the Mother Superior, the rest of the women seemed frightened by the sudden appearance of this dirty, somewhat confused youth. They knew that his mere presence was endangering their lives. Speechless, they looked at their leader. The unspoken question each seemed to be raising was: "What are we going to do with him?"

"... After all, the [German] gendarmerie was right next to the convent! The threat was obvious. ... I had come to the convent with a request that they help me contact the Balicki family. ... I thought that the Balicki sisters would know about other places for me to stay at ... When I explained this to the Mother Superior she said 'no'. For the time being she forbade any outside communications, stressing that these young girls may not be able to keep a secret and thus others could learn about my whereabouts. She insisted, 'No one should know that you are here. We must pray to God to tell us what to do with you!' Then she explained that because it was a difficult and complicated situation only God can settle it. Instead of deciding by themselves they must wait for a sign from God."

But Euzebia Bartkowiak's reliance on God in no way interfered with her activities. She was enterprising, full of energy and determination. She concluded, "Until we know how to resolve this problem, we cannot send you away. You must wash, eat, and rest. After that we shall see."...

Every Sunday during Mass the priest reads a special message from the Gospel. On that particular day he read about the good Samaritan. This is a story about a Jew who was robbed and wounded and left on the side of the road by his attackers. A priest passed next to the suffering man but did not bother to help him. Neither did a Levite. Only a traveling Samaritan took an interest in the helpless Jew. The Samaritan first attended to the man's wounds and then moved him to a nearby inn where he generously paid the innkeeper for keeping this stranger. Before the Samaritan left he assured the innkeeper that he will be coming back to check the condition of the patient. The story finishes with Jesus saying, "Go and do as he has done."

Listening to this sermon and particularly the last sentence, the two women felt that God had spoken to them. Euzebia Bartkowiak was especially convinced that God wanted them to save Oswald. Of the four nuns, two were less than enthusiastic about keeping him. They objected. But the Mother Superior would not be dissuaded. When it came to moral issues she followed her own conscience. Firmly, she overruled their opposition. ...

Conversion also led to other more concrete changes. "The two nuns, who initially opposed my stay in the convent, accepted me completely. Their approval coincided with my baptism. ... Soon not only did these nuns tolerate me but they were happy to have me there."...

Grateful, Oswald was not surprised by the nuns' decision to shelter him. For him to shelter another human being was not extraordinary. Used to rescuing people, he had expected the nuns to do the same. Still, when he speaks about his four companions, he is full of admiration. He has a great deal of respect for their courage and is convinced that they were not concerned about the risk they were taking in sheltering him. Invariably, when referring to them he says that "they were wonderful women, they looked upon my stay there as a duty. There were no fears in that house, except during certain moments. They were definitely not scared, if they were they could not have allowed me to take my meals with them. ... They were like soldiers, for whom saving me was a duty ... they also had open tolerant attitudes toward Jews."

Actually Oswald's constant presence in the convent broke many of the house rules. When it was all over, in 1946, the Mother Superior went to the head of their order to discuss these transgressions. She wanted to know whether it was right for them to have disregarded so many established regulations. The head of the order, an old woman, said, "If we had created the Mir convent only to save this one man, we would have something to thank God for. Be assured that human life is much more important than all the rules."...

Because the nuns were respected both by the civilians and the authorities, visits to their place were quite common. ... The presence of outsiders, however, was not always as uneventful. Among the frequent convent callers was a peasant woman, a Catholic and a Nazi-collaborator. Everyone knew that part of her income came from spying on civilians and denouncing them to the authorities. Still, they encouraged her visits, hoping that in the end they might lead her away from her sinful path.

One day, unaware that the woman was in the convent, Oswald, carrying a batch of wood, entered the living room to start a fire. When this guest noticed him, startled she stood up. She had recognized him—most local people would. It mattered little that Oswald disappeared quickly. The damage was done. In a split second, impulsively, she ran out of the house. In no time she returned, threw herself on her knees in front of the Mother Superior, and swore she would tell no one about this dangerous encounter. Oswald feels that because of the possible peril, "right away the nuns should have asked me to leave. They did not. The Mother Superior chose to believe this untrustworthy person."

She proved to be right. Although a Nazi collaborator, the woman told no one that she had seen me.”

... In Mir the authorities were concerned with the safety of their official buildings. To them one obvious solution was to surround these structures with barbed wire. If done, this would transform the heart of the town into a police area. But before this plan could be put into effect the Germans had to decide what to do with the convent located in the middle of their official buildings. This decision, in turn, called for an inspection of the place.

The formal visit to the convent occurred on a Sunday, when three of the nuns, among them the Mother Superior, were away in church in Iszkoldź [Iszkoldz]. Only one nun stayed home to protect Oswald. For him, indeed, the event was memorable. “Two policemen knocked. The nun opened the door but forgot to warn me. The men began to enter into the different rooms. Soon I could hear their heavy military boots quite close to me. ... My room had the usual wash basin. In front of it was a screen that was supposed to hide anyone who was washing.

At this wash basin was a shawl, a big, black shawl. The nuns gave it to me to keep warm. When I heard the heavy boots and the loud voices, practically in my room, I quickly jumped behind the screen and threw the shawl over it. This suggested that one of the nuns might be behind it. The men came in. They stopped not far from the screen. Amused, they commented that a nun must be behind it. They chuckled. Then I heard them leave the room. When they were out of the house, the nun appeared, pale and shaking all over. All I could do was pray.”

After this official visit the Nazis ordered the convent to move to Stara Miranka, a few miles away from Mir. The transfer had to take place by March 1943.

The new house consisted of four rooms and a barn attached to the main building. Because Oswald was well known in the area, he could not show his face. The actual move, therefore, had to take place in a number of steps. “As the nuns emptied the different rooms they locked me into one of them. On the last day, one of the nuns left for the new place very early in the morning, before anyone was up. That same evening, I, dressed as a nun, walked with the other three nuns to our new home.”

The new convent was not only smaller but also more exposed, without a garden, without a fence. At this time the Germans were becoming more and more nervous. Night searches for partisans were common. It would have been too dangerous for Oswald to sleep in such an exposed place. The barn became Oswald’s sleeping quarters. This barn, although attached to the new convent, was used by the Germans as a storage place for food confiscated from the peasants. To avert partisan attacks, at night it was guarded by policemen. Each evening another group of policemen would come and watch the barn till dawn. Because of this watch, no Germans would dream of searching inside the barn.

In principle, those buildings belonged to the parish-church of Mir, but were being used by the authorities. In a small hall opposite the entrance a ladder served as the way to the attic of the barn. Every evening the Mother Superior, Oswald dressed as a nun, and a cat would climb up this ladder behind the standing guard. As they climbed the nun spoke to the cat, pretending that she was bringing it there to keep away the mice. Since the attic contained all kinds of food, the presence of a cat protected the food from mice. And so the guard never considered interfering with this nightly pastime. Each morning after the policeman had left, Oswald still dressed as a nun, would sneak down and into the house.

... But peace was becoming progressively more elusive. In fact, the Germans were becoming more cruel and more violent. It was as if the loss of battles created a special need for victories against vulnerable civilians. The smallest crimes, often imaginary ones, were met with severe punishment.

Thus, for example, in a nearby town [Nowogródek], twelve nuns, suspected of feeding partisans, were executed. Raids into private homes became more frequent. As the terror grew, more natives joined the partisans. Escapes into forests, in turn, led to more violent Nazi retaliations. As usual, the losers were the innocent people who had little to do with such moves.

With this increasingly threatening situation, Oswald became concerned about the nuns’ safety. He was convinced that he could avert disaster by leaving the convent. But he had no place to go. ...

And so, on December 3, 1943, in the evening, dressed as a nun, Oswald left the convent in the company of the Mother Superior. In a nearby forest he took off his robe. As he handed it to the nun, she cried, saying, “Come back in case of difficulties. Be sure to come back.” Too upset to speak, Oswald nodded, knowing full well that this time he wouldn’t be returning.

Still crying softly the nun blessed him and left.

Numerous testimonies gathered by Yad Vashem describe how priests—most of whose identities have not been established—extended a helping hand to Jews and assisted the rescue efforts of fellow Poles. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 75, 106, 118, 120, 126, 157, 196–97, 198, 237, 249, 263, 322–23, 349, 357, 358, 382, 391, 452, 452–53, 463, 483, 485, 523, 526; Part 2, pp. 573, 596, 620, 635, 656–57, 689, 694–95, 711–12, 725, 727–28, 741, 757, 779, 782, 785, 809, 890, 917, 925–26, 928–29, 938, 947; volume 10: *Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 536, 544, 561, 563–64, 586. Note: Entries that are sketchy or silent about these matters have been supplemented by other sources.)

[1] Helena Barcikowska lived with her two sons in the village of Wisniowiec [Wiśniowiec] in the Tarnopol district [actually, near Krzemieniec in Volhynia]. Following the Nazi invasion of the area in 1941, she found employment as an agricultural worker in the fields of a German-administered estate, where she became acquainted with two Jewish brothers from Warsaw, Adam and Michal [Michał] Gajło [Gajło]. In 1942, when the Jews of the village were incarcerated in a ghetto, Helena decided to take the brothers into her home. Only Adam was able to take advantage of the offer, however, as Michal was bedridden. As a devout Catholic, Helena regarded the saving of human life as both a duty and a privilege. The danger of the undertaking was not lost on her, since the German and Ukrainian police were constantly searching for Jewish fugitives. The house was raided twice, and it was only owing to Helena's astuteness that her activities remained undiscovered. Adam Gajło remained in hiding until October 1943. Helena requested no payment for sheltering him and, despite her dire financial situation, divided her meager earnings as a seamstress between her Jewish charge and her sons Tadeusz, aged 14, and Jozef [Józef], aged 13. The latter were actively involved in caring for Adam. They built a hideout for him beneath the house, brought him food, and kept the hiding place clean. At the end of 1943, Helena obtained a forged birth certificate for Adam [from the local Catholic priest⁹²⁴] and, fearing the intrigues of her Ukrainian neighbors, fled westward with her children before the approaching Russian front. Adam escaped together with them, but afterwards their paths separated. Under his new name, Krzysztof Boleslaw [Bolesław] Sawicki—which he also retained after the war—he moved to Lancut [Łańcut], where he remained until the liberation.

[2] In 1941, a Polish woman carrying a baby a few months old appeared on the doorstep of the Bombases, a poor working class couple who lived with their five children in the town of Horodenka in the Stanislawow [Stanisławów] district. The Bombases rented a room to the woman, who came from Cracow, but after a while she moved in with her brother-in-law, who lived in the neighboring village. After a short time the woman vanished, leaving the baby behind. When she heard that the woman had disappeared, Zuzanna, the Bombases' ten-year-old daughter, felt sorry for the abandoned baby. On her own initiative, she went in search of the baby and brought him home, where she managed to persuade her mother, despite the latter's misgivings, to keep the child. The Bombases knew nothing of the baby's origins, until one day a neighbor told them that the child was the son of Moshe Pilpel, a Jewish pharmacist who had disappeared without a trace. Despite the danger, Rozalia Bombas decided to continue caring for the Jewish baby, whose first name she did not even know. Bombas obtained a Christian birth certificate for the baby from the local priest, stamped in the name of Krzysztof Ryszard Chodźba [Chodźba]. The Bombases treated Krzysztof as one of the family. Zuzanna, in particular, treated him like a younger brother and spent all her free time with him. Little Krzysztof stayed with the Bombases until 1947, when a representative of the Jewish Children's Rescue Committee turned up, introducing himself as the boy's uncle and asking for the child to be handed over to him, since the child's parents had perished. Rozalia and Zuzanna, however, refused to give up Krzysztof, whom they loved and on whose behalf they had risked their own lives and that of the rest of their family. When they realized that legally they did not have a leg to stand on, they agreed. The organization paid the Bombases for Krzysztof's upkeep during the occupation. Krzysztof subsequently immigrated to Israel, where he later changed his name to Zvi Pilpel.

[3] Maria and Olga Brzozowicz were friendly with Stanisława [Stanisława] and Jan Pastor, with whom they had studied in the town of Sarny, in the Volhynia district. In 1940, during the Soviet annexation, the NKVD imprisoned Maria and Olga's father, who was later exiled to the far north. The Brzozowicz sisters and their mother [Antonina] subsequently moved to Lwow [Lwów], where they rented a small apartment. Some time later, Stanisława and Jan Pastor also moved to Lwow, with their mother, Ela Karmioli, who had since remarried, and the two families resumed their friendship. In 1941, when the Germans occupied Lwow, Karmioli and her children were evicted from their apartment. In desperation, they turned to Antonina Brzozowicz and her daughters, who, despite their straitened circumstances and small apartment, immediately agreed to take them in. In time, Antonina's Ukrainian neighbors began suspecting her of hiding Jews and threatened to report her to the authorities. [Antonina Brzozowicz turned to a priest for guidance and he urged her to continue hiding her charges.⁹²⁵] Undeterred, the Brzozowiczes vigorously denied the allegations and continued hiding the refugees. Stanisława, Jan, and their mother, Ela, stayed with the Brzozowiczes until they were liberated in July 1944. After the war, the two families moved to an area within Poland's new borders and remained friends for many more years.

[4] After the German occupation of Lwow [Lwów] in the summer of 1941, 18-year-old Hana Landau escaped the anti-Jewish pogroms [carried out by Ukrainians] that erupted in the city, during which her parents and brothers were killed. She went to the local church in the nearby village of Winniki, obtained Aryan papers made out in the name of her friend Czesława [Czesława] Bandalowska and returned under an assumed identity to Lwow. As she was

⁹²⁴ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 33; Knap, "Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj", 52.

⁹²⁵ Account of Stanisława Wincza and Jan Pastor in Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 210.

known to be Jewish, however, she was arrested and interned in the Janowska concentration camp, but was later released after convincing the Germans that she was Christian. Armed with her Aryan papers, Hana subsequently moved to Cracow [Kraków], where she obtained work.

[5] In 1940, Stanisława [Stanisława] Butkiewicz was employed by Jakov and Hana Fajnsztajn, residents of Vilna [Wilno], to look after their baby daughter, Masha. Upon the German occupation of the city, the Fajnsztajns were interned in the local ghetto. Hana was sent daily to forced labor outside the ghetto and met Stanisława each day on her way to work. One day in the autumn of 1941, Hana took Masha and handed her over to Stanisława, requesting the latter to look after her daughter if she did not return. She never came back and the infant remained with Stanisława, who cared for her faithfully and obtained an Aryan birth [and baptismal] certificate for her [from a Catholic priest⁹²⁶] on which she registered the child as her daughter, Maria Butkiewicz. Fearing denunciation by suspicious neighbors, Stanisława left her apartment and moved with Masha to the home of her relatives in a distant village. Masha remained under her assumed identity with her former housemaid, who selflessly jeopardized her life to save her. After the war, when it became known that Masha's parents had perished, Stanisława did not conceal the child's Jewish identity from her, although she raised her like a daughter in every way and took care of her upbringing and education.

[6] Rachel Kalfuss was born in September 1941, in the town of Niepolomice [Niepołomice] near Cracow. When she was eight months old, her mother perished in the Belzec [Bełżec] extermination camp, and some months later, her father, too, was killed in the Stalowa Wola labor camp. Before being sent to her death, her mother gave her baby daughter over to an acquaintance, [Florentyna Stanek or Sławek], who passed her on to [Cecylia Dudzińska, who lived with her daughter] Helena Czartoryska, who lived in Kolbuszowa, in the Rzeszow [Rzeszów] district. Czartoryska, whose husband was being held in a prisoner-of-war camp, had given birth to a baby daughter in 1939, but she had died shortly after. [Dudzińska and] Czartoryska took in the Jewish orphan, [who had been baptized in Zwierzyniec near Cracow as Maria Skrzydlewska⁹²⁷]. Despite threats by suspicious neighbors, and attempts at extortion, Czartoryska, with supreme dedication, and at great personal risk, raised Rachel-Marysia as her own daughter. In risking her life to save Rachel-Marysia, Czartoryska, who came from an aristocratic family, was guided by humanitarian principles, which superseded considerations of personal safety. After the war, relatives in Israel found out that Rachel Kalfuss was alive, and members of the Coordination Committee traced her to Czartoryska's home. In 1947, she was brought over to Israel where she was legally adopted by relatives who, thinking they were acting in her best interests, hid her past from her. It was only years later that Kalfuss discovered how Czartoryska had saved her life. Although she got in touch with her immediately, Czartoryska died shortly thereafter.

[7] Lucja [Łucja] Meister, followed by her brother, Bertold, escaped from the Przemyśl [Przemyśl] ghetto, in the Rzeszow [Rzeszów] district, with the help of forged documents which their friend, 19-year-old Zofia Komperda [later Dygdała], obtained for them. Komperda arranged for Lucja to move in with her aunt, who lived in a village near the town of Przeworsk. However, when neighbors began suspecting that Lucja was Jewish, Komperda arranged for her to be transferred to a nearby village, where Lucja worked in a local school [as a teacher and lived in the parish rectory—she had converted earlier⁹²⁸] until the area was liberated in 1944. Although she survived the war, Lucja dies shortly thereafter [of typhus]. Komperda also arranged for Bertold Meister, Lucja's brother, to stay with her parents. Her father, who was a picture restorer, taught Meitner the secrets of his trade, and employed him as an apprentice. Komperda also trained Meister as a land surveyor, and sent him to the nearby village of Wola Zgłobińska [Zgłobieńska], where he worked in his new profession until the area was liberated in 1944. After the war, Meister remained in Poland.

[8] When the Postrags [Postrągs] and their eight-year-old daughter, Roza [Róża], were interned in the Tarnow [Tarnów] ghetto, in the Cracow [Kraków] district, Franciszka Dynowska, their former maid, endangered her life by providing them with food. In August 1943, a few days before the liquidation of the Tarnow ghetto, Dynowski provided them with forged papers [prepared on the basis of falsified baptismal certificates issued by a priest from a parish in Tarnów⁹²⁹] and with the help of her son, Władysław [Władysław], smuggled them out of the ghetto. Postrag, who decided to join the partisans, was caught and shot dead. Dynowska took his wife, Regina, to her

⁹²⁶ Schelly Talalay Dardashti, "A Tale of Three Women and a Lost Family," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 16, 2007.

⁹²⁷ Piotr Czartoryski-Sziler, "Opowie wam o swojej babci...", w.Poltyce.pl, March 24, 2018.

⁹²⁸ Dąbrowska, *Światła w ciemności*, 380–82.

⁹²⁹ "Story of Rescue—The Dynowski Family," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dynowski-family>>.

brother, who lived in the village of Plesna [Pleśna] near Tarnow, while Wladyslaw took Roza to his uncle and aunt, Leon and Ludwika Dynowski, who lived in the nearby village of Krzyz [Krzyż], where he himself was staying. When the neighbors discovered that a Jewish woman was hiding in the village, Regina fled to Warsaw, where she registered as a Pole for work in Germany. Regina Postrag was sent to Germany, where she stayed until the liberation in April 1945. Back in Krzyz, the Dynowski looked after young Roza devotedly, enrolling her in the local school and seeing to all her needs without expecting anything in return. Roza stayed with the Dynowskis until the area was liberated, after which she and her mother emigrated to the United States.

[9] In 1943, during one of the *Aktionen* in the Bedzin [Będzin] ghetto in Upper Silesia, 13-year-old Alina Potok [also Pottock] escaped from the transport and reached Warsaw. She made straight for the apartment of her parents' acquaintances whose address she had. However, after a short stay, Alina was told to leave. During her stay at the acquaintances's home, Alina got to know Leonard Gliniski [Gliński], a member of the AK [Home Army]. When he heard that the acquaintance was planning to send Alina away or even hand her over to the authorities, Gliniski begged him to keep Alina for a few more days, during which time he managed to obtain Aryan papers for her, including school certificates, an identity card, and a birth certificate [from St. Casimir's Church in Lwów⁹³⁰]. Since her age on these documents was 16, she was able under her assumed identity to register for work in Germany. Thanks to his ties with the underground, Gliniski arranged for her to go to Vienna, where she worked with a doctor's family with whom she stayed until the area was liberated. Throughout this time, Alina corresponded with Gliniski.

[10] After their parents died, Shmuel and Arie Halpern, residents of Chorostkow [Chorostków] in the Tarnopol district, were interned in the Kamionka Strumilowa [Strumilowa] labor camp. In July 1943, when the camp was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police in readiness for its liquidation, the Halpern brothers escaped. With great difficulty [Arie was assisted by an unidentified Ukrainian Uniate Catholic priest who distracted the attention of Ukrainian policemen when Arie passed through the village of Ilawcze⁹³¹], they reached the village of Iwanowka [Iwanówka], where they knocked on the door of the Gorniaks [Górniaks], former acquaintances of their parents. Tatiana Gorniak gave them a warm reception, while her husband, sons (Jan and Michal [Michał]), and daughter-in-law prepared a hiding place for the fugitives in the loft of their cowshed, where the whole family protected and looked after them. [For a very brief period, the brothers stayed in the barn of Rev. Ivan Lubovych, a Ukrainian Uniate Catholic priest, who was aware of the rescue and offered to provide the brothers with food and shelter.⁹³²] One night, a gang of Ukrainian nationalists raided the farm, killing Tatiana's husband and brother. The fact that her son Michal slept with the Halpern brothers in their hiding place saved his life—which the Gorniaks interpreted as a miracle and a divine recompense for helping the Jews. Jan, Tatiana's eldest son, and his wife, Jozefa [Józefa], who lived in another building, also participated in the rescue effort. In endangering their lives to help the Halpern brothers, the Gorniaks were acting out of simple humanity, and a loyalty which triumphed over adversity. Later, Arie Halpern, who immigrated to Israel, and his brother Shmuel, who immigrated to the United States, kept up contact with their saviors' family.

[11] As school friends, Irena Gwozdowicz and Ludwika Rozen, from the town of Bursztyn in the Stanislawow [Stanisławów] district, spent a lot of time in each other's homes. Before the war, the Gwozdowicz family moved to the town of Przemysl [Przemysł] while Ludwika and her parents remained in Bursztyn. After the German occupation, the Rozens were interned in the local ghetto and in 1942, when the Germans began liquidating the local Jewish communities, Ludwika fled from the ghetto to the Gwozdowicz family in Przemysl, where they gave her a warm reception. [When the Gwozdowicz family had returned to Bursztyn for a visit they brought food to the Rozens in the ghetto, left a note with their new address, and told Ludwika to seek them out if she was in danger. Ludwika reached Przemysł on foot, exhausted, hungry and with high fever. A priest she met on her way gave her the birth certificate of Józefa Balda, her peer who had recently died. Mrs. Matylda Gwozdowicz obtained an identity card for Ludwika in the same name.⁹³³] ... [They] passed her off as the daughter of their maid, who, under Soviet rule, had been exiled to Siberia, and found work for her in a German soldier's club. ... Rozen stayed with the Gwozdowicz family until the area was

⁹³⁰ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 151.

⁹³¹ Shmuel Halpern, "Liquidation of Kamionka Labor Camp," August 2, 2012, Internet: <<http://www.aish.com/ho/p/Liquidation-of-Kamionka-Labor-Camp.html>>.

⁹³² Shmuel Halpern, "Liquidation of Kamionka Labor Camp," August 2, 2012, Internet: <<http://www.aish.com/ho/p/Liquidation-of-Kamionka-Labor-Camp.html>>.

⁹³³ *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Łódź: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2009), 69.

liberated in 1944.

[12] In July 1942, during the large-scale Aktion in the Warsaw ghetto, 11-year-old Michal [Michał] Motyl and his seven-year-old sister, Regina, escaped to the Aryan side of the city. Their father, too, escaped and found a hiding place in the town of Parczew, while their mother was deported to Treblinka. After wandering through fields and villages and suffering many hardships, the two children found their way back to their native town of Golub [east of Toruń] in Pomerania, where they turned to Jozef [Józef] Matuszewski and his wife, friends of their parents. The Matuszewskis, guided by humanitarian principles, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship, took the children into their home, looked after them, and saw to all their needs. One day, the Gestapo, alerted by informers, raided the apartment. Although they did not discover the children, the Matuszewskis decided to move them to a safer hiding place. They arranged for Regina to move in with their relatives, Franciszek and Władysława [Władysława] Kaczmarek, in the town of Chełmno and found another hiding place for Michal. The Kaczmareks made Regina feel at home, and with the help of their daughter, Teresa, looked after her devotedly, introducing her to neighbors as a relative whose house had been destroyed by bombs. [Regina, known as Irena Kwiatkowska, lived openly with the Kaczmareks. Her true identity was known by a priest and a teacher.⁹³⁴] They even kept up a correspondence with her father, who later perished under unknown circumstances. In risking their lives for Regina, the Kaczmareks were prompted by love of their fellow man, which overcame considerations of safety. Regina stayed with the Kaczmareks even after the area was liberated. In 1946, her uncle found her and took her with him to Israel, where, for many years, she carried on a correspondence with Teresa Kaczmarek. Regina's brother, Michal, also survived and after the war emigrated to the United States.

[13] During the occupation, Janina Klein, her daughter Janina (later Dyląg [Dyląg]), and her daughter and son-in-law, Halina and Tadeusz Dobrowolski lived on the fourth floor of a building in Elektoralna Street, Warsaw. The daughter, Janina, who was a member of the AK [Armia Krajowa], and later participated in the Warsaw Uprising, worked in a jewelry shop in Warsaw, where she got to know Seweryn Ehrlich, an agent for a Swiss watch firm. In 1942, Ehrlich asked Janina if she knew of anyone who would be prepared to shelter his wife, Felicja. Janina, her mother, and sister decided to take in Felicja, even though there was a German casino in the building, and the doorkeeper was an ethnic German. After she arrived, Dobrowolski provided Felicja with "Aryan" papers [obtained from All Saints parish⁹³⁵] in the name of Janina Bielarska. Halina then accompanied Felicja to the office of internal affairs, where an identity card was issued in her new name, which enabled the Kleins to pass her off as a relative. Felicja's husband remained in the ghetto while her two daughters, who had found hiding places, under assumed identities, in various apartments in Warsaw, used to visit their mother from time to time. The Klein children, who lived near the ghetto, gave food to the Jewish children who slipped out of the ghetto to the Aryan side of the city. On May 12, 1943, the Gestapo arrested Dobrowolski for providing Jews with false documents, and sent him to a concentration camp, where he perished, leaving behind a wife, and seven-month-old infant. Although the Gestapo raided the apartment twice, the Kleins continued hiding Felicja, until the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944. After the war, Felicja, whose husband perished with the Jews of Warsaw, immigrated with her daughters to the United States, where, for many years, they kept up close ties with the Kleins.

[14] In 1938, after Vienna's annexation to the Third Reich, Lola Holdengraeber and her daughter, Rita, left Vienna for Lwów [Lwów], Poland. In 1942, Lola and Rita left Lwów and escaped to Tarnów [Tarnów], where they turned to Mieczysław Kobylanski [Mieczysław Kobylański] and his sister, Jadwiga, former acquaintances of theirs. Despite their mother's misgivings, Kobylanski and his sister opened their door to the two Jewish refugees and sheltered them in their home without expecting anything in return. In due course, Holdengraeber, thanks to Aryan papers Kobylanski obtained for her, found employment in an SS officers' club. In late 1942, Holdengraeber and her daughter left Tarnów and moved to Warsaw. In Warsaw, the mother joined the Gwardia Ludowa (Peoples' Guard) and was arrested and sent to Auschwitz, where she perished. The daughter, Rita, returned to Tarnów, where Kobylanski and his sister looked after her until July 1943 [with the help of a priest, Kobylański obtained a baptismal certificate for Rita⁹³⁶], after which she returned to Lwów where she stayed until the area was liberated in July 1944.

⁹³⁴ "Rodzina Kaczmareków—Wywiad z Teresą Drewek," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/historie-pomocy/wywiad-z-teresa-drewek>>.

⁹³⁵ Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 129.

⁹³⁶ *Przywracanie pamięci Polakom ratującym Żydów w czasie Zagłady / Recalling Forgotten History For Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2007), 57.

[15] While serving in the Polish army, Tadeusz Kobyłko [Kobyłko] from Lwow [Lwów] made friends with Jewish recruits who helped him when, in September 1939, Lwow was annexed to the Soviet Union. In 1941, when the Germans occupied Lwow, Kobyłko decided to repay his Jewish friends, and in July arranged for a group of Jews from Lwow to stay with the Kellers, a Jewish family who lived in nearby Stary Sambor. Keller prepared a bunker for the refugees, fed them, and saw to all their needs. In the spring of 1942, during a German raid, most of the hiding places in the village were discovered and the Jews who were hiding were killed. Kobyłko, fearing that the Kellers' bunker would be discovered, too Fajga (Fani) Ginsberg back to his apartment in Lwow, where he passed her off as his wife, Maria. Later, shortly before the liquidation of the Jews of Stary Sambor, Salka Keller, Fajga's sister, sent a note to Kobyłko informing him that she had left her four-year-old daughter, Ita, behind in the bunker. At great personal risk, Kobyłko made his way to the bunker and took little Ita back with him to Lwow. When the neighbors became suspicious, Kobyłko moved to a new apartment, where Fani, whom he had meanwhile married, gave birth to a baby boy. After Lwow's liberation in the summer of 1944, Kobyłko was suspected of collaborating with the Germans, and it was only thanks to his Jewish friends, who testified to his courage and altruism during the occupation, that he was released. After the war, Kobyłko and Fani moved with their son and little Ita to an area within the new Polish borders. Later, Fani separated from her husband and immigrated to Israel with her son and niece.

According to information found in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, a Catholic priest married Tadeusz Kobyłko and Fajga (Fani) Ginsberg, and provided her with false papers (Internet: <<http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa31109>>):

Itta Keller (now Ben Haiem) is the daughter of Shlomo and Sara Ginsburg. She was born in Lvov [Lwów], the closest hospital to her shtetl, Stary Sambor, on July 2, 1939. Shlomo worked there in a hardware store owned by his father, Shimon Keller. The family lived with Sara's mother, Rivka Ginsburg, and had a home with a large cellar that they used to hide Jewish refugees who were fleeing to the Soviet Union in the fall of 1939. Sara's sister, Fanny, worked in a chocolate factory in Lvov before the war where she became friendly with a co-worker, Tadeusz Kobyłko [Kobyłko]. After the Germans took control of the region in 1941, Fanny came home to visit her sister in Stary Sambor and got caught in an Aktion. Fanny ran away and by chance met Tadeusz in a field. He offered to shelter Fanny as his wife in his home in Lvov. Tadeusz and Fanny were married by a priest who gave her false papers, but the couple had to move on more than one occasion when neighbors suspected that she was Jewish. Tadeusz also promised to help Sara if conditions worsened. In August 1942, the Germans conducted a round up of the Jews of Stary Sambor. Before the deportation, Sara sent a message to Tadeusz that "uncle is very sick". This was a prearranged code for him to come and rescue Itta. She was hidden in the cellar with food and drink. Sara and her mother Rivka Ginsburg were deported to Belzec [Bełżec] where they perished. Shlom's fate remained unknown. Tadeusz came to Stary Sambor and retrieved the little girl. He wrapped her in blankets and carried her out as if she was a package. On the way back to Lvov, Ukrainian guards with dogs chased him, and he had to jump into a lake, holding Itta aloft, so that the scent of the dogs would be thrown off. For the remainder of the war, Itta lived with her aunt, Tadeusz and their son Adam as their daughter under the name Irena Kobyłko. During the war Tadeusz worked for the Polish railroads so that he could get information to help the underground. After the family was liberated on April 14, 1944, the Russians arrested Tadeusz and accused him of being a collaborator because of his work for the railroads. Only the testimony of Fanny secured his release. Tadeusz offered to convert to Judaism and attempted to leave for Palestine with Fanny and the two children, but he was not able to get a visa and permission to travel. Fanny and the children left Poland with Rabbi Herzog's children's transport and never saw Tadeusz again. They came to France and lived for a year in the village of Schirmeck before sailing to Palestine in October 1947 on board the Providence. Fanny settled in Tel Aviv but wasn't able to support the children and was forced to place Itta and Adam in boarding schools. Not receiving support from her family who was already in Israel, Fanny had to struggle until the end of her life in 1992. Itta and Adam married and live in Israel. Tadeusz Kobyłko remarried and had three children. Yad Vashem recognized as a Righteous Among the Nations. He died in 1975.

[16] In 1942, shortly before the liquidation of the Sandomierz ghetto, Roma Glowinska [Głowińska] and her cousin, Gucia Glowinska, fled at their parents' insistence. Because of their Aryan appearance, the two were sure their Polish acquaintances would be prepared to put them up, but much to their surprise they found that this was not the case. Ironically, salvation came from strangers. One day, in the winter of 1942, upon arriving in the town of Piastow [Piastów], near Warsaw, they knocked on the door of Andrzej and Anna Kostrzewa, a childless couple who lived in a one-room apartment. Despite the fact that Kostrzewa earned a paltry salary as a school caretaker, the Kostrzewas took the two refugees in and provided them with forged birth certificates. Despite the forged certificate, Gucia was arrested in the street and disappeared without a trace. The Kostrzewas reassured Roma, who feared a similar fate, telling her: "God will protect us." Roma stayed with the Kostrzewas, who held themselves responsible for her safety and shared their meager fare with her, until September 1945. ... In risking their lives, the Kostrzewas were inspired

by deep religious faith and love of their fellow man.

According to the memoir *My Life-Story* by Ruth Marks (Roma Glowinski), found in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives (Internet: <<http://digitalassets.ushmm.org/photoarchives/detail.aspx?id=1152698>>):

Gucia and Roma went to the home of a former employee of the family who arranged for them to stay with Anna and Andrzej Kostrzewa, a Polish couple who lived in Prushkow [sic, Pruszków] near Warsaw. The Kostrzewas claimed that Roma was a distant relative whose father was a Polish officer killed by the Germans and whose mother died in the bombings in Lublin. Gucia also claimed to be a distant relative. The Kostrzewas acquired false papers for Gucia under the name Halina and a priest supplied a birth certificate for Roma under the name, Vislava Serafinska [Wisława Serafińska]. Andrzej had worked as a school concierge until the Germans closed the school. Anna supported the family by washing uniforms for German soldiers. To augment her meager wages, Gucia darned socks, and Roma did chores for neighbors. Gucia also sold food on the black market. She was arrested during one of her trips to Warsaw, and after revealing that she was Jewish, she was executed. After this incident, the Kostrzewa's neighbors began to suspect that Roma also was Jewish. However, despite the rumors and inherent danger, Roma became closer to the Kostrzewas, and Anna and Andrzej cared for Roma like their own daughter.

[17] *Even before the establishment of the Dabrowa [Dąbrowa] Tarnowska ghetto in the Cracow [Kraków] district, Lucylla Chmura came to the aid of Ida Margulies, a widowed school friend of hers, and her son, Henryk. Chmura supplied them with Aryan papers, and advised them to move to the village of Czechow [Czechów] in the county of Pinczow [Pińczów], Kielce district. [With the help of a priest she obtained a birth certificate for Henryk in the name of Marian Jackowski which he used until the end of the war.⁹³⁷] In their new home, Wojciech Kowalski, Chmura's fiancé and an engineer, employed Henryk as his assistant and helped his mother financially. In early 1944, when the police became suspicious of Ida's identity, she and Henryk moved to Cracow, with the help of Chmura and Kowalski. In Cracow, members of Żegota [Żegota] found jobs for them and watched out for their safety until January 1945, when they were liberated. [The Gestapo killed the landlord who had rented to Kowalski the office which was served as the Margulies' hideout in Czechów.]*

[18] *In July 1942, a seven-month-old Jewish baby was left on the doorstep of the Leszczyński [Leszczyński] home, in the village of Rozki [Rożki near Żółkiewka] in the county of Krasnystaw, Lublin district. The Leszczyńskis took the baby in and Sabina, one of the daughters, took responsibility for looking after it. Undeterred by the neighbors' assertion that the entire village would be in danger if the police discovered the baby, Sabina looked after it devotedly, showered it with motherly love, and despite her family's poverty saw to all its needs. The Jewish baby, who was christened Zygmunt Zolkiewski [Żółkiewski] in the local church, remained under Sabina's care until July 1945 [sic, 1944], when the area was liberated. Shortly after the war, Mendel and Rivka Wajc, the boy's parents, who had fled to the forests and joined the partisans, turned up at the Leszczyńskis' home. For reasons that were never clarified, the parents did not claim their child. ... The Jewish child remained with Sabina and was later transferred to a Jewish children's home near Lodz [Łódź].*

[19] *At the start of the German occupation of Poland, Laib Hersz [Leon] Grynberg, his wife, Ewa, and their daughter, Hanka [Chana, later Halina], fled from Warsaw and settled in Bialystok [Białystok], in Eastern Poland, which was annexed to the Soviet Union. The Germans subsequently occupied Eastern Poland in June 1941. In February 1943, Grynberg managed to smuggle his daughter out of the local ghetto and, with the help of Polish acquaintances [Michał and Jadwiga Skalski, who took Hanka in for several weeks and taught her Catholic prayers and rituals so that she could pass for a Polish orphan], transferred her to the nearby town of Suraz. Klemens and Zofia Leszczyński [Leszczyński] and their son, Jozef [Józef], agreed to take in ten-year-old Hanka without any preconditions or payment. They represented Hanka to neighbors as a Polish orphan from Warsaw, but in due course it was rumored that the Leszczyńskis were sheltering a Jewish girl. [When the Leszczyńskis learned that Hanka was Jewish, at first they were terrified, but after discussing the matter with their priest, they decided to continue looking after her. Hanka was secretly baptized, and then made her First Holy Communion publicly to maintain her cover.⁹³⁸] They saw to all her needs and educated her as if she were their own daughter. Hanka remained in this loving atmosphere until August 1944, when the area was liberated by the Red Army. Hanka's father survived [after jumping out of a train transporting Jews to Treblinka, he made his way back to Białystok where he stayed with the Skalskis]*

⁹³⁷ "The Kowalski Family," Internet: <<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/249,the-kowalski-family/>>.

⁹³⁸ Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 183–84; Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 306; Halina Grubowska, *Haneczko, musisz przeżyć* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation), 62–64; Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie*, 115, 215.

and after the liberation turned up at the Leszczyńskis' home, where his daughter was delivered to him safe and sound. Hanka and her father stayed in Poland. In risking their lives to save Hanka, the Leszczyńskis were guided by compassion and humanitarian principles only.

[20] One night during the occupation, nine-year-old Helena Tygier knocked on the door of Rozalia Lojszczyk [Lojszczyk], who lived with her three children in the village of Bukowa Stara, some 35 kilometers from Warsaw. Exhausted and grimy, Helena related how she had left her parents in the Warsaw ghetto and, at her mother's [sic] bidding, had escaped to seek shelter with Lojszczyk's mother, an old acquaintance of hers. Since Lojszczyk's mother had already passed away, Lojszczyk took Helena into her home, where she looked after her devotedly. Helena made occasional forays into the ghetto to bring her parents food. After a tip-off to the authorities, German soldiers turned up at Lojszczyk's home in January 1944 searching for the Jewish refugee. When she saw them entering the farmyard, Lojszczyk thrust a pail of milk into Helena's hand and pushed her out of the door. The Germans took no notice of her, thinking she was a local dairymaid, and when they failed to find the girl they were looking for, they left. Since it was far too dangerous for Helena to continue staying with Lojszczyk, Lojszczyk arranged for her to stay with her brother, who lived in the neighboring village and agreed to shelter her. Lojszczyk also obtained a baptism certificate from the local priest, which enabled her to find work in the flour mill. Helena stayed with Lojszczyk's brother until January 1945, when the area was liberated.

[21] Immediately after the war began, Izabela Malinowska, who lived in Vilna [Wilno], rushed to the aid of the Jewish refugees who began thronging to her for help. Taking advantage of her close acquaintance with numerous officials in municipal institutions, she helped the Jewish refugees by giving them advice and guidance. Malinowska worked in a coffee house that served as a rendezvous point for Jewish refugees and it was there that she met Efraim Jakiri. The two became friends and eventually fell in love. Jakiri moved into Malinowska's house, located in a suburb of the city. When the Germans occupied Vilna [in June 1941], Jakiri tried to flee from the city with the retreating Red Army but was unsuccessful. He returned to Vilna and was confined in the ghetto set up there. All the while, Malinowska helped by supplying him with food parcels when he arrived daily at the city's military base where he worked. Thanks to her acquaintance with the local priest, Malinowska managed to procure Aryan papers for Jakiri and took him back into her home after he fled from his place of employment. His presence in her home aroused the ire of the neighbors and Malinowska was forced to find Jakiri a safer place to hide. She was helped by a friend, a member of the Polish underground, who moved Jakiri to relatives of his who lived in the village of Kobylniki, near Lake Narocz. There he was represented as a student in need of country air because of the tuberculosis from which he suffered. In 1943, Jakiri joined the partisans. He was wounded in battle and after the liberation married Malinowska and they moved to an area within the new Polish borders.

[22] In the summer of 1941, Olga Jospa and her parents were deported from their home town of Husiatyn, in the Tarnopol district. After much suffering and hardship, the three Jewish fugitives arrived in the ghetto of Kopyczyńce [Kopyczyńce], from which they fled just before its liquidation in early 1943. While they were still in the ghetto, Aniela Malkiewicz [Malkiewicz] approached the Jospa family, for whom she had done housework from the year 1928, and without asking for any payment expressed her willingness to help them in any way she could. When they left the ghetto, the Jospa family came to Malkiewicz, who at first hid them in the attic of the local church. She subsequently moved them to a number of other hiding places in the surrounding villages. Despite the danger posed to her life, Malkiewicz continued to care for the three Jewish refugees until the liberation of the area in the summer of 1944.

[23] In July 1942, about three months before the final liquidation of the ghetto in the resort town of Busko-Zdrój [Zdrój] in the Kielce district, Helena Schmalholz and her two sons, Shimon and Yehoshua, fled from the ghetto. A member of the underground from the Peasants' Battalions (Bataliony Chłopskie [Chłopskie]— Józef Maślanka, a local commander) who had known the family before the war helped them escape from the ghetto, bringing them to the nearby village of Ruczynów [Ruczynów]. There he referred them to the farm of Wincenty and Jozefa [Józefa] Misztal, local-born farmers, also active in the underground, who lived with their son, Stanisław [Stanisław]. All three members of the Misztal family received the three Jewish fugitives warmly, without asking for or receiving anything in return, considering it their patriotic duty and part of their war against the common enemy. After a short time, Jozefa obtained Aryan papers for Schmalholz and her sons and represented them to their neighbors as relatives. Because of the special treatment that Schmalholz and her sons received from the Misztal family, no one in the village doubted that the mother and two sons were indeed relatives of their hosts. The three moved about freely in the village and slept and ate together with the Misztal family members, who also prepared an underground hiding place in case of a surprise search or if they should be betrayed. Schmalholz and her two sons remained in the home of the Misztal family until the liberation of the area in January 1945 and after the war left Poland.

From Helena Schmalholz's testimony: "Maślanka gave me a letter for Mrs. Misztal ... with instructions

that she accompany me to the local commune council administration (*gmina*). Risking her safety, she went with me to that office, and the priest and organist, who were privy to the activities of the underground, gave me papers showing me as Mrs. Misztal's sister, and on the strength of these documents I obtained employment in Busko-Zdrój.”⁹³⁹

[24] *After the Jews of Warsaw were ordered to move into the ghetto, Abram and Felicia Gwiazda decided to seek refuge in one of the villages in the area of Otwock, near Warsaw. The situation worsened, and when Felicia Gwiazda was about to give birth, Katarzyna Monko [Mońko], the local midwife, was called in to help her. She determined that the conditions of the hideout could pose a danger to the lives of both the mother and child. Although she knew that Gwiazda was Jewish, she offered to hide her in her home, where she lived with her son and daughter-in-law, Mieczysław [Mieczysław] and Aniela. Gwiazda gave birth to a little girl in the home of the Monko family, and after it became clear that it was impossible for them to return to the hiding place, Gwiazda decided in desperation to abandon her baby in the train station. Monko expressed her firm opposition to this idea, and with the support of the local priest decided to keep the little girl and care for her until after the war. The little Jewish girl remained in the home of the Monko family, who treated her with devotion. After Monko died, her son and daughter-in-law continued to care for and raise the child. Eventually, a German soldier took the child with him to an army camp, where she was given over to a Polish woman, with the intention of bringing her to Germany. The Polish woman decided to flee from the camp and adopt the little girl as her own. However, Mieczysław and Aniela Monko kept track of the child, and after the war, when her biological parents arrived at the Monko home to reclaim their daughter, the Monkos gave them the address of the Polish woman. She refused to give them their daughter back, but thanks to the testimony in court of Mieczysław Monko and his wife, the child was finally returned to her parents. The family eventually immigrated to Israel ...*

[25] *Stanisława [Stanisława] Pacek was a teacher who lived during the occupation in the village of Prawiedniki near Lublin with her two sons, Leszek and Jerzy. After her entire family perished, 12-year-old Sara Kraus fled from the Warsaw ghetto. After much wandering, she arrived in Prawiedniki, where Pacek, a widow, took her in. She and her two sons took the girl under their wing and safeguarded her. Eventually, seven-year-old Basia Klig [born in 1935, later Batya Golan] and her mother [Chava-Chana or Hava-Hanna] also arrived at their home after fleeing from the Lublin ghetto and wandering for some time through the local countryside. In her testimony many years later, Klig would relate that Stanisława Pacek had been a wonderful woman who, motivated only by love of humanity and without asking for or receiving anything in return, gave the fugitives emotional and physical succour, teaching them how to preserve their human dignity even under inhuman conditions. Despite the danger to her life and the lives of her sons, Pacek persevered in her rescue efforts, doing everything in her power to help the people she had taken in. After the war, all the survivors immigrated to Israel.*

Before arriving at the Paceks, the Kligs had received assistance from other Poles in the area including a Catholic priest in Bychawa (?) who had given them medical help. The Pacek family also sheltered Reuben Finkelstein in their small farmhouse, after his mother's Polish benefactor had been imprisoned by the Germans for helping Jews.⁹⁴⁰ Sara Kraus (later Kolkowicz) came across many rescuers after leaving Warsaw. She was sheltered for a brief period in the diocesan chancery in Lublin, where she worked as the housekeeper's helper. This was the seat of the diocesan vicar general, Rev. Józef Kruszyński.⁹⁴¹

[26] *In 1941, before Irena Weksztejn's parents were deported from Czestochowa [Częstochowa] to a forced labor camp, they found a way to make contact with Kamilla Pelc, who, motivated by her love of humanity and without*

⁹³⁹ Zuzanna Schnepf-Kończak, "Pomoc Polaków dla Żydów w czasie okupacji niemieckiej: Próba opisu na przykładzie Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata," in Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu*, 229–30.

⁹⁴⁰ Testimony of Batia (Klig) Golan, Yad Vashm Archive, file O.3/VT/10176; "Batya Golan (née Klig in 1933) About Her Life in Pruszków, Warsaw and Lublin Ghettos and the Polish Countryside," Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/pruszkow/16,accounts-memories/11032,batya-golan-nee-basia-klig-in-1933-about-her-live-in-pruszkow-warsaw-and-lublin-ghettos-and-the-polish-countryside/>>. Batya Golan's husband Motke, who came to Israel from Poland when he was 8 months old, stated: "I have disliked Poles for many years. When Batya wanted to watch a T.V. program in Polish—I would be annoyed—I even hated the language. The change came when I agreed to visit Poland with her some years ago: I suddenly realized the deep bond between Batya and the place of her birth: she remembered places and people so accurately after the many passing years, and they remembered her. I was greatly touched. Since then I love Poland and the Polish language and encourage her to watch Polish-speaking programs on T.V."

⁹⁴¹ Sara Kraus-Kolkowicz, *Dziewczynka z ulicy Milej: Albo świadectwo czasu Holokaustu* (Lublin: Agencja Wydawniczo-Handlowa AD, 1995), 46.

asking for or receiving any remuneration, agreed to take their two-year-old daughter under her wing. Pelc, a war widow, lived with her son, Karol, and risked her life to smuggle young Irena into her apartment and obtain Aryan papers for her [from a priest who agreed to forge a birth certificate for Irena⁹⁴²]. She represented Irena Weksztein to curious neighbors as her niece and cared for her as if she were her own. Over time, Irena grew very attached to Pelc and her son, looking upon them as her mother and brother. Despite the many dangers they encountered, Irena remained in their home until the liberation in January 1945. After the war, Irena's parents, who survived the war, came to take her with them. Because the young girl had become so attached to her adopted family, she refused to accept her real parents. Her refusal was so intense that they had to leave the girl with Pelc for a few more months. Irena eventually emigrated with her parents to France and kept in touch with Pelc for many years.

[27] In September 1942, Lea Wicner's [Leah or Lucia Weitzner] mother [Gusta] shoved the 12-year-old out of the railroad car that was transporting the Jews of Hnizdyczow [Hnizdyczów]-Kochawina [near Żydaczów] (Lwow [Lwów] district) to the Belzec [Belżec] extermination camp. Wicner returned to her village, where she joined up with an uncle [Mundek Feldman] who had [avoided] the transport [and was hidden by the Wohański family⁹⁴³]. With his assistance, she obtained Aryan papers [from a Polish priest⁹⁴⁴] with which she was able to reach Stary Sambor, where she went to the home of Feliks and Stefania Plauszewski, who were acquainted with her family. The Plauszewskis took Wicner in like a member of the family, taking care of her and not disclosing her Jewish origin to anyone, including their children. In early 1943 [1944?], the Polish residents of Stary Sambor were expelled to the west. The Plauszewskis, together with Wicner, reached Tarnobrzeg (on the Vistula River), but since Poles from Wicner's village had also been expelled to this area, it was feared that her identity would be revealed. Thus, the Plauszewskis decided to move Wicner to the home of Stefania Gos [Goś], Feliks's sister, in Sobieska Wola (Lublin district). Gos and her husband, Edward, like the Plauszewskis, treated Wicner as affectionately and devotedly as a daughter until the area was liberated in July 1944. The two Polish families risked their lives to rescue Wicner purely for humanitarian reasons, without remuneration. After the war, Lea Wicner moved to Israel and stayed in touch with her rescuers' children.

[28] In March 1943, after the liquidation of the Cracow [Kraków] ghetto, Mr. [Leiser] and Mrs. [Ester] Kardisz [Kardisch] continued to work in the Optima factory on the Aryan side of the city, hiding their two children, Rena [Renia, born in 1933] and Romek, in the factory as well. There, they met Rozalia Poslawska [Paślawska], the wife of Boleslaw Poslawski [Bolesław Paślawski], a minor factory official. The Kardiszses felt that they could trust Poslawska and told her about their two children hiding in the factory. The story touched Poslawska, who had three children of her own, and she offered to hide the children in her home unconditionally. She told them she had connections with a Polish underground organization that helped Jews and if necessary could ask the organization for financial help to care for the children. Mr. and Mrs. Kardisz were eventually deported to a concentration camp and their two children remained with the Poslawski family. One day, a Polish neighbor happened to discover that the Poslawskis were hiding two Jewish children in their home and attempted to blackmail them. Poslawska refused to pay what he asked and he informed on them to the authorities. Poslawska was arrested with young Romek, but his sister, Rena, managed to escape and hide in a church. Poslawska was thrown in prison and tortured and only thanks to the confusion caused by the approaching front was she able to escape from prison and hide. Romek was murdered, but his sister, Rena, was returned to the Poslawski family by the priest who discovered her presence in the church. Of the parents, who had been deported to Bergen-Belsen, only the mother, Ester Kardisz, remained alive. ... Kardisz came to them sick and exhausted and they cared for her as if she were a member of the family and helped her and her daughter Rena to get back on their feet. Kardisz and her daughter eventually immigrated to Israel.

[29] Stefan Raczynski [Raczyński], who lived with his family in the village of Wegelina [Wiegielino] in the Vilna [Wilno] district, was superficially acquainted with Jews in the nearby town of Niemenczyn. In September 1941, after the massacre perpetrated by the Germans and Lithuanians against the local Jews, Jewish fugitives began turning up at Raczynski's home asking for help. Stefan and his family helped the Jewish refugees to the best of their ability and provided them with food and a temporary hiding place. Stefan's mother even looked after a baby whom a Jewish

⁹⁴² "Karol Pelc: Surviving the Holocaust," *Michigan Tech News*, January 26, 2001 (vol. 33, no. 19), Internet: <<http://www.admin.mtu.edu/urel/breaking/2001/pelc.html>>; reprinted from *The U.P. Catholic*, January 5, 2001.

⁹⁴³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 879.

⁹⁴⁴ Judy Labensohn, "A Real Survivor," *Jerusalem Post*, May 1, 2000, Internet: <<http://info.jpost.com/2000/Supplements/Holocaust/Holocaust.6023.html>>: "With the help of a Polish priest who ran the local orphanage, Feldman arranged for Leah Weitzner to become Helena Lachovich [Lachowicz]." According to this article, Leah Wietzner was born in Lwów and was the only child of a judge in the Polish government who died when she was five. She grew up at her grandfather's estate in Kochawina, a village outside Lwów.

woman had abandoned on her doorstep. Thanks to her rescue work, her home became known as “the home of Abraham the Patriarch.” In 1942, Raczynski became acquainted with Shoshana [Szoszana] Dezent, a young Jewish woman from Vilna who was hiding under an assumed identity in the surrounding villages and working in peasants’ homes as a casual laborer. Dezent, who had lived in a town all her life, found it hard to adapt to village life. Fearing for her safety, Raczynski decided to protect her and whenever she was in difficulties arranged for her to stay with acquaintances of his in the nearby villages. In the spring of 1944, armed Polish nationalists, suspecting Dezent of being Jewish, attacked her and beat her almost to death. Raczynski immediately summoned the local priest, who testified that Dezent was not Jewish, thereby saving her life. Following this incident, Raczynski took Dezent home and looked after her until the area was liberated. After the war, Raczynski ... married Dezent. In 1960, the Raczynskis immigrated to Israel with their two children.

The above entry contains some inaccurate information and does not do justice to the Raczynski family, only one of whom, Stefan Raczynski, was recognized by Yad Vashem, as well as to the many other Poles who took part in this remarkable rescue.⁹⁴⁵ After leaving the Wilno ghetto, Shoshana Dezent went to stay briefly with a Polish family who was acquainted with her parents. They in turn took her to their friends, who provided her with a birth and baptismal certificate. Unfortunately, Shoshana had a Semitic appearance. Shoshana was then passed on to another woman, who brought to the countryside, in the vicinity of Niemenczyn, where she worked for a while for the local village head. She then found a more permanent position caring for a farmer’s daughter with tuberculosis. It was there that she met Stefan Raczynski, a friend of the daughter’s younger brother. When this sickly young woman passed away, Stefan’s parents agreed to shelter Shoshana and received her warmly. Stefan’s parents owned a small estate in Wiegolino on which they farmed. The family consisted of four children: two sons, one of them Stefan, and two daughters. The Raczynski family took in another small Jewish boy and their home became a haven for about a large number of Jewish fugitives hiding in nearby forests who were also helped by the Raczynskis’ neighbours. Stefan’s mother even prepared a joint Christmas and Hanukkah feast in her home which was attended by these Jews. Fearing a denunciation, Stefan found a position for Shoshana as a nanny and housekeeper with Mrs. Kosmowska, his former teacher. After Mrs. Kosmowska’s home was burned down by the Lithuanian police, Stefan took Shoshana to his paternal aunt’s home in a different locality, perhaps Balingródek. The aunt’s home was invaded by bandits, possibly connected to a partisan group, who beat up Stefan and, suspecting Shoshana to be Jewish, wanted to do away with her. The aunt rushed to a priest who lived nearby for help. The priest vouched for Shoshana as a Catholic (even though she had never converted) and shamed the bandits. Stefan decided to transfer Shoshana to another locality, this time to his maternal uncle, where she remained until the Germans retreated from the area. Shoshana recalled (Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, p. 96):

Stefan [Raczynski] drove me to his father’s sister, far away, and he said that, because the young ones were in danger, since both the Germans and Lithuanians were killing them [Lithuanian collaborators had staged raids on Polish homesteads—M.P.], he would seek shelter for both him and me.

And there was hardship again. Armed looters, some of them dressed in Polish uniforms, were attacking peasant houses and they were taking food as well as valuable things in order to have money for vodka. Such were the times, the law did not function. The war was the law.

And they caught Stefan and me. They thought it out at once that Stefan had got away from somewhere, since he wasn’t from those parts, and that I was a Jewess he was protecting. They put me against the wall and wanted to shoot me, and they beat Stefan up. He kept repeating that it wasn’t true that I was Jewish.

And Aunt ran to the vicar, who lived nearby, and told him that there was trouble brewing, because they wanted to shoot Stefan. The priest followed her immediately to the farm, looked at those bandits and asked, ‘And what are you doing here?’

‘We want to cook this little yid’s goose,’ they said.

‘She’s not a Jewess. I baptized her myself. And Stefan is a boy of our parish,’ said the priest.

And thus the priest saved our lives. Later, we learnt that those looters, who posed as freedom fighters, got into trouble, because news spread that they had attacked innocent people and that the priest had had to intervene. Their commander demoted them and they got imprisoned, or something like that.

From there we went to Stefan’s mother’s brother, to another parish, because we did not want to cause his aunt any more trouble. In fact Stefan had been born there, his birth certificate had been issued there.

What wonderful people they were, the uncle and his wife.

⁹⁴⁵ See also the account of Szoszana (sic) Raczynska in Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, 87–105; Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 4--; Rescuers Bios, “Shtetl,” PBS Frontline, Internet: <<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shtetl/righteous/stephan.html>>.

Toward the end of 1944, after the arrival of the Soviet army, Stefan Raczyński was arrested by the NKVD along with many other Poles in the Wilno area and imprisoned. Miraculously, he was released after repeated intercessions by Shoshana (whom he later married), who started a petition which some Jewish survivors whom Stefan had helped agreed to sign. The Raczyński family's property was confiscated by the Soviets, who incorporated the area into the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. Stefan and Shoshana moved to Poland in 1958, and afterwards left for Israel.

[30] *Before and during the war, Bronisław [Bronislaw] Rzepecki was the municipal secretary of Olesnica [Oleśnica] in the Kielce district, using his office during the occupation to aid beleaguered Jews. In the midst of the deportation Aktionen, Josef Mandelman contacted him and asked for his assistance. Mandelman's family was made up of six people: Josef, his wife, Andzia, three children—Tamara, Abraham, and Ruth—and a brother-in-law, Yisrael Tarkieltaub. Rzepecki utilized his position and connections and concealed the Mandelmans with peasant families in nearby villages for various periods. Initially the fugitives paid for their upkeep and Rzepecki went out of his way to deliver their money, which had been deposited with the town priest, to the rescuers. When the money ran out, Rzepecki took a loan from his brother to continue supporting the refugees. Despite the danger, he displayed fixity of purpose in his rescue mission until the Mandelmans were liberated in January 1945. Rzepecki acted to save Jews for patriotic reasons and for no material reward.*

[31] *During the occupation, Juliusz [Bożydar] Saloni and his wife, Jadwiga [Brzezińska], subsequently Strzelecka, lived in Warsaw and remained on friendly terms with Jews who they had known from their university days. After the Warsaw ghetto was established, they turned their home [in the Saska Kępa suburb] into a temporary refuge for Jewish acquaintances and friends who had fled to the Aryan side, until they could find permanent hideouts. In November 1942, a Jew named Josef Dab [Józef Dąb], who left the ghetto each day as a member of a group of laborers, contacted Saloni at his place of work and asked him to help take his wife, Barbara, out of the ghetto and arrange permanent shelter for Irene, his seven-year-old daughter, who was already on the Aryan side. Saloni and his wife, to whom Dab was a total stranger, made the rescue of the Jewish family into their personal cause. Within a short time, the Salonis removed Barbara Dab from the ghetto and placed her with relatives of theirs. In February 1943, they brought Irena to their home and gave her a birth certificate and baptism certificate in the family name of Jadwiga's brother [as Irene Teresa Brzezińska]. From then on, Irena posed as Saloni's orphaned niece in the care of her aunt, which is how the Salonis treated her. Saloni and his wife registered Irena as a Polish child in the local school and continued to care for her until the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1943. [Because of Irena's appearance and her performing a Jewish dance in public, the neighbours in the apartment building in which the Salonis resided realized that the child was Jewish, but no one betrayed them.⁹⁴⁶] In February 1943, Dab joined them on the Aryan side and the Salonis equipped him with Aryan papers with which he found work and housing. In November 1943, the Gestapo arrested Dab and placed him in Pawiak Prison. Out of concern that the Gestapo would also discover his wife, Barbara, Jadwiga contacted members of Żegota [Żegota], who moved her to a different hideout. Dab escaped from Pawiak prison [with Henry Krupnik, a Jew] and [they] made [their] way to the Salonis' home. [Along the way, being in an unkempt state and susceptible of attracting adverse attention, an unknown priest invited them into his rectory in the Powiśle district, where they washed and were fed.] The Salonis moved [them] to the nearby town of Grodzisk Mazowiecki, where [Dab's] wife was hiding [in the home of Stanisława Sławińska⁹⁴⁷], and in October 1944 they were joined by their daughter and lived together until the liberation in January 1945. The Salonis also concealed 18-year-old Jurek Milejowski for several weeks in May–June 1943 after he had escaped from a train bound for Treblinka. Milejowski took part in the Warsaw Uprising and died in battle.*

[32] *During the occupation, Maria Sitko lived with her daughter, Wanda, in Sosnowiec (Upper Silesia). Starting in 1943, after the ghetto in the Srodula [Środula] neighborhood was liquidated, the Sitkos' apartment—living room, kitchen, and half-room, with neither running water nor indoor conveniences—served as provisional shelter for five Jewish refugees. Three of them—Leon Wajntraub, Jerzy Feder, and Nechamia Mandelbaum—had escaped from the ghetto; the other two, Frymeta Feder and Felicia Kac, had slipped out of the Auschwitz prisoners' death march in January 1945. Several fugitives were housed in the half-room; the others were placed in a hideout specially prepared for them under the kitchen floor. Sitko and her daughter were prompted to aid the Jewish refugees by*

⁹⁴⁶ Juliusz Bożydar Saloni, Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Internet: <<https://www.1944.pl/archiwum-historii-mowionej/juliusz-bozydar-saloni,2273.html>>.

⁹⁴⁷ Righteous Among the Nations from Poland to be Honored, Yad Vashem, November 10, 2008, Internet: <<https://www.yadvashem.org/press-release/10-november-2008-09-30.html>>.

profound altruism stemming from their religious faith. After a priest gave their rescue operation his blessing after they disclosed it to him in confession, the Sitkos offered the fugitives even greater assistance and never sought recompense. In one case, when the Gestapo searched their house for hidden Jews, the Sitkos resourcefully concealed their wards, thereby saving their lives. The Sitkos gave the five Jewish refugees devoted and sympathetic care until the liberation in late January 1945.

[33] In August 1942, with the liquidation of the Jewish community of Wiszniew in the Nowogrodek [Nowogródek] district, a number of Jews, including Mina Milikowska, escaped. After many vicissitudes and on the verge of despair, she reached the estate of Bagatelka, where she met a farmer by the name of Julian Slodzinski [Slodziński]. Slodzinski, guided by humanitarian principles which overrode considerations of personal safety, led her to his house and, with his wife's consent, offered her shelter there without expecting anything in return. Milikowska stayed with Julian and Bronislawa [Bronisława] Slodzinski and their daughter, Regina, until April 1943, after which she joined a Jewish partisan company operating in the nearby forest, fighting in its ranks until the area was liberated.

The Slodziński family also assisted other Jews and secured the help of a local priest in their rescue efforts. (The Slodziński Family, Polish Righteous, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-slodzinski-family>>.)

Julian Slodziński, along with his wife Bronislawa, his daughter Regina and three younger children, worked on their farm in Bagatelka near Wiszniew. ... The Slodzińskis rescued Mina Milkowska [sic], one of the few Jews who managed to escape [from the ghetto in Wiszniew]. They knew Mina before World War II, when her father owned two shops and a mill. Regina shared a room with Mina. The Slodzińskis would tell their guests she was a babysitter. Mina joined a Jewish partisan group in 1943.

The Slodzińskis also rescued a Jewish woman who had escaped from the ghetto in Wilno. Regina does not remember her name. Having so-called "Aryan features," the woman was able to openly help on the farm. After a month, a friend priest gave her a baptism certificate, and she left her shelter in Bagatelka. Her further life paths remain unknown.

Moreover, the Slodzińskis hid 6 Jews in their barn for about one month. One of them was the family's former friend, Leon Kokin, and one was probably Mina's brother. Regina remembers two other names: Dudman and Reiman. She never saw these Jews, as she would only bring them food and leave. However, they had contact with Julian, who would bring them food in the evenings. These Jews later joined the partisan groups.

[34] During the occupation, Jan and Wladyslawa [Władysława] Smolko [Smólko] were AK [Home Army] activists who lived in the town of Tykocin in the Bialystok [Białystok] district. In his official capacity as organist and registrar at the local church, Smolko had access to the birth and death registries [which allowed him to provide documents to Jews with the knowledge of the priests⁹⁴⁸]. In January 1943, before the first Aktion in the Bialystok ghetto, Michael Turek and his brother, Menachem, were smuggled out of the ghetto by a Polish acquaintance who hid them temporarily in his home. The Smolkos, after being approached by the acquaintance, took the Turek brothers in, provided them with Aryan papers, and supported them financially for about a year and a half, until the liberation. [The Smólkos also assisted in the rescue of four members of the Goldzin family.]

[35] Before the occupation, Ela Pleszewska, an attorney, and Henryk Sosnowski, a judge in Cracow [Kraków], were colleagues. Already in September 1939, when the Germans occupied the city, Sosnowski foresaw the danger threatening the Jews and, guided by humanitarian principles, hid Pleszewska in his apartment. Since Pleszewska was known in Cracow, where she had many acquaintances and former clients, Sosnowski, fearing informers, asked his friend the priest for help. The priest, without even seeing Pleszewska, drew up an official document stating that Sosnowski and Pleszewska were husband and wife. Sosnowski and Pleszewska left Cracow, but fearing discovery despite possession of the document kept constantly on the move. Unemployed and with no fixed source of income, Sosnowski nevertheless managed to smuggle food into the Cracow ghetto for his "wife's" family and helped some of them escape to the Aryan side of the city. Destitute, and persecuted both by the authorities and extortionists, the Sosnowskis were liberated in January 1945, after which they returned to Cracow and resumed their careers. Pleszewska died in Poland in 1965.

[36] Janina Straszewska and her daughter, Teresa, lived in Cracow [Kraków]. They met Ludwika Liebeskind in late 1941, when the inhabitants of the ghetto were sent to work outside the ghetto. In the summer of 1942, Liebeskind asked Straszewska to place Gizela Szwarc, her five-year-old niece, in hiding in her apartment. Straszewska agreed,

⁹⁴⁸ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 497. The pastor of Tykocin parish was Rev. Julian Łosiewski, and his vicar was Rev. Czesław Bruliński. Both priests were members of the Home Army. See Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie*, 190.

sought no remuneration, and offered to shelter Liebeskind too. Straszewska provided the Jewish girl with a certificate of baptism and Liebeskind with a forged birth certificate. [They obtained the documents from a priest they knew in an outlying village.⁹⁴⁹] After a while, Liebeskind found a way to move her mother and sister from the Plaszow [Plaszów] camp and, with Straszewska's assistance, found them asylum in a rented apartment in town. Because her facial features left no doubt about her Jewishness, Liebeskind was arrested one day while riding the streetcar. Although she escaped and returned to the Straszewskas' home, she was afraid to go outside from then on. Teresa, active in a Resistance movement, provided Liebeskind with a forged Kennkarte (identity card). Liebeskind and her niece, Szwarz, stayed in Straszewska's home until the liberation in January 1945.

[37] Maria Szczecińska [Szczecińska] lived in Staszow [Staszów], Kielce district during the war. She was a widow with five children. Between October 1942 (at which time the local ghetto was liquidated) and the liberation in August 1944, she hid 14 Jews in a specially designed bunker. They included Roman Segal, Rachmil Segal, Daniel Segal, Roza Goldfus (Roman's fiancée), Chaim Posmantier and his wife, Bina (also from the Segal family), Natan and Adela Band, the Wiener brothers—Nachman and Samuel—Hersh Goldberg, his wife, Tola (from the Piekarski family), their son, Efraim (Fromka), and Anna (Andzia) Piekarska. With their help, Maria dug a bunker underneath her home that was just large enough to enable people to sit or lie down. The Jews only left the hideout in the evening. All those who were hidden by Maria and her family survived until the liberation. Roman Segal and his fiancée died on their first day of freedom, the result of one of the last German bombings of the area. The rest immigrated to Israel, the United States, or Canada.

According to another account, Maria Szczecińska worked as a railway clerk and lived in a house near the railway station. When word reached her that the Gestapo was searching for hidden Jews, she guided her charges to a friend's farm on the edge of the nearby Goliw forest. She remained with them until it was safe to return to her house. A devout Catholic, Maria often questioned the risk to herself and her children. Eventually, she sought the advice of a priest in Kraków. The priest counselled her to continue to protect these unfortunate people.⁹⁵⁰

[38] During the war, Jadwiga Walkow [Walkow] (later Szejnbaum) lived in Kamionka Strumilowa [Strumilowa] in Eastern Galicia. She was a nurse by profession and during the occupation she worked in the local hospital. A Jewish doctor, Henryk Singer, worked in the same hospital. When the liquidation of the local ghetto drew near, a local Volksdeutsch helped Dr. Singer, his wife, Felicia, and her brother (who was a lawyer). For Felicia and her brother he arranged false papers and gave them an address in Lwow [Lwów]. He directed Dr. Singer to Jadwiga (partly because of Dr. Singer's marked Semitic appearance) to find shelter for a while. "Since this 'while' became longer, I had to look for another apartment," wrote Jadwiga Szejnbaum in her testimony. Jadwiga moved to a safer apartment in which she hid Henryk behind a closet. In March 1943, Felicia joined Henryk in the hideout. Felicia had previously been arrested in Lwow – despite having Aryan papers – and then transferred to Belzec [Bełżec]. Luckily, she managed to escape from the transport near Rzeczka [Rzyczki]. She found shelter with the local priest, who then informed Jadwiga and asked her to come to Rzeczka to pick up Felicia. Shortly before the liberation, Felicia's brother, who came by foot from Lwow, joined the Singers.

[39] During the war, Jozef [Józef] and Antonina Szewc, along with their seven children and Jozef's parents, lived in the village of Niedzieliska in the Zamosc [Zamość] district, where Jozef acted as the village elder. In late 1940, following the closure of the Warsaw ghetto, Fraida Rozental (later Cukier), who was then 16, found her way to Jozef's home. She possessed papers in the name of Irena Kiel. Jozef and his family sheltered her in their home. In May 1942, Jozef obtained a birth certificate for her that was confirmed by the local priest [the pastor of Wielęcza] in the name of Halina Byk. These papers enabled Frieda to work in Germany for the remainder of the war. Jozef's wife, Antonina, as well as his parents, Marcin and Zofia, were also helpful. "Marcin Szewc even mailed a couple of letters to me in Germany," wrote Fraida Cukier in her testimony to Yad Vashem. After the war, she returned to Poland and remained there.

[40] In the summer of 1942, before the ghetto of Pinczow [Pińczów] (Kielce District) was liquidated, eight-year-old Halina Fiszer's parents ordered the girl to flee to the home of Dr. Aniela Goldszmid, their acquaintance. Dr. Golszmid took her to her sister, Leonka Tarabula, who with her husband and three children lived in Miernów (Pinczow county). Despite their dire economic circumstances, the Tarabulas agreed to take in the Jewish girl, whom they had never met. ... The Tarabulas welcomed Halina as a niece in every sense and [to maintain her cover as a

⁹⁴⁹ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 516.

⁹⁵⁰ Jack Goldfarb, "A Kaddish Deferred," *The Kielce–Radom Special Interest Group Journal*, vol. 2, no. 3 (summer 1998), 16.

relative], Leonka had her baptized and equipped with a Christian birth certificate. Halina was raised lovingly and lacked for nothing ... Halina spent three years with the Tarabulas, a period that she subsequently recalled as a time of kindness that prepared her for normal life. After the war, Tarabula ... delivered Halina Fiszer to the Jewish orphanage in Cracow [Kraków], from which, along with other youngsters, she moved to Israel in 1950.

[41] Danuta Wolikowska (née Malinowska) was raised in Luck [Łuck] (in Volhynia), where she graduated from the Tadeusz Kosciuszki [Kościuszko] state gymnasium, where she befriended a Jewish girl named Ida Dekelbaum (later Landsberg). In early 1941, Danuta's father was deported to Siberia. One June 21, 1941, Danuta went to Lwow [Lwów] to meet Ida, who was studying there. That very day, the German-Soviet war broke out and Lwow was bombarded. The girls decided to return to their family homes. Since all communication was cut off, they started out by foot towards Volhynia. They walked for five days but did not reach their hometown. In this situation they came to the conclusion that Ida had to conceal her origins, so she tore up her papers and threw them away. Danuta and Ida then managed to get to Włodzimierz Wołyński [Włodzimierz Wołyński], where Danuta's mother was living. ... Ida went into the ghetto. Danuta, however, began to work in the regional office where she managed to get papers for Ida, which allowed her to leave the ghetto and look for a way to earn some money outside the ghetto walls. In 1942, rumors spread about the liquidation of the ghettos. Danuta decided to hide Ida in her own rented apartment. There, she fed her friend and took care of all her needs. When the liquidation of the ghetto began, she decided to take Ida out of town altogether. One day she drove a carriage near the house dressed as a local girl. She dressed Ida in the same manner and together they drove out of town. They reached the village where Danuta's mother worked as a teacher and Danuta introduced Ida as her relative and arranged a place for her to stay, leaving her under the care of the trusted school janitor but without telling him of her real origin. Danuta visited Ida often, bringing her food and clothing; at the same time, she continued to tell the locals that Ida was her relative. She also arranged to obtain proper documents for Ida through the local priest. Towards the end of 1943, Danuta reached the conclusion that due to the anti-Polish sentiments of the local Ukrainian population, Ida should leave the village. She gave her the address of friends in the Kielce area and sent her on her way with a group of Polish refugees. Ida got to Kielce, where she safely awaited liberation while working as a teacher in a nearby village. Throughout this entire period, Danuta's messengers maintained contact with Ida.

[42] Regina Zajaczkowska [Zajaczkowska] lived with her son, Ryszard, and her daughters, Izabela Stasiuk and her family and Maria Janiak and her family, in Włodzimierz Wołyński [Włodzimierz Wołyński]. One day, Irena Gelman and her year-old daughter, Anna, appeared at their house. Irena had fled the Lwow [Lwów] ghetto (her husband had perished even before they entered the ghetto) and after a long journey arrived in Włodzimierz Wołyński. She represented herself to the local priest as a Polish woman whose entire family had been killed. She said she was looking for work. The priest directed her to the Stasiuk family to work as a maid and cook. Some time afterwards, the Stasiuk family decided to move to Lublin out of fear of Ukrainian nationalists and invited Irena to come along with them. Izabela's mother, Regina Zajaczkowska, came to visit her daughter and advised Irena not to go to Lublin. At the same time, she offered help if Irena should have to flee Lublin in the future. Irena went with the family to Lublin but was forced to return to Włodzimierz Wołyński. She then went to Regina, who warmly welcome her and her daughter (who was ill) into her home. ... After a few days, when Irena's daughter recovered, Irena decided to leave. She thanked Regina for her help and said that she did not wish to put her at risk anymore as, she explained, she was a Jewish escapee from the ghetto. Zajaczkowska smiled and told her that from the moment she first saw her and her child she knew they were not Polish, but that this did not change a thing. Regina agreed to keep Irena and her daughter with her ... Irena stayed with the Zajaczkowskis until the end of the war ...

[43] After a number of Aktionen launched by the Germans and Ukrainian nationalists against the Jews of Stryj, in the Stanislawow [Stanisławów] district, Shlomo and Emilia [Minka] Szttern [Stern] turned to Władysław [Władysław] and Stefania Zarzycki, friends and former neighbors of theirs, asking for help. Without any conditions, the Zarzyckis came to the aid of their Jewish acquaintances and, despite the danger, arranged a hiding place for them in their house. Their bravery was all the more outstanding in view of the fact that some neighboring Poles, who had harbored Jews, had been shot to death. The Zarzyckis, with the help of Jan, their 15-year-old son, dug a shelter under the floor of one of their rooms, where the Sztterns hid until the summer of 1944, when the area was liberated. Despite their straitened circumstances, the Zarzyckis, their son, Jan, and their daughter, Stanisława [Stanisława], looked after their charges devotedly, at great personal risk, without expecting anything in return. Guided by humanitarian principles, they shared their food with them, concerned themselves with their hygiene, and did all they could to raise their morale when they fell into despair.

The Zarzyckis were committed members of the Polish Home Army. The Sterns arranged with a Polish woman for their daughter, Antonia, who was born in January 1940, to be left near the home of a village priest, with a note saying that she was Catholic and that her father was in a labour camp and that her mother was unable to care for her. Despite this fairly transparent guise, the priest placed the child with

two families consecutively. A rumour spread that this was the priest's illegitimate child. After the arrival of the Soviet army, the child's protectors did not want to return Antonia, so her father had to kidnap her.⁹⁵¹

[44] Olga Zawadzka, originally from Lwow [Lwów], moved to the village of Cuszow [Cuszów], Kielce district, after her marriage. Between the years 1925 and 1930, she had been a student in Jan Kazimierz University in Lwow, where she had befriended a Jewish woman named Frida Kohn, who was a mathematics student. After Olga left Lwow, the two friends lost contact. When the Germans took over Lwow, a mutual friend turned to Olga and asked her if she would hide Fela in her home. Olga, bearing in mind the fact that Fela was a Jew, told her warmly that Fela would be most welcome. Fela arrived in Cuszow and Olga, with the help of friends and a priest,⁹⁵² obtained a false birth certificate and Kennkarte for her made out in the name of Maria Zajaczkowska [Zajaczkowska]. Fela asked Olga to help a friend of hers, Klara Nachtgaist, who was spending entire days in churches, too frightened to leave. Olga welcomed her into her home as well. Klara already had Aryan papers made out in the name of Julia Nahorayska. In the summer of 1942, Olga went to Lwow again, where she agreed to bring back Nina Drucker (later Noe Levine), the seven-year-old daughter of the director of the Lwow ghetto hospital, Dr. Herman Drucker, to Cuszow. Olga took Nina, who had a birth certificate in the name of Janina Witeszczak, into her home. Whenever the need arose, the child was either put up in the Sisters of St. Urszula [Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union] boarding school in Cracow [Kraków] or the Sisters of the Holy Ghost [Sisters Canonesses of the Holy Spirit de Saxia] boarding school in Busko [Busko-Zdrój]. Olga represented the fugitive child as a daughter of relatives who had died during the war.

[45] Henryk Zielonka was a tailor and ran an underwear factory in Czestochowa [Częstochowa]. When he married Getruda he was already a widower and had two sons from his previous marriage. In the summer of 1943, Henryk's son brought home a five-year-old Jewish girl named Chana (later Chana Batista). Chana was born on the outskirts of Czestochowa, in Rakow [Raków]. On June 16, 1943, Chana's mother had taken her to Czestochowa⁹⁵³ and gave her a scrap of paper with an address written on it. Chana was told that at the said address she would find a woman who would help her. Since then she never saw her mother again. A passerby directed Chana, who was not able to read at the time, to the address, where she waited a few hours for the woman whom her mother had told her about. The woman wrote her a new note and took the girl to a church. She told her to wait for the priest and quickly disappeared herself. After mass, Chana turned to the priest and showed him the note. The priest said that he could not help her. He called in a boy and a girl and asked them to take Chana to an old age home run by nuns. In front of the home there was a big courtyard; on the bench sat a few people. They started asking Chana questions to see if she knew how to pray. Suddenly she noticed the boy coming down the stairs; it was Henryk Zielonka's son. "Aren't you ashamed to tire this girl out with questions?" he asked. He took Chana by the arm and escorted her to his parents' house. After a time, Henryk managed to get documents for Chana "proving" that she was his niece. ... "Shortly afterwards they told me to call them 'Mother' and 'Father' ... I was a difficult child, I almost didn't speak, I didn't smile, and in addition I didn't want to eat. My poor mother did what she could to make sure that I would eat something. ..." After the war, Chana started school, finished her studies, and began working. When her adoptive parents died, she ... discovered that her mother was murdered by the Germans.

[46] Halina Zwanska [Zwańska] and her mother, Aleksandra Gurska [Górska?], lived in Vilna [Wilno]. During the war, they rescued a five-year-old girl, Miriam Griner (later Miriam Goldin), [born in Wilno in 1939]. After the town was occupied by the German army, the Griner family—the father, Faibish, his wife, and their daughter Miriam—found themselves, like all remaining Vilna Jews, in the ghetto, and later in a camp in Vilna. Towards the end of March 1944, the Germans seized all of the children that were in the camp. Faibish managed, however, to hide his then five-year-old daughter. Aleksandra Gurska, who agreed to take the child under her care, carried her out of the

⁹⁵¹ Toni R. [Rabin] and Emilia S. [Stern] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-447), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Testimony of Antonia Rabin, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6567; Testimony of Emilia Stern, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 6568.

⁹⁵² In her account, Olga Zawadzka refers to the help of Michalina Razdro and unidentified priests in obtaining false documents for Fela Kohn. See Knap, "Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj", 73.

⁹⁵³ According to other sources, Chana or Hanna Batista (then Sara Rozen) was about five when she and her mother were compelled to leave the Albertine convent in Częstochowa, where they had found refuge under the identity of Racińska, after someone denounced them. In despair, her mother determined to drown herself by jumping from a bridge but only broke a leg. She was later captured by the Germans and killed. The story of their stay at the Albertine convent is described later. The child was later known as Eugenia Kozziarska. See Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 150–51; Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 50, based on the testimony of Hanna Batista, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5732; Chana Batista Collection, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508953>>.

camp in a big cooking pot and then later to her apartment where she lived with her already married daughter, Halina Zwanska. The two women looked after the child for four months, until the Red Army liberated the town on July 10, 1944. In his testimony to Yad Vashem, Faibish emphasized that the child spoke only Yiddish at the time, making the situation even more complicated. Miriam Goldin also added in her testimony that during her stay with Gurska and Zwanska another Jewish woman called Werszes was staying there too. [Her rescuers passed Miriam as a Catholic and took her to church services. Her identity was known to the priest, who was supportive of the rescuers. After the war, Miriam was reunited with her parents. ⁹⁵⁴]

[47] Witold and Zofia Bohdziewicz and Grzegorz and Beata Schneider of Wilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania) knew each other even before the war, but until the Nazi occupation there was no special connection between them. The relations between these two young families, as yet without children, became closer only in the summer of 1941, after the German occupation of the city and the confinement of the Jews in the ghetto. Bohdziewicz was then working as an engineer in the Haus und Wohnung Rustungsbetrieb factory in the service of the war effort, under German supervision. [Hundreds of thousands of Jews also worked in German factories and workshops, mainly in the service of the war effort, under German supervision.] Grzegorz Schneider was a metalworker by profession and Bohdziewicz gained him employment in the factory. Thanks to his employment there, Schneider had a permit to circulate outside the ghetto. In addition, the Bohdziewicz family helped the Schneider family with food. In 1943, when rumors spread that the Germans were about to liquidate the ghetto, the Schneider family sought a way to escape outside the walls. The problem was to find a suitable hiding place for their one-year-old son, Alexander, born in 1942 in the ghetto. Schneider decided to confide in his benefactor, Bohdziewicz. The latter discussed the matter with his wife, Zofia, then pregnant with their daughter. Zofia understood the distress of the Schneider couple, and, after some hesitation, agreed to save the infant by taking him in. She was helped in her decision by the fact that the child was blond and uncircumcised. The child was smuggled out of the ghetto, and presented as abandoned on her doorstep. She told her curious neighbors that she intended to adopt him. So that there would be no suspicion that the child was Jewish she had him baptized, with the prior consent of his parents, and gave him their surname of Bohdziewicz. [The age of the child would have rendered the request for baptism suspect, as would have Zofia's pregnancy. M.P.] They cared for him devotedly and lovingly as if he were their own son in every sense of the word. The infant Alexander Schneider remained with the Bohdziewicz couple until after the liberation when he was returned to his parents who had also survived. The Bohdziewiczzes did not ask for any payment.

[48] Józef and Jadwiga Dąbrowski lived with their seven children on an isolated farmstead near the village of Kamenka [Kamionka] (Oszmiana County, Wilno District). The family's house and farm bordered on the forest and their closest neighbors lived far away. After mass killings perpetrated by Germans in the village of Woronów [Werenowo] (Lida County), Dżiewieniszki [Dżiewieniszki] (Oszmiana County), and Rodamina [Rudomino], near Wilno, during 1942, several young Jews who escaped the murder operations were sheltered by the Dąbrowskis. In 1943, two Jewish boys, Elchik Kushel and Haim Kozin, also came to the Dąbrowski's [sic] home seeking a place to stay for the winter months. With Józef's consent, and with his help, they dug a hideout near his farm. At some point they were joined by Charna, Elchik's sister, and her six-year-old daughter, Judith. The Dąbrowski family was a large one with many children, and it was hard for them to feed four additional people, so the Jews were forced occasionally to leave their hiding place to try to obtain food from area farms. On one such outing searching for food, they met some other Jews hiding in the forest. One of them, Sonia Kutser, who had escaped from the Vilna [Wilno] ghetto during its liquidation in September 1943, went to seek out her relatives in Rudamina. There she was informed that there were Jews hiding out in the area where the Dąbrowskis were living and that the Jews were receiving help from the Dąbrowski family. She headed for that part of the countryside to try to get help from them as well. Shortly after her arrival to the area, the brothers, Henryk and Hona Soloduch from Rudamina, who until then had been helped by another Polish farmer, arrived. One day at the end of 1943, members of the Polish underground Home Army (AK) came to the farm and by chance saw Judith as she was opening the entry hole into the shelter. The AK men stormed the farm and ordered the Jews out of the shelter. Five people emerged (that day the Soloducha [sic] brothers were elsewhere). Józef was seized and beaten in front of his wife and children, and the AK men took his horse and wagon as punishment for hiding Jews. As they were taking the Jews into the nearby forest for execution, the priest [chaplain] who accompanied them arrived and persuaded them not to shed the blood of innocent people. Having no other choice, the survivors returned to the Dąbrowskis, who took them in again. Early in 1944, most of the Jews left the Dąbrowski's farm for alternative hiding places; only Sonia Kutser remained with them until the liberation in July 1944. ⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁵⁴ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 516; Testimony of Miriam Griner Goldin, Yad Vashem Archives, O.3/V.T/2689.

⁹⁵⁵ Since the Dąbrowski family was large and could not feed all these additional people, the Jewish charges would have been stealing food and perhaps robbing farmers in the vicinity. Word of this likely reached the Polish underground. The entry downplays the aspect of retaliation because of robbery.

[49] During the German occupation, Maria Hanzowa, a poor widow and devout Catholic, lived with her adult daughter, Andzia, at 4 Lyczakowska Street in Lwów (today L'viv). She rescued Zofia Akselrod (later, Garfinkel), her brother Milek and their mother Ester Akselrod. Zofia Akselrod worked in a clothing factory in Lwów on the "Aryan" side. In March 1943, she began contacting Poles she knew hoping to find a place to hide with their assistance. Her first efforts were not successful since she was only sheltered for one night in exchange for money she had received by selling a coat and was forced back to the ghetto. Maria Hanzowa had had business dealings with Zofia's parents in Przemyślany (Tarnopol District), from whom she bought butter for sale at market. She had accumulated a debt of 400 zloty [zloty] that she had not been able to pay back. Following some dreams in which Zofia's father appeared, Maria decided to find the family and help them. She asked her priest for advice and began to search for the family. Maria and Zofia met accidentally on Żódlana Street outside the ghetto. She agreed to take Zofia's mother and promised to share with her family whatever she had. Zofia sent her mother, Ester, to Maria Hanzowa and joined her after her plan to hide with a young couple fell through. The two were then joined by Milek, Zofia's brother, who managed to escape from the Janowska Camp after Zofia had sent him the address hidden in a loaf of bread. Maria informed them about the situation at the front and cared for their needs. She cooked for them, providing dairy food. She was motivated by her financial debt to the family [which was hardly sufficient to offset the risk and expenses she incurred] and hoped that they would convert, although she did not pressure them. Maria sold some gold pieces she had to help her buy food for them. Maria's daughter, Andzia, knew about the arrangement and kept the secret. Maria Hanzowa hid and cared for Zofia, her brother Milek and their mother Ester from March 1943 until June 1944. After the war, they would meet Maria while still in Lwów, providing her with extra food, but later contact was lost after Maria Hanzowa moved west to the new borders of Poland, while the Akselrods moved first to Kraków in March 1945, then to a DP camp, and finally immigrated to the United States.

[50] The Jankowski family, a devout Catholic family of three, lived in the village of Maliniak (Młyniec?) near Warsaw, the parents Boleslaw and Stanisława and their three-year-old daughter Halina (today, Brulińska). In 1942, after suffering the torments of wanderings and persecutions, 12-year-old Ester Rotfing (later, Livny) arrived at their home. She had been smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto with her older brother. They had tried to survive in the surrounding villages, working as shepherds for the farmers, and assuming the false identity of Polish orphans [a rather transparent guise]. After losing her brother as a result of denunciation, Ester began to work for the Jankowski family, where she was very industrious and treated in turn with warmth. One day, Boleslaw asked her if she had already participated in her First Communion ceremony as required at her age and she innocently replied in the negative. Boleslaw promised to include her in the Communion ceremony the next Sunday at the church. When she went as required before the ceremony to her first confession before the priest, she panicked and revealed to him that she was Jewish. As a result, the priest did not let her participate in the ceremony and he shared the secret with Boleslaw. Once it was known that she was Jewish, Ester was seized by fear and sought to flee. Boleslaw stopped her, calmed her down and promised that nothing would happen to her; that they would continue to treat her as a daughter in every way and take care of all her needs. He delivered on this promise and Ester stayed with the Jankowski family until the end of the war. They kept her even though many of the villagers knew that she was Jewish.

[51] During the war, Klara Lassoga lived in Ursus near Warsaw, where she worked in a factory for the Germans. In 1942, a good friend of her brought Leontyna Erenbrod, a 14-year-old Jewish orphan girl from Warsaw, to Klara asking that she hide the young girl in her home. Leontyna was originally from Bukaczowce (Rohatyn County, Stanisławów District, today Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine) and her parents had been murdered a year earlier in Warsaw. Klara, who was living alone at the time, had Jewish friends in the Warsaw ghetto, such as Laiche Rozen, whom she was in touch with and tried to help as much as she could. Her willingness to help her friends in the ghetto gave the impression that she would be willing to hide a young Jewish girl in her home. Indeed, when the girl was brought to her, she agreed to take her under her wing. In 1943, Leontyna was converted to Christianity in order to get a Christian birth certificate and to appear as Klara's relative. Her new name was Ludwika Mileszczuk (later, Matias). She remained in Klara's home and under her protection until the end of the war, and their relationship was like that of real members of the family even after the war.

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of the Brykczyński family in 2010 (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9050986>>):

[52] Feliks Sandauer was born in Lwów, Poland, on September 9, 1928 to parents Józef Henryk, a lawyer, and Franciszka, a pediatrician. In 1942, the Germans began deporting Jews en masse from Lwów to the Belżec camp. Although the Sandauers lived outside the ghetto, theirs was no easier fate: the Germans had the addresses of Jews living on the "Aryan" side, and they took away Józef Henryk, Franciszka, and Franciszka's mother, Sara Czoban. Feliks was saved by two Italian soldiers who were quartered in the apartment and hid Feliks in their bed sheets. Somehow (possibly with the help of the Italian soldiers), Feliks found himself in the home of Aleksandra Dąmbska

[Rudecka], a former friend of his mother's. ... when Feliks arrived, Aleksandra accepted him without any hesitation. However, because she herself was quite involved in the work of the Polish resistance, she hurriedly arranged for him to be sheltered in the home of her sister Maria Dąbska-Brykczyńska and her husband Marcin Brykczyński. Maria and Marcin Brykczyński lived in Skotyszyn with their four children. The couple was also playing host to a family of five Poles expelled by the Germans from their home in Poznań. Nonetheless Feliks was warmly welcomed in, under the assumed name of Feliks Sawicki, son of Marian and Franciszka, Poles ostensibly murdered by Germans. Only Maria and Marcin knew the truth of Feliks' origins. They had him baptized in secret by a friendly priest, and nobody guessed his real identity. Everyone in the family perceived him as a brother or a cousin. Feliks, in turn, felt the same – a familial closeness to the Brykczyńskis as well as to Aleksandra Dąbska. [In fact, word of this spread among the villagers but no one betrayed them.⁹⁵⁶]

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Kazimiera Demiańczuk in 2011 (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6772111>>):

[53] Eugenia Vilensky was born in 1940 in Wilno (now Vilnius) to parents Mausza (b. 1893) and Sara (b. 1905). Mausza was a construction engineer with a background in singing. Sara was a pianist and accordion player. She also helped her mother in the laundry she owned, and in 1938 opened a little shop of her own. In July 1941 the Germans came to Wilno and sent many Jewish men, including Mausza Vilensky, to forced labor in Kena, where they were all executed in September. Meanwhile, the women of the family (Eugenia, her mother, and her grandmother) were sent into the ghetto. The grandmother had a housekeeper named Maria Kalicka who came with them to the ghetto. When the Aktionen (mass executions) began in the ghetto, Sara started thinking of a way to save her infant daughter. Maria, who was Jewish, had somehow managed to acquire Polish identity papers and was acquainted with one of the German guards, who allowed her to go outside to buy food. In this way Maria managed to carry Eugenia out of the ghetto and give her to Kazimiera Demianczuk [Demiańczuk] (b. 1888), who lived nearby. Sara and her mother remained in the ghetto until their joint escape, but they both perished. Eugenia lived with Kazimiera until the end of the war. She called her "Auntie." Demianczuk was a very devout woman. She baptized Eugenia and took her to church often. When there were battles and explosions in the city, she would wake the girl and have her pray to God for salvation. They were near starving, and Eugenia was often ill. The only language the child knew was Polish, and she learned to read from an illustrated book in Polish. Eugenia was exposed to much suffering and peril as a very little girl, and some of the things she saw in wartime Wilno remained with her as nightmares for the rest of her life. However, due to Kazimiera's diligent care, she survived the war and remained with her "Auntie" for a while, attending kindergarten until some of her surviving Jewish relatives found her and took her to Moscow. Eugenia received a good education and became a musician and journalist. Kazimiera went to live in Poland after separating from the girl, and all contact with her was lost.

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Jadwiga Sztefec in 2012 (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9603183>>):

[54] Alexander Semyanovski was born in 1937 in Vetrino, Belarus. By the beginning of World War II, the family moved to Łuck (today Lutsk) [in Volhynia]. Alexander's father, Mikhail, was a military officer who fell in the first days of the war. His mother, Sofia Alkevtich-Semyanovska, and the two children, Alexander and Felix, were sent to the Łuck Ghetto in September 1941. They stayed there until August 1942, when a mass shooting in which 25,000 Jews were murdered took place. Right before the Aktion (mass execution) began, Alexander and Felix were taken away by Jadwiga Sztefec. She had been friends with Sofia before the war (Sofia worked at the post office and had many local friends and acquaintances). Jadwiga risked her life providing the Semyanovskis with food and clothing throughout their stay in the ghetto, but when an acquaintance of hers in the police told her that there was to be a mass killing, she decided to bribe a guard in the ghetto to extract the boys and save them. The spontaneous decision to save the children had dire consequences for Jadwiga. Her Ukrainian husband left her because it was well known that the Nazis would kill their entire family if they were to find Jewish children in their home. Her acquaintances knew she had no children, so she had to keep the boys hidden in the attic. Given her circumstances, she soon realized that it was impossible to rescue two children, so she arranged for a different hideout for Felix, who survived the war tending to cattle on a farm. Jadwiga was able to get Alexander an identification card through her church, registering him as an adopted orphan. Still, when it was too dangerous to stay in the house, she had to hide him in the chimney or take him to the countryside, taking odd jobs to justify moving about. When someone reported that Jadwiga Sztefec was hiding a Jewish child, the two were saved by the same police acquaintance who had told her

⁹⁵⁶ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 153; Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 214–18.

about the Aktion at the beginning of the war. They managed to escape again. After the war, Alexander stayed with Jadwiga until his enrollment in a military academy in 1955. He considered her his mother and treated her accordingly throughout her life. She died in 1977.

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Kazimiera Kowalska and Franciszek and Józefa Kosiński in 2014 (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9811507>>):

[55] Regina Ruskin was born in Siemiatycze, Poland, in 1931. She was 12 years old in November 1942 when the ghetto in her hometown was liquidated and she found herself on a train to Treblinka. She managed to jump off the train, joining a group of 13 people to do so, including two of her brothers. They went to the nearby villages looking for someone to help them, as the Nazis tried to hunt them down.

When one of the brothers was caught and killed by a local militia, the group realized that the local farmers were too afraid to take in Jewish men. They decided at least to find shelter for the young girl who was with them, Regina. When they reached the village of Tołwin [a village near Siemiatycze], they reached out to the Kowalski family and asked them to help the girl.

Kazimiera Kowalska was a devout Catholic and was prepared to help the child. She consulted with the priest [in Dziadkowice parish] and was strengthened in her resolve to rescue Regina. She placed her in the barn and kept her relatively well fed and clean. To occupy the girl, she had Regina knit, something she was good at. The conditions were not good—the girl was near starving—but Kowalska did do her best to help. The day came, however, when someone found out about the situation, and Kazimiera transferred Regina into the hands of another local family: Franciszek and Józefa Kosiński.

The Kosińskis had five children and were somewhat better off than the Kowalskis, so Regina came to back herself with them. Once she was restored to health, Regina became part of the family, playing with the children and reading them books. Her older brother Meir was hiding in the forest nearby and was sometimes able to come visit her. One day, when the Kosiński parents were away, three gendarmes appeared with the intention of searching the house. Luckily, there was a small hideout in the house for just such an occasion, and Regina pushed herself into it and stayed there for the duration of the search. She was not discovered. When the Kosiński parents returned, she was overwhelmed with guilt for endangering the family and said she was leaving. Józefa vehemently opposed the idea and did not let her leave.

The gendarmes had told the next-door neighbor, the village mayor, that a Jewish girl was rumored to be hiding at the Kosińskis' house and that that had been the reason for the search. When Kosińska heard that, she marched over and declared that the child was staying and that if the mayor wished to have her killed along with the entire Kosiński family, he was welcome to go right to the Gestapo. The mayor, humbled by her words, promised to keep silent. In this way Regina survived with the Kosińskis until the liberation.

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Stanisław Drabich and Ireneusz and Teodora Studziński (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9448598>>):

[56] Marian Rozenblum was born in 1930 in Warsaw. In 1940 he found himself in the Warsaw Ghetto with his mother and siblings (three brothers and a sister). In 1942 his mother and twin brother were sent to Treblinka. The next year the two older brothers, who were laborers in a German factory, were sent there as well. Marian and his sister Elżbieta realized that the same fate would soon befall them. They reached out to a man their father had befriended before the war, the only person they felt they could trust in Warsaw: Stanisław Drabich. Stanisław sent word back to them that should they escape the ghetto, they could come to him. One day in 1943, Marian showed up on his doorstep. Stanisław let him in, showed him around, and told him he could stay. A couple of months later, the neighbors became suspicious, so Stanisław moved Marian away for a while but then took him back. Meanwhile, Elżbieta and her friends the Rozenfarb family escaped to the Aryan side. Because Stanisław owned an apartment, he was able to give them papers stating that they were registered at that address; he was also able to get false identification papers for them and Marian via a friend of his who was a priest. With Stanisław's help, Elżbieta and the Rozenfarbs found shelter in the attic of his cousins, Ireneusz and Teodora Studziński. Stanisław also helped another of Elżbieta's friends, Nora Goldman, who spoke perfect German and English and passed for Polish.

He registered her at his apartment and found her a safe house for a while. The Studzińskis kept a goat in their apartment attic. Feeding that goat was their excuse for going up there so often with food. They cared selflessly for the Jews and provided for all their needs, including company and friendship. Teodora befriended Danka Rozenfarb and they exchanged opinions on fashion and style, and Teodora even gave Danka a coat with a small fur collar. Because Jews were not allowed furs, and all their furs had been confiscated, Danka was able to pass for Polish when she and Elżbieta found work on the Aryan side. One day the Gestapo came to Stanisław's house. Nora

Goldman's German employer had found out she was Jewish, and when she was arrested, it was found that she was registered at Stanisław's apartment, so the Gestapo came to arrest him. They demanded to know who Marian was and arrested him as well. On the way to the Gestapo headquarters, Marian managed to jump into a passing street car and escape. Stanisław, however, was not seen or heard from again, and was apparently taken to a death camp. Marian ran to the only place he knew was safe—the Studzińskis' house, where his sister was staying. He only knew about the place because Stanisław had taken him there one day to meet his cousins. He may not even have been aware of the Jews hiding in the attic, but on the day of his rescuer's arrest, he joined them there. Marian remained there with the other Jews until summer 1944. After the war ended, Marian and the Studzińskis parted ways, but they remained in touch through letters over the years.

The following is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Józef and Stefania Macugowski (Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-macugowski-family>>):

[57] *Stefania and Józef Macugowski lived in Nowy Korczyn together with their three children. Before the war, the population of that town was around 4 thousand people with circa 3/4 of them Jewish. The Macugowskis were friends with several Jewish families.*

In November 1942, the Germans transported Jews away from Nowy Korczyn, taking them, via the station in Szczucin, to the death camp in Bełżec. Right before that deportation commenced, Szaindl Wainberg, a good friend of Józef, came to him asking for help. "She begged me to help her out in her difficult situation—she was hiding in the area with a priest but the people there suspected that she was Jewish and she had to flee from her hiding place", he recalled after the war.

Macugowski agreed to take Szaindl in. After some time, she brought several other people, mostly members of her family, to him. Józef and Stefania decided that they were going to help those other people as well. They reckoned that they had nothing much to lose anyway—the punishment for helping one Jew was the same as the punishment for helping nine of them. Józef recalled: "There was a military police station around 200 metres from our house so we thought the Germans would not expect people to be hiding so close to them".

The Macugowskis dug out a shelter in their basement. The number of people hiding there was seven and it grew to nine in 1944. They were: Sara Grynberg, Lejb and Gitla Radca and their daughters: Sara, Golda, and Miriam, Szaindl Wajnberg, Kupfer, and Mendel Grynbaum. The hiding place was small, strewn with straw, and there were plank beds inside and a bucket for waste. Its ceiling was reinforced with steel rails and covered with planks and earth to conceal it even better. The people hiding in the shelter never left it—this exerted an immense strain on their bodies and, even more so, their minds.

The shelter could be entered from the yard, via the room in which hay was stored. It was prepared in such manner as to prevent even the children of the Macugowskis from discovering the hideout. The children did not know that there were Jews in hiding at their farmstead.

The hiding Jews bore a portion of the costs of food because Stefania and Józef would not have been able to procure enough food to feed nine more people on their own. In the summer of 1944, a German family was quartered on the Macugowskis. However, their presence had no impact on the people in hiding.

The Jews saw the end of the occupation, surviving until January 1945. They emigrated to the USA and Israel after the war. It was only after a dozen or so years that they made contact with one another via phone and by mail. The Macugowski family were also invited to New York by the daughters of Lejb and Gitla Radca and they made a trip to the USA in 1986.

After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto Henryk Nojmark, who went by the name of Papierski, and his wife Sławka, were directed by Barbara Siwczyńska to Busko-Zdrój, where her mother, Stefania Swiczyńska, lived. In order to enhance their cover as Catholic Poles, Henryk and Sławka were married by Rev. Antoni Otremski, the local pastor.⁹⁵⁷

In some cases, Jews who were passing as Catholics turned to priests for solace without the expectation of material help. It is apparent, therefore, that they did not view the Catholic clergy as a hostile element even if they did not personally know the priest in question. One such case was that of Laura Schwarzwald, a native of Lwów, who was residing in Busko-Zdrój with her young daughter, Selma (born in 1937, later Sophie Turner-Zaretsky), under false identities. Laura had become Bronisława Tymejko, a widow, and her daughter was Zofia Tymejko. They were joined there by Laura's younger sister Adela, who was living under the name Ksenia Osoba. (R. D. Rosen, *Such Good Girls: The Journey of the Holocaust's Hidden*

⁹⁵⁷ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 333.

Child Survivors [New York: HarperCollins, 2014], pp. 42–43.)

It was toward the end of the war, when Laura couldn't have bought a good night's sleep with a million zlotys, that an itinerant Catholic priest walked into Busko-Zdrój from who knows where and drew a crowd of faith-hungry Poles to a field outside of town. For reasons Laura herself barely understood, she stood in the chilly spring wind and listened to him.

She couldn't take her eyes off of him. With his black moth-eaten cassock and sunken dark eyes, he looked as if he had experienced his own share of suffering. He stood in the pasture with his Bible open in one palm and his other hand pointing to the sky. He told the crowd that they would overcome their suffering with hope and prayer, that Jesus had not forgotten them, and that God would punish the evildoers, and so on and so forth. So where's God been since 1939 she thought.

Laura almost never went to church on Sunday with Zofia and her class, and she couldn't even remember a single Jewish prayer, but the man's message struck some forgotten chord in her. When he finally closed the Bible and made some blessing motions and thanked everyone for coming, Laura was overcome with the desire to go right up to him and ask him to hear her confession.

"Proszę pani [proszę Pani], I will gladly hear your confession," the priest said, "but only in a church, if you would be so kind as to show me the way to your house of God."

She led him back across the field to St. Leonard's Church, which was empty. She sat in a pew and he took a seat in the row behind her.

"O haven't said a word to anyone for so long, and although I know I am putting my life in your hands by telling you, Father, I feel I must. I'm not even sure why, but please have mercy on me."

"Go ahead, my daughter," came the voice right behind her.

She swallowed and said, "I'm Jewish."

There was silence behind her, which she broke by explaining that she and her daughter had been living as Catholics since 1942. What am I doing? She thought. Am I sending the two of us to our deaths after all this? After coming so far?" A word from this tattered priest to the Gestapo and that would be it.

Still, there was silence, and Laura's stomach tightened terribly.

She finally heard the priest say in a low voice, "You should not fear anyone or anything except for God. Fear God only and you will be helped and he will have mercy on you. Bless you, my daughter."

The priest mumbles something in Latin and fell silent.

She waited, but the priest said no more. When she finally turned to look at him, he was no longer in the pew. She caught a glimpse of his long coat as he exited the church and turned. She stood up, amazed at what she had done and overcome with the unfamiliar feeling that there was a supernatural being looking out for her and Zofia. Before the war, she had been a nonbeliever, bound only by ethical principles. What sense did it make that only now, after God had abandoned the Jews, she should feel imbued with some fresh hope and renewed strength to survive? And yet she felt a presence.

She really didn't know what to think. She had been the beneficiary of more than her share of sheer luck, but she didn't believe she had been chosen. She didn't believe she had earned it. She and Zofia had escaped deportation several times. Why? Because she was pretty? Because she spoke perfect German? Because her daughter was blond?

She had lived undetected among the Nazis. Why? Because she did the Polish officer and his family a favour? Because the landlady had given her a Christian prayer book and a good piece of advice?

Throughout Poland nuns took up the call to shelter Jews, especially children, in their convents, orphanages, and boarding schools. Many of these benefactors remain anonymous, as the following testimonies gathered by Yad Vashem illustrate. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, pp. 144, 148, 177, 214, 215, 345–46 & 522, 358, 370, 402, 421, 502; Part 2, pp. 545–46, 677–78, 693–94, 713, 808, 814, 863, 923, 946; volume 10: *Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II, pp. 531–32, 542–43.)

[1] *One day in the autumn of 1942, two men approached Janina Choromanska [Choromańska] in Warsaw, representing themselves as Poles who were interested in renting a room. Although they had Aryan papers, Choromanska realized that they were Jewish refugees and, stirred by their plight, invited them to stay with her. Shamai Zylberman and Jakub Gurfein took up her offer and stayed with her for several months, during which time Choromanska looked after them and helped them with their preparations for crossing the border into Hungary. Before they left, the fugitives passed on her address to Meir Gliksman and Tuvya Firer, whom Choromanska also sheltered in her home. Gliksman later also crossed the border into Hungary. When Firer informed Choromanska that his niece, who was hiding in a convent near Cracow [Kraków], was in danger, Choromanska, in a heroic operation, traveled to the convent and brought her back with her. Uncle and niece stayed in her apartment in Warsaw for several months. After the war, Zylberman, Gurfein, and Gliksman immigrated to Israel. Tuvya and his*

niece perished in unknown circumstances.

[2] Early on in the occupation, Romualda and Feliks Ciesielski, who lived in Bydgoszcz with their nine-year-old son, were deported to Cracow [Kraków], where they were assigned a shop and apartment that had been confiscated from their Jewish owners. Although they had no say in the matter, the Ciesielskis felt sorry for the Jews and decided they would do all they could to help them. In addition to distributing food and clothing among needy Jews, the Ciesielskis let their shop be used as a temporary shelter for Jews until they found a more permanent hiding place. Among the Jews helped by the Ciesielskis were Dr. Edmund Fiszler and his wife, Leonora, who stayed with them for several weeks. The four members of the Horowicz family also found temporary shelter with the Ciesielskis. At Romualda's suggestion, the Horowicz's daughter, Zofia, was hidden in a convent. In 1942, the Gestapo, alerted by informers, arrested the Ciesielskis. Romualda was interrogated, tortured, and sent to Auschwitz, where she continued helping Jewish prisoners. Her husband was interned in the Mauthausen concentration camp, where he perished.

[3] One day in 1942, Władysław [Władysław] Dobrodziej, a member of the Polish underground, entered the Warsaw ghetto dressed as a Polish policeman to get his friends Maria and Henryk Angielczyk out of the ghetto. After he succeeded in his mission, a shelter was arranged for the Angielczyks in the town of Piastów [Piastów], near Warsaw. During the rescue operation, Dobrodziej gave his address to Barbara Groslik, who lived in the same apartment as the Angielczyks, together with her young daughter, Elżbieta [Elżbieta]. That same year, Groslik escaped with her daughter and moved into a rented apartment on the Aryan side of the city. When the German police got wind of their whereabouts, Groslik turned to Dobrodziej, who helped her out, as he had promised. After placing Elżbieta in an institution for abandoned children run by nuns, Krystyna his wife, took Groslik to her mother, Helena-Maria Bunin, who lived in Miedzylesie [Międzylesie], near Warsaw. The Dobrodziejs continued with their efforts to rescue Jews, helping Władysław Gorzyński [Władysław Gorzyński] escape from the ghetto. Thanks to the Aryan papers in his possession, Gorzyński was sent to work in Germany, where he remained until the liberation. The Dobrodziejs were also instrumental in smuggling Zygmunt Rudnianski [Rudniański], and engineer, his wife; his brother, Adam Neuman; and a woman named Roza [Róża] Bukiet out of the ghetto and hiding them in a house they rented in Piastów. The Dobrodziejs considered saving Jews part of the struggle against a common enemy and never expected anything in return. Władysław Dobrodziej was killed while carrying out an underground assignment.

[4] In early 1943, Lea Russak and her relative, Aron Moszkowicz, left their hiding place in the Carpathian Mountains and moved to Otwock near Warsaw. Equipped with forged papers, the two turned up on the Fiejkas' doorstep, asking to rent a room in their house. Helena and Bolesław [Bolesław] Fiejka, realizing they were Jewish, agreed to hide them in their home against payment, which was willingly provided. The Fiejkas prepared a well-camouflaged shelter for the Jewish refugees under the floor of Fiejka's carpentry shop. In time, the Grynszpan and their ten-year-old daughter joined them. Despite the danger, Helena Fiejka looked after the five Jewish refugees, cooked for them, washed their clothes, and removed their bodily wastes, even after they were no longer able to pay. One day, however, Bolesław Fiejka ordered the refugees out. After days and nights of wandering through villages and fields without finding shelter, Russak and Moszkowicz, in desperation, returned to the Fiejkas. This time, Helena managed to persuade her husband, Bolesław, to let the Jewish refugees stay. The three Grynszpan also returned to the Fiejkas' home and stayed there until they were liberated. While at the Fiejkas, Russak fell ill and required medical attention. She was persuaded by Sister Teresa, a nun, to leave her hiding place and move in with relatives of Sister Teresa who lived in the town of Piastów [Piastów], near Warsaw. Russak stayed in Piastów until the area was liberated in January 1945 and after the war emigrated to Israel, while the Grynszpan moved to Canada. After the liberation, Moszkowicz joined the Red Army and fell fighting for Poland.

[5] In February 1942, with the establishment of the Tarnów [Tarnów] ghetto in the Cracow [Kraków] district, the Blumenkranzes decided to find a foster mother for their four-year-old daughter, Lea, outside the ghetto. Janina Walega [Wałęga, later Filozof, the niece of the bishop of Tarnów], a single woman who lived on the outskirts of the city, agreed to shelter little Lea in her home. However, only a few days later, neighbors began suspecting that Lea was Jewish and blackmailers and extortionists began threatening her. Hiding her little charge in a suitcase, Walega traveled with her in a compartment full of Germans to the town of Przemyśl [Przemyśl], where she enrolled Lea, under a false identity, in a children's institution run by Catholic nuns. Walega paid for her upkeep at the institution until the area was liberated.

[6] During the occupation, Franciszek and Maria Kielan lived in Warsaw with their daughters, Krystyna and Zofia. One day in 1942, Krystyna got to know Janina Prot, a new girl in her class. In due course, as the two became friends, Janina told Krystyna that she was Jewish and that she had left her parents, who were hiding in a nearby town, and had come to Warsaw on her own, believing that she had a greater chance of surviving there. Stirred by her friend's plight, Krystyna and her sister, Zofia, decided to ask their parents to shelter Janina. Despite the danger,

the parents agreed and took Janina into their home without expecting anything in return. Later, the Kielans arranged for Janina to stay with acquaintances in a village, where she helped with the housework, but she was soon sent back to the Kielans after the village authorities became suspicious of her true identity. One day in 1942, Prot was joined by Romana Laks, who also turned up on the Kielans' doorstep after her hiding on the Aryan side of the city became too dangerous. For several months, the Kielans and their two daughters sheltered both Janina and Romana until Romana found a place in a convent near Warsaw, where she remained until the area was liberated by the Red Army. After suffering terrible hardships during the Warsaw Uprising in the summer of 1942, Prot stayed with the Kielans until the area was liberated. After the war, the two survivors emigrated to the United States ...

Bronislaw [Bronislaw] and Katarzyna Miskiewicz [Miškiewicz] lived in Warsaw with their daughter, Barbara, who was four years old when the occupation began. Bronislaw worked in the Adamczewski & Co. soap factory where Hilary Laks, a Jewish chemical engineer, worked for the first few years of the occupation. Hilary, his wife, Janina (Tola), and their daughter, Romana, who was born in 1934, lived in the ghetto. In 1942, Bronislaw took Romana out of the ghetto to a convent, where she stayed until the end of the war. At the same time, he and his wife offered Hilary shelter in their apartment and he stayed there for 20 months while his wife hid elsewhere, also outside the ghetto. Hilary stayed in a small room at the back of the apartment, where he arranged a hiding place in a closet into which he disappeared in times of danger. No one knew about Hilary except Katarzyna and a couple of their close friends. "During the whole time I was hiding here, they never asked for any money or reward," Hilary wrote in his testimony. Bronislaw died in Warsaw in 1960. His daughter emigrated to the United States and was joined by her mother in 1982. Hilary Laks, his wife, and daughter all survived and emigrated to the United States.

[7] Giga Kochanowska, a spinster who lived in Warsaw, was indebted to her Jewish friends who, before the war, had helped her through periods of economic hardship. During the occupation, when several of these friends were interned in the local ghetto, Kochanowska repaid their kindness by risking her life to save them. In early 1942, Kochanowska helped her friend Estera Marber escape from the ghetto and put her up in her small apartment, where she looked after her devotedly, without expecting anything in return. She also entered the ghetto, at great personal risk, to bring food to her friends Moshe and Estera Borten and their baby daughter, Julia, who was born in the ghetto. In December 1942, when the Bortens asked Kochanowska to help them escape, she devised a daring plan which entailed crawling through a sewer to the Aryan side of the city. As soon as they arrived, Kochanowska provided them with Aryan papers and rented accommodations for them. When, some two months later, the landlord refused to extend the lease, Kochanowska, with considerable ingenuity, found the Bortens two separate apartments on the eastern side of the city and arranged for the baby to be sent to an institution outside Warsaw run by nuns. In late summer 1944, after the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising, Kochanowska and Marber were driven out of Warsaw and, after suffering much privation, were liberated in January 1945. The Bortens were liberated in September 1944 and after the war immigrated to Israel. Marber later emigrated to France.

[8] After returning to Warsaw from the front in 1939, Antoni-Stefan Koper, knowing that he would not find work in his chosen profession (journalism), took an office job with the municipal tax authorities, which allowed him to enter the ghetto. On his visits to the ghetto, Koper brought with him documents forged in an underground printing press with the help of a friend and distributed them among Jews, enabling them to escape to the Aryan side of the city. In the summer of 1942, after the large-scale Aktion in the ghetto, Koper offered to shelter his friend, Fanny Margulies, whose entire family had been deported to Treblinka, in his apartment in central Warsaw. After helping her escape, Koper brought Margulies to his apartment where, to her amazement, she discovered that Koper was already sheltering Bronislawa [Bronisława] and Henryk Finkelstein and Dr. Maksymilian Ciesielski, also fugitives from the ghetto. Between 1942 and 1944, a number of Jews passed through Koper's apartment for various periods, including children who were later placed in Catholic orphanages. Despite the danger, threats, and attempted extortion, Koper continued with his humanitarian activities. With the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, all the Jewish refugees fled with the rest of Warsaw's population and survived until the liberation.

[9] As underground activists, Wanda and Ludwik Krepy [Krępa] came to the aid of their Jewish acquaintances who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto to the Aryan side of the city, offered them shelter and food, and provided them with Aryan papers. Even after the refugees moved on, the Krepys continued to take an interest in them, found them new hiding places when necessary, protected them from blackmailers, and helped them find sources of income. In risking their lives to help Jews, the Krepys were guided by humanitarian principles only and never expected anything in return. Their apartment, which was already a center for underground activity, also served as a temporary shelter for refugees until they found a permanent place or obtained Aryan papers enabling them to leave Warsaw and find work. Among those helped by the Krepys were Estera Freiburger and her four-year-old son, Henryk. After putting them up for a short while in their apartment, the Krepys arranged for them to stay with a farmer in the village of Choszczowka [Choszczówka], near Warsaw. When Freiburger and her son had to leave the village, the Krepys arranged for them to move in with Krepy's mother in Czestochowa until alternative accommodation was found in the

village of Olesnik, where they stayed until the liberation. Adam and Maria Gasior [Gąsior] also owed their lives to the Krepys, who obtained Aryan papers for them and found them a place of work and a permanent shelter. [Maria Gąsior worked as an orderly at a hospital in Warsaw run by the Sisters of St. Elizabeth.⁹⁵⁸] During the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, the Krepys moved to a monastery in Zalesie together with the Gasiors until the liberation in January 1945.

[10] In November 1942, during the liquidation of the Jews in Chelm [Chelm] in the Lublin district, Perla Horn managed to escape from the Aktion with her three-year-old daughter, Estera [later Maria Ochlewska]. For a whole year, mother and daughter wandered through local villages, spending the night in farm-buildings, living off scraps of food that kindly villagers offered them, and spending the summer in the forest together with other Jewish refugees. One day in November 1943, Horn left her daughter with a peasant family, [the Struś family in the village of Plawanice near Chelm], promising to return for her later that day. When Horn, however, was shot dead [by the Germans], the [impoverished Struś] family, [who lived in a one room hut with only a dirt floor], ... [several months later] handed her over to their acquaintance, Leokadia Wojtkiewicz, who agreed to take responsibility for the girl. After sheltering her for a few days in her home in Chelm, Wojtkiewicz took Estera [then called Marysia] to Warsaw to stay with her sister and brother-in-law, Joanna and Karol Kulesza, who, despite the danger, agreed to take her in, without expecting anything in return. The Kuleszas provided Estera, who was passed off as Wojtkiewicz's illegitimate daughter, with a birth certificate under an assumed identity. Despite their strained circumstances, the Kuleszas looked after Estera devotedly and kept her identity hidden even from their own two children. Even after the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944, when the Kuleszas were driven out of Warsaw, they took Estera with them. When Estera fell ill, they arranged for her to be looked after by nuns in [Laski near Warsaw, from where she was later transferred to an orphanage⁹⁵⁹] in Kraków.

[11] In the 1930s, Stanisław [Stanisław] Mazur, who had been born and bred on a farm, met Jews for the first time as a student at the University of Warsaw. ... Stanisław Mazur and his wife, Krystyna, helped Jews imprisoned in the Warsaw ghetto. The Mazurs' address was known to Jews fleeing from the ghetto, and, disregarding the risk to their lives, the Mazurs took them into their home, provided them with false papers, and helped them find other places to hide, mostly outside of Warsaw. Of the 30 Jewish fugitives helped by the Mazurs, only 20 survived the war ... [Stanisław Mazur took several children out of the ghetto, among them the six-year-old daughter of a lawyer named Goldman and another girl of a similar age. Both girls were taken in by nuns.⁹⁶⁰]

[12] One day in 1942, Maria Niemiec showed up in her tiny apartment in Przemyśl [Przemyśl] with six-year-old Teresa [actually Irena Licht, who assumed the identity of Teresa Krystyna Urban]. She then told her four children that Teresa was now their sister. Teresa was the only child of Shimon and Dziunia Licht, who knew Niemiec as the daughter of a woman who had worked in their household before the war. After they gave her their daughter, the Lichts used false papers to reach Warsaw. Teresa was received warmly by the Niemiec family, who, despite their impoverished circumstances and overcrowded home, cared for her with warmth and kindness, telling neighbors that she was a relative. A friend of Niemiec, who lived nearby, was at the same time hiding a seven-year-old cousin of Teresa's. The little boy [Olek Licht] carelessly revealed he was Jewish and the Germans took him away. Following the boy's arrest, the Germans discovered his parents' hiding place in Przemyśl and murdered them all. Fearing that Teresa's identity would also be discovered, Maria Niemiec took her to Warsaw and, using connections her parents had, placed her in a convent, where she remained until the liberation.⁹⁶¹ Niemiec remained in Warsaw throughout the entire period and without asking for or receiving anything in return served as a go-between for Teresa and her parents. Only after the war ended did Niemiec return home to her husband and children.

[13] Before the war, Witold Rothenburg-Rosciszewski [Rościszewski], an attorney from Warsaw, was known for his anti-Jewish views, but after the German occupation his attitude toward Jews underwent a radical change. He

⁹⁵⁸ The Krępa Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-krępa-family>>.

⁹⁵⁹ Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 285–87.

⁹⁶⁰ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 340.

⁹⁶¹ Irena Licht (born in Lwów in 1936) describes, in her memoir, her stay at a convent and orphanage on Belwederska Street, possibly run by the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. The mother superior, at least, was aware of her Jewish origin. She remained there some two-and-a-half years until the Warsaw uprising in August 1944, when she was reunited with her parents. See Cahn-Tober, *Hide and Seek*, 57–85, 196–97. With her parents' consent, a priest baptized her in a Warsaw church so that she could make her First Holy Communion at the convent with the other girls. *Ibid.*, 71.

severed his

ties with the antisemitic circles he had been involved with before the war, devoted himself to underground activity, and became an AK officer. Together with his wife, Anna, he helped Jewish refugees hide on the Aryan side of the city and provided them with forged documents. The Rothenburg-Rosciszewskis supported needy Jews materially, found them hiding places, and saved them from the hands of various extortionists. Among the Jews who were helped by the Rothenburg-Rosciszewskis were Waclaw [Waclaw] Tajtlbaum, an attorney, and Helena Kuligowska. Thanks to Witold's underground activity and his familiarity with entrances and exits to and from the ghetto via the law court in Leszno Street, Irena Sendler, a Zegota [Zegota] activist, was able to smuggle out Jewish children to the Aryan side of the city. In her subsequent testimony, Sendler testified that Witold arranged for Jewish children to be sent to the Chotomow [Chotomów] convent near Warsaw [run by the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś)] as well as to acquaintances of his, and paid for their upkeep. In April 1943, the Germans arrested Rothenburg-Rosciszewski and he was executed for his underground activities.

[14] During the occupation, Wladyslaw [Władysław] Sala ran an institution for teenagers that was sponsored by the social department of the Municipality of Warsaw. The institution had a farm, and before the large-scale Aktion against the Jews of Warsaw in the summer of 1942, Wladyslaw Sala obtained a permit from the German authorities to employ some 20 Jewish laborers there. The laborers, listed by name, were brought from the ghetto each working day and Sala was in charge of bringing them back at the end of the day. As time passed, Sala, actively aided by his wife, Janina, transformed this procedure into a means of escape from the ghetto. On most days, more workers set out from the ghetto to the farm than were needed, and at the end of the day only the twenty who appeared on the list were sent back. The Salas helped the others obtain Aryan papers and in some cases found them hideouts on the Aryan side of the city. The Jews who were saved in this fashion included the famous pediatrician Zofia Rozenblum, Janina Kaniewska, and Anna Wyszowska-Seidens [Wyszyńska-Seidens], whom the Salas concealed in their own apartment and, until they were moved to hiding places in convents, provided with clothing and Aryan papers.

[15] Before the occupation, Michal [Michał] and Jadwiga Skalski, who lived with their little daughter in an isolated house in Białystok [Białystok], were on good terms with their Jewish neighbors. Even after the closure of the ghetto, Skalski and his wife kept up contact with their Jewish acquaintances, whom they met at their places of work outside the ghetto, and helped them to the best of their ability. Skalski used his job as a clerk at the municipality in charge of distributing ration cards to help his Jewish friends. In early 1943, when a number of Jews turned to the Skalskis asking for shelter, the Skalskis prepared a well-hidden shelter for them under their house. Among those who hid in the shelter in the course of 1943 were Leon Grunberg [Grynberg] and his daughter, Halina [Hana] (who later moved to the nearby village [with the Leszczyński family]), Aleksander Brener and his daughter, Ida, Aniela [and Szlama] Kapinska [Kepiński], Jakub Weisfeld, Felicja Bagon, and Jakub and Fruma Rozen. The Skalskis helped support their charges, even selling their belongings to buy them food. They also helped other Jews who were hiding in the vicinity. The Skalskis, who were fearful of discovery, insisted on complete secrecy, refusing even to inform their relatives of what they were doing. When Bagon gave birth in hiding, Skalski, fearing that the baby's presence would endanger the refugees, took the baby to a nearby convent [an orphanage in Białystok run by nuns⁹⁶²], claiming it was a foundling. The baby and the refugees under the Skalskis' care survived until the area was liberated. ... After the war, some of the survivors immigrated to Israel and Brazil while others stayed on in Poland.

[16] Waclaw [Waclaw] and Irena Szyszkowski lived in Warsaw during the war. They had three young children. Waclaw was a lawyer but hardly ever practiced law because he was active in the AK [Home Army]. In the summer of 1942, a prewar friend, Jozef [Józef] Zysman (also a lawyer, who was murdered a year later), approached Waclaw and asked for help in saving his son Piotr (born 1939). Soon afterwards, Jozef's sister-in-law fled the ghetto through the sewage system along with her daughter and Piotr. She met up with Irena in a prearranged spot and handed over Piotr. Because the Szyszkowskis had three children of their own, they were not able to keep Piotr for very long. Eventually they put him up in a monastery [an institution run by nuns near Warsaw⁹⁶³] and later moved him to different hiding places. (After the war, Piotr's mother, Teodora Zysman, found him in a monastery.) ... Teodora stated in her testimony that the Szyszkowskis saved two other girls [Małgorzata and Irena], the daughters of a Warsaw lawyer named Roman Frydman Mirski [who were placed with the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Phudy, as described earlier].

[17] In the spring of 1942, Helena Rosenberg and her two-year-old daughter, Gita, had to leave the apartment on the Aryan side of Warsaw where they had taken shelter after escaping from the local ghetto. With the help of a Polish acquaintance, Rosenberg managed to find another apartment for herself, but the landlady adamantly refused

⁹⁶² Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 487.

⁹⁶³ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 555.

to take in Gita, who looked Jewish. Nineteen-year-old Wanda Tazbir, a friend of the landlady, came to the rescue by asking her parents to take little Gita into their apartment. After they received a warning from a neighbor, Tazbir's parents had to look for another hiding place for Gita. Stanislaw [Stanislaw] Tazbir, Wanda's father, an inspector of Polish orphanages in Warsaw, found a place for Gita in one of the orphanages without revealing Gita's true identity to the head of the orphanage. In due course, Gita was transferred to a children's institution in a convent far from Warsaw, where she remained until January 1945, when the area was liberated. After the war, Gita and her mother, who survived, emigrated to the United States, where, for many years, they kept up contact with Stanislaw Tazbir and his daughter.

[18] Marta and Feliks Widy-Wirski lived with their two children in Warsaw. At the end of 1941, Marta met a friend on the street who had told her that Janina Poswolska, a friend from the days of her pharmaceutical studies in Poznan [Poznań], was in the ghetto with her husband, Henryk, and their son, Andrzej. Marta subsequently bribed an officer of the Blue Police with a large amount of money and he in turn brought Janina and the child back to her home. Janina and her son settled in with Marta and Feliks, Janina pretending to be their maid. ... In 1943, Janina's son was placed under the care of nuns outside Warsaw, since the landlady warned Marta that the other occupants of the building suspected her and her husband of hiding Jews. "For safety's sake, we all moved to Sulejówek [Sulejów] and later, for similar reasons, to Podkowa Lesna [Leśna]," wrote Marta in her testimony. Shortly before the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, a man appeared at the Widy-Wirskis' home telling them that Henryk Poswolski was lying wounded in the cowshed. Marta and Feliks brought the wounded Henryk (who was wounded while escaping from Treblinka) to Podkowa, where they were able to get him medical attention. After the liberation, the Poswolski family emigrated to Brazil.

[19] Franciszek and Tekla Zalwowski lived with their sons, Jozef [Józef], Michal [Michał], Wladyslaw [Władysław], and Stanislaw [Stanisław], in the village of Krytowce, near Zbaraz [Zbaraż], in the Tarnopol district (Eastern Galicia). They were a poor family, barely earning enough money to maintain their household. In June 1943, Ester Krystal and her daughters, Maria and Zosia, escapees from the Zbaraz ghetto, hid in a potato field belonging to the Zalwowskis. When the Zalwowskis found them there, they fed them with whatever they had available and the sons built a bunker for the fugitives to hide in. The Zalwowskis brought their wards food every day and when the need arose they also brought them medicine—all without receiving any payment. At the end of June 1943, Michal [Michał] Zamojre, a prewar friend of the Zalwowskis, came to their house after escaping from a camp in Tarnopol with his friend Izio Kornberg. They were both accepted into the Zalwowskis' home and were hidden in the barn loft where Mendel Altscher, his wife, Regina, and their young daughter Halinka were already hiding. [Because Halinka was a 6-month-old child whose crying might have betrayed them, she was placed in a convent by the Zalwowskis as a foundling. She was returned to her parents after the liberation.⁹⁶⁴] During the war, the Zalwowskis also hid two other girls in their loft—Luisa and Rosa Sonensztajn. In time, Izio Hindes, Ira Edelman, and Nachum Kornberg joined Ester and her daughters in the bunker. All in all, the Zalwowskis sheltered 13 Jews.

[20] Kazimiera Zulawska [Zulawska], a doctor of philosophy and the widow of the well-known Polish poet and author Jerzy Zulawski, lived prior to the war and during the German occupation with her son Wawrzyniec, in Warsaw. In their home on Marszałkowska [Marszałkowska] Street, they regularly hid eight to ten Jews, mainly cultural figures. Among those who found shelter in their apartment were Roza [Róża] Wittlin, Stefania Dabrowska [Dąbrowska], and Leonia Jablonkowska [Jabłonkowska]. The outbreak of the war found Roza Wittlin in Lwow [Lwów]. In 1943, she left Lwow and traveled to Warsaw, where she did not know anyone. Furthermore, she could not speak any Polish since she had been brought up in Germany. After a few weeks of hiding in basements and abandoned stores, she met Kazimiera, who invited her to her apartment. Kazimiera did not know Roza but had heard about her difficult situation through mutual friends. Roza moved to Kazimiera's apartment in November 1943 and stayed there for three months without paying for her accommodation or upkeep. ... Stefania Dabrowska also arrived in Warsaw after leaving Lwow. In Warsaw, she met a schoolmate who directed her to Kazimiera. Kazimiera and her son, Wawrzyniec, helped not only Stefania but also her parents and her sister Margaret (Rita) Mayer, [who was placed in convents⁹⁶⁵].

[21] In December 1941, after one of the killing operations perpetrated against the Jews of Radom, Bracha Wakszlak (later, Bergman), 14, and her younger sister, Ester, were rescued from the ghetto by their cousin, Teofila (Tośka) Wakszlak. She took them to Warsaw, where she was living under an assumed name with "Aryan" papers. For half a year she moved the two girls from one Polish family to another, supporting them financially but unable to find them

⁹⁶⁴ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 631.

⁹⁶⁵ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 645.

a satisfactory haven. Finally, she placed the younger girl [Ester] in a convent [on the outskirts of Warsaw⁹⁶⁶], while Bracha, the elder sister, aided by an acquaintance of her father, reached the Bart family. She did not know them, but they were willing to hide her in their home under an assumed name. The Bart household consisted of Jerzy and Zofia Bart, and their two children, aged five and six, and the grandparents. A patriotic Polish family, they had connections with the Polish underground Home Army (AK). Jerzy, an electrical engineer by profession, worked for the Germans for his living, but he also worked with the underground, preserving the cultural treasures of the National Museum. The Barts made Bracha feel at home, like one of the family, and she lived with them in safety for a year, until Zofia and Jerzy were arrested by the Gestapo on April 7, 1944, and thrown into Pawiak, the central prison, located in the ghetto area. The underground was able to ransom Zofia, but Jerzy never returned. While both parents were incarcerated, Bracha looked after both the two children and the grandmother. Henryk, the grandfather, had been executed, probably due to his activities in the underground. Despite the suffering the family endured, Zofia agreed to go on sheltering Bracha. The most difficult trial came during and after the Warsaw Uprising in the summer and fall of 1944 when the Barts were forced to abandon their home and became fugitives, wandering from one village to another in search of a place to stay and means of subsistence. Yet even under those trying conditions they did not abandon Bracha but kept her with them and continued to treat her like a full-fledged member of the family. She stayed with them until liberation in January 1945.

[22] During the German occupation of Poland, Fryderyk and Maria Czerwień, and their two children, Ryszard and Stanisława, lived in Rawa Ruska (Lwów District). From 1941 until the summer of 1944, they hid 12 Jews in a shelter they built especially for this purpose under their home, and provided for their needs. The rescued Jews were: Herman and Róża Graf; Mosze and Helen Lewin and their four-year-old son, Dawid; and Abisz and Efraim Post—all families that had made their living as furriers—as well as the teachers, Abraham and Róża Klang; Lazar and Helena Diller; and Mendel Hoch, a merchant. Years after the liberation, the survivors continued to correspond with the Czerwieńs, viewing them as members of the family: “I feel that I am writing to father and mother and to my brothers who understand me,” Abraham Klang wrote in 1952 from Melbourne. At a certain stage, the Czerwieńs arranged a place for Helen Lewin and her son in a Christian orphanage. Immediately after the liberation, the Czerwieńs left Rawa Ruska and settled in Wojcieszów (Lower Silesia).

The story of the Szostak family has only recently come to light (“Polish Righteous Among the Nations Honored at Yad Vashem,” May 13, 2013, Internet: <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/about/events/event_details.asp?cid=194>):

[23] One day in August 1942, a woman appeared at the modest apartment of Ludwika and Zygmunt Szostak inquiring about a notice the couple had put in the paper regarding renting a room in their apartment. The Szostaks were an elderly couple that lived in the Żoliborz suburb of Warsaw and in order to ease their tough financial situation, decided to rent out the extra room in their house. It quickly became apparent that the woman who came to rent the room, Dora Agatstein was Jewish, she and her 7-year-old daughter, Karolina, had escaped the Lvov [Lwów] Ghetto just one month before the Great Deportation. Despite their initial concern over housing the mother and daughter, the Szostak couple welcomed them in their home and took care of them. Even as the rent money Dora paid to the couple began to run out, the good relationship between her and the Szostaks only grew stronger. Since the room where Dora and Karolina slept was not heated, the Szostak couple decided to let them sleep in their bedroom which had a heater and together they passed the cold days of winter. After running out of money for food, Ludwika and Dora began to work from the apartment by wrapping homemade candies. Even little Karolina, who due to the situation was forbidden to leave the house and play with neighboring kids in the yard, helped out in this endeavor. Dora also began to give private lessons to some children in the neighborhood allowing her a little income. When the achievements by her students began to stick out in school, a nun who managed the institution came to visit Dora, offering her a teaching job. The visit by the nun and Dora’s teaching position at the school helped to lower the suspicions and worries of the neighbors towards Dora and her young daughter. Karolina was enrolled in a kindergarden that was run under the patronage of the AK, the Polish resistance’s Home Army in Nazi-occupied Poland, and was walked to and from school by Ludwika. With the breakout of the Polish Uprising in August 1944, the Żoliborz suburb was hit hard by the heavy fighting between the Soviets and Germans. Residents, including both the Szostaks and Agatsteins, were loaded on trains and taken to southern Poland where they lived as refugees. Zygmunt, Ludwika, Dora, and Karolina found themselves living with a poor farming family. The four joined in the hard agricultural work, including picking potatoes and Dora continued to earn a little by teaching lessons until the area was liberated by the Soviet army in April 1945.

Bronisława and Antoni Supłat took under their care a little Jewish girl with the assumed name of Basia,

⁹⁶⁶ Isakiewicz, *Ustna harmonijka*, 159–60, 163.

who had been abandoned in 1942 near an orphanage in Bronowice, a suburb of Kraków, run by nuns. The nuns took the child in. She was then taken into the home of the Supłats, who treated her as their own daughter. They spread a false story that the child had been born to Antoni out of wedlock. Although the neighbours doubted this story, everyone kept the secret. The biological parents of Basia (Batia Rehes, later Batia Kfir) found her several years after the war and then left for Israel.⁹⁶⁷ (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8996998>>.)

Basia Kfir was born circa 1939. At age 4 she was abandoned near a monastery kindergarten in Bronowice [Bronowice], in the Kraków district. The nuns picked her up, but the arrival of a small child aroused the suspicion of the authorities.

Antoni Suplat, a Polish butcher, provided food to the kindergarten as a donation for the children. During one of his visits, he spotted Basia. He and his wife, Bronisława, had no children and decided to adopt Basia. The child was happy to believe that they were her real parents and that they had temporarily lost her during the war—the story they told her to spare her feelings.

In the neighborhood the rumor spread that Basia was Antoni's illegitimate child, which meant that her Jewish origins were not discovered. Basia, now Batya Kfir, wrote in her letter to Yad Vashem: "For two years I received from them warmth and kindness. They showered me with love and provided for all my needs."

As Basia grew in this loving family, she sincerely believed herself to be their real daughter, a Catholic by birth. After the war, however, Basia's parents returned to find her, and the Supłats were forced to part with her. They later adopted another child, a Polish boy.

Basia's family went to live in Israel in 1949. They kept in touch initially, but later the connection waned.

The Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth (*Siostry Najświętszej Rodziny z Nazaretu*, commonly known as *Siostry Nazaretanki*) provided shelter and other forms of assistance to Jews in a number of convents in Częstochowa, Gulbiny near Wilno, Kielce, Komańcza near Sanok, Kraków, Olsztyn near Częstochowa, Nowogródek, and Warsaw. Several Jewish children were taken in by Sister Alojza Konieczna, the superior of the convent in Częstochowa.⁹⁶⁸ Danuta Perelman (born in 1934, later Wocial), the daughter of a Jewish father and Polish Catholic mother, was one of nine Jewish children sheltered at the convent in Warsaw, where she was placed under the wing of Sister Emanuela Rypstajn. Her mother visited her from time to time, but her father, who had a marked Semitic appearance, had to go into hiding. Danuta was reunited with her parents after the war.⁹⁶⁹ Four accounts attesting to the rescue activities of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth are found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, at pages 213, 248, and Part 2, at pages 639, 837.

[1] In the summer of 1942, Zofia Landowska obtained a forged pass enabling her to enter the Warsaw ghetto and smuggle six-year-old Chana Grabina out to the Aryan side of the city. For some weeks, Zofia hid the little girl in the apartment she shared with her husband, Józef [Józef]. The Landowskis, who were underground activists, obtained Aryan papers for Chana and looked after her. When Chana's presence was discovered by neighbors, the Landowskis quickly transferred her to a home for abandoned children run by Nazarene nuns (Siostry Nazaretanki) in Komańcza [Komańcza] in the county of Sanok (Rzeszów [Rzeszów] district. Since the home was not too safe either [because of Ukrainian partisan attacks], Landowski, at the nuns' advice, took Chana to stay with his sister, Agnieszka Gorecka [Górecka], who lived with her husband, Piotr, and their daughter, Jadwiga, in the town of Chojnice in Pomerania. The Goreckis gave Chana a warm reception and passed her off as a relative. ... Chana Grabina (alias Anna Mackowicz) stayed with the Goreckis until 1951 and went on to become a doctor of Polish philology in Poland.

[2] Alina Wolman knew Teresa Dobrska, later Prekerowa, a young woman who lived with her parents in Warsaw. The two girls became very close friends and Dobrska helped Wolman's family as best she could. After the Wolman family was imprisoned in the Warsaw ghetto, Dobrska would smuggle food into the ghetto for them. At a fairly early stage, Dobrska convinced Alina to escape to the Aryan side of the city and arranged a job and a place to live for her.

⁹⁶⁷ "The Righteous Members Awarded in Kraków," August 5, 2013, Internet: <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/cms/news/3540,the-righteous-members-awarded-in-krakow/>>.

⁹⁶⁸ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 177–79.

⁹⁶⁹ Testimony of Danusia Wocial (née Perelman), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 22245. Near the end of the war, after the convent was displaced because of the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, Danuta joined a group of children under the care of a priest near Karowa Street in Warsaw. After the war, Danuta identified her religion as Jewish.

At the beginning of the large-scale deportation from the ghetto, Dobrska and other friends smuggled Alina's brother and parents out of the ghetto and until the war ended kept in touch with Alina and came to her assistance when she needed help. In September 1941, Dobrska found a little abandoned Jewish child crying on her doorstep.⁹⁷⁰ She took the child in and cared for her in her parents' home, and after dressing her and teaching her how to act like a Polish child brought her to a convent [of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth at 137 Czerniakowska Street in Warsaw, where the girl survived the occupation⁹⁷¹]. During the war, Dobrska married Mieczysław [Mieczysław] Preker and moved to the Skolimow [Skolimów] estate near Warsaw, where she hid a Jewish man named Jan Zielinski [Zieliński] from January until August 1944. Everything Prekerowa did to save Jews was motivated purely by altruism, for which she neither asked for nor received anything in return.

[3] In 1942, Dr. Tadeusz Ferens, with his wife's consent, helped his friend Ruth (Justa) Asz and her baby daughter escape from the Czestochowa [Częstochowa] ghetto. Dr. Ferens exploited his position as a doctor in the municipal hospital to place Asz's daughter in an orphanage [run by the Sisters of the Family of Nazareth], where the baby was baptized and christened Elzbieta [Elżbieta] (later Elizabeth). In order to save the mother, Dr. Ferens admitted her to the hospital where he worked. In due course he obtained forged documents for her and found her work in Austria. Asz later moved from Austria to Switzerland and her daughter, who was adopted by a Polish couple, was returned to her after the war.

[4] In the autumn of 1942, Ruth (Justa) and Shimon Asz tried to escape from the Czestochowa [Częstochowa] ghetto with their two-year-old daughter, Elzbieta [Elżbieta] (Elizabeth). After Shimon was shot and killed, his wife and daughter made their way to Dr. Tadeusz Ferens, a Polish doctor. Ferens provided the mother with Aryan papers, which enabled her to volunteer for work in Austria, and arranged for little Elizabeth to stay in a Catholic orphanage run by nuns in Czestochowa. Shortly thereafter, Marian and Wiktoria Urbanczyk [Urbańczyk] adopted Elizabeth, without knowing she was Jewish. Her true identity came to light, however, when after being washed, her blonde hair suddenly turned black. Although shocked by the discovery, the Urbanczyks, overcome by compassion, decided to keep Elizabeth and passed her off as a Polish orphan who had been driven out of the Zamosc [Zamość] area in the Lublin district. Even after they had to pay hush money to suspicious neighbors who threatened to report them to the Gestapo, the Urbanczyks did not change their minds. Elizabeth stayed on with the Urbanczyks after the war, since Elizabeth's mother, who survived, was unable to trace her daughter. In 1947, Dr. Ferens succeeded in tracing her and, with a heavy heart, Marian and Wiktoria handed Elizabeth over to her mother, who emigrated with her to Venezuela.

The blackmailers who extorted money from the Urbańczyks were in fact bandits who terrorized others who were hiding Jews as well. Marian Urbańczyk reported them to his superiors in the Home Army, and they were shot dead not far from the Urbańczyks home.⁹⁷² Their young charge, Elżbieta Asz (Aliza Asch), was the granddaughter of Nachum Asch (Asz), the chief rabbi of Czestochowa. Her story—Elizabeth Zielinski de Mundlak, “Black Roots in the Hair of a Blond Cherub”—is recorded in Tarjan, *Children Who Survived the Final Solution*, at pages 205–6.

My maiden name that I have used for as long as I can remember is Elzbieta Zielinska [Elżbieta Zielińska]. But when I was born my name was Aliza Ash [Asch]. All my life I thought that my mother's was Justa, but at the time of her birth she was named Ruth. What has not changed since the day I was born? Only the date and place of my birth: Czestochowa [Częstochowa], the town where my ancestors had lived. But this is a lot to start with! Recently, it allowed me to find documents about my true identity. The procedure was long.—How can you prove that a certain can you prove that a certain sixty-year old woman exists, if there is no birth certificate in her name, Elzbieta Zielinska? The nuns, who sheltered me after I was taken in a garbage sack from the Ghetto in Czestochowa, gave me my first name. That was before almost the entire Jewish population of that ghetto was taken to Treblinka, the infamous death camp.

Tadeusz Ferens was a gentile doctor who arranged my escape from certain death. My mother was also able [to] escape. With her newly acquired identity as Jozefa Zielinska [Józefa Zielińska], she was able to reach Austria,

⁹⁷⁰ The child was a girl about three or four years old who spoke only Yiddish. Prekerowa taught the child how to make the sign of the cross and the first words of the prayer “Our Father” as well as some everyday Polish words. The fact that this was a Jewish child would have been readily apparent to the nuns who accepted her. See Marta Kalabinska, “Teresa Prekerowa: Going Against the Grain,” *Eastern European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, vol. 34, no. 2 (May 2020): 400–22, at pp. 410–11.

⁹⁷¹ Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 431.

⁹⁷² Magdalena Rigamonti, “Moja wojenna siostra: Rozmowa z Andrzejem Urbańczykiem,” *Dziennik Gazeta Prawna*, March 9–11, 2018.

where she was a slave labourer, a cleaning woman at the Hotel Post in Bludenz, in Vorarlberg province. All the rest of my immediate family, including my father, Shimon Asz, perished in the Holocaust.

The doctor brought me to the orphanage of the Sisters of Nazareth in Czestochowa, as a child whom he found at the train station. There were many, many displaced and orphaned gentile children as a result of the steady bombing of certain parts of Poland. It was easy for the good doctor to convince the nuns that I was one of those children. No one wanted to hear the truth! Poland was the only country during the war, where the penalty for helping Jews was nothing less than death.

It was my good fortune that a Polish family came to the orphanage to adopt a little girl. They already had a 10-year old son, but his mother, Victoria [Wiktoria], could not have any more children. She had lost her first child as an infant, but her heart was full of love that she wanted to give to a little orphan girl. I was lucky: my new parents were very loving. My big brother used to carry me up the stairs on his shoulders after I had been running around the yard with my little friends. We were a weird couple. He was tall, strong and blond, and I was a tiny little girl with dark curls ...

Dark hair... I had curly blond hair when my adopted parents took me from the orphanage. With my blue eyes I must have looked like a cherub. They fell in love with that little beauty. However, a big surprise was awaiting them after a few days.

One day, my new mother was washing my hair when she discovered some "dirt" on my skull that would not go away. She was surprised, but ignored it for the moment. A couple of days later the answer became obvious. Black hair began to grow fast on my little head. It was a big shock when my parents understood that they were sheltering a Jewish child. They became terribly scared. Their only child, their precious son was as much in danger as themselves in case the Germans would find out about me.

Victoria and Marian [Urbańczyk] summoned their son, Andrew [Andrzej], for a family meeting. Jointly they decided that no matter what, they would not return me to the orphanage. The years ahead were not easy for the family. ...

We lived through many instances of high drama during those long years of German occupation in Czestochowa.

Tragedy struck the convent of the Sisters of Holy Family of Nazareth in Olsztyn near Częstochowa. The parents of Janeczka Kapral, a young Jewish girl who was sheltered there, were caught by the Germans and betrayed the whereabouts of their daughter and the Polish woman, a school teacher by the name of Kita, who had brought her to the convent. The young girl was seized by the Gestapo and the teacher was also arrested and killed. The nuns dispersed to avoid arrest.⁹⁷³

The Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary sheltered a number of Jewish children, as well as some adults, in their convents in Zamość and nearby Łabunie, which was later evacuated to the Franciscan monastery in Radecznica. The Sisters also provided food to Jews.⁹⁷⁴ The Rotter family was sheltered in Zamość; Lea Reisner (later Bialowitz), an escapee from the Sobibór extermination camp, was sheltered in

⁹⁷³ Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 84, 178–79.

⁹⁷⁴ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 127; Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 175–77, 244. The rescue activities are also described in Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu*, 193–94.

Radecznica.⁹⁷⁵ Zygmunta Friedrich's daughter Elsa, who used the name Elżunia, was sheltered at the

⁹⁷⁵ Miriam Novitch, ed., *Sobibor: Martyrdom and Revolt: Documents and Testimonies* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980), 102. Symcha Białowicz, another escapee from Sobibór, may also have been sheltered in Radecznica with Lea Reisner (whom he later married). See Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu*, 194. Escapees from Sobibór who survived with the help of Poles include: Aida Begleiter, Fiszal Białowicz (later Philip Białowicz), Symcha Białowicz (Fiszal's brother, later Simcha Białowicz), Leon Cymiel, Hersz Cukierman (Herschel Zuckerman) and his son Josef, Chaim Engel and Selma (Saartje) Wijnberg (whom Chaim later married), Leib (Leon) Feldhendler, Rywka Feldman (later Regina Zieliński), Kitty "Cathy" Gokkes (Hooks, who died as a partisan), Salomea Hannel, Mosze Hochman, Moshe Honig, Zyndel Honigman, Abram (Avrum) Kohn, Josef Kopf, Salomea Leiner, Shmul (Samuel) Lerer, Aron (Aharon) Licht, Eda Lichtman, Moszek Merenstein (Merensztajn), Zeldia Metz (Kelberman), Shlomo (Salomon) Podchlebnik and Chaskiel Menche (Shlomo's brother-in-law, also identified as Lejb Podchlebnik and Chaim Powroznik), Lea Reisner (later married to Symcha Białowicz), Ursula (Illa) Stern (later Ilana Safran), Józef Szerman, Shlomo (Stanisław) Szmajzner and his two companions, Yankiel and Majer (all three found shelter with a farmer in Tarnawa Duża), Ester or Eстера Terner (Esther Raab), Kurt Ticho (later Thomas), Tana Tzvekin, Abram Wang or Wank (Adam Walk), Kalmen Wewryk, Meir Ziss. See Novitch, *Sobibor*, 102 (Lea Reisner-Białowicz); Teresa Prekerowa, "Stosunek ludności polskiej do żydowskich uciekinierów z obozów zagłady w Treblince, Sobiborze i Bełżcu w świetle relacji żydowskich i polskich," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu–Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, vol. 35 (1993): 110–14, translated as "The Attitude of the Polish Population Towards Jewish Escapees from the Treblinka, Sobibór, and Bełżec Death Camps in Light of Jewish and Polish Testimonies," in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, and Paweł Styrna, eds., *Golden Harvest or Hearts of Gold? Studies on the Fate of Wartime Poles and Jews* (Washington, D.C.: Leopolis Press, 2012), 97–116; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 491–92 (Shmul Lerner, Eстера Terner, Abram Kohn), 503 (Simcha and Filip Białowicz, Josef Szerman), vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 551 (Selma Wijnberg, Chaim Engel), 691 (Leib Leon Feldhendler, Moshe Honig); Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 609 (Avraham Wang, later Adam Walk, Lejb Pochlebnik and his brother-in-law, Heniek or Chaskiel Menche); Mazurek Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4035073>> (Simcha and Philip Białowicz, Józef Szerman, Tana Tzvekin, Aharon Licht, Aida Begleiter); *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue*, vol. 1, 10 (no. 301/10, Salomon Podchlebnik, Josef Kopf), 15 (no. 301/14, Hersz Cukierman and his son), 164 (no. 301/458, Zeldia Metz), vol. 3, 307 (no. 301/2785, Moszek Merenstein), vol. 7, 139–40 (no. 301/6397, Leon Cymiel); Stanisław Szmajzner, *Inferno em Sobibor: A tragédia de um adolescente judeu* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Bloch, 1968), 296–301; Yitzhak Arad, *Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka: The Operation of the Reinhard Death Camps* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 345–46; Arnon Rubin, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Communities in Poland and Their Relics Today*, vol. II: *District Lublin* (Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 2007), 371, 379; Andrzej Potocki, *Bieszczadzkie losy: Bojkowie i Żydzi* (Rzeszów and Krosno: Apl, 2000), 171–72 (Salomea Leiner was helped by various Poles and eventually sheltered in a convent on the outskirts of Kraków); Andrew Zielinski, *Conversations with Regina* (Brighton, South Australia: n.p., 2003; Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2003); Małgorzata Szlachetka, "Wywalczyli sobie wolność," *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Lublin), April 18, 2008; Adam Kopciowski, "Anti-Jewish Incidents in the Lublin Region in the Early Years after World War II," in *Holocaust: Studies and Materials*, vol. 1 (2008): 190; Jerzy Diatłowicki, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2009), vol. 1, 89–90 (Moszek Merenstein), 210 (Zeldia Metz); Aleksandra Namysło, ed., "Kto w takich czasach Żydów przechowuje?...": *Polacy niosący pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie okupacji niemieckiej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2009), 74–104 (Zyndel Honigman, Szlomo Podchlebnik, Abram Wank, Chaskiel Menche); Jerzy Diatłowicki and Janusz Roszkowski, eds., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2010), vol. 2, 263 (assistance from Poles in Chełm); Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2011), vol. 3, 187 (Moszek Merenstein); Marek Bem, ed., *Sobibór: Bunt wobec wyroku* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2012), 145–147; Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 4, 240 (Hersz Cukierman), 368 (Salomon Podchlebnik and Josef Kopf); Testimony of Eda Lichtman, Yad Vashem Archives, file 03/1291, as cited in Wojciech Łukaszun, "Ratunek czy niebezpieczeństwo? Obszary leśne w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie jako miejsce schronienia ludności żydowskiej," in Waldemar Grabowski, ed., *Okupowana Europa: Podobieństwa i różnice* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2014), 126–27; Testimony of Eda Lichtman," Internet: <<http://www.theverylongview.com/WATH/testimonies/lichtman.htm>>; Maria Ciesielska, "Ocaleni z Sobiboru," Internet: <http://www.informacja.wlodawa.pl/pliki/informator_dni_holokaustu_wlodawa.pdf>; Muzeum Byłego Obozu Hitlerowskiego Zagłady w Sobiborze, "Ocaleni," Internet: <http://www.muzeum.wlodawa.metronet.pl/index_sobibor.htm>; "From Mielec to Sobibór: Testimony of Leon Cymiel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6397; Interviews with Samuel Lerer, Chaskiel Menche, Esther Raab, Stanisław Szmajzner, Kurt Thomas, Selma Wijnberg, and Regina Zielinski, Internet: <<http://www.sobiborinterviews.nl/en/interviews>>. Kalmen Wewryk describes the assistance he received, after his escape from Sobibór, from numerous peasants as he wandered from village to village in an area south of Chełm populated by decent but frightened

orphanage in Zamość,⁹⁷⁶ as were Judith Kachel and Tamara Blass (later Tami Lawame or Tamar Lavee, born in December 1939). The following account, pertaining to the rescue of Tamara Blass, is found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 480.

Blas [Chaja or Hanka Blass, then going by the name of Wanda Czarniecka⁹⁷⁷], a Jewish woman, managed to escape from the Zamosc [Zamość] ghetto in the Lublin district, carrying her two-year-old daughter in her arms. She came to the home of a Polish acquaintance, Maria Pawelec, who agreed to take the Jewish child. After someone informed the authorities, German policemen visited Pawelec's home and, fearing the child's identity might be discovered, she placed her in a basket, tied a small bag with a cross on it around her neck, and added a note bearing the name Wanda [actually, Maria Wanda] and stating that she had been baptized. Pawelec left the basket at the gate of the local convent, where there was also a home for orphans and foundlings. The nuns took in the baby. The nun, Zofia-Bogumiła [Bogumiła] Makowska, who knew the child was Jewish, never revealed her true identity to anyone, and looked after her until the end of the war. When the staff of the Coordination Committee learned the whereabouts of the child, they moved her to a Jewish institution and she later immigrated to Israel.

(The Coordination Committee—*Koordynacja*, in Polish—was a Jewish organization in postwar Poland that located and took care of Jewish children who had been living with Christians, in hiding, or with the partisans, or who had returned from the Soviet Union. Their aim was to eventually transfer these children to Palestine.)

Sister Bogumiła (Zofia Makowska), the director of the orphanage in Łabunie, was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile in 1993.⁹⁷⁸ She provided the following testimony (Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, p. 161):

During the war there was a swarm of children at our home. Anyone—policemen, neighbors—who met a child on the street or on the road brought the child to us. We had a house on Zdanowski [Żdanowska] St. in Zamosc [Zamość]. There came a time when even our hallways were overflowing with children. We had a rather large chapel in the old building we used, so finally we converted it to sleeping quarters for the children. We made the chapel so small that we had to hear Mass in the hallway. All this was not enough, and finally we occupied a school on Lukasinski [Łukasieńskiego] St. Not being enough to house all the children even there, we began to give them, if possible, to Polish families.

I worked at this school on Lukasinski St. Those were very hard times. I was in charge of the infants and the infirmary. There were three groups of children. I worked day and night. No one was paid. The women who peeled the potatoes got a bowl of soup. We did not get any subsidies for the children.

We collected contributions. Our entire treasure was the children.

Our mother superior was an Irish woman, Katherine Crowley. She trembled in fear for the children. We accepted everyone. We never thought about whether a child was German or Jewish or anything else. Our only consideration was that it was a child and we took in children.

The shelters in Zamość, Łabunie and Radechnica were all overcrowded with children displaced during the deportation of Poles from the Zamość area. The biggest challenge for the nuns was securing food for their charges. The nuns would go into the villages begging for food from farmers who were themselves destitute. Since the convents' horses had been taken by the Germans, the nuns would use dogs to pull the carts loaded with food they had collected.⁹⁷⁹

The Felician Sisters sheltered some 40 Jewish children in their convent and orphanage in Lwów. Among them were Rebecca (Marysia) Litowicz from Sandomierz and Felka Meisel (later Felicja Meisel-Mikołajczyk) from Lwów, who were placed there through the Lwów branch of the Council of Aid for

⁹⁷⁶ Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu*, 194.

⁹⁷⁷ "A Note Written by a Christian Woman (Maria Pawelec) Who Saved Tammy Lavee . . .," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa31229>>.

⁹⁷⁸ A fuller version of Sister Zofia Makowska's testimony can be found in Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach*, 175–77.

⁹⁷⁹ Czesław Galek, "Klasztor był im ocaleniem," *Niedziela* (Zamość-Lubaczów edition), nos. 19 and 20, 2001.

Jews (Żegota). Felka Meisel, who was sheltered in eighteen different places during the German occupation, was reunited with her parents Dr. Henryk and Paula Meisel after the war. The dramatic story of these rescues—in the words of their benefactors, the sisters Barbara and Halina Szymańska—is related in Ellen Land-Weber, *To Save a Life: Stories of Holocaust Rescue* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), at pages 197–52.

[Barbara Szymańska Makuch:] Our apartment in Tarnobrzeg was very small—only one room and a kitchen. Since this was my first teaching job, the pay was quite low, and from that my mother [Janina Szymańska] and I had to squeeze the rent money. But we managed. It was enough.

It was late in the afternoon, one day in 1942, when a woman named Rachel Litowicz and her child [Rebecca] came to our door, saying she came because somebody had told her I was a good person. I had never seen her before. She had nowhere else to go—she was desperate. She wanted me to take her child. I knew that in Sandomierz that day the Germans were “cleaning” the town. A very bad raid had been going on all day. I had seen them shoot Jews right in the streets.

We all felt very scared. By law, the penalty was death if you offered so much as one glass of water to a Jewish person. The Germans killed us exactly the same as they killed the Jews. My mother and I knew that, but how could we refuse this woman’s plea? We didn’t even talk it over, we just invited her inside.

We talked with her for a few hours, and then she left the child with us and returned to her husband in Sandomierz, where he was working in a camp the Germans had set up for people who could still do useful work. I didn’t set eyes on Rachel again until after the war. I learned that she went to Auschwitz, but I knew she was very strong. Twice she escaped from the gas chambers.

So seven-year-old Rebecca stayed with us: we called her Marysia. I slept in the kitchen, and my mother slept with her in the other room. In the beginning everything was okay because she was blond, with a pale complexion and freckles, and slightly curly hair, which I would straighten by making her little braids. We told people she was my niece. At home her family spoke Yiddish, although fortunately Marysia had linguistic talent and could speak Polish quite well. But like all children in this situation, she was shy and frightened. Her mother had said to her, “I’m leaving you now. After today, Basha [Basia, a diminutive for Barbara] will be your mother.” How can a little child understand this? She grew close to my mother because my mother was staying at home while I was away every day at work. Right from the beginning my mother became her “aunt.” ...

The news that we were helping a Jew traveled fast among the many people needing help. ... It wasn’t long before the neighbors started to talk. Marysia came to us at the end of July 1942, and Olga [Dr. Olga Lilien from Lwów] and Stefan [a Jewish boy] soon after. At first everything was okay. But when Stefan or Olga needed something, they would come to our house, and people began to notice.

Marysia was my “niece,” but I thought to myself, how will I explain what kind of a niece she is when the Germans start searching for Jews in hiding? What would I do? They would ask, who is she? Why is she staying with you? Where are her other relatives? Where is she from? In fact, after she had been with us for a few months the neighbors were already asking each other these questions. I became frightened about what might happen to us if we remained in Tarnobrzeg.

My mother and I decided it would be best for me to take Marysia to a bigger city where nobody would know us. I would give up my job and we would go to Lvov [Lwów] to live with my sister Halina. My mother, who was not so adventurous, would go back to Sandomierz to live with my youngest sister and my aunt. So, late in September Marysia and I left. ...

Our journey was extremely dangerous. The train was in poor condition, short of coal, and it was always stopping, making long delays for supplies or because of damaged bridges. Lvov is not so far from Tarnobrzeg; normally the train took only eight hours, but this time it was two days. All through the trip I was very, very frightened, even though I thought I was probably not the only one with a Jewish child. I prayed. What else could I do? In the night Germans marched through the train with their dogs, looking at the children and the other people. Once, while we waited for another train to pass, I saw them take people—families with children—off the train, taking them behind a building, and then I heard shots. It was very frightening. At any moment it could happen to me, or Marysia—at any moment. ...

We arrived in Lvov and made our way to my sister’s apartment only to discover that this too was a dangerous place. Unknown to me, Halina [Szymańska] and my future brother-in-law, Slawek [Slawek, i.e., Sławomir Ogrodziński], belonged to an underground resistance group. It was a committee that organized the Lvov branch of Żegota [Żegota], a Warsaw group that was bringing money to Polish Jews in hiding. I soon joined them, so from that point on I was helping not just one or two, but a great many others.

This was not a good place for Marysia, so a few days later we found a safer place for her nearby in the Felician convent, where there were already thirty-five Jewish children in hiding. The Germans allowed convents to look after orphans—not Jews, but orphans. The nuns took in every orphan that needed help, which happened, of course, to be mostly Jewish children, and so Marysia survived the war in their care. When the war ended she found her mother, who survived Auschwitz. Her father died in Bergen-Belsen.

I became a Zegota courier, traveling often to Warsaw to bring back money from the Polish government-in-exile in London. The Warsaw group had an underground press for printing counterfeit documents and false identity papers for Jews, and I brought these back to Lvov, too. Another job we had was contact with Janowicka [Janowska], the big work camp for Jews in Lvov. On one visit we would deliver false papers to certain people, and then on the next, help them prepare to escape from the camp. If we learned that someone needed special medicine, we delivered it right to that person, not to the Germans. Sometimes we delivered money either to someone in the camp or perhaps to someone in hiding. Many people were hiding and they had to have money to give the person buying food for them. I did all these things. ...

Every few days I went to visit Marysia, but one day I did not arrive. I had been making frequent trips to Warsaw for Zegota, because I knew the city so well. This time on the return trip, approximately half way back to Lvov, Germans came into the compartment and made a search, looking at baggage, papers, everything. They found all the Zegota papers in my bag on the overhead rack. There was no way to hide them. Not knowing whose bag it was, they arrested all twelve people in the compartment, and took us to the Lublin jail. [Barbara Szymańska was eventually sent to the concentration camp in Ravensbrück. She survived two years of imprisonment and torture without betraying anyone.]

[Halina Szymańska Ogrodzińska:] During the months I was working [as a technician] in Dr. [Henryk] Meisel's laboratory [in Lwów] I was going very often to their home to give Polish literature lessons to their daughter, Felka. Each time, Dr. Meisel's mother, the old lady, would make scrambled eggs or an omelet, always urging me to "eat, eat, eat," which I did because I was still a teenager and always hungry. At this time Dr. Meisel was beginning to realize that the situation for the Jews had become quite intolerable, and he had to do something about his large family. He saw it would be impossible to save everyone. With the help of some friends he arranged to send Mrs. Meisel's sister, Nina, to Warsaw, and she survived. Felka went to the orphanage run by the nuns of the Felician convent. Then Dr. Meisel had a long discussion with the old lady. They decided that because she was so old, the best solution would be for her to take poison. Being a doctor he could give her something good that would cause no pain. They never spoke about this with the rest of the family, and one day she was dead—like that. I was still very young, but Dr. Meisel liked to talk to me, and he badly needed to speak with someone. He told me he had a very heavy heart, but I already knew that.

One day the authorities asked Dr. Ayre to eliminate all the Jews working for him, no exceptions. Ayre explained to them that the work of these people was important for the German army, but it was of no use; Dr. Meisel and his wife had to go to Auschwitz. The Germans had some sort of laboratory arrangement in the concentration camp, a little bit similar to the Weigl Institute, with worse eating and living conditions certainly, but the Meisels could still work on their research there. In general, I think that family came through the war rather well. Today Felka is a doctor and her Polish husband is a doctor too. ...

Basha was in Tarnobrzeg with Mama where she didn't have the opportunity to work for the underground. She was very happy there. In Lvov, in this Poland of terrorists, it was an altogether different world; the atmosphere was very unpleasant. When the situation in Lvov became very difficult we told Olga [Dr. Olga Lilien] to go to Basha and Mama in Tarnobrzeg. Not long after, Basha came to Lvov with the little girl, Marysia.

When she arrived, Basha had never heard of Zegota, but we needed people, and Slawek immediately took her in. She wasn't especially political; she joined us for private reasons, for family reasons. Certainly I was more political than she was.

Slawek arranged for Marysia to go to the orphanage run by the Felician convent, where she would be safer; the same place where Dr. Meisel's daughter Felka was staying.

I visited Marysia in the convent several times. I couldn't tell her anything about her mother or father. She would ask me for news of Basha. She was a sad girl, never smiling, but she liked it very much when I came to visit. I don't have an especially clear memory of her now because I visited so many friends in the same situation at that time. There were a great many small things that needed to be done for these people and sometimes it was very difficult. Those in the convent were in a good situation and didn't need our help, so we only saw her occasionally, but we knew her life was safe.

[Rachel Litowicz:] When I returned [after the liberation], the Szymanskas told me that [my daughter] Rebecca [now Marysia] was in a convent in Lvov. This was not so easy because Lvov was now part of Russia, but fortunately I found out that they had moved the convent back to Poland. When I went to get her she was wearing a cross, but she understood, poor girl. Rebecca said she used to get down from her bed to pray she would be with mama and father, that we would be alive. The priests and nuns were not so bad since they knowingly took in Jewish children. They were kind to me—well, most of them—and they treated my daughter very well. She studied, and was very good in school, very intelligent. They loved her.

The case of Doctor Olga Lilien from Lwów, a woman with a very marked Jewish appearance who lived in

the home of Dr. Marian Połowicz in Mokrzyszów near Tarnobrzeg,⁹⁸⁰ tested the solidarity of the Polish villagers. Germans came looking for a fugitive and summoned the villagers to a meeting to question them about their whereabouts. Dr. Lilien recalled the incident (Land-Weber, *To Save a Life*, 246):

Everyone was telling the German they didn't know where the man was, when suddenly he looked at me and said, "Oh, but this is a Jewess." The head of the village said, "Oh, no, she cooks at the school. She is a very good cook." Nobody said, "Oh, well, she is Jewish. Take her." He let me go.

The population of the village was about two thousand. They all knew there was something "wrong" with me. Any one of them could have sold me to the Germans for two hundred deutsche marks, but out of two thousand people nobody did it. Everybody in the village protected me. I had very good relations with them.

Dr. Lilien settled in Tarnobrzeg after the war where she continued to work as a pediatrician caring for the children of the villagers who had sheltered her. She died there in August 1996, at the age of 92.

Barbara Szymańska Makuch also took Malka, the ten-year-old daughter of Sara Glass (later Pasht), a fugitive from the Sandomierz ghetto in October 1942, to the Felician Sisters' convent in Lwów. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, at pages 802–803.)

In October, 1942, after the Germans had begun to liquidate the Sandomierz ghetto in the Kielce district, Sara Glass (later Pasht) succeeded in transferring her ten-year-old daughter, Malka, to Janina Szymanska [Szymańska] for safekeeping. Janina, a former acquaintance, lived with her daughter; Barbara, in the village of Mokrzyszow [Mokrzyszów] in Tarnobrzeg county, Rzeszów district. Szymanska and her daughter received the young fugitive warmly, representing her to those who inquired about her as a relative and caring for her with love and genuine devotion. Despite the fact that Malka did not look Jewish, rumors began circulating in the village that Szymanska and her daughter were hiding a Jew in their home. Because of threats and their fear for her fate, Barbara took Malka to a convent in Lwow [Lwów], where she remained until the liberation of the city by the Red Army in July 1944. ... Sara Glass also survived the camps and after the liberation found her daughter Malka and they both emigrated to Canada.

The Felician Sisters rescued Jews in a number of other localities as well. Their convents and institutions in Kraków sheltered both Jewish children and adults. Maria Kiepurka (née Neuman), the mother of the famous tenor, Jan Kiepurka, who had converted to Catholicism when she married, was housed in the Felician Sisters' convent on Smoleńsk Street, in Kraków. After a three years' stay at the convent, she went to live with her husband's cousin, Helena Kiepurka-Kuc, in Końskie, where she died on November 28, 1943. The convent's chaplain, Rev. Władysław Bajer, was summoned three times by the Gestapo in connection with Jewish women suspected of hiding there.⁹⁸¹ Barbara Metzendorf (born in 1936) was sheltered in a nursery school in Kraków run by the Felician Sisters until it was shut down. She then stayed in a shelter run by the Dominican Sisters outside of Kraków. Later she was cared for by a family friend. Her older sister (by three years) was rescued by a Polish aristocratic woman. The two girls were reunited with their father after the war.⁹⁸²

Lidka Taubenfeld (also known as Ilana Feldblum) and her cousin Lena Gross (Kaniewska) were taken in by the Felician Sisters at their hospice (Dom Opieki) on Kopernik Street under assumed identities,⁹⁸³ as

⁹⁸⁰ Ellen Land-Weber, *To Save a Life: Stories of Holocaust Rescue* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 204–6, 244; Marian Połowicz, *The Righteous Database*, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=11700341>>.

⁹⁸¹ Testimony of Rev. Władysław Bajer in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 341.

⁹⁸² Testimony of Barbara Metzendorf, February 6, 1949, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4268.

⁹⁸³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 350; Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 190. Lena Gross Kaniewska states that she stayed in three different convents.

was the daughter of Pinkas Goldfluss, a pharmacist from Dębica.⁹⁸⁴ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, p. 350.)

During the occupation, Lidka Taubenfeld (born 1932) [later Ilana Feldblum] moved with her family from the town of Radom to Przemysl [Przemyśl], where her father passed away. Although Taubenfeld and her cousin, Lena Gross [later Kaniewska], had been provided with Aryan papers by their parents after Lena's parents perished, Lidka's mother realized the importance of finding them a safe shelter. In a chance encounter with Maria Klepacka, the latter agreed to hide the two girls in her apartment and teach them the basic tenets of Catholicism to prepare them for admission to a convent orphanage, where they would be safe. Klepacka took the two girls into her one-room apartment in Cracow [Kraków], where they were soon joined by other refugees. Klepacka often put up Jews on a temporary basis until they found more permanent accommodation on the Aryan side of the city. Half a year later, Taubenfeld and Gross were transferred to a convent belonging to the Felicjanki [Felician] Sisters under assumed identities. In late 1942, after Taubenfeld's mother perished, a relative undertook to pay the convent fees. After he too perished, the children were returned by the nuns to Klepacka, who continued to look after them like her own daughters. In due course, after Zegota [Żegota], at Klepacka's request, agreed to pay the convent fees, Taubenfeld and Gross were sent back to the convent, where they stayed until January 1945, when the area was liberated.

After being expelled from their home on Kopernik Street in Kraków, the Felician Sisters were taken in by the Benedictine Sisters in Staniątki and ran their boarding school there. Three Felician sisters were engaged in this operation: Sister Filipa (Irena) Święch, the superior, Sister Klementyna, and Sister Marcelina. Six out of the eighteen girls in residence were Jewish, among them Irena Zalewska, Marta Wiśniewska, Janina Baran, Hania Żorska,⁹⁸⁵ and Janina Ecker. An account of this rescue effort is found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 4: Poland, Part 1, at page 445.

Tadeusz Latawiec and his wife, Jozefa [Józefa], lived in a residential building in Cracow that belonged to the Eckers. In 1940, the Eckers—husband, wife, and five-year-old daughter, Janina—were expelled from Cracow to the ghetto in Wieliczka, where they remained until the ghetto was liquidated in August 1942. During the evacuation Aktion, Tadeusz Latawiec entered the ghetto and, risking his life, removed little Janina (with her parents' full consent) and brought her to his apartment. From then on, Latawiec, a postal clerk, and his wife, Jozefa, protected the Jewish girl, cared for her lovingly and devotedly as they would their own daughter, and met all her needs out of humanitarian principles and for no material reward. Mr. Ecker perished; his wife was sent to the concentration camp in Plaszow [Płaszów]. Latawiec made contact with her and occasionally brought greetings from her daughter until she was transferred to a different camp, never to return. In the spring of 1943, when the Latawieces' neighbors identified Janina as the Eckers' daughter her protectors moved her to an orphanage at a convent in Staniatki [Staniątki] (near Cracow), for which they made [modest] monthly payment punctiliously [for the child's upkeep]. After the liberation, the Latawieces took Janina into their home and cared for her until 1949, when Jewish institutions arranged her resettlement in Israel.

Janina (Nina) Ecker's own testimony is found in Ewa Kurek's monograph, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, at pages 179–85. There, she clarifies that both her parents survived the war and describes the circumstances in which she found herself in the care of the Felician Sisters in Staniątki.

My adoptive mother [Józefa Latawiec], a practicing Catholic, frequently went to church and prayed. According to her, St. Anthony inspired her one day to place me in a convent. She went to the Social Welfare Department and said that she had a niece from the Poznan [Poznań] area who she wanted to place in a boarding school. They gave her the name of the Felician Sisters in Staniatki [Staniątki] and obtained a birth certificate for me, and we left for Staniatki. This was the beginning of 1944. My adoptive mother had had me baptized with water earlier. I was accepted as a Polish girl in the convent until the end of the war.

The nuns did not know [initially], therefore, that I was Jewish. My appearance was good, my Polish likewise. I behaved properly and was a practicing Catholic.

When I was ready to take my first Communion, though, I was afraid that I would commit some sacrilege. In truth, though my adoptive mother had me baptized, it was not a real baptism. One day I approached the mother superior

⁹⁸⁴ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 641.

⁹⁸⁵ Krystyna Samsonowska, "Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 848; Klimek, *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945*, 20.

and asked to have a talk with her. I told her that I was a [sic] Jewish and begged her to have me baptized before I took Holy Communion. She fixed her eyes on me and said:

“Daughter of the Chosen Race, good child, let’s try to figure this out.” The next day the mother superior made a trip to my adoptive mother and asked her by what right had she placed a Jewish child in the convent without telling her. She said she already had several Jewish children and needed more Polish children to hide the presence of the others. Meanwhile, each new child she was getting was Jewish! (There were not many children in the school, about eighteen. Taking that into consideration, six Jewish girls was a lot.) My adoptive mother swore that I was not a Jew, but rather her niece. The sister replied that that was nonsense, for I had admitted it myself. When she next saw me, my adoptive mother said: “Nina, what have you done!”

So I became baptized. In the meantime I befriended the other Jewish girls there, and thanks to me all six became baptized. Of course, everything happened in secret, though with much ceremony. ...

We then went to church and, hiding there, started to tell each other about ourselves. There were three of us. As for the rest of the Jewish girls, everyone knew that they were Jewish because of the way they looked. ... Of course, no one betrayed them, but they were terribly bullied.

When I organized this baptism, we were all very happy because we felt that if something happened we would go straight to heaven.

I was treated very well in the convent. My adoptive parents paid for me during the entire time I was there. My adoptive father supported me from his meagre post office pension. Aside from the mother superior, not one of the nuns knew that I was Jewish. I was there until the liberation of Cracow in [sic] January 18, 1945. My adoptive parents came for me the following day and took me home with them. I returned home, and they enrolled me in school. ...

It was good in the convent. The nuns protected us. They tried to dress the girls who had an “inappropriate look” in such a way as to cover up their “Jewishness.” The nuns were very orderly and tried very hard. Particularly, the mother superior, Sister Filipa Swiech [Święch]. ...

There were only three Felician sisters. Mother Superior Filipa Swiech, Sister Klementyna and Sister Marcelina. The teachers were secular, and they did not know [officially] that we were Jewish. ...

There were different stages in the convent. Toward the end of the war we suffered from hunger, for there were no food supplies and nothing to eat—but love and warmth were not lacking. Sister Marcelina was an exceptional person in this regard. For me she was not only a mother, but a friend. She worried over us and cherished us. And then there were the [Latawieces], of course. Every Sunday they came to me with a toy, a blouse, sugar or something else. Through all the years of the war I did not lack love and warmth. I was fortunate.

A number of Jewish children—perhaps seven—were sheltered by the Felician Sisters at their orphanage in Sądowa Wisznia near Jaworów, among them Stanisław Stammer-Cichocki from Lwów (born in 1937) and Renia Gutman, the daughter of a local Jewish doctor. Three Jewish children from the nearby town of Gródek Jagielloński—the siblings Mania (Marusia) and Zew (Władek) Rajcfeld and Basia Rothman—were placed in the orphanage by Jan Ponulak. Afterwards, Jan Ponulak and his brother Michał managed to smuggle Rajzel Rajcfeld, the mother of Mania and Zew, out of the ghetto in Gródek Jagielloński and brought her to the convent. She remained there with her children dressed in a nun’s habit. Because the number of children grew during the war to more than thirty, it was necessary to move the orphanage to the monastery of the Reformed Franciscan Fathers, also in Sądowa Wisznia. The head of the convent, Sister Kantalicja (Julia) Zagrodzka, was awarded by Yad Vashem in 2016. Two other nuns, Sisters Zdzisława Zarzycka and Irena Chryczuk, are shown in a 1943 group photograph with the children. As the Soviet front approached, the nuns were ordered to evacuate the monastery for use by the German military. In the spring of 1944, they transferred their charges to a children’s home in Otwock near Warsaw, also run by the Felician Sisters. One of the nuns who accompanied the children and the mother of one of the Jewish children to Otwock was Sister Łukasz Makuch.⁹⁸⁶

The following testimonials concern institutions run by the Felician Sisters in Wawer, located on the outskirts of Warsaw, in the nearby settlement of Glinki. Sister Zygmunta (Joanna Reiter), the director of

⁹⁸⁶ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 265–66; Rączy and Witowicz, *Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945 / Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945*, 183–85 (with photographs); Gary Wisby, “Sister Mary Luke Makuch: Aided Jewish Kids in WW II,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 22, 2003; Testimony of Stanisław Stammer-Cichocki, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 21024; Maria Sowisło, “Ze wspomnień Żydówki Rajzel dowiedział się o ojce bohaterze,” *Dziennik Bałtycki*, September 27, 2019, based on the Yad Vashem testimony of Rajzel Rajcfeld; Tadeusz Epsztajn, Ewa Grzymała, and Dorota Zamojska, eds., *Inwentarz Archiwum Wydziału Oświaty Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce 1945-1950: Sygn. 303/IX* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 1997 & 2011), 86, 271 (Basia Rothman).

the orphanage in Wawer, was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile. It is important to bear in mind that convents had to rely on charity and income from their own services or labour for subsistence, and that most nuns lived in poverty. (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, p. 174; Part 2, pp. 666, 784.)

[1] *When their Warsaw apartment was confiscated during the occupation, Stefania Dlutowska [Dlutowska] and her daughter, Maria-Krystyna, were forced to move to the nearby village of Radosc [Radość]. From early 1943, six Jews—Jerzy Leinkram and his young daughter, Ruth; his grandmother, Blums Goldman; his nephew, Michal [Michał] Flohr; his uncle, Julian Leinkram; and his cousin, Marta Lencka—all found shelter in the cellar of the Dlutowskis' new home, where Stefania and her daughter took good care of them. When the Dlutowskis were no longer able to support such a large number of people, Dlutowska transferred Ruth under an assumed name to a children's institution run by the Felicjanki [Felician] nuns in the village of Glinki, near Warsaw, and Flohr to a relative of Dlutowska's who agreed to take him in. ... Dlutowska and her daughter received no payment for their acts of courage ...*

[2] *In 1943, Mirla Kajler managed to escape from the Warsaw ghetto with her four-year-old daughter, Felicia. When Kajler realized that she had no chance of surviving with her daughter, she went to a Catholic convent in Wawer, an eastern suburb of Warsaw, and approached the mother superior, Sister Zygmunta, the former Johanna Reiter, begging her to admit her daughter to the home for abandoned children run by the sisters of the convent. When Sister Zygmunta found out that the girl was Jewish, she looked after her devotedly, protected her, and watched out for her safety during the periodic interrogations conducted by the Germans in an attempt to discover Jewish children hiding there. ... After the war, Felicia was returned to her mother and the two moved to France ...*

[3] *Before the war, Fraidla Skladkowska owned a leather-processing factory in Warsaw. After the occupation of Warsaw, Zenon Szenfeld helped the Skladkowskis by offering to hide their assets and valuables for them. When the Skladkowskis were interned in the ghetto, Zenon and his wife, Marianna, smuggled in food parcels to them. In July 1942, they helped the Skladkowskis and their daughter, Aliza, as well as Skladkowska's brother, Jakub Pinczewski, escape to the Aryan side of the city, where they provided them with forged papers and financial aid. After putting them up for a short while, the Szenfelds arranged for the refugees to stay with Maria Szmids, Marianna's mother. After the authorities were alerted by an informer, however, the Skladkowskis moved in with Czesław [Czesław] and Maria Car, where they hid until May 1943, while the Szenfelds continued to look out for their safety. Again the danger of discovery forced them to move, this time to the home of Janina Szymanska [Szymańska]. Thanks to the Aryan papers in her possession, Fraidla found work in a factory, while her daughter, who fell ill, was transferred to the nearby Wawer convent. In due course, her husband and brother moved in with Anna Szwercowska and Irena Rudkowska, her sister, in Anin, near Warsaw, where they remained until September 1944, when the area was liberated. After the war, the survivors emigrated to the United States.*

Barbara Bregman (later Marlow), who was born in 1930, and her mother Bronisława Bregman escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in July 1942. While residing in the ghetto, the family (including her parents and brother) had converted to Catholicism and were parishioners at All Saints' church. They were helped by a number of prewar Polish friends, among them Stanisława Weddecka and Bonawentura Lenart, Barbara's nanny, as well as by new acquaintances. Rev. Leon Pawlina, who was a member of Caritas, the archdiocesan charitable organization, provided them with false baptismal certificates. Bronisława Bregman became Paulina Karczewska and was sheltered by Irena Nowodworska, the widow of Leon Nowodworski, who was a National Democrat activist and head of the Warsaw Council of Lawyers. (After the Council of Lawyers rejected German demands to remove its Jewish members in February 1940, Leon Nowodworski was removed from the bar and died the following year.⁹⁸⁷) Barbara Bregman became Marianna Anyszka and, with the assistance of Rev. Pawlina, was placed in the Felician Sisters' boarding school in Wawer in February 1943. She remained there for half a year, before rejoining her mother. Barbara was asked to leave after another Jewish girl, whose true identity had become widely known,

⁹⁸⁷ After the Warsaw Council of Lawyers rejected the German demand to remove its Jewish members in February 1940, the authors who issued the rejection were promptly disbarred. The Germans subsequently forbade all members of the council from practicing law and ordered a general registration of all Warsaw lawyers. Every candidate for inclusion on the official list of bar members was first questioned by the chief of the Warsaw District Department of Justice on his position on the admission of Jewish lawyers. The 80–100 lawyers who openly favoured their admission (nine lawyers did not state any view, the majority gave equivocal answers) were arrested in July 1940 and taken to Pawiak prison in Warsaw. They were sent to Auschwitz in September 1940, and only a few of them survived. See Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 116–20.

identified her as a Jew, thereby exposing her cover. In her Shoah Foundation testimony, Barbara suggests that the two Jewish girls' departure had to do with the fact that the nuns did not want to shelter Jewish children, which is not the case because the Felician Sisters accepted a number of Jewish children at this institution, as the rescue of Felicia Kajler (described above) shows. The two girls in question had to leave because, once their cover had been disclosed, their continued stay put the rescue operation at risk and became precarious for the entire institution.⁹⁸⁸

Halina Robinson, who was born in 1928 as Halina (Lina) Trachtenberg, was deported together with her family from their hometown of Kalisz to Warsaw at the beginning of the war. She escaped from the Warsaw ghetto in September 1942, at the age of 14, by jumping over the ghetto wall with the help of Leokadia (Loda) Komarnicka. Komarnicka also helped Halina's stepmother, Jadwiga Trachtenberg, and Zofia and Sabina Zander, Jadwiga's mother and sister, escape from the ghetto.⁹⁸⁹ For the next two years, young Halina was in hiding, in thirteen different places and with four sets of false documents. As she recalls, "In the 23 months I spent in hiding, following my escape, I had to pass through 13 locations with four sets of false documents. That means that close to 100 other Righteous Gentiles risked their lives to save just one Jewish teenager."⁹⁹⁰ These courageous Poles arranged for her transport, accommodation, and false documents. Among them were Zygmunt and Maria Truchanowicz, with whom Halina lived for some time, and Maria Jiruska, who had worked as a headmistress before the war. Passing as Halina Górska, Halina was among eleven Jewish children sheltered by the Felician Sisters in their convent in the Warsaw suburb of Wawer, where she attended a boarding school from October 1942 to February 1943. The Jewish children were under the care of Sister Maria Kalasancja (Antonina Fuja), who was the director of the high school. Halina describes her rescue in her memoir, *A Cork on the Waves*.⁹⁹¹ A summary account regarding rescuers Wanda Jiruska and her daughters, Stefania Weronika and Maria Antonina,⁹⁹² suggests that the children's homes run by the Catholic Church to which Wanda Jiruska referred Jewish children as orphans were not aware of their charges' Jewish origin. That was certainly not the case with regard to the Felician Sisters in Wawer.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul sheltered at least two Jewish children at their orphanage in Przeworsk, among them Esther Singer (born in 1939, later Freilach) and Rina Szpigel (later Glahman). Sister Zofia Szczygielska, the superior, was recognized by Yad Vashem in 2018.⁹⁹³ Esther's father, Friedrich Singer of Przeworsk, obtained false identity documents for himself and his daughter as Tadeusz Czajkowski and Antonina Czajkowska. He entrusted Esther to a Polish woman while he himself moved around working for Poles. When Esther fell ill, she was placed in the orphanage where she was cared for and nursed back to health. After the war, Esther rejoined her father and later settled in the United States. Sister Zofia Szczygielska was persecuted by the Stalinist regime and sentenced to three and a half years in

⁹⁸⁸ Testimony of Barbara Bregman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 25912; Jan Żaryn, "Zapomniani bohaterowie," *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), November 26, 2009; Testimony of Barbara Marlow in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 401–406.

⁹⁸⁹ According to one report, Leokadia Komarnicka, a staunch nationalist who helped dozens of Jews, was executed by the Germans for helping Jews. See Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 204–6, 489. However, Komarnicka is identified as Meta Kemblińska by Yad Vashem, Sabina Zander is said to have been sent to a convent near Warsaw, and Kemblińska is said to have died in 1958. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 342–43.

⁹⁹⁰ Halina Robinson, "Survivor," in *The Words to Remember It: Memoirs of Child Holocaust Survivors* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2009), 291–304, at p. 298.

⁹⁹¹ Halina Robinson, *A Cork on the Waves: Reflections of a Turbulent Life* (Sydney: Sydney Jewish Museum, 2005; Sydney: Park Street Press, 2006); Halina Czernuszyn-Robinson, *A Cork on the Waves: A Survivor's Story* (Silverwater, New South Wales: Vide Publishing, 2015).

⁹⁹² Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 325.

⁹⁹³ Zofia Szczygielska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=6416426>>.

prison on trumped up charges. She was released in 1951, after serving two years and nine months of her sentence.⁹⁹⁴

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul sheltered several Jewish children and adults at their convent in Nyrków, on the outskirts of Czerwonogród near Zaleszczyki, in Tarnopol province. After escaping from the ghetto in Drohobycz in 1942, Karolina Heuman (born in 1928) and her younger brother Henryk (born in 1936) were placed there by their father. Karolina assumed the name of Marta Regusz; her brother, who did not survive a Ukrainian partisan attack on the town in February 1945, was known as Andrzej. Karolina recalled those turbulent years in her account published in Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, at pages 187–89:

After a few months of staying in the ghetto [on Drohobycz], we managed to escape. At that point, our entire family split up. Mother, under an assumed name, left for Lwów, and my brother and I were placed by Father in the cloister of the Sisters of Charity in Czerwonogród. I remember how we were driven by night in a horse-drawn wagon to the cloister and how Father bade us farewell. Pointing to the sky, he said, "We shall meet there." He then paid for our stay⁹⁹⁵ with money he kept hidden in a bottle, and he left. From that moment I never saw him again.

In the cloister, I used the name Marta Regusz. I worked in the fields. Whenever Germans showed up in the cloister, I would die of fright (after all, my brother was circumcised!). After placing us in the cloister, Father went into hiding in Horodenka, where he was shot at the beginning of 1943. ... I don't know where Mother perished. ... My brother perished during a raid on the cloister by the followers of Bandera [Ukrainian nationalist partisans who attacked Poles]. He was then nine years old. Here is how, at the time, I described the events of this horrible day:

"It was the second of February 1945, at eleven o'clock. ... There were three of us young girls and my beloved brother ... I woke up with a start during the night and heard terrible shooting around the cloister. There was often shooting going on at night, but it never made the same impression on me as then. I got up and walked up to the window. It seemed to me that it was strangely bright outside. I lay down again, but some inner voice would not let me lie. I started to get dressed, and I dressed my brother. All of us girls were already dressed when Sister Władysława [Sobierajska] walked in and said we were surrounded by Bandera's followers. We were terrified.

"Right away, we went over to the bedrooms of the Sisters, and there, by the window, we stood for three hours, watching the terrible tortures of people who were fleeing in panic from the flames. The inhuman barbarians ran around furiously with flares in their hands and set fires to one hut after another, and whenever they saw someone, if they could, they grabbed him alive, and if not, then they would shoot him on the spot. They captured one family in our village and all that was later found of the children were fragments of burned-up bones, and the father's skin had been ripped off from his stomach all the way to his head. We, the girls, stood all the time by the window, waiting for what would happen next. We felt that our own lives, too, were hanging by a thread. ...

"Soon, our suppositions came to pass. At three o'clock in the morning, we heard terrible knocking on the front gate, which seemed to foretell our approaching end. Sister Władysława called us into the chapel and began to pray and prepare us for death. We knelt in front of the altar for perhaps ten minutes. ...

"I had no regrets about dying, because until then I had not experienced contentment on earth. I just felt sorry for my brother. ... In the last moment, when the glass of the windows in the lower corridor started falling onto the floor with a loud crash, Sister Superior [Klara Linowska] hid us under the altar."

Those who survived repatriated to Poland.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul also sheltered the two-year-old daughter of Regina Gertner. Her daughter, Lucy, was left at the convent in Nyrków near Czerwonogród as a foundling by a Christian woman, whom Regina Gertner turned to with that request. Regina Gertner survived the war hidden by a Polish family and reclaimed her daughter.⁹⁹⁶

Baruch Milch, who escaped from ghetto in the town Tłuste near Zaleszczyki, in Tarnopol province, along with his brother-in-law, Jakub Weinles, found shelter among Poles in the village of Czerwonogród. They

⁹⁹⁴ Marian Wachowicz, "Sprawiedliwa wśród Narodów Świata," *Nasz Dziennik*, July 12, 2019.

⁹⁹⁵ It was not unusual for people who could afford to do so to make payments or gifts to religious institutions to offset the cost of caring for their children. During the war convents and orphanages were overcrowded with charges and in dire financial straits. It is unlikely that the amount paid over by their father was sufficient to maintain his children for the entire period of their stay at the convent.

⁹⁹⁶ Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 7; Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 368 n.6.

and other Jews encountered helpful nuns, Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Nyrków near Czerwonogród, and priests along the way, among them Rev. Szczepan Jurasz of Czerwonogród and Rev. Stanisław Szkodziński of Tłuste.⁹⁹⁷ Rev. Szkodziński, the pastor, and his vicar, Rev. Bronisław Majka, were both killed by Ukrainian nationalists on September 15, 1943.⁹⁹⁸ During an attack by Ukrainian partisans in February 1945, more than 60 Poles lost their lives in Czerwonogród, including the pastor Rev. Szczepan Jurasz and two nuns, Sister Klara Linowska, the superior, and Sister Henryka Bronikowska.⁹⁹⁹ (Gilbert, *The Righteous*, pp. 51–52.)

A second family, by the name of Zielinski [Zieliński], who had not known Milch or his brother-in-law before the war, took them in, and kept them in hiding for nine months. In spite of the danger to their own lives, the Zielinskis gave the two grieving men both 'moral support and love', in addition to taking care of all their daily needs. Later, they found a hiding place for the two men in a convent near Tłuste [Tłuste], run by three Sisters of Mercy [Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul] and their Mother Superior [Klara Linowska]. Baruch Milch later recalled: 'These heroic women ran the religious services of the parish, conducted the choir, played the organ and managed the kindergarten. Later in the summer they opened a secret shelter for foundlings. Among these tiny outcasts were about six or eight Jewish children left by desperate parents roaming the fields and forests, or just found abandoned at the monastery's threshold.' On one occasion the three nuns found in their backyard a four-year-old boy, speaking only Yiddish. 'They gathered him into their midst. As long as the murderers were unaware of what was going on behind the walls the self-sacrificing women shared their scanty provisions, fed their charges, cared for them and took them to the church.'

In his memoir, *Can Heaven Be Void?* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003), at pages 164, 227, 254–56, Baruch Milch describes the rescue of Lusia Geller and Manya Nirnberg, involving the help of Rev. Szkodziński:

Slowly, we started to sneak our way into the village we had been seeking, Czerwonograd [Czerwonogród], a village that was inhabited largely by Poles. Former patients of mine from the old days lived in every other house. The Polish village priest [Rev. Szczepan Jurasz] had been very helpful to Jews in the past, and there was a convent where the nuns were hiding some Jewish children. ...

Alone, Lusia [Geller], escaping a Ukrainian gang of murderers, went on to the local priest [Rev. Stanisław Szkodziński], who lived on the other side of the town [of Tłuste]. At midnight, she knocked on the window. The priest's sister, a good-natured spinster, overcame her fear, opened the window and called the priest, who allowed Lusia to climb in.

After Lusia told them what had happened, the priest and his sister fed her and tucked her in a warm bed, where she fell deeply asleep. The next morning, she asked the priest's sister to visit the labor camp and speak with the German commandant, Patti. She met with Mr. Konigsberg, the camp foreman, and pleaded with him to save Manya [Nirnberg, Lusia's adopted sister]. Konigsberg's assistant was roped in, and the assistant, being on good terms with the Ukrainian police, managed to extricate the girl from the police and transfer her to the camp. Manya, barefoot, chalk-white, dressed in nothing but a nightgown and a thin blouse, related how the Ukrainian police had laughed at her when she said she wanted to die. They stood her up against a wall in the courtyard and several policemen lined up opposite her with pistols and fired, deliberately missing. A German came over and told them to leave her alone. "One doesn't shoot at those who want to die but only at those who want to live," he explained.

The priest's sister informed Lusia that Manya was alive and well. Lusia burst into tears and begged to be sent, along with Manya, to the Lisowce camp, where she would find her mother and sisters. There was typhus in the camp at the time, and Mrs. Geller, fearing that the two girls would succumb to the disease, bribed the camp manager, a Pole named Korczak, to quarter Lusia and Manya with a Polish family. She treated Manya like her fourth daughter. He complied willingly ... The Polish family was honest, devoutly Catholic, and hoped that the girls would convert

⁹⁹⁷ According to several sources, Rev. Szkodziński and a Ukrainian priest from Tłuste exhorted their parishioners to close their ears to the anti-Semitic propaganda spread by the Germans, and to do everything they could to help the Jews. See Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 40; Testimony of Berl Glik, Grynberg and Kotowska, *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945*, 369–70; Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 841; Interview with Adela Sommer, 1983, Kean College of New Jersey Holocaust Resource Center, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives.

⁹⁹⁸ Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 443.

⁹⁹⁹ Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 432–33.

after the war. Korczak watched over the girls and met their needs. ...

[On March 26, 1944:] To be on the safe side, we [Baruch Milch and other Jews hidden by the Zieliński family] stopped on the way to Tłuste for a few days with the Polish priest who knew where we had been hiding. While there, we visited the convent and found a few Jewish children whom the nuns had concealed. ...

Surreptitiously, I [Baruch Milch] began planning to leave Zaleszczyki in the company of some Polish families. With help from the local Polish priest, I obtained papers in the name of Dr. Jan Zielinski [Zieliński], the real name of the Zielinskis' son who disappeared in the Soviet Union during the war. My "adopted son," Zalman Sperber, got papers in the name of Jozio Zielinski [Józio Zieliński]. ...

Even though the Soviets and the new Polish government had agreed in writing that Jews and Poles with Polish citizenship could return to Poland, I could not get permission to leave the USSR because of my profession and rank. Therefore, I scheduled the exodus of the expanded Zielinski family for a week in which I was to attend a symposium in Czortków, whence the transports to Poland set out. Some Poles in the transport knew what I had in mind, because I had done much for them and we got along very well. Even the Polish railwaymen knew.

Rev. Stanisław Szkodziński, the pastor of Tłuste, and his young vicar, Rev. Bronisław Majka, are also identified by Krystyna Smolik (née Fey, born in 1930) as the protectors of her family. After the family converted to Catholicism in secret in Skałat, she, her younger sister and, eventually, her mother, Bronisława Fey, relocated to Tłuste where they lived under the care of the priests. Sister Teresa of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, who ran a shelter in that town, provided them with food. They also received assistance from the two Frankl sisters, who were teachers, and Jan Świąder, a forester who also sheltered another Jewish woman.¹⁰⁰⁰

It was widely known among the Polish population that many Jews were passing as Poles. In Warsaw alone it is estimated that there were more than 20,000 Jews living on the Aryan side. Discretion was the order of the day, especially among rescuers including Catholic institutions. Probing questions were not asked. The less said the better; the less one knew the better. The following account attests to the silent assistance extended to the family of Adam Starkopf by a number of Poles, including nuns and priests near Warsaw. (Adam Starkopf, *There Is Always Time To Die* [New York: Holocaust Library, 1981], pp. 201–11; Adam Starkopf, *Will To Live: One Family's Story of Surviving the Holocaust* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995], pp. 201–11.)

In January 1944, however, I was forced to part from both my wife [Pela] and child [Jasia] because Pela had to go to the hospital. Her abdominal pains had returned and it was clear to me that she needed more competent care than she could receive at the clinic in Łochów [Łochów]. One of the men in the lumberyard told me about Professor Czyzewicz [Czyżewicz], who was chief of surgery at the Szpital Dzieciątka [Dzieciątka] Jezus—the Hospital of the Holy Infant Jesus—in Warsaw. I had heard of this doctor even before the war, and I knew that he was an outstanding surgeon. I did not know his human qualities, but I feared that if Pela continued to go without proper treatment, we might one day find ourselves faced with a life and death emergency. And so I decided to take the chance and have Pela examined by Prof. Czyzewicz in Warsaw.

After examining Pela, the professor said that she should be operated on without further delay. ...

From the professor's words I realized that we could no longer put off the operation. But I also knew that the Hospital of the Holy Infant Jesus was not a charity clinic. Patients at this hospital were expected to pay for their beds and for their treatment. How was I to raise the money? I threw myself at Prof. Czyzewicz's mercy. I explained to him that I was at present without funds worth mentioning because I was a former officer of the Polish army in hiding from the Germans. The professor looked at me, and then at Pela. He seemed to understand. "Don't worry," he said. "I'll operate on your wife myself, and I'll collect the money from you whenever you'll have it." I think he suspected immediately that we were Jewish. Later, I learned that he had given a room in his apartment to Professor Beck, a well-known Jewish specialist who had been the hospital's chief of surgery before the Germans came. Thanks to Professor Czyzewicz, Professor Beck survived the war.

A date was set for Pela's operation. Meanwhile, I was told to take her home. She was going to be admitted to the hospital only two days before the operation.

I took Pela back with me to Sadowne. Our security problem had been solved. Pela and I now had a legitimate reason for leaving Sadowne and staying away for some time. But what were we to do about Jasia?

We decided to do now what we had so firmly refused to consider doing after Jasia's discharge from the children's hospital: We were going to put Jasia into the convalescent home in Swider [Świder, a Warsaw suburb] which Dr. Stankiewicz, the pediatrician, had recommended to us at the time. I told the nuns who managed the sanatorium that I

¹⁰⁰⁰ Krystyna Smolik, "Nadzieja nadeszła wiosną," in Kołacińska-Gałazka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 188–90.

was a former officer of the Polish army, that I was a devout Catholic working for the Polish underground and that I had no money to pay for Jasia's care. But now my wife would have to go to the hospital for a serious operation and I was desperately in need of a place where our little girl, who was not quite three years old, could be cared for until her mother was well again. If I could not find such a place for Jasia, I would not be able to continue my resistance activities, I said.

The nuns were wonderful. I do not know whether they suspected that Pela and I were Jewish, but they immediately agreed to accept Jasia free of charge. Once again Pela and I had to go through the ordeal of putting our little girl into the care of strangers. We left her in the ward crying bitterly but we knew there was nothing we could have done and we tried to persuade ourselves that Jasia would be in good hands. ...

Pela entered the hospital in the middle of January 1944. She was placed into a women's ward with five or six other patients. In order to bolster Pela's credibility as a good Catholic, our friend Edward Galewski gave her a little breviary to keep with her in the hospital, along with a religious tract entitled *The Life of Saint Theresa*. Pela placed both books on full view atop her little bedside table. Before the operation a priest came to her bedside to hear her confession. This was something for which Pela had not been prepared. She did not know the responses used in this sacrament of the Church and she was afraid that her ignorance would betray that she was not the devout Catholic she had made herself out to be. So, when the priest asked her whether she was ready to confess her sins she told him that she was in too much pain to be able to perform the act with the full concentration it required. The priest gave her a sad but understanding smile, made the sign of the cross over her and left. I only hoped that when Pela came out of her anaesthesia after the operation she would not say anything that would betray her as a Jewess.

The operation took almost four hours. ...

Almost as soon as Pela was awake again the priest made a return appearance. He inquired whether she was now ready to make her confession. Once again Pela protested; she said she was still too weak and tried to concentrate on repentance. Very well, the priest said, he would take her deadly sins upon his conscience, but he would suggest that she at least attempt to confess her lesser sins. When Pela still refused, he shook his head, smiled and walked away. Pela thought he suspected that she was Jewish, because he stopped pressing her about making her confession but gave her a friendly smile whenever he passed through her ward on his daily rounds. ...

Because her operation had been a difficult one, Pela had to remain in the hospital for seven weeks. ... Every Sunday I visited Jasia at the sanatorium in Swider. I was happy to see that she, at least, was getting good food, that she had good color and had not only grown but also gained some weight. ...

Pela and I worried whether we had been right to leave Jasia in the sanatorium. The Soviets had begun to bomb Warsaw and its railroad communications. What if we could no longer go to Warsaw to visit our daughter? What if the sanatorium itself got hit? Perhaps Jasia was now in no less danger at the sanatorium than she would be in Sadowne? So, just before Easter, we went to Warsaw to pick her up and bring her home again.

After the liberation, Jasia continued to suffer poor health and needed to regain her strength. The Starkopfs again turned to nuns for assistance. (Starkopf, *There Is Always Time To Die*, p. 229; Starkopf, *Will To Live*, p. 229.)

But what were we to do? The payment I was receiving for my work with the "Jewish Committee" consisted of nothing more than room and board at the shelter. But the doctor had an idea. She suggested that we place Jasia into a children's convalescent home which was housed in a convent near Lublin. She explained to us that, unlike the sanatorium in Swider, this institution accepted every child free of charge. "Of course, the generosity of the sisters creates a problem," the doctor added with a sigh. "Usually, every bed is taken. But I'll try and see whether they can make room for one more little girl."

We were lucky; Jasia was accepted by the sisters and remained there for the next four months.

Sandra (Roma) Brand, originally from Niemirów near Lwów, passed as a Polish Catholic in Warsaw. Under the assumed identity of Cecylia Szarek, she had a love affair with Rolf Peschel, a German officer at the Criminal Police Headquarters in Warsaw who helped Jews and the Polish underground. Shortly before the August 1944 uprising, the Germans discovered Rolf's double life and murdered him and made it look like a crime committed by the Polish underground. During the uprising, Brand befriended Rev. Teodor Bensch, a Polish priest who taught canon law at an underground university in Warsaw. Her conversations with Rev. Bensch, who suspected her of being Jewish, proved to be a great comfort to her.¹⁰⁰¹ Unknown to her at the time, Rev. Bensch was hiding several Jews, among them a woman and her teenage niece, in a chapel of an old-age home run by the Franciscans in suburban Konstancin. His kindness towards Sandra (Roma) Brand continued after the liberation. After the war Rev. Bensch returned

¹⁰⁰¹ That relationship is described in Sandra Brand's memoir *I Dared To Live* (New York: Shengold, 1978), 144–55.

to his teaching position at the Catholic University of Lublin, but was soon elevated to the rank of bishop of Warmia. (Sandra Brand, *Good People, Bad People* [Rockville, Maryland: Schreiber, 2003], pp. 69–73, 78.)

Father Teodor Bensch who became my friend while I was attending the prayer sessions for the Polish Freedom Fighters during the uprising in Warsaw, passed everyday at the same time by the gardener's house, which now was my so-called home. Although sick, I waited eagerly near the fence of the garden to hear some news.

He came to my rescue. He heard me coughing and said, "You are sick my child and you seem hungry too. You need help. Why don't you move into the Home for Retired Actors in Skolimov [Skolimów]. The home receives food coupons. It isn't much, but enough to feed the inmates, and enough to feed one more person. I will speak to the Reverend Mother. I think the best place for you will be right here. ...

I moved into the old age home. ...

There was, in contrast to all other inmates, a young woman occupying the room next to mine. She shared it with a twelve-year-old girl. They also, like myself, preferred to take their meals in their room.

She had access to underground news sheets and she knew that all of those deported died in gas chambers. She spoke authoritatively, leaving no room for arguments. But I did not want to believe her because I wanted to find my child alive.

In my room I pressed my forehead against the cool glass of the window. I did not hear the knock at the door. Father Bensch came in.

I sensed at once that he had something important to say. I pulled another chair to the window and motioned my guest to sit down.

"I have been recalled to Lublin Catholic University to resume teaching Canon Law." ...

"What are your plans?" Father Bensch asked. "You can stay here as long as you like but you're too young a woman to remain in an old age home indefinitely." ...

"What do you think of resuming your education?" Father Bensch asked.

"Am I not too old for that?"

"No one is ever too old to learn. Come to Lublin and register at Lublin University. If I remember correctly you wanted to become a journalist."

... I talk about my unforgettable friend Father Teodor Bensch who hid several Jews in his chapel and saved them from deportation to death camps.

Not all rescue efforts in convents and institutions run by nuns ended so fortunately. Helena Szereszewska describes her experiences at St. Roch's hospice for the incurably sick (Zakład św. Rocha dla Nieuleczalnie Chorych) in Warsaw, which was run by the Felician Sisters. There, she passed as a Christian woman named Alicja Majewska. After the Germans requisitioned the Sisters' original building on Nowowiejska Street for a hospital, in February 1943, their institution was moved to a former Jewish students' hostel on the corner of Leszno and Żelazna Streets. The institution was staffed by 16 nuns under the direction of Sister Aniela Kasprowicz. The Felician Sisters took in many Jews and Jewish converts, among them Helena Szereszewska, Zofia Łoziewicz, Maria Zawadzka, Mrs. Makowska, Mrs. Kosińska, Mrs. Mech, Mrs. Kowalska, Mr. and Mrs. Binder, and Mrs. Kozubowska. However, a conspiracy of silence prevailed about what was in fact an open secret. Szereszewska eventually had to leave the institution after her daughter, Anna Maria (Marysia), and her grandson, Robert (Maciuś) Szereszewski, came to join her, because they not fit the resident profile. They thus avoided the tragedy that befell its residents during the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944. On August 14, the Germans executed most of the 180 elderly and infirm residents of the institution. The nuns and lay staff were expelled to the transit camp in Pruszków. The nuns were then allowed to go to Kraków, whereas the lay staff was sent to Germany for slave labour. (Helena Szereszewska, *Memoirs from Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945* [London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997], pp. 292–377.)

I lived at Lwowska Street until the beginning of June 1943, until the day I received my identity card.

Mrs Grabowska had a confessor in the church [Church of the Holy Saviour] on Zbawiciela Square. She went there once a week and sought his advice in everything.

'There are two women living with me, a mother and daughter. They're Jewish. I want to get the mother taken in somewhere.'

'Nuns are the best,' advised the priest. 'The Ursulines or the Felicians. The Felicians have got a place on Leszno Street now.'

'Shall I tell the Reverend Mother the truth?'

'Don't say anything. I'll take the lie on my own conscience. Give the woman these books to contemplate from me.'

...
The Reverend Mother was sitting at a desk.

'I've come on behalf of my tenant, Maria Majewska [Szereszewska's daughter's assumed name],' said Mrs Grabowska. 'Her mother has a bad heart because of her terrible wartime experiences. She'd like the sisters to look after her.'

'Tell her to come with her mother,' said the nun. 'We've always got room.' ...

I went there with Marysia [her daughter].

'You're not Jewish or a convert, are you?' asked the Reverend Mother in her office.

'God forbid! I'm a good Catholic.' ...

'In principle we only accept people over the age of sixty-five,' said the nun looking at me inquiringly. 'You're too young for us. But sometimes we make exceptions.'

I was accepted and paid her the amount required, 500 zlotys.

Helena Szereszewska maintained the pretence that she was a Catholic throughout her stay at the institution. She gradually came to realize, however, that many Jews actually resided at the institution, and that there was an immense silent conspiracy concerning this matter among the nuns and the elderly chaplain. Szereszewska also encountered a Jewish woman who assumed the role of an anti-Semite during her stay. The residents were expected to attend chapel. Szereszewska recalled other priests that she encountered. Among them was Rev. Zygmunt Kozubski, professor of Catholic theology at the University of Warsaw and rector of the academic church of St. Anne in Warsaw, who allowed her son to serve as an altar boy—something that would be sacrilegious under normal circumstances.

In the middle sat an old woman in a black coat and a worn black felt hat on her head. She had a Jewish nose and looked like a town Jewess. She sat huddled up and slept all through the mass. She immediately attracted my attention. ...

Then an old priest in a golden chasuble celebrated the mass. There were two small altar boys, eight years old perhaps. ...

I watched the altar boys and thought about [my grandson] Maciuś. He had served at mass too [at St. Anne's church in Warsaw] thanks to Father [Zygmunt] Kozubski. The priest knew Maciuś was Jewish and wanted to protect him. So he gave him a white surplice and a bell. The young curate also knew about Maciuś but he found it worrying and one day he said, 'He's a Jewish child so what's he doing serving at Holy Mass.'

'What about it?' All children are the same before God,' replied Father Kozubski. ...

Every Sunday I listened to the priest's sermon. He often referred to the events which had so recently and so tragically taken place. He talked about the annihilation of the Jews. 'Everything that has happened to the Jews is atonement for the terrible sins they committed. It was God's punishment. The Germans are only the instruments of God's punishment.' ...

I walked to the church of St Charles Boromese [Borromeo] on Chłodna Street. I sat down on a pew and thought about my daughters ... I got up and approached the altar and knelt down. ... So I knelt in front of the altar with the huge cross all alone in the church, sensing the priest's questioning look on my back. He must have known who I was.

...
I knew the story of a relation of ours, an old woman who was hiding in the country with the family of a Polish friend of her son's. She became very ill so they called the priest. She was on the verge of dying. When she caught her breath she called out, 'Shema, Israel.' He gave her the holy oils. She died. He closed her eyes. 'I think,' he said as he was leaving, deeply moved, 'that Catholic wasn't completely Catholic.'

Being visited by people whose appearance was faultless could strengthen my position. It was very important. So [my daughter] Marysia asked Mrs Grabowska to visit me one day. ... So a few days later Marysia asked the very aristocratic-looking Mr. Sztark with the walrus moustache to visit me. ... He went to see the Reverend Mother in her office, kissed her hand, introduced himself and asked her to take special care of me as I was the wife of a colleague of his.

Anna Białkowska moved into our room ... In the second year of the war she was taken to Ravensbrück concentration camp and cleaned the latrines there. The cold and terrible damp affected her legs. Thanks to her distant relatives she got out after a while and spent a year in the Red Cross hospital unable to use her legs. ...

She was a Calvinist. In principle, the institution only took in Roman Catholics, but they made an exception for her. ... She supported the National Democrats and had ultra right-wing views. I realized that the very first evening when she mentioned politics while talking to Zofia Łoziewicz. That evening Zofia was playing the part of an anti-Semite who was nevertheless a supporter of Józef Piłsudski. ...

A few days after Anna Bialkowska moved into our room a bombshell burst. Zofia Łoziewicz was summoned to the office. 'Mrs Łoziewicz,' said the Reverend Mother, 'you concealed the fact that you're Jewish. Your papers are in order and no-one knew, but your secret has come out and now we can't keep you here any longer.' ...

'Mrs Majewska,' said Mrs Kowalska ... 'Someone rang from town and informed on her. They can't keep her any longer. But they're taking her to Otwock, to another place they've got. Sister Franciszka is going with her.'

'Mrs Majewska,' said Mrs Mech, the one who dozed during mass, '... Do you know who set her up like this? Her husband. She had a Polish husband who wanted to get his own back on her. Did you guess that Zofia is my daughter?' ...

That day, immediately after mass, as [Maria Zawadzka] was going round the rooms where the bedridden women lived, she came across someone who had just come to the institution. The woman looked at Maria Zawadzka and shouted, 'I know her! She's Jewish! She comes from a Jewish house! I did their washing and I know her!'

Maria Zawadzka turned as white as a sheet, ran out of the room, looked for the Reverend Mother, Sister Bogumiła, and threw herself at her feet. Crying, choking and nearly unconscious, she told her what had happened. Then Sister Bogumiła rushed into the room like a fury, her habit flapping and her cross and rosary beads jingling. 'Listen you, you hell-raiser.' Perhaps she wanted to call her a bitch, but could she of all people say that? 'You monster. If you open your mouth once more and say one more word about Mrs Zawadzka you'll die and perish and you'll be damned and swallowed up by hell. And you won't receive absolution in this world or in the next either. You're nearly dead already, you viper.' That's how she spoke to her in her fury, completely ignoring the other invalids lying next to her and half dead with fright.

Later the nuns tried to cover up the whole business. 'It's completely untrue,' they told everyone. 'That old Mrs Pikulska has gone mad. She doesn't know what she's saying. She was very ill when she came here and she'll go to Jesus soon.' ...

One day when our old priest was celebrating mass a woman I'd never seen before entered the chapel. ... I could tell that she was terribly confused. She didn't know whether to kneel or sit. She could see that nearly all the women were wearing a hat while she was bareheaded. She didn't have a missal. ...

Her name was Mrs Makowska and she'd just arrived that day. ... I could immediately tell that she was Jewish. It wasn't because of her face ... but her manner and behaviour. ...

There was one thing I often thought about. I knew I wasn't the only Jew in the place. How did Mrs Makowska, old Mrs Kosińska, Mrs Mech and Mrs Kowalska get into the institution? Mrs Makowska could have got in the same way as I did. We both had neutral faces and our identity cards were in order. ... But Mrs Kosińska's and Mrs Mech's Jewish faces were absolutely obvious and so how could Reverend Mother possibly ask them that ritual question about whether they were Jews or converts? ...

By now I was sure that the nuns knew they had Jews in hiding in the institution. [Others included Mr and Mrs Binder and Mrs Kozubowska. Mr Binder's accent gave him away, as did his looks, so he hardly spoke.] I became fully aware of it when a tall, thin woman with a typically Jewish face entered the chapel for morning mass one day. She sat down on a pew and was so terrified that she didn't make the sign of the cross when she came in or during mass. ... I was sure that the nuns had accepted the woman knowing very well who she was.

But what about Zofia Łoziewicz? Why had she been expelled? Because someone had rung from outside. No-one outside should ever know that the nuns were hiding Jews.

When the uprising broke out in August 1, 1944, the residents of the institution took shelter in nearby cellars.

At midnight one of the nuns came and brought some soup in a watering can. ... Suddenly a strong blast of air from a nearby explosion hit the window. A column of dust and lime poured over the cellar. Maciuś jumped off the table and shook the dust and pieces of lime off. The priest stretched out his hand. 'Did it frighten you, Maciuś?' he asked. He drew him close. 'Are you scared?' ... The priest took the child's head in his hands and brought it towards himself, smiling kindly. The boy leaned against the priest's knees ... I looked at the two of them and wondered whether the priest knew or didn't. Didn't he suspect anything? He lived in the institution, so could he really not know about the Jewish women in hiding there, and the Jewish men too? ...

The priest repeated the child's name tenderly. He put one hand lightly on his head in a gesture of benediction. His hand hung for a moment in the air and then descended as lightly as a caress. He didn't ask if he was obedient and loved Jesus, like priests often do. The two of them hugged each other and listened to the shots and the noises of exploding buildings, and at every louder explosion they shuddered simultaneously.

Just then we heard a loud stamping of feet somewhere deep underground and suddenly a unit of insurgents appeared out of the darkness of the tunnel. ... There were a few dozen of them. Some had rifles, some had revolvers and some had Molotov cocktails. They also carried machine-guns and grenades tied to their belts. They were very young. There was one Jew among them. ...

At eight o'clock we attended mass in the cellar on the other side of the courtyard. The altar, pews and confessional had been moved there. About a dozen soldiers went to confession before the battle. The shelter was down there. The

chapel was in the shelter and next to it, in the wide, dark space which used to be a store-room, about a hundred sick people lying in bed. The midget came out of the open door of this huge shelter and knelt on the concrete floor by the altar. She was followed by the girl with the paralysed hand and the girl with the ecstatic face. They both knelt by the altar. Then the monstrous woman dragged herself in and crouched down beside them. Finally one of the nuns came in holding the girl with chorea. The girl was nodding her head and walking strangely. Every muscle on her face twitched when, rolling her eyes and waving her hands, she sat down at last and made the sign of the cross with a disobedient hand.

The soldiers on the pews watched this human debris. They saw the terror on their faces and the way their bodies shook at every shot, they saw their terrified eyes looking through the small window at the sky with its billows of dark smoke. It was a pathetic sight, this fear of death on the part of creatures so very disabled by fate. They didn't leave the shelter for a single second and hid under the thickest walls when they heard the buzzing of a plane. ...

There was a group of about fifty people. They were surrounded by gendarmes and ordered to march through the gate to Leszno Street, which was on fire. That was the first selection. A moment later the whistle could be heard again. Now they summoned the nuns, the priest, the organist, the lay servants and everyone not connected with the institution who had found themselves in the place on the first day of the Rising. ...

The courtyard paved with small, yellow bricks. In the middle a walled circle and in the circle grey earth where grass or even flowers should have grown. Now it contained graves, six crosses on six mounds. Five old women from our institution, and the sixth grave belonged to the insurgent. In the courtyard 16 nuns, the priest, the organist and the lay servants, all in a row. ...

I started saying goodbye to the priest and the nuns. I thanked them warmly for looking after me and everything good they had done for me while I was in the institution. Maciuś stood lost next to the priest and nuns. He turned pale and shivered when the priest placed both his hands on his head and blessed him for the journey into the unknown. ...

'Schnell! Schnell!' shouted one of the Germans ... I wanted to prolong the moment. Marysia took the child by the hand and they both went quickly towards the gate. One of the Germans hit me on the back with a whip and pushed me in their direction with his fist. ... Then we went out onto Leszno Street and it was one sea of flames. It was 14 August 1944 at eleven in the morning.

At the beginning of May 1945, when we returned from the camp and were staying in Kraków, I met a nun on the street wearing the habit of the Felician Sisters. I went up to her and asked, 'Sister, what happened to the Felician Sisters in Warsaw? They had an institution on Leszno Street. I lived there for a while.'

'The nuns and the priest were allowed to go to Kraków. The lay servants were taken to Germany.'

'What about the rest? The 180 old and sick people.'

'They shot them all and set fire to the house. The house burnt down with all of them in it.' ...

'When did it happen, Sister?'

'It happened on 14 August, at twelve o'clock, at noon exactly.'

Raymond M. Berger's mother was 28 years old when, in March 1941, the Germans forced her into the Kraków ghetto. She got hold of false identity documents and managed to escape from the ghetto in March 1943. With her false identity papers, she travelled to Lwów, where her sister and sister's family lived, assuming the identity of Catholic Poles. They hid her in their small apartment. After a German raid on the premises, she decided to go to Warsaw. Her sister had learned from her boss about a nun who was willing to hide Jews from the Germans. Sister Edith, the director of a convalescent home for ill and elderly patients, agreed to take her in, knowing that she was a Jew. Sister Edith told the staff and patients that she was a Polish woman. When she despaired at ever seeing her sister again, Sister Edith comforted her. Raymond Berger's mother survived the war, as did another Jewish woman sheltered at this institution.¹⁰⁰²

Another such shelter for Jews was the home for infirm nuns known as Nazareth (Nazaret in Polish) in Międzyzylesie, a suburb of Warsaw, belonging to the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary. It was housed in a five-room building. Despite their own poor state of health, the nuns, who were mostly elderly, took in several Jewish women and, for a short period of time, two Jewish girls, ages four and ten, who were later transferred to orphanages. One of the Jewish women was 53-year-old Janina, who had sung in the Warsaw opera chorus and had striking Semitic features. Miraculously, she escaped the notice of two German raids on the premises.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰² Raymond M. Berger, "Sister Edith Made a Choice," Blog, *The Times of Israel*, February 9, 2018, and additional information provided to the author.

¹⁰⁰³ Frącek, *Siostry Rodziny Maryi z pomocą dzieciom polskim i żydowskim w Międzyzylesiu i Aninie*, 80–83.

The Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union (*Siostry Urszulanki Unii Rzymskiej*), who operated schools and boarding schools, engaged in clandestine teaching during the German occupation. With the approval of Mother Emmanuela (Oktawia) Mrozowska, the provincial superior, they sheltered many Jews, both children and adults, in their convents throughout Poland, including Warsaw, Kołomyja, Kraków, Lublin, Lwów, Siercza near Wieliczka, and Tarnów.¹⁰⁰⁴ The following account is by Sister Stella (Maria) Trzeciecka, who was involved in the rescue activities. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 352–59.)

Faced by the whole magnitude of peril that threatened for various 'crimes' during World War II, many nuns assumed personal responsibility for various deeds and kept their superiors and mates wholly uninformed. Mothers Superior behaved in a like manner. That fact today, after the lapse of many years, is a serious limitation on our ability to recreate the true scale of the aid which we gave, to the extent our capabilities allowed, to our Jewish brethren.

Accordingly, what follows is just a handful of reminiscences based on authentic reports of Sisters who were, for one reason or another, involved in those matters. This was not an organized action (our principal tasks were clandestine instruction and running of canteens, especially for the working intelligentsia). But daily situations created a need for assisting people, and that we did.

In Warsaw we ran a boarding house for 60 female students on behalf of the Central Relief Council (RGO). The house was at 5, Przejazd St. There were several Jewish girls among our charges and not one of them perished despite the Warsaw Uprising and the summary deportation of the entire boarding house, together with the Sisters, to the camp at Bietigheim and later to Heilbronn. They all had 'Aryan' identity documents. The outbuildings of our compound at Przejazd St. formed part of the Warsaw Ghetto, so both the Sisters and their young charges lived through the infernal experience of the Ghetto Uprising and the ensuing massacre of the Jews. They were eye-witnesses of the most tragic scenes imaginable. Among others, they saw how Jews, intent on saving their children, hurled them from ghetto windows down to their acquaintances or relatives who were standing outside. Many a time, the children were smashed against the pavement.

We stored our modest supplies of food in the basement of the boarding house. Many a time the provisions would vanish and Sisters would hear a patter of feet in the basement. Soon they discovered that there was an aperture in the cellar wall through which Jews pushed forward to the basement. Thenceforth, Sisters left food in front of that passage and the food disappeared. In connection with that hole and the venturing of Jews beyond the ghetto precincts, the Sisters lived through a harsh experience when an armed Nazi ordered Sister Izabela S. [Spinek] to lead him into the basement. She was to be shot if Jews were found there. Luckily, they were not, nor was the aperture discovered. The Sister survived but she was immediately moved to another house. Nor was that the end of the affair. One day, a Jew pierced through the ghetto wall right into our dormitory. He begged us to fetch him somebody with whom he had an agreement about the escape. It was a dramatic moment—he standing in the breach and guards nearby. The house on Przejazd St. was encircled by guards who kept watching that Jews did not run away from the ghetto. The Jews escaping through the hole dug in our basement were helped courageously by Sister Teodozja Hoffman who directed them in disguise to a home for the aged in the same outbuilding. There was another incident. A certain young Jewess insisted by all means to get into the ghetto in order to join her family there. Sister Lia P. [Przybylska], though she realized the extent of the danger, led her through the chain of guards and saw that the Jewess found her way, by covert tracks of course, to her family.

Also in Warsaw, at 7, Oczki St., we ran a canteen in which we cooked an average of 2,000 meals every day on behalf of the Central Relief Council (RGO). Lots of people milled about the street until 4 p.m. After that hour, when everything calmed down, Jewish children turned up as if they had sprung from the earth. They penetrated to that district all the way from the ghetto. In the main, they were small boys and were excellently organized. One of them would stand guard at the point where Oczki St. runs into Starynkiewicz Square and another at the intersection of Oczki St. and Chalubiński St. In case of danger the little tot would whistle and the children vanished like air. Usually, there were several sometimes over a dozen children, each carrying a can. The food was always there for the Sisters would already have made an allowance for the arrival of the children. Quietly and efficiently, the cans were filled. This became part of the daily routine at Oczki St. throughout the existence of the ghetto. Not once was there a bad break and, although the ghetto was at a distance of from 7 to 8 minutes brisk walk from the canteen, the children always managed to keep the appointment.

After the demolition of the house on Łowicka St., we lived in a villa of Mrs [Zofia] Potocka at 107a Puławska St., also in Warsaw. In the years 1942–1943, Sisters Konstancya [Aniela Baranowska] and Imelda [Bogumiła

¹⁰⁰⁴ On the rescue activities of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union see also Klemensa Misiurewicz, "Postawa Sióstr Urszulanek Unii Rzymskiej w czasie II wojny światowej wobec osób potrzebujących pomocy," *Życie Konsekwowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 131–39; Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at pp. 141–42.

Adamska] took a charming Jewish girl into safekeeping. Her assumed name was Marta Krzywicka. The Sisters rented a room with Mrs Horwat for her. Shortly afterward, a policeman took an interest in her and she had to change her domicile. Marta remained in hiding in Warsaw until her father sent her a passport from Uruguay. She went with the whole transport full of misgivings: will the Germans keep an agreement? Alas, the entire transport was exterminated in Frankfurt.

At about the same time, a certain Jewish female physician [Maria Haller¹⁰⁰⁵] was hiding at Puławska St. under Mrs Potocka's and our care. She was from Stanisławów. She later died of cancer. We also took into safekeeping the mother-in-law of Professor [Szymon] Askenazy and placed her at Królikarnia as a purported cancer patient. This we could do thanks to the assistance of Mrs Potocka and Father [Edward] Wojtczak. She died a natural peaceful death there, and was baptized before passing away. We likewise helped Professor Askenazy's daughter Janina, whom a traitor later gave up to the Gestapo. She was tortured and murdered at the Gestapo headquarters in Warsaw at Szucha Avenue.

Our Cracow [Kraków] convent on Starowiślna Street and the subordinated convent in Siercza also assisted the Jews, though the task was difficult in view of German presence in the Siercza house. For example, we hid Janeczka, one of the third-form pupils from the primary school away for a few months. We gave financial assistance to rescue our seventh-form pupil, Hala Friedman, from the hands of the Gestapo. Unfortunately, that worthy girl did not survive despite frantic efforts of her faithful nanny. The money, as it later turned out, was pocketed by blackmailers and we never again heard of Hala. Also, we concealed in our house a woman whose first name was Felicja (we do not know her surname [see the account of Felicja Kohn below]). [Another Jewish woman, Felicja Soluch, was employed in the soup kitchen.¹⁰⁰⁶] A very painful experience was the kidnapping by the Gestapo of two little girls—Ludka and Hanka Boroniec [also given as Borometz], whom we were hiding away among Polish and several other Jewish girls in Siercza. An automobile pulled up at night, a band of Gestapo officers rushed into dormitory, lighting electric torches into the faces of the sleeping children and pulled the two semiconscious girls out of their beds.¹⁰⁰⁷ Also in Siercza, a Mr Hilman was our cart driver for a long time.

On behalf of the RGO [Rada Główna Opiekuńcza, a social welfare agency] we ran a home for resettlers in Cracow on Krupnicza St. For a while the director of that home was the Mother Superior of our Lvov [Lwów] convent, a fine human being with a perspicacious mind and the best of hearts. There were Jewish children among the resettlers. Among others, Sister Celestyna T. [Mieczysława Talarczyk, incorrectly given as Tatarczyk] escorted a Jewish child from Kołomyja in the east there. There were also Eryka M., Genia K., and others.

After the abolition of that home, thirty children, one-half of them Jewish, were moved to Rękawki [Rękawka] St. One day, another four-years-old tenant was added. He was brought by a tram conductor who told us the boy had been left on his tram all day, nibbling at a piece of bread. We called the boy 'Antoś'. He later went to Kochanów where the RGO moved the children's home from Rękawki St. with the others. Our Ursuline Sisters tidied up an abandoned house there, preparing it for the same complement of children. Apart from the Sisters, the little Jews had other invisible caretakers; their next of kin of those families which escaped from the hands of the enemy. From time to time, one or another would turn up for a momentary visit to see their beloved children and then would disappear in a mysterious fashion. One night, for example, a Sister saw a father sitting at the bed of a sick child. All of those children survived.

Jagusia, a 15-years-old, fled to our house in Tarnów while Jews from the local ghetto were being driven to the railway station. She stayed with us in hiding for a fortnight, and then we put her somewhere else. The girl survived. [Józefa Gross was employed at the boarding school. Józefa Gross was employed as a teacher at the boarding school.¹⁰⁰⁸]

Many resettlers passed through our Lublin convent during the war. There was a considerable number of Jews among them who hid away for shorter or longer periods. Among them was 18-years-old Marysia from Chełmno, who spent a month there. Mr Stanisław D. [Dąbrowski] worked and lived with us for a couple of years, and thanks

¹⁰⁰⁵ Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 142.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Agata Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 135–60, at p. 142.

¹⁰⁰⁷ The Boroniec (Borometz) sisters were seized on August 16, 1943, after their uncle fell into the hands of the Germans and disclosed their whereabouts under torture. The pleas of their guardian, Sister Aniela Pietrzyk, proved fruitless. The girls were taken to the Płaszów concentration camp. Hanka perished, whereas Ludka survived incarceration. See Martyna Grądzka, "Kościół katolicki w okupowanym Krakowie w pomocy Żydom: Zarys problematyki badawczej," in Klimek, *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945*, 143.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Klemensa Misiurewicz, "Postawa Sióstr Urszulanek Unii Rzymskiej w czasie II wojny światowej wobec osób potrzebujących pomocy," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 131–39, at p. 135.

to that he survived. We also gave material assistance to our former pupils of Jewish origin. Our Sister Wiktoria Bogacz helped the Lublin community in an especially selfless manner. People used to call her 'Mother of the Poor'. Thanks to the unqualified endorsement to the action, given by the then Mother Superior of the convent, the splendidly righteous Mother Tekla Busz, Sister Wiktoria doled out up to a thousand bowls of soup every day. Nobody ever asked: who are you with a Semitic face? The nature of Sister Wiktoria Bogacz was best defined by her name (Bogacz stands for 'rich' in Polish). This simple-hearted but magnanimous Sister never seemed to run short of bread, soup, or even 'delicacies' like a piece of sausage or lard, which she gave away to Poles, Jews, and inmates from the Majdanek camp alike.

Mother Teresa Dettlaff, the Mother Superior of our Kołomyja convent, aided Jews on a large scale, and the Sisters from her convent participated resolutely in her action. Most especially on grim days of terror—round-ups or executions—our Kołomyja house became an asylum for those that had managed to run away with their lives. With terrible despair, they would look through basement windows and see their relations and acquaintances being led away for execution. Sister Hiacenta S. [Hiacynta (Stanisława) Suchta, incorrectly given as Suchla] served most frequently as our courier, escorting Jews to their hideouts. Situations were sometimes fraught with drama but, luckily, our aid was most effective. It required, however, plenty of vigilance, acumen, courage and sacrifice. Among her many charges, Sister Hiacenta escorted Mrs Rozalia Wrońska (an assumed name), [the daughter of a local pharmacist], to our convent in Zakopane, and then on to Raciechowice to her family who had selflessly been giving a helping hand in that action. She brought Mr Ebstein [Eckstein? Ebenstein?], a dentist to that same place. He later went into hiding in Nowy Sącz [with the family of Sister Celestyna Talarczyk] where he spent a long time and managed to survive. At the beginning of 1943, Sister Hiacenta escorted 4-years-old Ewa Zawadzka (an assumed name) to her native regions of the country. The trip with the child was a dangerous ordeal for she panicked at the sight of troops and policemen and could easily betray both of them. Therefore, a few months later, she had to be moved to her mother who had been hiding away further eastward. The undersigned, being a member of the Lvov [Lwów] convent, escorted little Ewa from Tarnów to Stanisławów. The child behaved quietly, but just before reaching Stanisławów she addressed some woman with a telling Jewish accent: 'I think I know you, Mrs' ... Naturally, I was greatly alarmed, but everything ended all right. A third nun took Ewa on her further journey east and the child survived the war.

Apart from the event related above, the Lvov convent helped Mother Teresa Dettlaff in rescuing Kołomyja Jews on several occasions. Accordingly, on 24 October, 1942, Sister Ewelina Z. [Janina Zasada] escorted 10-years-old Ewa Kassler [Kessler?] from Lvov to Warsaw where she accommodated the girl with the [Franciscan] Order of the Family of Mary. The girl survived the war. She was a step-daughter of the above-mentioned Mr Ebstein. His wife, Ewa's mother, fared worse. She made her residence in Lvov but was not cautious enough and perished. Blackmailers cashed in on our contacts with her. They followed the tracks down to Kołomyja. The situation was dangerous. They threatened Sister Celestyna T. [Talarczyk] with arrest; eventually, a hard-gotten ransom of 10,000 zlotys saved us and calmed the storm. Acting with foresight, however, the superiors of the Order transferred Mother Teresa Dettlaff to Cracow.

In 1941 or 1942, we took Professor Józef Feldman into safekeeping for the two weeks' duration of an anti-Jewish campaign. We placed him at 12, Jacek [św. Jacka] St. During that time, illicit identity documents were made out in his name. He got them, left for Warsaw, and survived.¹⁰⁰⁹

Mother Elżbieta [Cecylia] Łubińska and Mother Władysława Lewicka assumed responsibility for our aid to Jews in Lvov. For both of them the Ebstein affair, related above, was a harsh experience. First one then the other headed the convent. During her term as Mother Superior, Władysława Lewicka was truly fearless in aiding camp inmates and refugees. It was she who admitted a Mrs Roszko, an elderly Jewish convert, together with her adult daughter Maria to the convent for about a year. The elder Mrs Roszko later moved from the convent to the flat of Mrs Antoniewicz, the mother of one of our nuns, where she died a peaceful death. Her daughter took another hiding place, was eventually escorted by Sister Celestyna T. [Talarczyk] to a gamekeeper's house, and survived the war.

We also gave a helping hand to a Lvov kiln manager (Rosenberg?). Mother Władysława took his jewelry and trunks and other belongings into safekeeping. Every once in a while, his 15-years-old daughter, Marysia, would come and spend part of the day with us while he was taking out some of his things for ransom. He survived for a long time. We do not know what happened to him later.

The Gadziński family, our neighbours in Lvov, also took a young Jewish couple into hiding. They deposited their belongings with us and then would select some of the things, little by little, to pay for their upkeep.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Józef Feldman, professor of history at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, was assisted by a number of Poles in addition to the Ursuline Sisters in Lwów. He was also sheltered by the Conventual Franciscans in Kraków, Czyszki near Lwów and Hanaczów near Lwów (in Hanaczów, under the care of Fr. Wiktor Błaż), and by the Bernardines (Franciscans) in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska near Warsaw. Feldman converted to Catholicism and died in 1946. See Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 478, 534; *Biogramy uczonych polskich: Materiały o życiu i działalności członków AU w Krakowie, TNW, PAU, PAN, Część I: Nauki społeczne*, zeszyt 1: A-J (Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1983).

One more fragment from our Lvov contacts. We were on friendly terms with Doctor K. and his family. That excellent man devoted plenty of attention and loving care to the poor, whom he not only examined but also supplied with medicines. Mrs K. was of Jewish origin. One day, when he was in town, the Gestapo came and searched the flat. That brave woman, his wife, succeeded in destroying all papers compromising her husband (he was a member of an organization), and did it practically in the presence of the Gestapo. In the meantime, a chimney-sweep entered. ... He then left the flat, but kept a watch in the street until he could warn the Doctor that the Gestapo had come to his home. Mrs K. and her son (a school boy) were arrested as hostages for the Doctor. The organization forbade him to report to the Gestapo and he despaired lest the Jewish origin of his wife be discovered. He spent a few days with us, later came every day to fetch some bread. Mrs K. was detained for six months, then set free together with the son.

Confirmation of the rescue activities of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Warsaw and Kraków can be found in Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volumes 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, at page 360 (Warsaw); Part 2, at pages 928–29 (Kraków).

[1] *In 1942, when the Germans deported the Jews from the village of Szreniawa to the nearby Cracow [Kraków] ghetto, the Sznajders tried to find a hiding place with Christian farmers in the village. However, the only member of the family who managed to find a hiding place was 16-year-old Genia Sznajder, who was taken in by Barbara Dobrolubow, an old school friend of hers who, together with her family, looked after Sznajder devotedly, without expecting anything in return. A few weeks later, the Dobrolubows decided to send her to relatives of theirs in Warsaw, where no one knew her, on the assumption that, with her Aryan looks, she had a better chance of surviving there. In Warsaw, Sznajder was taken in by Zygmunt and Jadwiga Koczorowski, Dobrolubow's uncle and aunt, who looked after her, obtained Aryan papers for her, and registered her at a convent high school belonging to the Urszulanki [Ursuline] Sisters. The Koczorowskis showed loving concern for Sznajder, who stayed in the home run by the sisters until the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in late summer 1944. Sznajder was sent to Germany with the other children of the home and Koczorowski was sent to a concentration camp. After the war, they met up again in Warsaw and Sznajder stayed with the Koczorowskis until she finished her studies. In 1954, Sznajder immigrated to Israel.*

[2] *Olga Zawadzka, originally from Lwow [Lwów], moved to the village of Czusow [Czuszów], Kielce district, after her marriage. Between the years 1925 and 1930, she had been a student in Jan Kazimierz University in Lwow, where she had befriended a Jewish woman named Frida Kohn, who was a mathematics student. After Olga left Lwow, the two friends lost contact. When the Germans took over Lwow, a mutual friend turned to Olga and asked her if she would hide Fela in her home. Olga, bearing in mind the fact that Fela was a Jew, told her warmly that Fela would be most welcome. Fela arrived in Czusow and Olga, with the help of friends and a priest, obtained a false birth certificate and Kennkarte for her made out in the name of Maria Zajaczkowska [Zajączkowska]. Fela asked Olga to help a friend of hers, Klara Nachtgaist, who was spending entire days in churches, too frightened to leave. Olga welcomed her into her home as well. Klara already had Aryan papers made out in the name of Julia Nahorayska. In the summer of 1942, Olga went to Lwow again, where she agreed to bring back Nina Drucker (later Noe Levine), the seven-year-old daughter of the director of the Lwow ghetto hospital, Dr. Herman Drucker, to Czusow. Olga took Nina, who had a birth certificate in the name of Janina Witeszczak, into her home. Whenever the need arose, the child was either put up in the Sisters of St. Urszula [Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union] boarding school in Cracow [Kraków] or the Sisters of the Holy Ghost [Sisters Canonesses of the Holy Spirit de Saxia] boarding school in Busko [Busko-Zdrój]. Olga represented the fugitive child as a daughter of relatives who had died during the war.*

One of the Ursuline Sisters' charges was Monika Goldwasser (born in 1941). Before they were killed in a mass execution of Jews, Monika's parents placed her with a family in a village near Myślenice, not far from Kraków. After a short stay there, Monika was sent to the Ursuline convent in Kraków. Afterwards, she was taken in by Anna and Maksymilian Kamiński, a childless couple, who were aware from the beginning of the girl's origins as she had come from the convent with a note containing her real name, date of birth, and the names of her parents. Monika, who was called Łucja, did not learn about her past until she was 22 years old. Her adoptive mother disclosed this information to her shortly before she died. Eventually, Monika was able to establish contact with her mother's sister, who lived in Israel.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰¹⁰ Kołacińska-Gałązka, *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 5, 319; Monika Stepień, ed., *Witnesses to Polish-Jewish History: The Stories of Holocaust Survivors, Former Prisoners of Nazi German Concentration Camps and Righteous Among Nations* (Kraków: Galicia Jewish Museum, 2016), 32–33; Oral History Interview with Monika Goldwasser, August 11, 2016, Virtual Shtetl, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sztetl.org.pl/en/oral-history/182507-monika-goldwasser>>.

Confirmation of the activities of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Kraków can also be found in the accounts of Felicja Kohn from Lwów, who was employed as a teacher, and Wanda Załuska, a woman of Jewish origin from Kraków. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 259, 262; Małgorzata Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość: Polscy Żydzi ocaleni na "aryjskich papierach": Analiza doświadczenia biograficznego* [Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004], p. 152.)

In Cracow [Kraków] I was put up for the night by the mother superior of a convent (Mother Superior Łubieńska of the Ursuline Sisters), despite continuous visitations by the Gestapo. Another sister from the same convent recommended me for suitable jobs, thus making it possible for me to survive. ... Also in Cracow I was very warmly received by Myszka P., who got hold of a Kennkarte for me, from the Reverend [Edward] Lubowiecki.

The nuns in the convent [in Kraków] were extraordinary. They helped us—my family, the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] organization, and later Żegota—tremendously during the war. I would have been unable to secure half of the birth certificates and identity documents without the help of that Ursuline convent. They behaved extraordinarily.

Another Jewish woman, Felicja Soluch, was employed in the communal kitchen located at the Ursuline convent in Kraków.¹⁰¹¹ The following account is based on the recognition by Yad Vashem of Helena Kruszelnicka, her mother, Malwina Kruszelnicka, in 2008 (The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5772464>>):

Before the war, Felicity Tandler lived with her parents, Anna (née Eck) and Edward, in Lwów. They were a happy family; Edward practiced medicine in Lwów and nearby Tumacz. Felicity was very small, and has very few memories of her prewar life. ... When the Nazis occupied Lwów, Edward Tandler contacted Helena Kruszelnicka, a friend who was also acquainted with Anna's physician brother, Leon Eck. Kruszelnicka lived with her 75-year-old mother Malwina, and worked as a secretary. Edward persuaded Kruszelnicka to take in little Felicity. There was no financial arrangement involved; the arrangement was made only through the bonds of friendship. Before departing, Edward gave Kruszelnicka the address of his niece in Melbourne, as well as that of Anna's sister in Denver, Colorado. He would never see his daughter again; he perished in the Janowska camp.

Felicity stayed hidden in Helena and Malwina's basement in Lwów from 1941 until 1943. She never allowed out, and there was little food. False papers were obtained for her under the name of Krystyna Torosiewicz and later, Krystyna Kruszelnicka. In 1943, Helena took Felicity to the Saint Ursula's Convent in Kraków, where she joined the boarding school. For the remainder of the war she remained at the convent, without contact with anyone she knew. When the other children went home for the holidays, she was looked after by the nuns. She was frightened and felt imprisoned, but she was safe and survived the war, despite its interminable dangers. She remembers how one night, two German soldiers came to the convent looking for Jewish children and got very close to her, but fortunately did not discover her.

After the war, Helena retrieved Felicity from the convent and they settled in Kraków.

The story of Wanda Załuska (née Nelken) is especially interesting. Although baptized a Catholic at birth in 1913, her mother had converted to Catholicism as a teenager and had married Dr. Benedykt Nelken, a Jew. Wanda was a graduate of the high school of the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Kraków, and an art history student at the Jagiellonian University. In 1938, she married Kazimierz Załuski, a Catholic, who spent the war years in England. A member of the Polish Socialist Party, Wanda joined the Polish underground, the Home Army, and devoted her efforts to helping Jews, first in her native Kraków, then in Warsaw. Using her contacts with the Ursuline Sisters and Archbishop Adam Sapieha of Kraków, she obtained false birth and baptismal certificates for Jews. When conditions in Kraków became hazardous, she moved to Warsaw. She brought false documents to Jews inside the ghetto. At the orphanage run by Janusz Korczak, she taught Jewish children how to pass as Catholics, brought them out of the ghetto with the help of the Home Army, and placed them with the Ursuline Sisters, who also ran institutions in Warsaw.¹⁰¹²

Assistance provided by the Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union in Lublin for Hana Krajterkraft (born in 1935), who had a false identity document in the name of Regina Dziedzio, is mentioned in the Yad

¹⁰¹¹ Martyna Grądzka, "Kościół katolicki w okupowanym Krakowie w pomocy Żydom: Zarys problematyki badawczej," in Klimek, *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945*, 125–54, 146.

¹⁰¹² Jerzy S. Majewski, "Niezwyczajne życie Wandy Nelken-Załuskiej: Została odznaczona," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, April 3, 2014.

Vashem archives. A housekeeper named Marysia brought the girl to Kazimierz Bogucki's house in Lublin. He and his wife took care of her, pretending she was their niece. The girl was enrolled at the Ursuline Sisters' grammar school where she learned the basics of the Catholic religion.¹⁰¹³ Towards the end of the war, Regina was transferred to a Catholic orphanage in Miechów. (Rozalia Misztal, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10551333>>.)

Hana Krajerkraft was born in Puławy, Poland, in 1935. In 1938 her family moved to Warsaw; it was there that the war caught up with them. The two parents and three children were all sent into the ghetto. The conditions there were severe: food was in such short supply that Hana and other children were forced to sneak out of the ghetto and steal potatoes to stave off starvation.

About a year and a half later, in 1941, Hana's aunt Blima took her out of the ghetto and back to Puławy, where an agreement had been reached with Rozalia Misztal (b. 1896), a former neighbor. Rozalia lived with her husband and daughter and took Hana in as a second child. Hana stayed with the Misztals for about a year. Rozalia managed to obtain Aryan identity papers for her in the name of Regina Dziezdzio. Hana was free to walk about, and this eventually led to disaster. One day Hana was walking home and saw Germans by the house. She started running, and they shot in the air. When they caught up with the child, they asked why she was running. Because of the shooting, she replied, and the soldiers did not recognize her as Jewish. This made it clear that staying in Puławy was no longer safe.

Rozalia began to look for another Polish family willing to take Hana (now known as Regina). The first family she found proved unsuitable for the girl. The housekeeper suggested someone she knew, and they agreed to take Hana. The Boguckis (recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1981) helped other Jews besides Hana-Regina. They also, however, belonged to the resistance movement and needed to move about. A small child could not be towed along.

Thus Hana-Regina found herself changing shelters again. This time she was taken to a Catholic orphanage in Miechów. She lived there and went to school until the liberation. After that, she continued studying. In 1960 the Boguckis went to live in Warsaw and brought Regina to live with them as she completed her education. She remained in close contact with them and called them Aunt and uncle for the rest of their lives. Unfortunately she lost touch with Rozalia.

Extensive assistance was provided by the Albertine Sisters, formally the Congregation of the Sisters Serving the Poor (*Siostry Posługujących Ubogim Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu*, commonly known as *Siostry Albertynki*), in at least 29 of their convents and institutions throughout Poland. (The following accounts, which were compiled in 1961, are also found in Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 145–57, with some omissions.)

When the Servant of God Brother Albert [Adam Chmielowski] founded his orphanages in 1888, he helped everyone regardless of their status, nationality or religious beliefs. The orphanage took in Catholics, Ruthenians, Jews, in other words everyone.

Religious organizations founded by Brother Albert worked in this same spirit. The Albertine Sisters never turned away anyone who needed help from their orphanages. In the years before the outbreak of the war in 1939, the nurseries run by this order contained many Jewish children who were cared for with the same love as the other children. When in 1942 the terror against the Jews increased sharply, many Jewish children found shelter in the order's orphanages. Jews were to be found in 29 institutions operated by this order. In all 95 Jews were taken in, of whom 50 survived in hiding. Twelve were apprehended and killed; the fate of 35 people is not known. These statistics are based on the testimony of 50 Sisters who are still alive. However, many Sisters who were involved in the running of the order's orphanages have died and thus many facts will never surface.

The following are summaries of statements obtained from the Albertine Sisters. Many of the names of persons who received assistance have been forgotten over time. In some cases people were never asked their names because it was safer not to know. Many of those helped never provided their real names; often they used false identification.

I. Kraków—Shelter at 47 Krakowska Street

1. An unknown person brought two Jewish children to the shelter. One child was ten, the other eleven years old. It turned out that one of these "girls" was actually a boy dressed as a girl. Because the children went to chapel regularly and prayed, they did not arouse any suspicion. Despite numerous searches conducted by the Germans,

¹⁰¹³ Kazimierz Bogucki, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4043861>>.

these two children survived and were later taken, probably to Sweden.¹⁰¹⁴

2. A girl named Marysia, the daughter of a Jewish doctor from Kraków, was occasionally paid a visit by her grandmother. This child did not want to go to chapel and stated openly that she was Jewish and did not need to pray. Some women working at the orphanage reported her to the Gestapo. Most likely she did not survive.

3. Mrs. Barska and her grown daughter—their names had been changed—were sheltered in the shelter for a period of time. During a search by the Germans they were warned by Sister Urbana and escaped through a fence. Their fate is not known.

4. Elżbieta Sękowska was betrayed to the Germans. Sister Urbana therefore placed her in a room with the chronically ill, where no one walked around. She stayed there for two months not once leaving the room. She was cared for by the Sisters during this time. After the war she left for Palestine. She lives with her married daughters and is in good health. She was very grateful to the Sisters and to this day writes and sends food packages. Her last letter is dated December 14, 1960. In that letter she sends her holiday greetings, wishing “Blessings from the Child Jesus.” She writes that she lives comfortably under a beautiful sun with her daughters and grandchildren who love and respect her. Her oldest daughter’s only regret is that she cannot make her young once more. Her address is c/o Leonora Awiezer, Kirjat-Sefer 4, Tel Aviv, Israel.

5. Together with these people there was a young girl named Zosia Kerocka. No one knew whether she was Jewish or not because she never admitted it to anyone. Several times she was almost taken to the ghetto but each time she stated steadfastly that they should shoot her outside in the courtyard because she would not go with them. Sister Urbana protected her saying that she was sure that she was not Jewish. Zosia was very bright and hardworking. She went to school and received her high-school diploma. She is presently a teacher in Warsaw and has occasional contact with the Sisters to whom she has remained very grateful.

These statements were made by Sister Urbana and Sister Seweryna. Sister Urbana stated that there may have been other Jews but she does not remember the particulars.

II. Kraków—Nursery at 10 Koletek Street

The director of this institution was Sister Hermana. During the height of the terror against the Jews more children were left at the nursery. The children were identified as Jewish because they had Semitic physical features and the boys were often circumcised.

1. One evening, at about nine o’clock, a man and a woman brought a one-year-old child in a white astrakhan coat to the nursery. They said that as they were crossing the Vistula River in a boat, they had heard a splash and noticed something white floating in the water. They moved alongside of it and pulled a child out of the water. The boy was completely soaked through, blue in colour and unconscious. Sister Fidelisa spent about four hours with him until he regained consciousness. The boy had pneumonia. He eventually recovered and was healthy. He was named Józio. When the German terror abated, Jews came and took Jewish children away to their own institutions. Józio was also taken. Some time later a Jewish man from Warsaw came to the nursery looking for his son. From the description that he gave, it was evident that Józio was his son. The father said that he had given the child over to a woman to be sheltered but the woman had disappeared and he had lost track of the child. He probably located his son at the Jewish institution where he had been taken.

2. The [Blue] police brought a lost four-year-old boy to the nursery. The child was bright and knew the Hail Mary but would not tell his name. He answered all questions about his name by saying that his last name is Wróblewski and sometimes he added that he must be Wróblewski because otherwise the Germans would kill him. We called him Tomuś. No one was allowed to undress or bathe him except the Sisters. He was, of course, circumcised and had typical Semitic features. He was terrified of the Germans. When the Germans came to search, the Sisters would lock him up in a room and tell him to sit quietly. He understood and would not move. When the nursery changed locations to Rymanów [near Krosno], he accompanied the other children. After the war he was taken with others by a Jewish organization.

3. In Rymanów, there was a three-year-old circumcised boy. At the time the nursery doctor was a woman who was afraid of the authorities. Once she asked whether there were any Jewish children in the nursery. She was told by Sister Hermana in a very firm manner that she didn’t need to know and that she would not provide that information. Furthermore, all the children were legally admitted. That is why, when the Jewish children were ill, the Sister Superior did not let the doctor examine them, for fear she would turn them in to the Germans. She cared for them herself and, thank God, none of them died.

4. Krzys̄ was officially accepted into the nursery as a Jew, the illegitimate child of a Jewish woman named Eisenberg. He was brought up in the nursery from infancy and was well behaved. He said his prayers with the other children. When a directive came from the authorities to take all Jewish children to the ghetto, the Mother Superior

¹⁰¹⁴ The children in question were Hanna and Bernard Kempler. See Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 370–71; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 542 and 939. See also the memoir of Hanna Kempler: Anita Lobel, *No Pretty Pictures: A Child of War* (New York: Greenwillow Books, 1998), portions of which are reproduced earlier.

asked the Director of Social Services for permission to hold on to the child. The child, however, had Jewish identification papers. After protracted and strenuous efforts by the Mother Superior, the director decided to destroy the child's documents and from that time the child was entered as Krzyś NN (last name unknown). When the boy was seven years old he went to the nursery run by the Sisters Servants of Mary in Prądnik Czerwony. It was impossible to baptize him at this time because it would have been dangerous. The Sisters Servants of Mary did not know he was Jewish. New identification was made for him with the last name of Zaleski and Krzyś became a student of the organ. When he was 18 years old he needed a birth certificate. He went to the Sisters Servants of Mary and they in turn sent him back to us. When he was informed that he was never baptized, he decided to be baptized by Father [Władysław] Miś. He is today the organist in Łętowice near Tarnów.

5. A woman from Mostowa Street brought a year-old baby as a foundling. He was named Staś. The child was very sickly and needed care and attention. As a three-year old, Staś went to a foster family who became very attached to him and put in much effort to help him with regard to his health. After some time his older brother and other relatives showed up. The Mother Superior had to admit that this child was indeed their relative. A tragedy ensued. Staś's new family did not want to give him up. The Jewish family took this family to court. After much unpleasantness, the child was taken by his relatives even though he did not want to leave his new family.¹⁰¹⁵

6. A certain woman came to the nursery and asked how to save a child from the ghetto. She was told to bring him to the nursery. She did just that. The father of the child came out of an underground sewer and handed over a year-old boy. This woman brought the child to the nursery. As the guardian of this child, she sometimes came to visit him and brought money for his upkeep. The child became sick. Because the parents were worried about the child or did not believe the woman, they wanted to see the child in order to be convinced that he was still alive. The father wanted to come see the child disguised as a workman. The Mother Superior decided against this because it might arouse the suspicion of the lay personnel of the nursery. The father decided to take the child back the same way he had brought him out. The child was two years old. In the rush he was taken to the ghetto in nursery clothes with the name of the institution, St. Joseph's Orphanage for Children, and an image of St. Joseph. When the Jews were driven from the ghetto, this child accompanied his parents and two relatives to a station where the Germans told everyone to get out and leave their belongings to one side. Little Ignas ran out with his arms outstretched in the direction of the German commander. His parents were paralyzed with fear when a German asked to whom the child belonged. Shaking from fear the father stepped forward and said the child was his. "How many are there of you?" he was asked. "Four", was the reply. "To the side." All four Jews with the child went to stand on the side, filled with fright. They were sure they would be shot because of this child's actions. Instead, all the other Jews were sent to their deaths, but they were left alone at an empty station with their belongings. The Germans had let them go. Maybe they were moved by the act of this little boy, but the fact is that a miracle had happened. The entire family eventually reached Westphalia and survived the war. In 1947 they came back and visited the nursery in Kraków and spoke to the Mother Superior. They were very grateful and said that the shirt with the emblem of St. Joseph had saved their lives. They made a donation that was generous at that time—a bolt of linen.

7. Wojtek was a nice little boy who did not like to play with the other children. He later said that his father had told him not to pray to holy paintings and not to cross himself. He was transferred to a different location.

All together at the nursery there survived ten children who were handed over to a Jewish organization after the war. Of those children who were brought in during the war, not one was taken to the ghetto. However, the children who were brought in before the war with Jewish identification, could not be prevented from being taken there and cried when they were taken away. They probably did not survive. There were eight of these children.

III. Częstochowa—Overnight Shelter at 14 Wesola Street

When Jews were being shipped out of the ghetto, a woman about 32 years old came to us. She was a bright, thin, blonde with blue eyes and of average height. She had two children: Ludwik, a seven-year old, and Adusia, a three-year old. The children were bright and looked pleasant. At first they were held out to be the cousins of Sister Hugona and they were given a separate room on the second floor. They attended chapel regularly with the other children. The boy was a good observer who learned quickly how to conduct himself in chapel. Their mother was said to have been the owner of a small factory in Częstochowa. After a period of time we were able to obtain for her a Polish identity card with the name Janina Świtala. The two children were registered under her name. This woman later began catechism lessons with Father [Tadeusz] Wiśniewski from our parish—St. Sigismund. Together with her children, behind closed doors, she was baptized.

She spoke German fluently and did not have Semitic features. She moved around freely and sometimes even travelled to earn an income. She smoked cigarettes. One time a Sister asked little Adusia what her name was. The little girl answered: Horowitz. The little boy turned red and started instructing his sister in a whisper: "Adusia, that was before. Your name is Świtala now."

One of the women on staff went to the Gestapo and betrayed the Jewish women who were sheltered in our institution. It was at that time Mrs. Świtala moved out to a private apartment with her brother, who was also hiding

¹⁰¹⁵ This may refer to Henryk Weinman (Wajnman) whose rescue is described earlier somewhat differently.

in Częstochowa. While there, a German agent called the boy over and after confirming that he was Jewish, had all three of them shot in the Jewish cemetery in Częstochowa. The brother survived.

An older woman, about 50 years old, with an identity card with the name Zofia Kowalczyk, came from Radomsko. She was a small, thin, serious woman with regular features. She had blue eyes and greying dark-blond hair. She said that she had hidden in an attic with her two grown sons. The Germans had taken her sons but she had escaped through the fence wearing only one shoe. Because she had money, she was able to bribe a policeman who had stopped her along the way. She spent some time with us after arriving in Częstochowa. After the betrayal, which will be described in detail, she left our house. We do not know her fate. She might have survived.

A mother, 38 years old, a small dark blonde with blue eyes, a Semitic nose and olive complexion. She had a five-year-old daughter named Lola. We were able to get an identity card for her with the name Karolina Wiśniewska. She worked for us for some time as a receptionist. After the betrayal she moved in with friends. At this new location there was a small girl who did not speak Polish well. This was the cause of their being denounced to the Germans.

Another tall, young mother with dark hair and complexion came with a five-year-old girl named Gienia. The last name she assumed was Racińska. She was a very hard worker. She worked for us in the laundry. She had two identity documents (Kennkarte).

After a woman, who was surely the mother of a seven-year-old boy named Jędrus (although she would not admit to this), brought him to us, we had four Jewish adults and four Jewish children staying with us. A girl who was employed in our kitchen threatened to turn in the Jews. We never thought that she would actually go through with this. We had told her that she was mistaken because there were no Jewish people staying with us. Everyone had Polish identity cards that had been obtained with the assistance of St. Sigismund parish, which had provided us with birth and baptismal certificates. This girl did indeed go to the Gestapo and gave them all the names of the Jews and which rooms they lived in. The Germans arrived and took everyone they found with them. They were astonished to see everyone kneel in the chapel and pray fervently before they were taken. At Gestapo headquarters, after a thorough interrogation, the last thing demanded of them was to say prayers. Having gone to chapel daily with the other women, they had learned to pray and consequently were let go and came back to us that same day, though in a very depressed state. They no longer felt safe in our home so they left soon after.

During the Gestapo interrogation, Mrs. Racińska was told that she was too young not to be working. She was dispatched to a sack factory. Not used to hard work, she broke down. She moved out of town with her young child. After a short while she brought the child, for whom she had packed a small bag, back to us. She tried to commit suicide by jumping into the Warta River. She was pulled out and taken to the hospital. She was taken by the Germans and her fate is not known. The child stayed with us for a while, then was adopted by someone.¹⁰¹⁶

Two sisters, the daughters of a miller by the name of Borkowski [the assumed surname of Paula and Hannah Kornblum of Kaluszyń], worked in a Christmas ornament factory. They slept and ate in our house. Both of them survived and later left to join their uncle in America.¹⁰¹⁷

Irena Bochenek was a young, blond woman. She knew how to sew. The German police came for her one day and demanded to see the registration books. She was registered but Sister Izydora hid her in the washroom. The police were told that she was not at home. When the Germans left, Sister Izydora disguised her and sent her that day to Warsaw. The next day another German came who did not believe that she was not there. He was told to ask the woman at the gate, who was a retired lay person. When she stated that the woman had not returned home the day before, he left offering some chocolate to a little girl.

Jędrus, the bright five-year-old, was placed in an institution for boys. The Gestapo came for him there and took him away. His mother was said to have been living with our Sisters in Kielce where she survived the war.¹⁰¹⁸

An 18-month-old child was brought to the nursery in Częstochowa. There were a number of other people, but I don't remember them all, states Sister Wita [Vita] Pawłowska ending her testimony.

IV. Bochnia near Kraków—Orphanage

1. Wojciech Pacula, who was a guard in the ghetto, brought a five-year-old girl named Halinka, who was born in 1938. She was a pretty blonde with blue eyes. She did not look Jewish. She was given the name Kubicka. (Her photograph is in ASA.) She was the daughter of Elias Elszajn (Elstein or Elnstein), the proprietor of a leather factory in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, and Róża Weber. She was a very bright girl who went to school with the other children, never spoke about her family background, and studied religion very diligently. At her request she was baptized by Father [Stanisław] Pycior on June 6, 1943 and received her First Communion. After the liberation her

¹⁰¹⁶ The subsequent rescue of Chana or Hanna Batista (then Sara Rozen) is described earlier. She was adopted by Henryk and Gertruda Zielenka and survived the occupation. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 938; Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 50.

¹⁰¹⁷ This refers to Paula and Hannah Kornblum whose rescue is described earlier.

¹⁰¹⁸ This appears to refer to Maria Widawska (as assumed name) and her son whose rescue is described earlier.

aunt took her secretly from the school. It was said that her father also survived and took her to Palestine. They both live there and he is grateful to the Sisters for having helped to hide his child.

2. Little Róża, the daughter of a lawyer from Kraków, stayed in the orphanage in Bochnia for three years. She was very pretty and bright but her Semitic features betrayed her background. She also spoke about her parents to the other children. There was a fear that she would be turned in by the older boys. Her fate is not known.

3. For a short period of time Róża's brother Władysław stayed at the orphanage, but he was taken back because he was circumcised and brought attention to himself.

4. On May 29, 1943 a one-year-old child was brought to us. Judging by her features she was Jewish. Marysia was registered as a foundling and was brought up in safety. During a period when the Sisters were away, according to the other children, a woman had come around asking for Marysia.

5. Ten-month-old Eliza from Bochnia, whose last name was not known, stayed at the orphanage. In 1945 this four-year old was taken by a foster family. When her relatives were later found, they took her with them. Her fate as well as that of the other Jewish children is known by Dr. Jan Krupa from the Health Centre in Bochnia.

6. Jaś Moskowski stayed at the orphanage. After the Germans left, he was sent back to Kraków.

V. Tarnów—Children's Infirmary and Nursery at 6 Nowodąbrowska Street

1. A member of the Polish Blue police accompanied by a brother from the Missionary Order brought a young boy to the nursery. He was four years old and had been found in the Church of the Missionary Fathers. The boy was good looking, well fed and very bright. He wore a medal around his neck depicting the Sacred Heart of Jesus and could cross himself very nicely. He kissed his medal often and said his prayers. He said that he had been left in the church by his uncle, who told him to sit quietly and wait for him to return while he bought a violin. The uncle did not return and the priests from the church sent him to the nursery. The boy said his name was Jurek Górski. Later, he told a Sister in secret that his name was not really Jurek but Norek. He was above average in ability and learned quickly. He went to the nursery chapel with the other children. He adapted very quickly. After the liberation, four Jews came with a letter from the reeve and demanded that Jurek be handed over to them. When Jurek was told about this, he took his missal and hid behind the altar in the chapel. No one could find him. He did not want to leave for anything but was eventually taken by force.

2. A girl named Zosia was brought in by a woman who by her behaviour was obviously the mother. For a certain time this woman came to visit the little girl every day, bringing with her anything she could. One day she said good-bye to her daughter and never returned. The child was pretty and bright. A certain German officer took an interest in her and after some efforts brought his wife to the orphanage. They took the child with them to Germany.

VI. Tarnów—Shelter for the Poor at 65 Szpitalna Street

The director of a factory in Borysław hid in an attic for two years. The Sisters gave him food. With tears in his eyes he told the Sisters that the Germans had taken his wife. He wore a medal with the Virgin Mary. It was said that after the war he was baptized and found work in a cooperative.

VII. Sulejów near Piotrków Trybunalski

During the German occupation the authorities assigned to the Sisters ten Jews to help in the fields. Every day they came under German guard and under punishment of death were not allowed to be fed. One Sister gave them food in the basement, where one by one they came down to be fed. They were weak from starvation. The German guards checked to see that no one escaped and that they worked well. Although the Jews were not much help, the Sisters always reported that they were very hard working.

VIII. Kielce—Shelter of the Holy Trinity at 31 Bandurskiego Street

During the war Józef Freund, a Jew, stayed at the shelter. At the beginning he stayed indoors only. He felt safe and was grateful for his shelter. After a certain time he began going into town, even though he was warned that this was dangerous and he should stay home. Because nothing happened to him he began going every day and returned happily, having seen something or bought something. One day he did not return. The Sisters started to look for him. When they did not find him at the Polish police station, they went to the German one and found out that he had been arrested. They begged for his release but were only given permission to send him food. For a number of days they sent hot dinners to him. The Gestapo found out about this and forbade any visitors. Late at night, Freund himself returned to the shelter asking for help. He had apparently escaped. The Sisters gave him money and sent him to their neighbours. During the night the Gestapo came looking for him at the shelter. They turned over the entire house and shined light into everybody's eyes, but left without ever finding him. His fate is not known.

IX. Lwów-Zamarstynów [Sklepiński Street]—Institution for Boys

During the German occupation three Jewish boys were hidden in the institution. After the war, two of them were

taken by relatives. The remaining one left for the West [i.e., central Poland] because he had no family left.¹⁰¹⁹

X. Lwów-Persenkówka

For five months, three Jews hid in the basement. The Sisters would bring food to them. They left during the first day of bombing.

XI. Baworów near Tarnopol

1. Pastor [Karol] Procyk sent a ten-year-old girl to the Sisters. She admitted to the Sisters that she was Jewish. She was baptized.

2. A two-year-old girl was found by people near the forest. She was handed over to the Ukrainian police, who brought her to the Sisters to keep for a few days. She was to be sent to the ghetto in Tarnopol. Because of the efforts of the Sisters she remained in the shelter. She was baptized on June 13, 1943 and given the name Antonina. After the occupation her mother came for her and took her away.

XII. Tarnopol

1. Icek Weiss came secretly at night to our kitchen and everyday, in the attic, so that no one would see him, he got something to eat. He also received clothes on occasion. This lasted for two months after which he disappeared.

2. In 1940, after the Soviets invaded, they took away our Polish charges and brought in sick Jewish people. We took care of them in the same way we treated our Polish patients. At the end of two years the Germans came and they took them to the ghetto.

3. During the time of the most intense anti-Jewish campaign, one afternoon a policeman brought in a basket with a foundling in it that weighed no more than 4 kg. The policeman stated that the little boy was found in an empty house. The child was taken in, given a bath, fed and cared for. Because there was no crib for the baby, we put him into a laundry basket, and the children surrounded the little one like angels around the manger in Bethlehem, happy to be with the new arrival. After a few days, a childless Catholic couple came with a desire to adopt a baby of their own. We will not reveal their last name because the Sister gave her word that she would never tell. When they were shown the little one and were told how he had been found, they were eager to take it. They baptized him, giving him the name of Tadeusz. They showered him with the love of real parents. The child was not attractive. He had a low forehead, a big nose and eyes as black as coal. He was healthy and the parents he had were ideal. No one suspected that the child was not their own.

XIII. Stanisławów

In 1942 or 1943 a woman was brought to the shelter who had supposedly lost her voice as a result of almost drowning. We suspected that she was Jewish, but told no one. She also told no one and remained mute. After the Germans left, Mother Superior took her aside and told her that she could now speak because she was no longer in danger. Then, speaking nicely in Polish, she admitted that she was a baptized Jew and that her surname was Jarocka. A few days later she left, borrowing some clothes which she said she would bring back. But she never did bring them back. After a while one of the Sisters saw her in Przemyśl in the company of other Jews.

XIV. Śniatyń near Stanisławów—Old Age Home on Kolejowa Street

1. A mute Jewish man died at the home. He was baptized before he died.

2. Along with Mojsie Grosshaus, we cared for our Jewish charges in a special way, and watched out that they did not go out into the streets. By doing that they would have put themselves in danger of being taken to the ghetto and killed, as others had been. When the Sisters left for Western Poland [as a result of postwar border changes], Grosshaus remained in Śniatyń.

XV. Sambor near Lwów

A small two-month-old Jewish child was brought to us. One of the Sisters took care of it for an entire year with great dedication. When it began to walk it was given to an orphanage in the same city run by the Basilian Sisters because our institution was an old age home.

XVI. Brzeżany near Tarnopol

1. Józef and Maria Gelber, a married couple, were Catholics but had a Jewish background. They were in the old age home from 1941 to 1944. They were on in years when Józef died in the home.

2. Helena Uchman was the daughter of a Jewish neighbour. She hid in our home for a month. One Saturday she did not return. At that time there was an anti-Jewish campaign and she died along with her parents.

3. Zosia, a little Jewish girl, was given over to the Rada Główna Opiekuńcza (Social Welfare Agency) by a peasant woman, a widow who was leaving Eastern Poland [i.e., fleeing Ukrainian nationalists] with her two children in

¹⁰¹⁹ One of the Jewish boys sheltered at this institution was Ryszard Macharowski, whose rescue is described earlier.

- 1943 and could not take her. The RGO directed Zosia to the Sisters. The child was taken in and brought up by them.
4. A Jewish dentist gave us two rolls of woollen cloth to hold. His wife, who retrieved pieces of the cloth at a time, was able to get money from selling it.
 5. During one winter we kept a cow owned by a Jewish neighbour. The Ukrainians had destroyed all his property.
 6. During an intensive search for Jews we hid a woman with an eight-year-old boy. Later, when she saw the nuns on the street, she knelt down in front of them, thanking them for saving her life.

XVII. Rawa Ruska near Lwów

A boy who was found on the street was brought to us. He could only tell us that he had had a letter and money, which a woman had taken from him. His name was Zygmunt (Zygmunt). He was later transferred to our shelter in Kraków at 6 Podbrzezie Street. His fate after leaving that institution is not known.

XVIII. Kołomyja near Stanisławów

1. Lodka (Leokadia) Rajbach, along with her two brothers, stayed with us for some time. After our home was taken over and included in the ghetto area, for three weeks we tried to help them any way we could by supplying food every evening. Lodka probably did not survive.
2. Tola Litner from Bielsko hid in our house for a certain period. We dressed her as a postulant and sent her to Kraków in the company of one of our Sisters. She spent the night in Kraków with the Sisters and then went on to her friends in Kalwaria.
3. We lived across from the ghetto where our old building was. The Sisters, hungry themselves, shared their bread with the poor Jews who stood near the wire fences and begged for something to eat or drink. Sometimes the Sisters would get a pass from the German command to go into the ghetto under the pretext of having to repair their shoes, umbrella, etc. You could not bring food into the ghetto. The Sisters would hide butter and other food in their sleeves and when they were out of sight of the German guards, they would give these things to the poor families inside the ghetto. They tried in this way to rescue a disabled Jew who was starving to death. He was given a coat, the only one in the home, by one of the Sisters. Once a soldier hit one of the Sisters on the head because he saw her give milk to a Jewish woman.

XIX. Drohobycz near Lwów—Shelter for the Poor on Cerkiewna Street

1. In 1942 a woman from the Polish Committee brought a two-and-a-half-year-old child to us who had been found. He was circumcised. We learned that his name was Tadzio. Because he couldn't say his last name he was given the name of Galewicz. When the advancing Soviet front moved closer and things became very dangerous, Tadzio was baptized because we feared for his soul should he be killed in the bombing. In July of 1944, after the Germans retreated, Tadzio's aunt came to us with a photograph of the child and was able to identify him. The father waited outside. This was Major Mieczysław Hański, who served in the Polish Army and had arrived with the advancing Russian Army. The aunt assured the Sisters that the father would reward the Sisters for having saved his son. And, indeed, he did. When we were evacuated to Wrocław the Sisters along with their poor charges were homeless. They went into the town looking for a place to live. Walking along they met a Jewish man who asked them what they were looking for. They told him of their fate and he answered them by saying that they had a highly placed person who would offer them protection in the person of the Major. This was the Major whose son the Sisters had saved. The man gave the Sisters his address at the army headquarters. When the Sisters met with the Major, he assigned to them the one-story house he had been living in at 8 Serbska Street. He, himself, moved to another house on Karłowicka Street. After a while he came to the Sisters and asked them for his son's baptismal certificate. In 1950, when the house on Serbska Street was being taken away from the Sisters, the Major was living in Legnica. The Sisters contacted him there and asked him for his help.
2. At the institution in Drohobycz, there hid for a time a Jewish woman who said she was a Catholic. She had false identification papers with the surname Kalińska. She went to church, had a rosary and even received the sacraments. Advised not to do this by the Sisters she still would not admit that she was Jewish. When she became deathly ill she still kept pretending until finally she asked to be baptized by our priest. He was surprised at her sudden change of heart. When the Sisters were leaving for the western part of Poland, they took all the sick with them, including her. She died en route in the arms of a Sister who had been taking care of her the entire way. She was buried in Wrocław at Psie Pole.

XX. Przemyśl-Bakończyce

1. Once during the occupation, an elderly Jewish couple came to our institution. They were very hungry. Because we were surrounded by German military objects and lookout posts, the Sisters directed the couple to some thick raspberry patches and brought them Kosher food to eat. When they had eaten, they went on their way. The Sisters do not remember their last name but they remember well the names of their friends from Przemyśl, who lived on Nadworska Street: Wincz, Gepsman, Szwebel, and Rajchilbert.
2. Dr. Majzles from Przemyśl (address: 12 Plac Na Bramie) often came to the institution when it was difficult to

obtain food. He always received some provisions.

3. Director Szwebel's position was threatened in Przemysł. At the time, Sister Bernadetta intervened and spoke up at a meeting, stressing his work and sense of duty. He was saved and remained in his position.

4. In 1944 a one-year-old boy with a curved spine was sent to us from the hospital. His name was Henio. He was surrounded by loving care. He was fed goat's milk and egg yolks and returned to health. After the Germans left his relatives came for him and took him.

XXI. Busko-Zdrój near Kielce

The magistrate sent us a Jewish woman with two children whom we were to shelter for the night. They stayed for half a year, during which time we supported them. After the liberation we gave her warm clothing and she left, with her children, for Częstochowa.

XXII. Opoczno near Piotrków Trybunalski

There was a married couple from Przasnysz whose last name has been forgotten. Because they attracted attention to themselves by their appearance, the mayor told them to leave the institution. Consequently, Mother General asked the mother superior in Skarżysko to accept them. They were accepted there.

XXIII. Skarżysko-Kamienna near Kielce

1. This same couple is remembered by another Sister. The man was sick, had a stroke and died in the institution. His wife survived the war and returned to Przasnysz.

2. After the Warsaw Uprising, a Jewish family which was evacuated to Skarżysko under an assumed Polish name left an elderly man at the institution. He died there.

3. A little Jewish girl was sheltered at the orphanage. Her mother had been imprisoned. After she was freed, she came and took the child.

4. A foundling was brought to the institution. There was a brief note with the child stating that it was nine months old and not baptized. A childless couple took the child from the institution and baptized her giving her the name of Barbara. After the war some Jews came to take the child.

XXIV. Wołomin near Warsaw—Orphanage

1. The institution housed two little Jewish girls. One was adopted by a family and the older child, who was sickly, was baptized. Her brother came for her [after the war]. She did not want to go. She hid herself. She was afraid of the Jews. A letter was brought from the voivodship authorities, however, and she was taken. I think her name was Bronia.

2. During the Warsaw Uprising a five-year-old boy was found near the institution. He was poor, in torn clothes, hungry and had lice. The boys from the institution chased him, and even threw stones at him. When a Sister became aware of him, she called him over, washed him, fed him, gave him some clothes and he stayed. He couldn't tell us anything about himself. Because he had a dark complexion, the children called him a Gypsy. At first he was frightened and shy. After a few days he changed and the boys began to like him very much. He remained at the institution until September 1946. At the time the Sister who took care of him was transferred to Siedlce. There a certain Jewish woman who was looking for her child in the local orphanage showed a photograph of him. This Sister recognized the little "Gypsy" from Wołomin. The grateful mother took back her child and as a gift to the Sisters, offered them leather to make shoes.

XXV. Siedlce—Nursery

1. In 1943 a farmer brought a six-month-old Jewish child, along with her mother, to us from the countryside. The mother, out of fear, pretended to be incoherent. The father remained outside. The child was raised by us until the Germans retreated. The father came back and took the child. He said that his wife had been killed in Warsaw and that he, himself, had been sheltered by the Albertine Brothers in Warsaw.¹⁰²⁰ He was very grateful to the Sisters that at least this child was saved out of the whole family.

2. When the ghetto was being liquidated, a Jewish infant was left with us. After having been taken care of by Sister P., who hid him from the lay personnel, he was taken by the Jewish social agency.

3. In the Spring of 1943 a Jewish woman kept coming to our convent in Siedlce at 10 Cmentarna Street. She received food and worked at small jobs in the kitchen in order to stay with us. This lasted several weeks. She never told us her

¹⁰²⁰ Other accounts also mention that the Albertine Brothers provided food and temporary shelter to Jewish fugitives at their shelter on Jagiellońska Street in the Praga district of Warsaw. They also provided proof of registration for Jews with false identity documents. However, because of German raids and inspections, the shelter was a precarious place to stay for an extended period of time. See the testimony of Zofia Myczko-Grzybowska, Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw) archive, record group 301, number 5768, reproduced in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 4, 363–64; Testimony of Felicja Bolak, Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw) archive, record group 301, number 5119.

last name and no one ever asked. All that was necessary was to help this person in need.

4. Sometimes Jews would come to the orphanage from the ghetto and ask for bread. If there were no Germans nearby we gave them food.

5. About 1943 two women came to the nursery asking that a child be taken in. Because the Sisters could not do this without formal papers, they told the women to leave the child at night. The women did this. The little girl, who was only a few months old, stayed in the orphanage for some time. Later a friend of the mother's, a Polish woman, came to take the child.¹⁰²¹

6. A father came looking for his daughter Róża Zoik, a foundling, after the Germans retreated. He had been hidden by a Catholic woman in Warsaw, and after his wife died in the ghetto, he married this woman.

7. A farmer from the countryside brought in a little three-year-old girl with Jewish features because he was afraid to hide her any longer. This child was mortally afraid of Germans. She did not even look out the window for fear of being seen by the Germans. After a while someone told the authorities that the institution was harbouring a Jewish child. When the Germans came, a Sister covered this little girl up in a bed and showed them another child indicating that this was the one in question. That child had typical Aryan features so they patted her on the head and said that they must have received false information.

8. In 1945 the wounded were brought in from the front. These were Jews and Russians. The hospital's lay personnel left before the front reached us. Two Albertine Sisters went to the hospital to help the other nuns—Sisters of Charity—who were working there. Together with Dr. Krakówka, they carried the wounded to beds, dressed wounds and treated everyone with equal loving care.

XXVI. Mników near Kraków

During the German occupation evacuees from Warsaw came to us. Along with others, a Jewish woman and her child and two elderly Jewish sisters from Warsaw stayed with us. They told us that, in Warsaw, they had stood behind the chimney of a burned-out building, on the third floor, for two days. They had prayed to the Blessed Virgin of Częstochowa for help. After two days they were rescued by the fire department. These people stayed with us for two weeks, until the local reeve, who was afraid of the Germans, told them to leave the village.

XXVII. Kraków: 6 Podbrzezie Street

Two Jewish boys were accepted into the institution. They were seven and ten. One of them was named Jurek. Their last name had been changed to a Polish one, Nowak. Their mother came to see them three times a week and brought them various things. She was wealthy because it was said that the family owned two large stores on Floriańska Street and their own house. The mother promised the Sisters a large reward for sheltering these children. The children went outside once and were caught by the Germans. Because of this incident the institution had much unpleasantness: reports, German inspections, etc.

Another Jewish child who was sheltered briefly at this orphanage was Sara Warszawiak, who passed as Irena Jabłońska. She was transferred to the Albertine Sisters' orphanage in Kraków in the winter of 1943, when the orphanage where she was staying in Brody, run by Ukrainian nuns, was shut down by the Germans. Sara, who had Semitic features, arrived in Kraków in poor health and was taken, and later adopted, by Professor Jan Pilch and his wife, Julia. Sara remained with the Pilchs for some time after the war. Despite her desire to be baptized, Father Archilles, a Capuchin (Franciscan) monk, dissuaded her from doing so.¹⁰²²

XXVIII. Rząska near Kraków

¹⁰²¹ This account appears to refer to Rachela Zonszajn, the daughter of Cypora Zonszajn (née Jabłoń). The rescue is described earlier in this text.

¹⁰²² Sara Avinum, *Rising from the Abyss: An Adult's Struggle With Her Trauma as a Child in the Holocaust* (Hod Hasharon, Israel: Astrolog Publishing House, 2005), 96–106, 152, 185–86. See also the testimony of Sala Warszawiak (Irena Jabłońska), June 26, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 431.

1. A ten-year-old girl named Hania Raj [Reich]¹⁰²³ gave the impression of being physically developed beyond her years. She was brought to us by her aunt, who said that the girl's parents were taken to a camp and then left for England, and that she did not have the means to keep the girl. Hania attended school and was a good student. At the request of her aunt she was prepared by the Sisters for Confession and Holy Communion. When the Russians came, the aunt took her and placed her in the Jewish Orphanage in Kraków.

2. A 70-year-old woman walking to Rząska met some Sisters and asked them whether she could stay overnight. The next day she asked to stay another night because she had no place to go. She did not admit to being Jewish. She prayed, received the sacraments and only when the local priest admonished her, did she stop taking Holy Communion. She lived in a room with the children, behind a screen, because there was no other place to put her. She was fluent in German and Russian and helped the children with their lessons. As soon as the Germans left, she went to Kraków.

XXIX. Kraków-Prądnik Czerwony

A certain lady came to Mother General asking her to accept Jaś into the shelter. He was the son of a rich neighbour from Rząska who was a lawyer. The parents were Catholics, but of Jewish background. Jaś, using the name of Moskowski, was sent to our orphanage in Bochnia. He survived the war and returned to his family.

Additional Data:

1. One Sister stated that in Szczawnica a Mr. Majerczak hid a Jewish man in his basement. He brought this man food in a basket used for coal. After the war this person rewarded him.

2. Another Sister stated that while she was still living with her parents (Jan and Anna Zielonka, in the village of Filipy, in the county of Końskie), during the third year of the war, there was a Jewish family who went from house to house looking for a place to stay the night. Her parents took them in and that night the woman gave birth to a child. They could not stay any longer because the Germans made a thorough search of all of the houses.

3. A Sister stated that in 1939, after the German invasion, her friend from school, Salomea Baldinger, begged her to help her receive the sacrament of Baptism. The baptism was performed by Father Józef Kosibowicz, the pastor of Sromowce Wyżne. As her Godmother, the Sister felt a responsibility to take care of her friend. Her friend's family was very angry with her. After two years the benefactor became a Sister. Not too long after Maria Salomea came to the Sister asking for help because her entire family had been killed by the Germans.

Miraculously, the friend was able to reach Kraków. Mother General instructed that she be accepted into the convent on Lubicz Street [in Kraków] as a helper. After a few weeks she came back to the Mother House to ask for different work because she said working with the mentally ill depressed her. She later left for Germany to work. After the liberation she returned to Poland. In 1952 she came to us to ask for a baptismal certificate which she could not obtain during the war. She received one, got married and I was present at her daughter's First Holy Communion. At the present time she is doing well.

The above statements are based on the testimonies of the following Sisters:

1. S. Adelajda Tomasiak—Kołomyja
2. S. Adolfa Szczerbowska—Baworów, Brzeżany, Tarnopol
3. S. Aniceta Wierzbicka—Brzeżany, Siedlce
4. S. Anzelma Krupa—Skarżysko, Wołomin, Życzyn
5. S. Apolonia Leśniak—Bochnia, Kołomyja
6. S. Balbina Bielańska—Bochnia
7. S. Bernadetta Wołk—Przemyśl
8. S. Blandyna Tkaczyk—Kraków (Mother House)
9. S. Bonawentura Chrobak—Sulejów
10. S. Cypriana Mrzygłód—Drohobycz
11. S. Efrema Lis—Lwów-Zamarstynów
12. S. Emanuela Minko—Częstochowa, Mników, Siedlce, Wołomin (orphanage)
13. S. Emeryka Gaca—Tarnów (nursery)

¹⁰²³ Hania (Anna) Reich's story is set out earlier in the main text. Józefa Rysińska, a Żegota liaison officer, took the child to Kraków from Pilzno and entrusted her to her aunt, Miriam Peleg-Mariańska. Peleg-Mariańska placed her niece with several Polish families before being she was taken in by the Albertine Sisters in Rząska. Peleg-Mariańska claims that the nuns were never informed that Hania was Jewish, either when she was left at the convent or when she was removed after the Germans retreated from the area, and that therefore "no-one suspected her of being Jewish." See Miriam Peleg-Mariańska and Mordecai Peleg, *Witnesses: Life in Occupied Kraków* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 54–56, 165–66. The accounts of the Albertine Sisters belie this contention. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Hania would have acquired the level of knowledge of religious matters and practices of a ten-year-old Catholic child. Furthermore, one of the reasons Hania left the home of Jadwiga Kruczkowska, one of her benefactors, was that Hania "looked Jewish" and passing her off as Kruczkowska's niece was becoming problematic. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 404–5.

14. S. Eleonora Janik—Przemyśl, Tarnopol
15. S. Eufrozja Wiatrowicz—Wołomin (orphanage)
16. S. Eugenia Gajewska—Brzeżany, Busko-Zdrój
17. S. Eulalia Dzidek—Siedlce, Skarżysko
18. S. Ewencja Panasiuk—Rząska
19. S. Ferdynanda Grzenkiewicz—Kołomyja
20. S. Fortunata Kołodziej—Rząska
21. S. Helena Wilkołek—Kraków-Prądnik Czerwony
22. S. Hermana Bąk—Kraków (nursery)
23. S. Hugona Klimpel—Częstochowa
24. S. Ignacja Pluta—Kraków (Krakowska Street)
25. S. Józefina Latka—Śniatyń
26. S. Kaliksta Gózdź—Kielce
27. S. Katarzyna Bikowska—Drohobycz
28. S. Leokadia Sowińska—Mników
29. S. Lidwina Święs—Tarnów
30. S. Longina Konieczna—Tarnopol
31. S. Lucjana Stano—Bochnia
32. S. Magdalena Kaczmarczyk—Częstochowa
33. S. Marcelina Wędzicha—Bochnia
34. S. Maria Kotas—Baworów
35. S. Maurycja Wahnout—Brzeżany, Tarnopol
36. S. Modesta Wierzchowska—Mników
37. S. Pankracja Solarz—Opoczno
38. S. Paulina Adamczyk—Wołomin (orphanage), Siedlce
39. S. Rafaela Kupczyk—Stanisławów
40. S. Scholastyka Bogacz—Częstochowa
41. S. Serwacja Dobrotowska—Sambor
42. S. Seweryna Domaradzka—Kraków (Krakowska Street), Tarnów (Shelter for the Poor)
43. S. Stanisława Kluz—Kraków (Nursery), Tarnów (Nursery), Lwów
44. S. Suplicja Kogutowicz—Skarżysko, Kraków (educational institution)
45. S. Sykstusa Kardyś—Busko-Zdrój, Śniatyń
46. S. Taida Balańda—Drohobycz
47. S. Teresa Wilhelm—Drohobycz
48. S. Urbana Kondeja—Kraków (Krakowska Street)
49. S. Wita Pawłowska—Częstochowa
50. S. Waleriana Żuchowska—Rawa Ruska

After being separated from his mother, Zygmunt Weinreb found refuge in a shelter run by the Albertine Brothers on Krakowska Street in Kraków. The Thiel family took him under their care and he survived the war.¹⁰²⁴ (Thiel Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=6381731>>.)

Zygmunt Weinreb was born in Poland in 1935. He grew up on Kraków, in a mixed Jewish-Christian neighborhood. When the war began, his father left the family and tried to escape. He was never seen again. Zygmunt's mother managed to obtain false identification papers for herself and her young son. For a brief period of time, the Weinrebs stayed with the Puchala [Puchała] family in Niepolomice [Niepołomice] Wielickie. One day, Zygmunt's mother went to Kraków to retrieve some property, and did not return. Józef Puchala brought back the news that she had probably been captured carrying false papers and sent to a concentration camp. Now nine-year-old Zygmunt was left without "Aryan" documents, because he had been registered on his mother's papers.

Zygmunt left the Puchalas' home and roamed the streets alone. He met someone who advised him to go to the nearby monastery, where many Polish refugees of war were sheltered. There, the young boy met Jan and Olga Thiels, teachers at the monastery who supported him and tried to dispel the arising suspicions of his origins. When they found an apartment outside the monastery, the Thiels took Zygmunt with them, along with a friend of his, a

¹⁰²⁴ Olga Thiel and her husband Jan were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2009. Józef and Maria Puchała, who had sheltered Zygmunt Weinreb earlier, have also been recognized. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 649–50. Two Polish policemen in Kraków also provided help along the way: a Polish police commander assisted Zygmunt Weinreb's cousin to smuggle Zygmunt out of the Kraków ghetto; when Zygmunt was taken to a police station to check out his false identity, a police officer confirmed that identity as true without verification.

Polish boy aged six. They sent the children to school and cared for all of their needs until liberation. After the war, the Thiels gave Zygmunt over to the Jewish community. In 1950, he moved to Israel, where he took the name Yizhar Alon and built a new life for himself, including a family of his own.

Zygmunt Weinreb's testimony was recorded shortly after the war. (Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, p. 114.)

I stayed at the Albertine Brothers and Mrs [Olga] Thiel, the teacher, guessed that I was Jewish, and the Brother Superior did too, and they helped me a lot. They did not say anything to me, but the Brother told me to bathe in bathing trunks like the older boys, and the teacher got angry whenever anyone called me a Jew and secretly taught me things so that no one would be able to tell I was Jewish. But then everyone began whispering about me, so the teacher took me home with her and put me in a school where the headmaster, Mr Chrzan, knew that I was Jewish and helped me a lot. ...

When the Russians arrived the Brother Superior read in the newspaper that there was a Jewish Committee, and he told me to go to Długa Street to find out if my father had registered there.

Not all Jewish children returned to their families and faith after the war. Some decided to remain with their new families and faith. The following account is related in Zosia Goldberg, as told to Hilton Obenzinger, *Running Through Fire: How I Survived the Holocaust* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 2004), at pages 36–37.

On my mother's side of the family there were cousins. My mother's mother's sister was Telca Trauman and she had two children, Lutek and Franka. Her son Lutek was married to Hela ... Lutek and Hela went through the wall [of the Warsaw ghetto] to live in the Aryan section. They took their daughter Hanka and lived with his mother Telca. His sister Franka also lived there, and brought her daughter Bronia.

Telca made believe she was deaf and mute in order to hide her Jewish accent. She had blue eyes, a good face. ... And they got through the war this way to die natural deaths. Bronia's father, Adolf, was taken away one day near the Umschlagplatz and killed, but Franka and her mother, Telca, were able to get some kind of papers and hide in the apartment in the Aryan section. Lutek Trauman was stopped one day, the Germans pulled his pants down, and when they saw that he was circumcised, they killed him on the spot.

Soon after they got to the Aryan side Bronia was put in a Catholic convent. She was five years old, and she was told by a priest, "You are a Jewish girl, but now you are a Christian, and never say anything. After the war you can be Jewish again." But Bronia after the war did not want to be Jewish anymore and she remained Catholic. After all the suffering, her mother, Franka, was driven out of her mind because her daughter remained a Christian. Bronia is still in Poland, while Hela and her daughter Hanka moved to Israel.

Jews in concentration and slave labour camps encountered members of the Polish clergy and many other Polish prisoners who were willing to extend a hand to their fellow prisoners when the opportunity arose. Dr. E. Szor, an inmate of Auschwitz, confirmed the helpfulness of fellow prisoner, Jan Kledzik, who was a hospital attendant at that camp: "He displayed a father's devotion to his fellow sufferers, irrespective of race and nationality." Jan Kledzik, in turn, acknowledged the helpfulness of other Poles who collaborated with him. (Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, pp. 478–79.)

As a former inmate of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp, I wish to state how Poles saved and helped the Jews in the camp. Jews were hidden in hospitals; food that other prisoners received in parcels were shared with them. This was how the people working with me in the hospital gave help. They were: Andrzej Bialecki, Stach Bukowski, Tadeusz Radomski, Marian Czerwiński, Bogdan Kolasinski. And in this way, thanks to our help, the following people regained their liberty: Doctors Knoch, Szor, Gabej, August, Dizerej, and Fastman [Ludwik Fastmann], the pharmacist Gotlieb, Zukier, Zieliński. The last two had already been selected for the gas chamber and, thanks, to Zygmunt, the Schreiber [clerk], they were taken from the hospital to the workers' camp. They all survived. When I was in the workers' lager before I started to work in the hospital, Father [Wawrzyniec] Wnuk from Gniezno and I saved Jews, who were so exhausted during roll call, that they collapsed and lay in the mud. Their co-religionists could not save them since they were afraid of the Nazis, but we Poles carried them on our shoulders to the block. There the Poles washed and fed them.

Rev. Wnuk was imprisoned in Auschwitz from August 1943 until June 1944, when he was transferred to Buchenwald and later to Dachau.

Michel (Mendel) Mielnicki, a young Jew from Wasilków near Białystok, described the kindness of a

Polish priest he encountered in the slave labour camp at Mittelbau-Dora near Weimar in his memoir *Bialystok to Birkenau: The Holocaust Journey of Michel Mielnicki*, as told to John Munro (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press and Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre, 2000), at pages 202–203.

Well, very early one morning, I was awakened when my head hit the wooden sleeping shelf beneath it with a thud. I knew instantly what had happened. I was out of my bunk and onto the back of a prisoner who'd stolen my bread in a second. But not fast enough to stop him from stuffing my bread into his mouth. Possessed of a strength that in retrospect still surprises me, I quickly had him down on the floor with my hands locked on his throat, when the Polish priest, who was our Blockältester [block elder], came out of his room to see who was making all the racket.

I can't say whether it was my intention to strangle the thief or just to stop him from swallowing my bread (and thus my ability to stay alive). Whatever the case, I was on the brink of choking the final breath out of the man, when this priest, who was tall, and heavy enough to have pulled me away with one hand, instead said, "So what will you accomplish if you kill him? He's already eaten most of your bread, and you'll be hanged tomorrow. Remember your Ten Commandments. Let him go, and I'll tend to his punishment." So I let the son of a bitch go. At which point the big priest added, "God will help you." In Hebrew! Somehow, he had known from the outset that I was a Jew. I don't recall that in my subsequent dealings with him, which, given his position, were considerable, he ever so much as alluded to this again. And I couldn't be more grateful to this Christian man of the cloth if I tried. In his own way, he too saved my life.

Similar accounts attest to the selfless sacrifice of Polish priests and nuns imprisoned in other Nazi German concentration camps. Rev. Michał Piaszczyński, who maintained friendly relations with Jews in his native Łomża before the war, and even invited rabbis to the seminary where he taught, shared his meagre food ration with other prisoners of Sachsenhausen (Oranienburg), where he died of malnutrition and disease in December 1940. When a Jew in his block was denied his food ration one day, Rev. Piaszczyński gave his over to the Jew (a lawyer from Warsaw by the name of Kott); the latter turned to Rev. Piaszczyński with tears in his eyes and said: "You Catholics believe that in your churches there is a living Christ in your bread. I believe that in this bread there is a living Christ who told you to share it with me."¹⁰²⁵

An inmate of the Dachau concentration camp, where "altruism is almost completely unknown," records how Rev. Jan Tymiński of the diocese of Łomża volunteered to be transferred to one of the blocks that was ridden with the typhus epidemic in order to help his fellow prisoners who were less fortunate than he was: "He hops from one bunk to another, blesses the dying, no matter of what nationality or faith they are, consoles those who are still conscious."¹⁰²⁶ Rev. Tadeusz Gaik, who was also interned in Dachau, struck up a deep friendship with a Jew by the name of Dawid Jakubowski from his hometown of Bochnia, and provided him with food and a sweater.¹⁰²⁷ During a typhus epidemic in Dachau, the Jesuit Fr. Czesław Fabisiak, although himself in a very fragile state, volunteered to give blood to a Hungarian Jew by the name of Wachs (István Wax?), who was in need of a blood transfusion.¹⁰²⁸

Miroslav Grunwald, a Jewish prisoner of Dachau from Croatia, confirms the kindness of Polish prisoners, among them priests. (Miroslav Grunwald's Memories, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Internet: <<http://www.ushmm.org/remember/the-holocaust-survivors-and-victims-resource-center/benjamin-and-vladka-meed-registry-of-holocaust-survivors/behind-every-name-a-story/miroslav-fred-grunwald/miroslav-grunwalds-memories-dachau>>.)

The first impression at the entrance was misleading: there was a sign "Arbeit Macht Frei" ("Work Will Set You Free") so I was determined to work very hard so as to get free as soon as possible. An hour later we learned that the reality of the camp was different. The sign meant that our possible freedom depended, first of all, on a German

¹⁰²⁵ Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 144–46.

¹⁰²⁶ S.J. [Stanisław Jerzy] Sagan, *Food Carries Out!* (Toronto: n.p., 1982), 110.

¹⁰²⁷ Tadeusz Gaik, "Moje krótkie wspomnienie," in Antoni Gładysz and Andrzej Szymerski, eds., *Biografia byłych więźniów politycznych niemieckich obozów koncentracyjnych*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Promyk, 1972), 72–74.

¹⁰²⁸ Stanisław Cieślak, "Jezuici ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at p. 142.

victory (occupying the entire Soviet Union, as well as the British Isles). We were also warned that this was not a hotel or home for convalescence; that we were really convicts.

After that speech, we were ordered to undress completely (it was thirty below zero!). In this fatal five minutes, many people just fell down and were taken to the crematoria. I managed to get away with just contracting pneumonia and a high fever. A Polish doctor (an older prisoner) saved my life in a miraculous way. We were first brought into a barricade for disinfection. This action deserves a description in detail. First came a prisoner (with a black triangle for anti-socials) to trim our hair. That was not so bad, but then he shaved all hairs from our body with an old-fashioned razor, without soap or cream, and fast, injuring almost everybody's face. Then came another prisoner with a pail of carbolic acid and with a hard barn brush, swept our bodies. An enormous burning sensation left us really suffering. Then we went into the showers: first boiling hot water, then ice cold showers!

All of us that survived the bath with a suspiciously burnt skin went to another lineup for a medical examination. An SS man presided and two Polish doctors (prisoners) examined us and proclaimed us fit for instant labor or for a couple of days "rest".

As soon as it was my turn, I was the first to establish a third line and this third group got an instant treatment. There was a pile of paper cement bags in which tar glued together several layers of paper. The layers were separated and our bodies were covered with sticky tar paper. This was supposed to reduce the skin inflammation and reduce the body temperature.

I was warned by one of the doctors that I still had to come every Saturday to remove the tar paper and take a bath, but he whispered to me that the healing process would occur only if I could manage not to remove the tar paper for several months.

This meant I had to hide every Saturday and not go to the bathhouse with the others. This would be a punishable offense if I were caught. I managed not to get caught all through the winter months of 1943-44; always being in mortal fear of being found behind the barracks.

However, God helped me two-fold during this time. First, by my hiding undiscovered and, secondly, by allowing me to return to my barrack at noon with some foodstuff in my pockets, as I usually hid where it was most dangerous; behind the barrack of Polish priests who managed to give me some dry food through the back window.

Rev. Witold Kiedrowski, from the Chełmno diocese, who was imprisoned in Majdanek, witnessed how Rev. Julian Chrościcki, a priest from the Warsaw suburb of Włochy who had been arrested for helping Jews, accompanied a rabbi in reciting psalms from the breviary the priest managed to smuggle into the camp. In his capacity as pharmacist, Rev. Kiedrowski visited sickrooms in the camps in which he was interned, namely, Majdanek, Birkenau and Ohdruf, bringing both medical and spiritual assistance to prisoners of all nationalities, including Jews, for whom he would recite psalms. During the massacre of Jewish prisoners in Majdanek on November 3, 1943, Rev. Kiedrowski was badly beaten for trying to protect a Jewish boy.¹⁰²⁹ Sister Julia (Stanisława) Rodzińska, a Dominican nun from Wilno who was arrested in July 1943 and imprisoned in Stutthof, died there in February 1945, after contracting typhus while visiting and caring for inmates infected with typhus. A fellow Jewish inmate by the name of Eva Hoff recalled: "She helped us with her inner strength."¹⁰³⁰

Even as the war was drawing to a close, Jews would still find themselves in need of protectors. Seven Jewish women—Sara Erenhalt (née Flaks), Genia Ekert, Tema Laufer, Tosia Zak, Stefa, and Leah Binstock and her sister—who were evacuated from Auschwitz by the Germans in the so-called death marches, managed to escape in the village of Poręba near Pszczyna, and hid in a barn that belonged to an elderly priest, Rev. Alojzy Pitlok. Sara Erenhalt recounts (Testimony of Sara Erenhalt (née Flaks), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1588):

We all entered some cottage. There was an old man. We greeted him saying "Praised be Jesus Christ."¹⁰³¹ We asked him about the night in his barn. He replied: "Poor little things, how can I let you sleep in a barn at minus eighteen degrees." It appeared that our host was a priest, dressed at that time in secular clothing. We started talking to him and asking for shelter at his home. He agreed immediately to hide me and Genia. ... We attempted to persuade him that we could not separate from our female companions because we were together all the time in the camp, and if

¹⁰²⁹ Witold Kiedrowski, "Świat potrzebuje pomnika żywej modlitwy," *Miesięcznik Franciszkański*, September 12, 1987.

¹⁰³⁰ Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 281–85.

¹⁰³¹ A traditional Polish greeting that is falling into disuse except when greeting clergy: "Niech będzie pochwalony Jezus Chrystus." The response is: "Na wieki wieków. Amen," which translates as "For ever and ever. Amen."

they went away, they surely would die.

Father Pitlok agreed to host all of the women. He brought them food and took them into his house, despite the fact that the Germans had sequestered a room there. The Jewish women remained with him for three-and-a-half weeks until the arrival of the Soviet army. Five of the Jewish women were hidden in the cellar, while the two women with a non-Jewish appearance pretended to be the priest's Christian servants. Rev. Pitlok was also willing to offer them help after the liberation. "He said that it did not matter that we were Jews, but it was important that our guardian angel had sent us to him and that he could save us. He also stressed that if we did not manage to find our families, we could always come back to his place and find employment."¹⁰³²

At least 16 individuals and families from Poręba were known to have sheltered prisoners who escaped during the death march that passed through that village.¹⁰³³ Morris Dach was able to escape with two other men during the third day of the death march; they were hidden by a Polish farmer.¹⁰³⁴ Henryk Mandelbaum, a native of Ząbkowice Będzińskie, was rescued by Polish villagers in the vicinity of Jastrzębie-Zdrój after his escape,¹⁰³⁵ as were Helena Berman and Romana Duracz.¹⁰³⁶ Jan and Katarzyna Szczerbowski and their daughter, Irena, sheltered Krystyna Żywulska (Zofia Sonia Landau) in Jawiszowice, and Jadwiga Miś of Bieruń Nowy sheltered a Jew from Wieluń.¹⁰³⁷ Maria Dżambowa was taken in by a Polish woman who fed her and bought her a train ticket to Katowice, where she found shelter with friends.¹⁰³⁸ Pieterkowski, a Jew, managed to escape and found shelter with a man named Grzebowski in Mikołów.¹⁰³⁹ Leon Reig, who managed to escape together with some other prisoners during the evacuation of the Monowice subcamp of Auschwitz, reported that they were treated well by Polish villagers, who sheltered and fed them.¹⁰⁴⁰

Poles who have been awarded by Yad Vashem for sheltering death march escapees in various localities include: Katarzyna Froehlich and Dorota Kuc-Froehlich (several other people involved in this rescue, among them Rozalia Kalabiś, were not recognized); Augustyn and Zofia Godziek; Brunon and Bronisława Jurytko of Książenice, who rescued 14 Jews; Paweł, Marta and Anastazja Muskietorz; Ludwik, Maria and Henryk Paszek; Gertruda Pustelnik; Maria and Wanda Sitko; Teodor and Franciszka Tendera; and Konrad, Wiktor and Maria Zacny, and their daughters, Stefania and Janina; Regina and

¹⁰³² Sara E. [Erenhalt] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-1085) and Leah B. [Binstock] Holocaust Testimony (HVT-369), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library; Testimony of Sara Erenhalt, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/1588; Oral History Interview with Leah Binstock, October 30, 1984, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession Number 1993.A.0087.11, RG Number RG-50.091.0011, Internet: <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn504952>>.

¹⁰³³ Andrzej Strzelecki, *"Marsz śmierci": Przewodnik po trasie Oświęcim-Wodzisław Śląski* (Katowice: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 1989), 49–53.

¹⁰³⁴ Testimony of Morris Dach, November 23, 1994, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Hills, Michigan, Internet: <<http://www.holocaustcenter.org/page.aspx?pid=515>>.

¹⁰³⁵ Bolesław Ciepiera and Małgorzata Sromek, *Śladami Żydów z Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego: Wspomnienia* (Będzin: Stowarzyszenie Autorów Polskich Oddział Będziński, 2009), 78.

¹⁰³⁶ Testimony of Helena Berman and Romana Duracz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 6182.

¹⁰³⁷ Henryk Świebocki, ed., *Ludzie dobrej woli: Księga pamięci mieszkańców Ziemi Oświęcimskiej niosących pomoc więźniom KL Auschwitz* (Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau and Towarzystwo Opieki nad Oświęcimiem, 2005), 134, 372, 450. See also Krystyna Żywulska's memoir, *I Survived Auschwitz* (Warsaw: tCHu; Oświęcim: Państwowe Muzeum Auschwitz-Birkenau, 2004).

¹⁰³⁸ Testimony of Maria Dżambowa, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3555.

¹⁰³⁹ Testimony of Pieterkowski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 446.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Testimony of Leon Reig, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 94.

Stefania Zimoń.¹⁰⁴¹ The Hanak family, who also took in escapees, has not been recognized.¹⁰⁴² Characteristically, Jews who endured the death march, like Helen Lewis, a Czech Jew who was evacuated from Auschwitz on January 27, 1944, recalled: “We were on the road to begin with for a fortnight. It was indescribably cold, and the only food we got was from villagers—the Poles gave us some, the Germans, later, none at all.”¹⁰⁴³ In other words, while marching through territory populated by Poles, Jews would receive help from sympathetic Poles; however, they could not count on empathy once they arrived on lands populated by Germans. Nate Leipciger, who was marched from the Flossenbürg concentration camp to the small town of Leonberg near Stuttgart at the end of the war recalled, “The German people looked away as we went past, as if we were monsters.”¹⁰⁴⁴

Many of those forced to endure the death marches, however, were not as fortunate. The prisoners who were killed by the Germans and their bodies left by the road were buried by Poles. (“Death March of Male Auschwitz Inmates,” Internet: <http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/death_march/overview.asp>.)

In a Christian cemetery in the village of Książenice, Poland, about an hour and a half from Auschwitz-Birkenau, is a memorial which stands over a mass grave of 45 people, victims of the death march that left Auschwitz-Birkenau. Unlike many other victims of death marches, they received a burial. The local priest, Paweł Rys [Paweł Ryś], decided, for humanitarian reasons, to bury the victims and also to document their ‘names’—the inmate numbers tattooed on their arms. The priest instructed the grave-digger to record the numbers. The original document is stored in the Auschwitz Archive and a copy is on display in the Holocaust History Museum at Yad Vashem.

Together with the thousands of other inmates in the death march, they departed from Auschwitz-Birkenau on 18th January 1945. The inmates received a piece of bread, one packet of canned food between four and a blanket. They were forced to walk tens of kilometers in the freezing cold wearing rags and trudging through the snow in wooden clogs. The inmates suffered from exhaustion and dysentery, eating handfuls of snow to ease their hunger. Any inmate who became weak and dropped behind was immediately shot by the SS. After a march of approximately 59 km the inmates arrived at a train station in the city of Gliwice where 100–150 inmates were crowded into open train carriages. The inmates were transported for hours in the extreme cold of -20°C and many of them froze to death. When the train stopped, the SS guards continued to march the inmates, who had not received food for three days. On the 22nd of January the inmates neared the forest by the settlements of Młyn [Młyn] and Rybnik. As the inmates entered the forest the guards began to shout that they were being attacked by partisans and began shooting towards the inmates. The site was filled with dead and injured. Residents of Młyn used wagons to transport some of the corpses for burial in Książenice cemetery. Their funerals were held on the 26th of January and the 12th of February.

...

Initial research in the Auschwitz Archive revealed that 26 of the buried were Jews from Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, The Netherlands, Poland and Hungary. Five of the buried were Polish political inmates and the others were of varied nationalities.

Prisoners killed during the death marches—among them many whose identity was not known—were buried respectfully by Catholic Poles regardless of their religion. Yaki Gantz, an Israeli who made it his mission to identify the Jews among the victims and to commemorate them, wrote, “It is amazing to see how many people helped the Jews then, and how many people want to help me now.” According to an article in an Israeli newspaper that featured this story, “Gantz promises he will not cease his search for

¹⁰⁴¹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 222, 319–20; 532–33, and vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 586, 652–53, 711–12, 815, 940–41. The Zacny family of Pszczyna was recognized in 2019. Regarding Rozalia Kalabiś see The Froehlich Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-froehlich-family>> See also the testimony of Dunia Urbańska (Urysson), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 124, who describes how she, another Jewish woman and several men who had escaped during the death march were sheltered in a village near Bielsko-Biała, where they were helped by a number of villagers.

¹⁰⁴² Aleksandra Namysło, “Postawy mieszkańców rejencji katowickiej wobec ludności żydowskiej,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 793–94.

¹⁰⁴³ Anton Gill, *The Journey Back from Hell: Conversations with Concentration Camp Survivors* (London: Grafton Books, 1988), 415.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Nate Leipciger, *The Weight of Freedom* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2015), 121.

mass graves. It is his way of thanking the Polish citizens who buried the victims of the death marches regardless of their religion, he says.”¹⁰⁴⁵

Valerie Straussová, a Czech Jew, feigned death when she was shot during the evacuation of prisoners from the Schlesiensee labour camp in Lower Silesia. Wounded, she managed to drag herself to the Polish village of Wijewo near Leszno, where she was taken in Maria Wojciech. Maria entrusted Valerie to the care of her sister-in-law, Stefania (Jadwiga), whose convent had been closed down by the Germans and the nuns dispersed. Maria Wojciech was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations, whereas Sister Stefania Wojciechowska was awarded a certificate of appreciation.¹⁰⁴⁶ (Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, pp. 880–81.)

In the second half of January 1945, with the approach of the front, the Schlesiensee labor camp for women, a branch of the Gross-Rosen camp, in Lower Silesia, was evacuated, and about 200 Jewish women from the camp were forced to participate in a death march, in freezing weather, in a northwesterly direction. In order to make them walk faster, the guards escorting them selected twenty “slow” prisoners and shot them to death. Waleria Straussova, a Jewish woman born in Czechoslovakia, was wounded, but survived. After the group had passed out of sight, Straussova dragged herself with her remaining strength to the Polish village of Wijewo in the county of Leszno in the Poznań district, where she collapsed on Maria Wojciech’s doorstep in a pool of blood. Despite the presence of German soldiers and policemen in the village, Wojciech took Straussova in, washed her, dressed her wounds, fed her and allowed her to rest. In the dead of night, Wojciech took Straussova in a little sledge to the home of her relative, Stefania Wojciechowska, a nun, who took care of Straussova until the Germans’ final retreat. When the village was liberated, Straussova was admitted to a nearby military hospital and after her recovery returned to her home in Prague.

The fate of prisoners forcibly evacuated from camps located in Germany proper near the end of the war is most dramatically exemplified by the massacre at Gardelegen. On April 13, 1945, on the Isenschibbe estate near the northern German town of Gardelegen, German SS and Luftwaffe troops forced 1,016 slave labourers, who were part of a transport evacuated from the Mittelblau-Dora hard labour camp, into a large barn which was then set on fire. Most of the prisoners—many of them Poles who were sick and too weak to march any further—were burned alive; some were shot trying to escape. Eleven prisoners survived the burning of the barn and were found alive by U.S. soldiers—seven Poles, three Russians and one severely wounded Frenchman.¹⁰⁴⁷ One of the most tragic events for evacuated prisoners was when, on May 5, 1945, British fighter-bombers launched an attack on two German ships thought to be carrying troops killing some 7,000 people. In fact, the ships were crammed with prisoners evacuated from Neuengamme concentration camp. The *Thielback* sank, drowning all but fifty of the 2,800 prisoners on board. 4,250 of the prisoners on board the *Cap Arcona* were drowned, burned to death, or shot by the bullets that filled the air as the planes exchanged fire with a group of U-boats in the nearby harbour of Lübeck.¹⁰⁴⁸

Alek Elias Kleiner, a native of Kraków, was imprisoned in several German concentration camps before he ended up in Kaufering, a subsidiary of Dachau, near Landsberg in Bavaria near the end of the war. During the evacuation of the camp in late April 1945, Kleiner and some other Jewish prisoners managed to escape and made to the Benedictine abbey in St. Ottilien, which had been taken over and converted into a military hospital for German soldiers. When they arrived there they encountered Polish nuns, who had likely been expelled from Warsaw after the failed uprising of August 1944, and told them their story. The nuns led the escaped prisoners to the cellar, took their prison clothes and burned them, and gave them new

¹⁰⁴⁵ Nissan Tzur, “Former Intel Agent Discovers Jews in Mass ‘Christian’ Graves,” *Times of Israel*, December 1, 2013. The article mentions several villages, among them Książenice and Miedźna, where ceremonies were held with the participation of the local Catholic priest and community in conjunction with the erection of monuments to commemorate the Jewish victims.

¹⁰⁴⁶ See also Testimony of Valerie Straussová, EHRI (European Holocaust Research Infrastructure) Document Blog, Internet: <<https://blog.ehri-project.eu/2016/03/11/testimony-of-valerie-straussova/>>; “Maria Wojciech from Wijewo Village,” Memory and Identity, International Information Center, Internet: <<http://pamiecitozsamosc.pl/en/maria-wojciech-from-wijewo-village>>.

¹⁰⁴⁷ “Gardlegen Massacre,” Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gardelegen_massacre>.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939–1945*, 695, 699.

clothes and shoes. They then brought a priest, who appears to have been Fr. Moritz Schrank. He agreed to hide them in a stable with horses, pigs and cows, and brought them food every day until the arrival of the American army on May 9, 1945.¹⁰⁴⁹

Edith Zierer, who was liberated from the work camp in Skarzysko-Kamienna in January 1945, credits Pope John Paul II with saving her life in the final months of the war. Totally weakened by tuberculosis and other ailments that had her virtually paralyzed, she encountered Karol Wojtyła, then a seminarian, at a railroad station. After joining other survivors and a stay in an orphanage in Poland and a French sanatorium, she emigrated to Israel in 1951. She met the Pope again at a moving reunion at Yad Vashem in 2000. (Ofer Aderet, “Edith Zierer, Holocaust Survivor Saved by Pope, Dies,” *Haaretz*, January 16, 2014.)

When Pope John Paul II visited the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial and museum in 2000 he met with a group of Holocaust survivors, among them Edith Zierer of Haifa. “He who saves the life of even one Jew is likened to one who has saved an entire world,” she told him in Polish. “He put his hand on my shoulder and I was so moved. I had closed a circle,” she told the daily newspaper Maariv.

She was born to a wealthy and educated Jewish family in Katowice, Poland. In 1939, in advance of the German invasion of Poland, her family fled and moved from place to place. “We hid in the attic of Polish farmers, among the hens,” she recalled.

Her father, mother and sister were subsequently murdered, and Zierer remained incarcerated alone. She worked in a weapons factory in the Skarzysko-Kamienna labor camp in occupied Poland. “I worked for 12 hours a day. I was lucky that I spoke a good German and that the German bosses liked me. Otherwise I probably would have ended my life,” she said. “I worked from the end of 1942 until January 28, 1945. I was by myself, alone in the world, in harsh conditions, in freezing cold, doing hard labor. I was small, weak, without shoes, with frozen feet.”

After her release at the end of January 1945, Zierer lay helpless in an old train station in Poland. “I was thin, eaten up by lice, tired and exhausted. There wasn’t a drop of life in me. I was lying there, apathetic and motionless,” she later said in an interview.

“Suddenly, totally unexpectedly, a young priest made his way through the people and approached me. I looked up and saw a Christian priest in a brown robe standing in front of me, with a great light in his eyes. He turned to me of all the people who were sitting there in the station, and asked ‘Why are you sitting here like that?’” she recounted.

The young priest was Karol Wojtyła [Wojtyła], who in 1978 would become Pope John Paul II. He brought her a sandwich and tea. “I was thin, gaunt, tired and ill. To this day I remember the first bite ... I finished the sandwich and he told me to stand up because ‘We’re going,’ as he said. I wasn’t capable of standing on my skinny legs. I fell onto the floor of the train station and he was forced to carry me in his arms.”

Wojtyła carried her on his back for about three kilometers, until they reached the station from which a train took them to Krakow. “We were both alone on the railroad track, in the dark ... We arrived together, I on his back, at the next station,” she said.

In Krakow [Kraków] she was taken in by a relative, and later had the good fortune of being one of the 100 orphans taken in and rescued by Lena Kuchler. She wandered with them to Zakopane, Czechoslovakia and France.

...

In 1951 Zierer immigrated to Israel, where she raised a family and worked as a dental technician.

Pola Hipsz, who returned to Poland after the war from exile in Siberia, credits Karol Wojtyła, then a young priest, with helping her to locate her husband, Daniel Sztarksztejn, and reuniting with him in London, England.¹⁰⁵⁰ There also exist some sketchy accounts of Karol Wojtyła’s wartime rescue activities. According to historian Paul Johnson, “His name also figured on a Nazi blacklist on account of his activities on behalf of the Jewish community in Cracow [Kraków] and its neighbourhood. As recorded in the archives of the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, the Jewish organization, he belonged to an underground group which took Jewish families out of the ghettos, gave them new identity papers and, if necessary, found them hiding places.”¹⁰⁵¹ According to another source, “Many people have told me: he was one of the people who took risks for the Jews. We know, for example, that he made false papers for

¹⁰⁴⁹ Testimony of Alek Elias Kleiner, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/8486; Testimony of Elias Kleiner, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 476; Postcard, March 26, 1953, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1997.A.0392.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Marilyn Schimmel, *Witnesses: Voices from the Holocaust* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 2005).

¹⁰⁵¹ Paul Johnson, *Pope John Paul II and the Catholic Restoration* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 10.

them during the war. ... this young man participated in making, inside the Bishop's palace, false papers destined for Polish members of the Resistance and Jews."¹⁰⁵²

Remarkably, the July 7, 1988 issue of *The Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto) carried the following Jewish Telegraphic Agency report—"Wiesel assails Pontiff for 'offensive behavior'":

Jewish feeling toward Pope John Paul may have been summed up by Elie Wiesel, author, human rights activist and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1986. Writing in the New York Post, Wiesel accused the Pope of wanting to "de Judaize the Holocaust" with his "strange and offensive behavior whenever he is confronted by the crudest event in recorded history." ... "It is now clear: this Pope has a problem with Jews, just as Jews have a problem with him. His understanding for living Jews is as limited as his compassion for dead Jews," wrote Wiesel, an Auschwitz survivor. ... Wiesel accused John Paul of wanting people to believe Christians suffered as much as Jews in Hitler's concentration camps."

Writing in response to a similar charge that appeared in *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), Rudolf K. Kogler, who grew up with Karol Wojtyła in Wadowice,¹⁰⁵³ stated in a letter to the editor (published on November 1, 1988):

John Allemang's contention that Pope John Paul II.. "plays down their sufferings in the Holocaust" is unfounded.... There could be no mistake about the Pope's stance since he pronounced these words during his first [papal] visit to Auschwitz in June 1979: "I kneel before the inscription in Hebrew. This inscription awakens the memory of the people whose sons and daughter's were intended for total extermination. The very people that received from God the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" itself experienced in a special measure what is meant by killing. It is not permissible for anyone to pass by this inscription with indifference.

Since that time, Pope John Paul II spoke of the Jewish suffering movingly on many occasions. At a meeting with foreign journalists in January 1988, he was asked: "I would like to know if we are right, we Jews, in thinking that in Your Holiness's continual [sic] references to the *Shoah* there is a certain tendency to minimize, to lessen the dimensions of the *Shoah*." "I am amazed. That is all I can say. I am amazed at your question," was the Pope's response. Could there be any other response to this kind of baseless complaint?

In 1946 Józefa and Bronisław Jachowicz turned to Rev. Karol Wojtyła, then a newly ordained priest, with a request to baptize Shachne Hiller. They had cared for the boy as their own child since 1942, when his mother had smuggled him out of the Kraków ghetto when he was just two years old. His parents perished in Auschwitz. After asking the Jachowiczes what was the wish of the boy's parents in entrusting him to their care, they acknowledged that his parents had requested that their son be raised as a Jew. Rev. Wojtyła replied that it would be unfair to baptize the child while there was still hope that the relatives of the child might take him. Shachne Hiller was eventually reunited with family in the United States who adopted him, and he grew up as Stanley Berger.¹⁰⁵⁴

Priests did not rush to convert Jewish children after the war. Another such example involves Chana Mandelbaum, born in 1937, who was left by her mother in the care of the Nabelski family of Chronów near Nowy Wiśnicz. Known as Jańcia, the girl was hidden in that home for four years. She could not leave the house during daylight hours as her dark hair might draw the attention of others. Her mother

¹⁰⁵² Marek Halter, *Stories of Deliverance: Speaking with Men and Women Who Rescued Jews from the Holocaust* (Chicago and La Salle, Illinois, 1997), 258–59.

¹⁰⁵³ Another close boyhood friend of Karol Wojtyła's was Jerzy Kluger, a Jew. This history of that long-lasting friendship, rekindled when Wojtyła attended the Second Vatican Council in Rome in the 1960s, is described in Darcy O'Brien, *The Hidden Pope: The Untold Story of a Lifelong Friendship That Is Changing the Relationship between Catholics and Jews—The Personal Journey of John Paul II and Jerzy Kluger* (New York: Daybreak Books/Rodale Books, 1998), and in Jerzy Kluger's autobiographical *The Pope and I: How the Lifelong Friendship between a Polish Jew and John Paul II Advanced Jewish-Christian Relations* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2012), penned with Gianfranco De Simone.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Debra Rubin, "Former D.C. Man Owes Much to Pope," *Jewish Week*, Internet: <http://www.interfaithfamily.com/spirituality/spirituality/Former_DC_Man_Owes_Much_to_Pope.shtml>.

never returned for her. After the war, Mrs. Nabelski decided to have the girl baptized and to treat her as a foster daughter. She went to Rev. Wilhelm Boczek, the local parish priest, regarding the matter. He agreed to do it on condition that the girl's family could not be found. As it happened, Chana was on the Jewish Committee's missing persons list in Kraków. It was decided to turn her over to the committee. The decision was extremely hard and painful for everyone. Chana was eventually reunited with her father, who had survived the war.¹⁰⁵⁵

The case of Szlama Jakubowicz of Sochaczew, who spent the war working as a farm hand for various farmers near his hometown of Sochaczew, is similar. Although he registered with the Jewish committee after the war, he found it difficult to adjust to his new surroundings and decided to return to the last farmer he worked for. Fourteen years old at the time, Szlama approached the local priest requesting to be baptized. The priest dissuaded him, suggesting that he first attend mass and catechism classes. After the boy completed his classes the following year, he told the priest that he no longer wanted to be baptized. The priest reassured him in his decision and they parted amicably. A cousin who returned from the Soviet Union found Szlama later that year and Szlama decided to rejoin the Jewish community.¹⁰⁵⁶

Batia Akselrad (born in 1932, later Eisenstein) of Krosno was sheltered by the Krukieriek family, who were acquainted with her parents. After the war, she remained with her adopted family, to whom she had become attached, as she was unaware that anyone from her immediate family had survived. She recalled the circumstances under which she decided to convert to Catholicism (Batia Eisenstein, "The Akselrads," in William Leibner, comp., *Krosno by the Wislok River*, April 2014, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/krosno/Krosno.html>>, pp. 244 ff.):

Slowly and steadily I became attached to the Christian family and integrated myself within the family. Followed their customs and habits and became a practicing Polish Catholic youngster. This was also the year that I had to start school for the first time and I wanted to be like all the other children, namely Christian. I wanted to be accepted and not shunned. The family encouraged me in that direction. Presently I loved the family and was very attached to it. I went to the priest in Krosno and asked to be baptized. He was very surprised and told me that he knew my father. He asked whether there were any survivors in the family and I replied that I was the sole survivor. The priest baptized me on September 5th 1945, and that same month I started school for the first time. I was admitted to the seventh grade in the elementary school; I had to be prepared by a private teacher since I had to make up a great deal of schooling.

Afterwards, Batia learned that one of her brothers had survived, and she was removed from the Krukiereks' home against her will.

David Soroka and his wife decided to entrust their young daughter, Esther (born in 1940), to the care of their former housemaid, Jadwiga (Jadzia) Łukowska. She assured them that, if they remained alive, she would return the child. As part of a work crew, David was able to smuggle the child out of the Wilno ghetto. When the ghetto was liquidated in 1943, David and his wife were sent to the Kailis labour camp. David was transferred to the concentration camp in Stutthof, and survived. His wife perished in Ponary killing fields. After liberation, David returned to Wilno to look for his child. However, because of the annexation of the city by the Soviet Union, together with many other Poles Łukowska had left for Poland. In 1946, David learned that she had resettled in Wałcz, and he went there looking for his child. (David Soroka, "'Righteous Gentiles' Have Saved My Child Esther," in Kanc, *Svinzian Region*, columns 1831–1836.)

Finally, and with great difficulty I arrived, only to learn that Jadzhe [Jadzia] had died 2 months earlier. My question, where is my child?

¹⁰⁵⁵ "Looking for Jańcia," Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/looking-jancia>>.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Leociak, *Ratowanie*, 130–31, based on the testimony of Szlama Jakubowicz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2427.

I came across a woman and she showed me through a window, a child playing in the garden and she called out to her, "Teresa, your father is here!" She came running, and took a look at me and said, "but this is a Jew! My father is on the front!" She ran back to play and I stood paralyzed in my spot!

I stayed overnight with this Christian and the next day the priest summoned me to him. He was very friendly and told me the child was not converted: "a lot of Jews were saved in my Church. I saw and suffered your pain and anguish what I saw around me, a folk that is washed in blood, we cannot force their children to be converted!"

I remained in the village for several days in order to gain the trust of this child. In the end I was able to take my child with me to Lodz [Łódź]. At the train station, the Polish neighbours, their children and the priest who played with my Esther, all came to say goodbye. I wanted to give the Christian woman more money, but she answered me, "we wanted to save your child from the hands of those bloody murderers, not for money."

We arrived in Lodz and it took a while to distance her from her Christian beliefs. We finally made Aliyah to Eretz Israel after 3 hard months at sea on the "Exodus", enduring more difficulties.

In the end, my Esther became a real Israeli child, grew up and married. Today she is a mother of 2 children.

Another example from an unidentified place is found in Emunah Nachmany Gafny's *Dividing Hearts: The Removal of Jewish Children from Gentile Families in Poland in the Immediate Post-Holocaust Years* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), at p. 284:

As the war came to a close, Shlomo disclosed his Jewish identity to the family that had adopted him from the orphanage. Since he had become a choir boy by that time, the rescuers reported this to the priest, who baptized him. Some two years after the war, when he told them that he had been offered an opportunity to leave Poland for Palestine with Jewish children, the family and the priest were immensely agitated. However, when Shlomo eventually decided to leave, the priest gave him his blessings.

The five-member Chucherko family took in Berish (Berek or Bernard) Feiler, a storeowner in their village of Nowa Góra near Krzeszowice, west of Kraków, and his wife Bela (Lola), who knocked on their door starving and weary in the summer of 1942. The Feilers had escaped the *Aktion* in Pilica. They asked if they could stay for the day and recuperate but ended up staying for two years. The Chucherkos also agreed to hide Bernard's brother, Chaim (Henryk) Feiler, and his wife, Sala. A few days later they were joined by Yitzhak-Shaya (Icchak) Grosman, Sala's brother, who died shortly before liberation. Stefan Chucherko and his three sons, Eugeniusz, Henryk and Leopold, built a hiding place for the Jewish refugees beneath the floor of the hayloft, in the farmyard. At first, the refugees paid for their upkeep, which was only fair given their number and their hosts' dire situation, but even after their money ran out the Chucherkos continued to look after them. In 1943 or 1944, Bela Feiler gave birth to a baby boy while in hiding. The crying infant posed an immense danger to everyone. One night, Stefan Chucherko left the baby in a basket near the home the Noworytas, in nearby Miękinia. This childless couple took the child in, suspecting that it was born out of wedlock. They baptized the baby and raised him as their own.¹⁰⁵⁷ After the war, the local priest persuaded the couple to return the boy to his parents. (Sara R. Horowitz, "If He Knows to Make a Child...": Memories of Birth and Baby-Killing in Deferred Jewish Testimony Narratives," in Norman J. W. Goda, ed., *Jewish Histories of the Holocaust: New Transnational Approaches* [New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2014], p. 145.)

After the war, the town was occupied by Soviet forces. Hearing Berek's account, a Jewish officer offered to retrieve Berek's son, but Berek refused to take his child by force. Instead, he sought out the priest who had baptized the boy and he identified himself as the father. The priest arranged a meeting between Berek and the man who had taken in his baby. Weeping, the adoptive father pleaded with Berek to leave the boy in their care. "You are young, and we like the child very much. Please give us the child." Berek did not demand the return of his son. Instead, he acknowledged the bond between the boy and the adoptive father. "You are the same father as I am. You have the same rights to him like I am." Over time, the priest persuaded the adoptive couple to give the boy back to his birth parents.

As we have seen, on occasion Jews placed Jewish children in Catholic convents after the war. Another such example is recorded in Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, at page 204.

Ten-year-old Joseph Sliwa was sheltered by a Polish foster family on the outskirts of Warsaw. The family received payment from the boy's mother, who was hiding elsewhere. After the Polish uprising in Warsaw in late 1944, contact

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 145–46; Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych*, 83–84.

with the mother was lost—Joseph never saw her again—and the payments stopped. Nevertheless, Joseph's benefactors continued to look after him at their expense and treated him lovingly. After liberation, the boy's uncle, who was a soldier in the Polish army, arrived and took him. Joseph was pleased at the thought that he would be living with a relative. However, it transpired that the uncle did not yet have a home of his own and saw no other choice than to place his nephew in a convent. ... It was not until a few months later, when his relatives had managed to get settled, that they moved him to a Jewish children's home.

Priests did not press Jews to convert. Emil and Maria Łoziński, an elderly and poor couple, sheltered the three-member Rozenberg family—a pharmacist, his wife and their daughter, Helena—in Żółkiew, north of Lwów. The Łozińskis looked after them devotedly, without expecting anything in return. Worn down by constant anxiety and tension, Emil Łoziński one day asked his charges to leave. However, the next day, after attending church, he retracted his request. The Rozenbergs ended up staying there for 16 months, until the arrival of the Soviet army.¹⁰⁵⁸ Although the Łozińskis had hoped that their charges would convert, their rescue was in no way conditional on their conversion. To placate their hosts, after liberation, the Rozenbergs went to see the priest, whom they remembered well from before the war: "He'd come to the pharmacy, we'd chat. Nothing very personal, but pleasant. A decent man. Very respectful." (Diane Wyshogrod, *Hiding Places: A Mother, a Daughter, an Uncovered Life* [Albany: State University of New York Press–Excelsior Editions, 2012], pp. 271–72.)

So all three of us went to the priest's apartment to meet with him. My father mentioned to him that Łoziński saved us, and that he thinks we should convert. The priest asked, 'Are you converting because you're grateful to Łoziński for saving your life, or because of your convictions?'

'Well,' my father said, 'I don't feel that strongly, but I am thinking about it because of Łoziński.'

The priest said, 'If that's the only reason, that's not good enough. Thank God you survived, you survived as a Jew, you are Jewish stay what you are.'

We went back and told Łoziński what the priest said. He said, 'Well, it's the priest's decision and you have to abide by what he said.'

In some cases, Jews decided of their own accord to convert during or after the war. For example, Henryk (Chaim) Grinblat (born in 1930, later Henry Greenblatt), who worked as a cowherd for a farmer by the name of Mieczysław Ślepowroński near Siedlce, decided he would become a Christian. He and another Jewish boy, who also worked as a cowherd in the vicinity, left their farms in 1946 and voluntarily enrolled in a Jesuit orphanage, possibly a boarding school. The boys remained there for several months. Ultimately, they decided that Christianity was not for them, so they left the institution.¹⁰⁵⁹

After the war, 16-year-old Rachel Drażek from Ostrołęka, who had lost her family to the Holocaust and survived the war on the run with the help of Poles, decided to become a nun. She entered the Benedictine monastery in Łomża. She was one of several Jewish survivors who took and persevered in that path. (Ofer Aderet, "From Jewish Ghetto to Monastery: The Holocaust Survivor Who Chose Jesus," *Haaretz*, January 25, 2019.)

"I was lonely. Every day I wanted to die," she said.

"I was in pain—why don't they search and find my brother? I felt guilty. That was my stigma. My decision was that if I became a Christian I'd enter a monastery so I could pray for the Jewish people."

Later on, relatives of hers located her and tried to convince her to return to Judaism, but despite the tears, threats, offers of money and other temptations, she insisted on staying at the monastery.

The monastery records reveal fears that Jews would try to abduct her, so she was locked inside. It was also said that a large reward was offered to anyone who could get her out, but she declared that she'd never leave.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 465–66.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Testimony of Henry Greenblatt, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 12447; Henry Greenblatt, *Father's Legacy: Remembrance of a Holocaust Childhood* ([U.S.A.]: Biblio Books, 2008). After escaping from the Siedlce ghetto, Henryk Grinblat turned to a Catholic priest when he was infected with a serious skin disease. Henryk claims the priest was unaware that he was Jewish. The priest directed him to his friend at a hospital, where the boy was treated by nuns who worked as nurses. It was there that he met Mieczysław Ślepowroński, the farmer who hired him as a cowherd. Henryk's Jewish identity was divulged by his employer's Jewish friend, who came to the farm for food. Nonetheless, the farmer allowed him to stay on. Henryk worked on the farm until 1946. Ślepowroński was a member of the Home Army.

The Polish name she adopted was Maria Janina Malczewska. On becoming a nun, she became Sister Paula. In the mid-1970s she traveled to Israel after making contact with Brother Daniel, formerly known as Shmuel Oswald Rufeisen, a Polish Holocaust survivor who had become a monk. Her next stop was the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives.

Poles living in countries outside occupied Poland, among them members of the Catholic clergy, also played a role in saving Jews. A little known chapter of the war is the rescue effort of Henryk Sławik, the Polish *chargé d'affaires* in Budapest, who is credited with rescuing at least five thousand Polish Jews—both members of the military and civilians—who fled to Hungary during the war. When Germany invaded Hungary in March 1944 and embarked on a massive deportation of its Jews to Auschwitz, the fate of Polish Jews living in camps for Polish refugees became very precarious. The rescue operation required that Polish Jews pass as Catholic Poles. Sławik turned to the Polish Committee and the Polish Catholic Mission in Hungary for assistance. The Polish Catholic Mission, headed by the Pauline priest, Rev. Michał Zembrzuski, and consisting of some 60 priests stationed for the most part in refugee camps, issued instructions to all its priests to assist any Jew who needed to assume a new identity as a Christian. One of the priests involved in this activity was Rev. Jan Stączek. Every Jew who sought a false baptismal certificate was issued one without any questions asked and without having to undergo baptism or conversion. Although this fact became widely known among the Polish Catholic refugees, none of the Jews was denounced. They were all able to survive safely in Hungary. About 80 Jewish children were placed in an orphanage in the town of Vác, ostensibly as children of Polish officers, where they were passed off as Catholics. A Piarist priest from Slovakia, Rev. Pavel Boharčík (also known as Bucharczyk), instructed the children in the Catholic religion. The children and Jewish personnel attended Sunday mass at the local church as part of their guise. Itzhak Brettler, a Jew passing as a Catholic by the name of Władysław Bratkowski, taught the children the Old Testament and Torah. When Fr. Zembrzuski visited the orphanage, the Jewish children would greet him with the words “Praised be Jesus Christ!” Many of the children still recall the warm and caring atmosphere that permeated the orphanage. Sławik was arrested by the Germans on March 19, 1944. Although brutally tortured, he did not betray any of his Hungarian and Polish colleagues. He was sent to the Mauthausen concentration camp, where he was executed probably in August 1944.¹⁰⁶⁰ Henryk Sławik, Franciszek Świder, Maria Wąskowska-Tomanek, Jan Kollątaj-Srzednicki, and Rev. Pavel Boharčík were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles. The following account is from Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, volume 5: *Poland*, Part 2, at pages 768–69, supplemented by the entry in the Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=slawik&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=4017525&ind=0>.

With the defeat of Poland in September 1939 and the subsequent German occupation, thousands of Poles crossed into Hungary and settled there. The Polish refugees were followed by hundreds of Jewish families. More Jewish refugees arrived in 1942 and 1943, when the Polish ghettos were liquidated and Hungary was still relatively safe. Henryk Sławik, a Polish activist, together with his Polish unit was arrested when crossing the border and was interned as prisoner of war in Hungary. In the camp he was introduced to József Antall, a member of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior, responsible for civilian refugees from Poland. Shortly after, Antall and Sławik created the Citizen's Committee for help for Polish refugees. Sławik was deeply devoted to his work ... Together with Antall, Countess Erzsébet Szapáry [the daughter of Maria-Ludwika Przedziecka] and the head of the Polish Red Cross in Hungary, Jan Kollątaj-Srzednicki, provided all Jewish refugees with forged Christian documents, and located Jews in the refugee camps in Hungary. Among them were also many orphaned children. Izaak Brettler (Władysław Bratkowski) and his wife, Mina, took care of many of them. In July 1943, they gathered a group of 76 children between the ages of three and 19 from Budapest and led them out to the locality of Vac [Vác], some 30 kilometers away.

There, Izaak organized a boarding school and with the help of the local Jews got in touch with the delegate to Hungary of the Polish Government-in-Exile, Henryk Sławik, and asked him for help. The latter agreed unhesitatingly. In September 1943, the boarding school was proclaimed a Polish educational institution acting on behalf of the Polish Committee in Hungary. All students and personnel were given forged documents and Polish army officer, Franciszek Świder, was appointed director of the school. Maria Tomanek, a teacher, also volunteered to work there. With the invasion of German troops into Hungary on March 19, 1944, the institution appeared to be

¹⁰⁶⁰ Henryk Zvi Zimmermann, *Przeżyłem, pamiętam, świadczę* (Kraków: Baran i Suszczyński, 1997), chapter 32; Zych, *Diecezja przemyska obrządku łacińskiego w warunkach okupacji niemieckiej i sowieckiej 1939–1944/1945*, 201.

under threat. To give the school a more Polish and Christian image, all the students and teachers attended regular church services at the local church. In addition, a priest from Slovakia, Dr. Pavel Boharčík, came to the school to teach religion, but in reality he was teaching the students Hungarian.

Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus stationed in Rome, oversaw the assistance provided by the Jesuits for Polish and Jewish refugees who found themselves in Romania.¹⁰⁶¹ Fr. Stanisław Skudrzyk, a Jesuit stationed in Bucharest, fabricated some 500 baptismal certificates for Jews.¹⁰⁶² Mosze Jung obtained a false document from a priest in Bucharest identifying him as a Catholic Pole.¹⁰⁶³ Wojciech Rychlewicz, the Polish consul general in Istanbul, secured passports from Latin American countries for Polish refugees. Since these passports were issued only to Christians, Rychlewicz obtained false baptismal certificates for hundreds of Polish Jews from a priest.¹⁰⁶⁴

Fr. Stanisław Suwała, a Pallottine who resided in Rome, rescued four Jews, among them Pacifico Pavoncello and his brothers Mosè and Angelo, who had been apprehended by the Italian police and held by the Gestapo. Fr. Suwała devised an elaborate plan that entailed staging a contagious illness and escape from hospitals. All four Jews survived.¹⁰⁶⁵

Together with other senior Polish officials (General Zygmunt Szyszko-Bohusz, Liaison Officer Andrzej Jenicz, and Colonel Klemens Rudnicki), Rev. Józef Gawlina, a bishop attached to the Polish army, intervened on behalf of Izrael Halberstam, a prominent Hasidic rabbi. After his release from a work camp in the Soviet interior, the Polish authorities agreed to evacuate Rabbi Halberstam from the Soviet Union with General Władysław Anders' army. Just before his train was to depart, Rabbi Halberstam was arrested by the NKVD because he had taken Soviet citizenship. After negotiations with General Georgii Zhukov, Rabbi Halberstam was allowed to leave the Soviet Union with the Polish army and arrived in Palestine at the end of 1943.¹⁰⁶⁶

Kazimiera Małolepszy (Małolepsza), a Polish nun of the Order of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul known as Sister Madeleine, assisted Jews while living in France. She was honoured by Yad Vashem for her part in the rescue of three Jewish sisters. (The Database of Righteous Among the Nations, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4042877>>.)

Oscar and Margurete Roth lived in Mulhouse, in the département of Haut-Rhin with their three daughters, and the girls' grandmother. When the war began, the Roths moved to Paris, believing that this would be better for them as Jews. They rented an apartment in Paris, Oscar found a job, and as French citizens, they lived reasonably for a while. When the mass arrests of Jews began in July 1942, the Roths split up to improve their prospects of survival. The grandmother, who was blind, was placed in an old age home, and the three daughters, Renée, Denise, and Liliane, aged eight to eleven, were sent to a Catholic institution. Oscar and Marguerite left their apartment and hid

¹⁰⁶¹ Władysław Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us: Pages from the History of Help to the Jews in Occupied Poland* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1970), 83–84; Correspondence de l'Ambassadeur [Kazimierz Papée] avec le Général des Jésuites Père Wl. Ledóchowski concernant l'aide et l'assistance de l'Ordre aux Polonais et Juifs restés en Roumanie, September 1942, Ambassade Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Watykanie, Józef Piłsudski Institute of America, folder 701/12/1. Fr. Ledóchowski intervened with the Polish consulate in Rome in June 1940 to secure a visa for Abraham Wasserstein, a German-born Jew who did not speak Polish, which allowed him to leave Italy for neutral Turkey, and then on to Palestine. See "Władimir Ledóchowski (1866–1942), Superior General of the Jesuits, 'Black Pope,'" Internet: <<http://www.ledochowski.eu/rodzina/wladimir1866.html>>; David J. Wasserstein, "Abraham Wasserstein, 1921–1995," *Scripta Classica Israelica*, vol. 15 (1996): 1–6.

¹⁰⁶² Felicjan Paluszkiewicz, "Chasidei Ummot ha-Olam," *Przegląd Powszechny*, no. 9 (September 2001): 266–71; Stanisław Cieślak, "Jeziuci ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji," *Życie Konsekwane*, 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at p. 153.

¹⁰⁶³ Testimony of Mosze Jung, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3515 [ID: 3556639].

¹⁰⁶⁴ Zbigniew Stańczyk, "Lista Ładosia," *Wprost*, no. 16, April 16, 2004; Eldad Beck, "The Angel from Istanbul," *Israel Hayom*, December 11, 2020.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Testimony of Pacifico Pavoncello in Żaryn and Sudół, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 395–400.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Testimony of Izrael Halberstam in Siekierski and Tych, *Widziałem anioła śmierci*, 446–47.

in a small room near Oscar's workplace. The Catholic institution that took in the three girls belonged to the St.-Vincent-de-Paul order and was located in Flers, in the département of Orne. Sister Pannelay, the Mother Superior of the institution, sheltered the Jewish girls despite the danger. The Roth girls were the only Jews in the home, and in order to keep them from standing out, Sister Marie-Louise taught them basic Catholic customs. She confided in two other sisters in the institution, Sister Madeleine Malolepszy [Malolepszy], who was Polish, and Sister Anne-Marie le Cahérec. Sister Madeleine became very attached to the girls, for she understood their distress. It was difficult to be deprived of all contact with their family and to be alone in a Christian setting that was foreign to them. She thus treated them very kindly and devotedly. When she worked in the kitchen, she always gave them an extra portion. The girls became very attached to her and she was the one they turned to when they had a problem. The sisters kept the secret and helped the Jewish girls get along with the other children. Sister Marie-Louise devised a cover story for the Jewish girls, presenting them as three Parisian girls whose parents, afraid of air raids and lacking food, had sent them to this institution for safety and better nutrition. Although no attempt was made to convert the girls, Sister Marie-Louise had them baptized when the Germans entered Flers in March 1944, so that they could take part in religious ceremonies reserved for baptized Catholics and thereby mask their Jewishness more effectively. Until the area was liberated, Sister Marie-Louise and her colleagues spared no effort to protect the girls, even when German soldiers were terrifyingly close. After the war, Renée Roth emigrated to the United States and documented the story of her survival in a children's book, *Touch Wood*. On February 19, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Sister Marie-Louise Pannelay and Sister Madeleine Malolepszy and Sister Anne-Marie le Cahérec as Righteous Among the Nations.

Many cases of rescue of Jews by the Roman Catholic clergy will never be known, or fully known. Understandably, due to their Christian modesty, the clergy did not go out of their way to publicize such deeds. Many of those rescued by the clergy have not come forward with their stories or identified their benefactors. Nuchem Smiga, a child at the time, was rescued by an unidentified priest near Płock.¹⁰⁶⁷ A 12-year-old girl who escaped from the Warsaw ghetto was placed in a convent near Lublin under the assumed name of Kasia Wiśniewska by Maria Bortnowska of the Information Bureau of the Polish Red Cross.¹⁰⁶⁸ Historians from Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute mention the assistance provided by Rev. Baranowski in Zakopane, doubtless based on the testimony of a Jew, but provide no details.¹⁰⁶⁹

After leaving the Lwów ghetto with her mother, Sylvia Richman, who was born in 1938 as Sarah Wien, was placed by a Polish social worker in a local orphanage under the care of Catholic nuns. She remained at this convent for several months posing as a Catholic child, under the assumed name of Irena Hulecka. There was another Jewish girl at this orphanage, known as Ewa, who was two years younger than Sylvia. Ewa spoke openly about being Jewish and thus gave her identity away. Anticipating a search of the orphanage by the Germans, the nuns transferred the two Jewish girls to a Franciscan monastery, where they stayed for about two weeks. Afterwards, they were separated and sent to different convents. Sylvia lived in an orphanage outside of Warsaw under the care of nuns for about two years. Meanwhile, Sylvia's mother had gone to Germany posing as a Polish labourer, as did her mother's sister. This aunt returned to Poland after the war and located Sylvia at the orphanage outside of Warsaw. According to the records of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, this was an institution for girls known as "Jutrzenka," located in Pustelnik (now Marki), where Sylvia was known as Irena Hulicka. Sylvia stayed with her aunt until her father could return to Poland to take her. Eventually, Sylvia and her father reunited with Sylvia's mother, who was in a displaced persons camp on Austria.¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁷ The Jewish Holocaust Partial Survivors List from Płock, Poland, Internet: <<http://www.zchor.org/SURVIVO.HTM>>. <https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_view.php?PersonId=345364>.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Joanna Beata Michlic, "Daily Life of Polish Women, Dedicated Rescuers of Jews during and after the Second World War," in Gigliotti, Golomb, and Gould, *Ethics, Art, and Representations of the Holocaust*, 220–21.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 40; Szymon Datner, "Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at p. 133.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Testimony of Sylvia Richman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 53990.

Sidia Cowen, who born in 1940, was placed in a convent by her mother in 1941. When the convent was bombed, the children were moved to safety. In 1944, Sidia's mother returned for her. The locality of the convent has not been identified. In 1945, both ended up in Bytom, Poland. A year later, her mother married and the family moved to Munich. In 1951, her family arrived in Canada and settled in Toronto.¹⁰⁷¹

Daniel Witelski (born in 1936), the son of a Warsaw ghetto policeman, was placed in a convent in Warsaw for about a year, and then transferred to a children's institution in Świder where he remained until liberation.¹⁰⁷²

Freda Felman was born in Warsaw in February 1940. In 1942, her parents entrusted her to a Christian friend. That woman became fearful of hiding Freda, and left her in a park when she was three. Some nuns found the child and took her to a convent where she survived the war. Freda's parents also survived in hiding and reclaimed their daughter. The details of the rescue of Freda are not known. The family settled in Australia.¹⁰⁷³

A Jewish boy from Kraków was one of several Jews smuggled out of Poland into Slovakia and then Hungary. After his parents had been seized by the Gestapo, the boy was smuggled out of the ghetto by nuns and sheltered in some convent. The boy's ultimate fate is unknown. (Testimony of Ewa S. (Stapp), September 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org>> [Biographies].)

We reached the border. The [Polish] guide shows us where the border is. We can see the Germans, we can see the dogs, and the lights. The guide shows us that we will cross between two posts and not to worry, because they know when the guards make their rounds. And indeed, just as they said, we crossed to the Slovakian side. Slovakian guides would come to pick us up and take us to the Hungarian border, to the town called Mikulasz [Mikuláš]. So we're waiting for the Slovak guides and they never show up! So, to make things more exciting, for we have to have fun, we cross back to the Polish side. The Polish guides put us in a hay-loft which belongs to them. Apart from the two of us, there is a little boy, four people from the Kaczmarek family, an engineer from Lwow [Lwów] who escaped from the Yanovski [Janowska] camp and a woman from Warsaw, Hanka. Except for the Kaczmarek family, all of us are Jewish.

We sit there quietly. We can see the Germans and the dogs, we can hear German and there we are, not farther from the Germans than this balcony is from us [several meters]. We stay there for one day. Next day at night we start again. We walk for a long time, for the distance between Chabowka [Chabówka] and the border is about 20 kilometers.

We are in the care of two Slovak guides. They tell us that we will spend the night at their place and the next day they will take us to the train, buy us tickets and go to Mikulasz with us where the Hungarian guides will take over. The little boy spoke beautiful Polish. It was easy to tell he was an intelligent child. Of course, it was a Jewish child. He was from Cracow. He must have been from the family of the intelligentsia, for he spoke beautiful French, and nice German and Hebrew. He told us stories and sang French songs. We became very good friends. He was wearing a beret and a chain around his neck with a clover. I said, 'You know, you're inside, and one does not wear a hat

¹⁰⁷¹ Biographies of Holocaust Survivors, Ontario, April 25, 2007, Internet: <<http://news.ontario.ca/opo/en/2007/04/biographies-of-holocaust-survivors-2.htm>>.

¹⁰⁷² Testimony of Daniel Witelski, dated October 28, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3005; Olga Orzeł, ed., *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady: Wczesne świadectwa 1944–1948: Relacje dziecięce ze zbiorów Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 272. Little is known about Witelski's fate. Apparently, he left Poland in 1968, settled in the United States, and died in 2006. His adult life is described as "torturous, bizarre and horrifying." See Sven Sonnenberg, *A Two Stop Journey to Hell* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2001).

¹⁰⁷³ Jack Felman, "Growing Up As a Child of Holocaust Survivors," *Descendants of the Shoah*, Melbourne, Internet: <<http://www.dosinc.org.au/stories5.html>>. Dr. Jack Felman, Freda's brother, states: "An intense hatred of Poles and Germans was more than evident in our home. When my wife and I visited Poland in 1975 I can still vividly remember the intense hatred I felt for the 8 days I had to endure in this country. Although I acknowledge the fact, I find it unbelievable that there are so many Jewish survivors who re-visit this country. As a doctor, I have had to counsel a number of these people who were traumatised after going back to Poland. In my own case, my parents shuddered at the prospect of going back, even when I told them that my wife and I were going to visit Poland."

inside.' And he says, 'I won't take it off!' I say, 'Do take it off, for the lady of the house will feel offended.' So he took off his beret and it turned out his hair was red! That's why he kept his hat on!

We felt very close to this little boy. He told us his grandparents sent for him from Switzerland. His parents must have belonged to some Jewish organization. The Gestapo came, together with the Jewish police and they found weapons. They took the parents away, but the Gestapo man left the boy behind. Later he was at a convent; the nuns got him out of the ghetto.

There were rich Jews in Slovakia. I decided to get through to a Jew to ask if I could wash up the boy and ask for some clothes for him, for he didn't have anything! I said, 'Excuse me, Mister, we have this child with us, who's been sent for by his grandparents. His grandparents paid for him and sent a man to Cracow. Please, help us take care of this child. Help me into a house so that the little one could wash up. Maybe you could get him some chocolate or something proper to eat, or maybe you have some old clothes? He only has what he's wearing.' But they didn't help. Until today, I can't understand why. Maybe because they had not yet been beaten and kicked themselves.

We came up to a booth on the border. The guide said goodbye to us. There were two Hungarians in the booth who said they will take us to Koszyce [Košice, in Slovakia]. ...

Next day they took us to the local authorities in Koszyce. We walked in and there were soldiers there. They sent in two gendarmes to watch us. Finally, they called in Karol. Karol still had the papers to the name of Marian Warunek. I didn't show my papers. They told him not to worry, that they won't send us back to Poland and that we'll stay and go to Budapest.

It must have been Saturday. Our room was on the ground floor and I was sitting at the window, looking out. I said, 'Karol, look, they are making a movie!' There were three Jews walking with a little boy; such as I've never seen in Lwow: Jews wearing gabardine, fur caps, white stockings, patent leather shoes, and yellow stars, for the Hungarians wore yellow stars. I said, 'They must be making a film here.' For can you imagine Jews like that walking on the streets of Hungary in 1943 as real people?! But it turned out those were real Jews, to whom nothing happened. It was such a shock for me. I thought, 'Where on earth am I?'

Chava Fefer, one of the last survivors of the German *Aktion* in Tarnogród, emerged from her hiding place in the emptied ghetto and turned to a friendly Polish family for help. Soon after she chanced on a young Pole who remained with her throughout the German occupation, enlisting the help of his sister, his parents, and a priest whose identity is not known. (K. Shimoni, "The Heroic Struggle of the Two Heroes, the Adler brothers," in *Book of Tarnograd: In Memory of the Destroyed Jewish Community*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Tarnograd/Tarnograd.html>>, translation of Sh. Kanc, ed., *Sefer Tarnograd: Le-zikaron ha-kehila ha-yehudit she-nehreva* [Tel Aviv: Organization of Former Residents of Tarnograd and Vicinity in Israel, United States and England, 1966], pp. 373–80.)

Chava Fefer was alone in her house, hiding under a bed. The Germans suspected that someone was still in the house and shot into all the dark shadowy corners and into the bedclothes. It was a great miracle that none of the bullets hit her. The house filled with feathers and the Germans were convinced that there was no longer a living soul there and in resignation left the house.

Frightened and pale as death, Chava Fefer decided to creep out of her hiding place. She became aware that she was alone, the only survivor in the emptied ghetto. She barely took a step, shaking at every rustle. Suddenly she was startled. In a corner of the yard, near the gate, she noticed a figure, which stood as if pressed into the wall. She started to run away, but just at that moment she heard her name quietly whispered. The figure was her brother.

They embraced each other arms in silence. They would have cried, but their eyes were all dried out. Their words stuck in their throats. They took each other by the hand and moved carefully, like people lost in a dark wood. She remembered the name of a Pole, a close acquaintance of theirs, whom she believed would save them. But at that very moment heavy soldier's boots echoed through the empty street. They stood for a moment frozen with fear. Her brother panicked and without a word began to run back. In despair she wanted to call to him to go on with her, but he had disappeared from her sight and she ran on in a different direction, to the house of the Poles, in whom she placed so much hope.

She finally succeeded in reaching this house. The people there, frightened by her appearance, stood in the open doorway, not knowing what to do. But they let her in and for three weeks hid her in their house.

Her first request was that they find out what happened to her brother. Carefully the Polish people began to creep around every house in the ghetto, looking for a trace of the brother who had disappeared. After long searches they succeeded in finding out that on that same day, immediately after running back to the house, he poisoned himself. The Germans found him dead.

Chava Fefer realized the danger in which the Polish people hiding her found themselves. These were good and honest people and she did not want to put their lives at risk. After about three weeks she fled into the woods.

It was on a cold evening at the end of autumn, when, finding herself on the road to Czeplie [?], she suddenly spied a young man, a Pole, eighteen years old. Fear seized her.... Frightened, she looked around for an escape route. As she stood confused the young man approached her. He must have noticed that she was afraid. He began to calm her.

His voice, his polite speech inspired trust. He introduced himself and told her his name was Frantiszek [Franciszek] Czapek. As long as he had lived, he said, he had never yet done anyone any harm, and she could be absolutely sure that nothing would happen to her.

They walked along together and he told her that he belonged to the underground and so was forced to hide out at his sister's house. She lived not far from the woods and he believed that she too could hide there. The young Pole did indeed bring her to his sister's. There she was hidden for several days in the barn.

Every evening the young man brought her bread and water. He was somewhat embarrassed at this and assured her that he too ate the same thing, because he was busy day and night working for the Polish underground. He smuggled weapons for the Polish partisans who were in the near-by woods. In all probability he took no money for this and therefore fed himself very poorly. He really did share his last morsel with the Jewish woman.

After several days the young man announced that he had to go away. He was leaving for Central Poland, which at that time was separated off by a border and was called "General Government". Chava Fefer saw no other way than to accompany him, since no one was left who could get her anything to eat.

They set out together on the road and passed the border, and went on until they arrived at the village from which the young man came. For a short time she hid in his parents' house. When it became dangerous, he reached an understanding with the parish priest, who agreed to hide Chava Fefer in the church. She stayed there until the Liberation, when the Soviet army took the village.

The following testimonials bear eloquent witness to the sacrifice and selflessness of countless Polish rescuers, among them members of the clergy, whose identities will never be known. (Yad Vashem Digital Collections, item 10787779, record group O.33 – Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection, file number 9052; Gilbert, *The Righteous*, pp. 179–80.)

Dr. Aron Arkadiy Kaplan, a physician and surgeon, met Rakhil [Rachel], a teenaged girl whose last name is unknown, in the military hospital in Vilna (Wilno) in 1944. Her family resided in Vilna before the war; her father was an engineer and her mother was a physician. A priest, whose name is unknown, resided nearby. He took Rakhil into his home when her family moved to the ghetto. He registered her as a Christian named Maria. She remained in hiding in the priest's home for a period of three years.

Yehuda Bauer, a pioneer of research and writing on the Holocaust, tells a story from his personal experience in Israel after the war ... 'On my kibbutz,' he writes, 'there lives a man whom we shall call here Tolek. All he knows about himself is his name. He was born near Cracow [Kraków], or in Cracow, prior to World War II, and he was three when the war broke out. He was in an orphanage, probably because his father had died and his mother could not support him. A Polish woman took this circumcised man-child to her home and raised him there during the Nazi occupation, in alliance with a Catholic parish priest. When the Nazis came searching Polish homes for Jewish children, the woman used to hand over Tolek to the priest. Tolek still remembers how, at the age of five and six, he used to assist the priest at Mass, swinging the incense around, walking behind the priest through the church. They survived the war, and when liberation came, the woman took Tolek to a Jewish children's home and said, "This is a Jewish child, I have kept him throughout the war, he belongs to your people, take him and look after him." Tolek does not know the name of the Polish woman, nor does he know the name of the priest.'

Jewish religious objects (Torah scrolls, prayer shawls, and phylacteries) were entrusted to Catholic priests for safekeeping in a number of localities. Once the German occupation came to an end, as we have already seen, priests returned those objects to the remnants of the Jewish community. A delegation of Jews from Buczacz entrusted Torah scrolls and other religious objects to the Latin-rite Roman Catholic church as well as to the (Uniate) Basilian monastery in that town. After the war, those objects were recovered and given over to the Jewish community in Wrocław.¹⁰⁷⁴ Below is another such account from Lublin. (Yehuda Weinstock, "Returned from the Red Army," in Shuval, *The Szczebrzeszyn Memorial Book*, p. 191.)

¹⁰⁷⁴ Account of Shmuel (Samuel) Rosental (Samuel Rosenthal) in I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 258–63; translated into English as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/buchach/buchach.html>>; Testimony of Samuel Rosental, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2086.

Arriving in Lublin, after I was let go from the Red Army in the year 1944, ... Lublin could be compared to a [prison] camp. The bombs fell on the side where the Nazis were. No people could be seen in the streets. I ran into single Jews and they told me about the terrifying fate that had befallen all the Jews of Poland.

As a soldier in the Red Army, they invited me to the 'Peretz House,' where there were several hundred Jews—men and women, mostly partisans from the forests, a large number from out of the country, who were dragged by German fascists to the Polish camps to be killed.

The day was precisely Hoshana Rabbah. The Jews made a pulpit out of stones in order to conduct services, and a Polish priest that had concealed 6 Torah scrolls, brought them to the 'Peretz House.' All of the several hundred Jews began to pray and prepare for the Festival Holiday.

In August 2013, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that a Torah scroll, hidden in a Redemptorist monastery in Tuchów since World War II, was returned to the former synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The synagogue was devastated by the Germans during the war and has been faithfully restored by the Poles in recent years. (Although it was the Germans who destroyed Jewish synagogues and other buildings in Poland, the Poles are the ones who are rebuilding these monuments with virtually no financial assistance from the German government.) The synagogue in Dąbrowa Tarnowska now houses Ośrodek Spotkania Kultur (Internet: <<http://www.oskdabrowa.pl/>>), a museum and centre for intercultural events with emphasis on Jewish matters (“Torah Scroll Hidden Since WWII in Polish Monastery Returned to Polish Synagogue,” August 25, 2013, Internet: <<https://www.jta.org/2013/08/25/news-opinion/world/torah-scroll-hidden-in-polish-monastery-returned>>).

A Torah scroll that since 1942 has been hidden in a Tuchow [Tuchów] monastery was returned to the synagogue in Dabrowa [Dąbrowa] Tarnowska in southern Poland.

The Torah was returned earlier this month but reported for the first time on Saturday.

It had been brought to the monastery in Tuchow, approximately 60 miles from Krakow [Kraków], by an anonymous person who asked the Redemptorist priests to hold the scrolls until the synagogue in Dabrowa again became a place of prayer; according to Father Kazimierz Piotrowski of the Redemptorist monastery in Warsaw.

“After the war for many years the synagogue was systematically devastated. The Torah was thus kept in a monastery in Tuchow,” Piotrowski told the Catholic News Agency.

The synagogue in Dabrowa Tarnowska was built in the second half of the 19th century; during World War II the Germans turned it into a workshop. Over the past few years the building was renovated and it is now the House of Cultures in Poland.

Following the building’s dedication, the Redemptorists decided to donate the Torah scroll there. In 2010, the mayor of Dabrowa Tarnowska gave the scroll to conservationists, and today it can be seen in the prayer hall of the former synagogue.

In a letter, dated April 1, 1948, addressed to Monsignor Zygmunt Kaczyński, the pastor of All Saints Church in Warsaw, William Bein, director of the Warsaw office of the American Joint Distribution Committee, wrote (Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudół, eds., *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle* [Warsaw: Neriton, 2014], p. 83—translation from the Polish):

I wish to inform you that, albeit in a small measure, we want to contribute, in the name of those Jews who survived with the truly humanitarian help of the Church, to its rebuilding. We are enclosing a cheque in the amount of 100,000 zloty for the rebuilding of All Saints Church.

According to the records of the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), apart from providing assistance to Jews and Jewish organizations in Poland:

The Joint also directed its financial assistance to non-Jews. Special consideration was offered to those who rescued and hid Jews during the occupation; for example, 1 million zlotys [złoty] was allocated to this purpose during the first quarter of 1947. At the same time, several caregiving facilities—orphans, convents, and boarding schools—administered by monastic communities that hid Jewish children received AJDC support.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷⁵ Records of the American Joint Distribution Committee: Warsaw Office, 1945–1949, Internet: <<https://archives.jdc.org/our-collections/finding-aids/warsaw/1945-1949/>>.

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- Kurek, Ewa. *Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German Occupied Poland, 1939–1945*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1997. Especially at pages 139–204. Kurek identifies 53 orders of nuns who rescued no fewer than 1,200 Jewish children in almost 200 convents and institutions. This is a translation of Ewa Kurek-Lesik, *Gdy klasztor znaczył życie: Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939–1945*. Kraków: Znak, 1992.
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Parishes and Churches Where Assistance Was Provided to Jews [UNDER DEVELOPMENT]

NOTE: Because of their divergent sizes (number of priests and members of religious orders, number of parishes and religious institutions) and their distinct occupation conditions (arch)dioceses are not comparable.

Archdiocese of Gniezno – Poznań

Diocese of Chełmno
Diocese of Włocławek

Archdiocese of Warsaw

Diocese of Łódź
Diocese of Lublin
Diocese of Płock
Diocese of Sandomierz
Diocese of Siedlce (Podlasie)

Archdiocese of Kraków (Cracow)

Diocese of Częstochowa: Częstochowa (several parishes, Jasna Góra monastery), Będzin, Gidle, Gorzkowice, Kłomnice, Kościelna, Olsztyn, Przyrów, Radziechowice, Sosnowiec, Zawiercie

Diocese of Katowice (Silesia)

Diocese of Kielce

Diocese of Tarnów

Archdiocese of Lwów

Diocese of Łuck
Diocese of Przemyśl

Archdiocese of Wilno

Diocese of Łomża
Diocese of Pińsk

Religious and Monastic Orders of Women Who Rescued Jews

Sixty-five religious and monastic orders of women (nuns) of the Roman Catholic Latin rite carried out rescue activities in some 435 convents and other institutions throughout Poland. The following list is based on the 17-volume work *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, undertaken by the Catholic University of Lublin,¹⁰⁷⁶ and the research of historians Ewa Kurek and Agata Mirek, as well as additional sources and accounts found in this publication. This list is not exhaustive.

Albertine Sisters (Congregation of the Albertine Sisters Serving the Poor) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Posługujących Ubogim Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Albertynki*): Baworów near Tarnopol, Bochnia, Brzeżany, Busko-Zdrój, Częstochowa, Drohobycz, Kielce, Kołomyja, Kraków (2 institutions), Kraków-Podbrzezie, Kraków-Prądnik Czerwony, Lwów-Persenkówka, Lwów-Zamarstynów, Mników near Warsaw, Opoczno, Przemyśl-Bakończyce, Rawa Ruska, Rymanów, Rząska near Kraków, Sambor, Siedlce, Skarżysko-Kamienna, Śniatyn, Stanisławów, Sulejów near Piotrków Trybunalski, Tarnopol, Tarnów, Wołomin, Życzyn near Dęblin.

Sisters of the Angels (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr od Aniołów—Siostry od Aniołów*): Chylice near Warsaw, Wilno, Wyszary near Wilno.

Antonian Sisters of Christ the King (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Antonianek od Chrystusa Króla Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Antonianki*): Łódź.

Antonine Sisters (Sisters of Social Service of St. Anthony) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Opieki Społecznej pod wezwaniem św. Antoniego—Siostry Antoninki*): Wieluń (2 institutions).

Benedictine Sisters (Order of St. Benedict) (*Mniszki Zakonu Sióstr św. Benedykta—Siostry Benedytkynki*): Lwów, Nieśwież, Przemyśl, Staniątka near Kraków, Wilno.

(Benedictine) Sisters of Our Lady of Loreto (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Matki Bożej Loretańskiej—Siostry (Benedytkynki) Loretanki*): Warsaw.

Benedictine Missionary Sisters (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Benedytek Misjonarek—Siostry Benedytkynki Misjonarki*): Łuck.

Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament (*Mniszki Benedytkynki od Nieustającej Adoracji Najświętszego Sakramentu—Siostry Benedytkynki Sakramentki*): Lwów, Warsaw.

Benedictine Samaritan Sisters of the Cross of Christ (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Benedytek Samarytanek Krzyża Chrystusowego—Siostry (Benedytkynki) Samarytanki*): Henryków near Warsaw, Niegów-Samaria near Wyszków, Pruszków and Pruszków-Żbików near Warsaw.

Bernardine Sisters (Franciscan) (*Mniszki Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Bernardynki*): Borki-Łuków, Łowicz.

Sisters of the Family of Bethany (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Rodziny Betańskiej—Siostry Betanki*): Lublin, Mełgiew near Lublin, Międzyzlesie near Warsaw.

Discalced (or Barefoot) Carmelite Sisters (*Mniszki Bose Zakonu Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Góry Karmel—Siostry Karmelitanki Bose*): Lwów (2 institutions), Przemyśl, Warsaw.

Carmelite Sisters of the Infant Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Karmelitanek Dzieciątka Jezus—Siostry Karmelitanki Dzieciątka Jezus*): Czerna near Krzeszowice, Sosnowiec.

¹⁰⁷⁶ The data regarding assistance to Jews compiled in the first 16 volumes of *Żeńskie zgromadzenia zakonne w Polsce 1939–1947*, published between 1982 and 2002, was summarized by Agata Mirek in her overview article, “Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń,” published in Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudoł, eds., *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 135–60. See also Agata Mirek, “Il contributo degli ordini religiosi femminili al salvataggio degli ebrei in Polonia durante la Seconda Guerra mondiale,” in Jan Mikrut, ed., *Perseguitati per la fede: Le vittime del Nazionalsocialismo in Europa centro-orientale* (San Pietro in Cariano (Verona): Gabrielli, 2019), 609–42.

Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Karola Boromeusza—Siostry Boromeuszki*): Łańcut, Przemyśl.

Capuchin Poor Clares (*Mniszki Klaryski Kapucynki*): Przasnysz.

Poor Clares of Perpetual Adoration (*Mniszki Klaryski od Wiecznej Adoracji—Mniszki Klaryski*): Kraków, Lwów, Stary Sącz.

Daughters of Divine Love (*Zgromadzenie Córek Bożej Miłości—Córki Bożej Miłości*): Pleszów and Wola Justowska near Kraków.

Daughters of Mary Immaculate (*Zgromadzenie Córek Maryi Niepokalanej—Córki Maryi Niepokalanej*): Hrubieszów, Kielce, Końskie, Lida, Radom, Rawa Mazowiecka, Warsaw, Wiszniew near Wołożyn.

Daughters of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Zgromadzenie Córek Najczystsze Serca Najświętszej Maryi Panny—Córki Najczystsze Serca NMP (sercanki bezhabitowe)*): Janów Podlaski, Kolno, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Otwock, Pińsk, Sitnik near Biała Podlaska, Skórzec near Siedlce, Świder near Warsaw, Warsaw (2 institutions), Wilno.

Sisters of Divine Providence (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Opatrzności Bożej—Siostry Opatrznościanki*): Międzyrzec Podlaski, Przemyśl, Rodatycze near Gródek Jagielloński, Rzeszów, Skole near Stryj, Sterdyń near Sokołów Podlaski.

Sisters Shepherds of Divine Providence (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Pasterek od Opatrzności Bożej—Siostry Pasterki*): Lubartów, Lublin.

Dominican Sisters (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Dominika—Siostry Dominikanki III Zakonu*): Biała Niżna near Nowy Sącz, Chorzów, Dzibulki near Żółkiew, Kielce, Kraków, Wilno, Złoczów, Żurów near Rohatyn.

Dominican Sisters (cloistered) (*Mniszki Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego—Siostry Dominikanki II Zakonu (klazurowe)*): Przysrów (Św. Anna) near Częstochowa, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno, Kraków.

Dominican Missionary Sisters of Jesus and Mary (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Dominikanek Misjonarek Jezusa i Maryi—Siostry Dominikanki Misjonarki*): Warsaw, Zielonka near Warsaw.

(Grey) Sisters of St. Elizabeth (Silesia) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Elżbiety Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Elżbietanki (śląskie) (szare)*): Otwock, Warsaw.

(Franciscan) Sisters of St. Elizabeth (Cieszyn) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Elżbiety Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Elżbietanki (cieszyńskie)*): Cieszyn.

Felician Sisters (Sisters of St. Felix of Cantalice) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Feliksa z Kantalicjo Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Felicjanki*): Chełm, Dobranowice near Wieliczka, Kraków (2 institutions), Lwów (3 institutions), Otwock, Przemyśl (2 institutions), Pustomyty near Lwów, Sądowa Wisznia near Jaworów, Staniątka near Kraków (at the Benedictine convent), Warsaw (2 institutions), Wawer near Warsaw, Widawa near Zduńska Wola, Zbaraż.

Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross (Laski) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Franciszkanek Służebnic Krzyża—Siostry Franciszkanek Służebnic Krzyża*): Bukowina Tatrzańska near Zakopane, Laski near Warsaw, Żulów near Kraśniczyn (Krasnystaw).

Franciscan Sisters of the Suffering (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Franciszkanek od Cierpiących—Siostry Franciszkanek od Cierpiących*): Kozienice (2 institutions), Łuck, Warsaw, Wilno.

Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Franciszkanek Rodziny Maryi—Siostry Franciszkanek Rodziny Maryi*): Anin near Warsaw (2 institutions), Beresteczko, Białoleka Dworska near Warsaw (2 institutions), Brwinów near Warsaw (2 institutions), Bóbrka near Lwów, Brzezinki near Warsaw, Dubno, Dźwiniaczka near Borszczów, Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Izabelin near Warsaw, Kołomyja, Kostów, Kostowiec near Warsaw, Krasnystaw, Łomna near Turka, Lwów (3 institutions), Małachów near Lwów, Mickuny near Wilno,

Międzylesie near Warsaw (3 institutions), Mirzec near Starachowice, Mszana Dolna near Rabka, Nieborów near Łowicz, Nienadowa, Ostra near Buczacz, Ostrówek near Warsaw, Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, Pistryń near Kołomyja, Pludy near Warsaw, Podhajce near Brzeżany, Pustelnik near Warsaw, Puźniki near Buczacz, Raków, Robercin near Grójec, Sambor, Soplicowo near Warsaw, Szymanów near Warsaw, Tłuste near Zaleszczyki, Turka, Warsaw (5 institutions), Wilno, Wola Górkowska, Wołkowyśk, Zazule near Złoczów.

Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Mary (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Franciszkanek Misjonarek Maryi—Franciszczanki Misjonarki Maryi*): Radecznica near Zamość, Warsaw, Zamość.

Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Najświętszej Rodziny z Nazaretu—Siostry Nazaretanki*): Częstochowa, Gulbiny near Wilno, Kielce, Komańcza near Sanok, Kraków, Nowogródek, Olsztyn near Częstochowa, Warsaw.

Missionary Sisters of the Holy Family (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Misjonarek Świętej Rodziny—Siostry Misjonarki Świętej Rodziny*): Białystok, Holszany near Oszmiana, Pruzana.

Sisters Canonesses of the Holy Spirit de Saxia (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Kanoniczek Ducha Świętego de Saxia—Siostry Duchaczki*): Biskupice, Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Kraków, Leżajsk, Lublin (2 institutions), Pacanów, Proszowice, Zabłocie near Warsaw.

Sisters of the Gratification of the Most Holy Face (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Wynagrodzicielek Najświętszego Oblicza—Siostry Obliczanki*): Częstochowa, Lublin, Miedzeszyn near Warsaw, Wilno, Zielonka near Warsaw.

Sisters of the Most Holy Name of Jesus Under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Help of the Faithful (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Najświętszego Imienia Jezus pod opieką Najświętszej Maryi Panny Wspomożenia Wiernych—Siostry Imienia Jezus, Siostry Marylki*): Klimontów, Suchedniów near Skarżysko-Kamienna, Wilno.

Sisters of the Robe of Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Westiarek Jezusa—Siostry Westiarki Jezusa*): Duchnice near Pruszków.

Sisters Servants of Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Sług Jezusa—Siostry Sługi Jezusa*): Bychawka near Lublin, Kielczewice, Lublin, Tarnów.

Sisters Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Służebnic Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka z Asyżu—Siostry Sercanki*): Brody near Lwów, Krosno, Przemyśl-Błonie, Radomsko, Rymanów Zdrój, Zakopane.

Oblate Sisters of the Heart of Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Oblatek Serca Jezusa—Siostry Oblatki Serca Jezusa*): Częstochowa.

Sisters of the Most Holy Soul of Christ the Lord (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Najświętszej Duszy Chrystusa Pana—Siostry Duszy Chrystusowej*): Kraków-Prądnik Biały, Kraków-Azory, Kraków-Skotniki, Zielonki near Kraków.

Sisters (of Charity) of St. Joseph (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr (Miłosierdzia) św. Józefa—Siostry Józefitki*): Łaszczów near Tomaszów Lubelski, Mielec, Narajów near Brzeżany, Skalał, Sokal, Szmańkowczyki (Szmańkowce) near Czortków, Stryj, Tarnów, Trzęsówka near Kolbuszowa, Zamość.

Michaelite Sisters (Sisters of St. Michael the Archangel) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Michała Archanioła—Siostry Michalitki*): Godowa near Strzyżów, Miejsce Piastowe near Krosno, Przytyk, Radom, Wielopole Skrzyńskie near Rzeszów, Wysoka Głogowska near Głogów Małopolski, Wysoka Strzyżowska near Strzyżów.

Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy (Magdalene Sisters) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Matki Bożej Miłosierdzia—Siostry Magdalenki*): Częstochowa, Derdy near Warsaw, Kalisz, Kraków, Lwów, Rabka, Radom, Walendów near Warsaw, Warsaw (Żytnia Street), Warsaw-Grochów (Hetmańska Street), Wilno and Werki near Wilno.

Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny—Siostry Niepokalanki*): Jarosław, Koźle, Nowy Sącz, Pruszków-Żbików near Warsaw, Skolimów near Warsaw, Słonim, Szymanów near Warsaw, Tarnów, Warsaw, Wrzosów-Buraków near Warsaw.

Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (of Pleszew) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr*

Slużebniczek Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Pleszewa—Siostry Slużebniczki Pleszewskie (Wielkopolskie)): Brodnica, Czerny nad Wisłą, Piotrków Trybunalski, Przesmyki, Warsaw, Włodzimierzów.

Sisters of Mary Immaculate (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Maryi Niepokalanej—Siostry Maryi Niepokalanej—Siostry Marianki*): Katowice, Zgoda (Świętochłowice).

Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Blessed Virgin Mary (Mariówka) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Slużek Najświętszej Maryi Panny Niepokalanej z Mariówki—Siostry Slużki*): Bychawa near Lublin, Czyżów, Drzewica, Grodno, Jeżewo, Kurozwęki near Staszów, Łomża, Mariówka near Przysucha, Mościska near Przemyśl, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Warsaw.

Sisters Servants of the Virgin Mother of God Immaculately Conceived (of Dębica) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Slużebniczek Bogarodzicy Dziewicy Niepokalanej Poczętej—Siostry Slużebniczki Dębickie*): Dębica, Dominikowice near Gorlice, Proszówki near Bochnia.

Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Slużebniczek Najświętszej Maryi Panny Niepokalanej Poczętej ze Starej Wsi—Siostry Slużebniczki Starowiejskie*): Będzin, Brzeżany, Chotomów near Warsaw, Chorostków near Kopyczyńce, Częstochowa, Gorlice, Grodzisko Dolne near Przeworsk, Jagielnica near Czortków, Jasionów near Brzozów, Końskie, Kopyczyńce, Kraków-Prądnik Czerwony, Łązniew near Warsaw, Lesko, Lisków near Kalisz, Łódź, Lublin, Miechów, Nienadówka near Rzeszów, Piotrków Trybunalski, Róża near Mielec, Rzepińce near Buczacz, Skała Podolska, Stara Wieś near Brzozów, Staromieście near Rzeszów, Szywnwałd, Tapin near Przemyśl, Tarnopol, Tarnów, Turkowice near Hrubieszów, Wirów near Drohiczyn, Wola Rzędzińska near Tarnów.

Sisters of Common Work of Immaculate Mary (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Wspólnej Pracy pod wezwaniem Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny—Siostry Wspólnej Pracy*): Warsaw.

School Sisters of Notre Dame (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Szkolnych de Notre Dame—Siostry Notre Dame*): Lwów (2 institutions), Mikuliczyn.

Sisters (Ladies) of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Zgromadzenie Panien Ofiarowania Najświętszej Maryi Panny—Siostry Prezentki*): Kraków, Ujazdy near Rzeszów, Wilno.

Sisters Servants of the Mother of the Good Shepherd (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Slużebnic Matki Dobrego Pasterza—Siostry Pasterzanki*): Białystok, Częstochowa, Piaseczno near Warsaw.

Sisters of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Zakon Nawiedzenia Najświętszej Maryi Panny—Siostry Wizytki*): Wilno.

Seraphic Sisters (Daughters of Our Lady of Sorrows) (*Zgromadzenie Córek Matki Bożej Bolesnej; Zgromadzenie Córek Najświętszej Maryi Panny od Siedmiu Boleści—Siostry Serafiki*): Drohobycz, Jarosław, Nowy Targ, Pysznica near Stalowa Wola, Stryj.

Norbertine Sisters (Sisters of St. Norbert) (*Zakon Norbertanek—Siostry Kanoniczki Regularne Zakonu Premonstratensów—Siostry Norbertanki*): Imbramowice near Wolbrom, Kraków.

Pallottine Sisters (Missionary Sisters of the Catholic Apostolate) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Misjonarek Apostolstwa Katolickiego—Siostry Pallotyńki*): Nowogródek, Rajca near Nowogródek.

Passionist Sisters (Sisters of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Męki Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa—Siostry Pasjonistki*): Będzin, Białny, Głowno, Kielce, Końskie, Łąka Zaklikowa near Janów Lubelski, Płońsk, Stopnica.

Resurrectionist Sisters (Sisters of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa—Siostry Zmartwychwstanki*): Bukowina Tatrzańska near Zakopane, Częstochowa, Lwów, Mir, Stara Wieś near Węgrów, Warsaw (4 institutions), Wejherowo.

Sacré Coeur Sisters (Sisters of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus) (*Zgromadzenie Najświętszego Serca Jezusa Sacré-Coeur—Siostry Sacré Coeur*): Lwów (2 institutions), Warsaw, Zbylitowska Góra near Tarnów.

Sisters of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr św. Teresy od Dzieciątka Jezus—Siostry Tereźjanki*): Luboml, Włodzimierz Wołyński.

Ursuline Sisters of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus (Grey Ursulines) (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Urszulanek Serca Jezusa Konającego—Siostry Urszulanki Serca Jezusa Konającego (szare)*): Brwinów near Warsaw, Czarna Duża near Wołomin, Czarny Bór near Wilno, Łódź, Milanówek near Warsaw, Ołtarzew (Ożarów) near Warsaw, Radość near Warsaw, Sieradz, Warsaw (3 institutions), Wilno, Zakopane.

Ursuline Sisters of the Roman Union (*Unia Rzymska Zakonu św. Urszuli—Siostry Urszulanki Unii Rzymskiej*): Częstochowa, Kołomyja, Kraków (2 institutions), Lublin, Lwów, Rokiciny Podhalańskie near Rabka, Pokrzywno near Poznań, Siercza near Wieliczka, Stanisławów, Tarnów, Warsaw (2 institutions), Włocławek, Zakopane.

Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (*Zgromadzenie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego à Paulo—Siostry Miłosierdzia—Siostry Szarytki*): Biała Podlaska, Białystok, Budzanów, Czerwonogród (Nyrków) near Zaleszczyki, Góra Kalwaria, Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska near Kraków, Kielce (2 institutions), Klarysew near Warsaw, Kraków, Kurozwęki near Staszów, Lublin, Lwów, Mienia near Mińsk Mazowiecki, Opoczno, Otwock, Przasnysz, Przeworsk, Radom, Siedlce, Supraśl, Szczawnica, Warsaw (8 institutions), Werki near Wilno, Wilno, Zebrzydowice.

Religious and Monastic Orders of Men Who Rescued Jews

Rescue activities were carried out in some 70 homes, parishes and institutions of the Latin-rite religious and monastic orders of men throughout Poland. The following list does not include male diocesan clergy, who constituted the majority of the male clergy.

Albertine Brothers (*Bracia Albertyni, Zgromadzenie Braci Albertynów Trzeciego Zakonu Regularnego św. Franciszka Serafickiego Posługujących Ubogim—albertyni*): Przemyśl, Kraków, Warsaw.

Augustinians (*Zakon św. Augustyna (OSA)—augustianie*): Kraków-Prokocim.

Benedictines (*Mnisi Reguly św. Benedykta (OSB)—benedyktyni*): Tyniec.

Bernardines (*bernardyni*) or **Franciscans** (*franciszkanie*): Kalwaria Zebrzydowska near Kraków, Kraków, Lwów, Radechnica near Zamość, Tarnawica Polna near Tłumacz, Zbaraż.

Brothers Hospitallers of St. John of God (*Zakon Szpitalny św. Jana Bożego—bonifratrzy*): Warsaw.

Canons Regular of the Lateran (Canons Regular of St. Augustine of the Congregation of the Most Holy Saviour at the Lateran) (*Zakon Kanoników Regularnych św. Augustyna Kongregacji Laterańskiej Najświętszego Zbawiciela—kanonicy regularni (laterańscy)*): Kraków.

Capuchins (*Zakon Braci Mniejszych Kapucynów (OFM Cap)—kapucyni*): Drohobycz, Horodno (Polesie voivodship), Kraków, Lublin, Nowe Miasto nad Pilicą, Warsaw.

Carmelites (*Zakon Braci Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Góry Karmel (OCarm)—karmelici*): Bólszowce near Rohatyn, Pilzno.

Discalced Carmelites (*Zakon Braci Bosych Najświętszej Maryi Panny z Góry Karmel (OCD)—karmelici bosci*): Czerna near Krzeszowice, Kraków, Wilno.

Cistercians (*Zakon Cystersów (OCist)—cystersi*): Mogiła near Kraków.

Dominicans (*Zakon Braci Kaznodziejów (OP)—dominikanie*): Czortków, Lwów, Podkamień near Brody, Warsaw.

Conventual Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor Conventual) (*Zakon Braci Mniejszych Konwentualnych (OFM Conv)—franciszkanie konwentualni*): Czyszki near Lwów, Grodno, Hanaczów near Lwów, Kostowiec near Warsaw, Lwów, Niepokalanów, Sanok, Święty Stanisław near Halicz, Warsaw.

Reformed Franciscans (*Zakon Braci Mniejszych (OFM), Prowincja Matki Bożej Anielskiej—franciszkanie reformacji*): Kraków, Przemyśl-Panewniki, Sądowa Wisznia near Jaworów.

Franciscans (not identified) (*franciszkanie*): Limanowa, in/near Kraków, in/near Warsaw.

Jesuits (The Society of Jesus) (*Towarzystwo Jezusowe (SJ)—jezuici*): Albertyn near Słonim, Janówka near Tarnopol, Lwów, Nowy Sącz, Otwock near Warsaw, Słonim, Stara Wieś near Brzozów, Tarnopol, Turkowice near Hrubieszów, Warsaw (various priests), Wilno.

Missionaries of La Salette (Missionaries of Our Lady of La Salette) (*Zgromadzenie Księża Misjonarzy Matki Bożej Saletyńskiej (MS)—saletyni*): Kobylanka near Gorlice.

Marians (*Zgromadzenie Księża Marianów Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny (MIC)—marianie*): Bielany near Warsaw, Warsaw.

Michaelites (Congregation of St. Michael the Archangel) (*Zgromadzenie św. Michała Archaniola (CSMA)—michalici*): Działkowiec near Kobryń, Struga near Warsaw, Miejsce Piastowe near Krosno.

Oblates of Mary Immaculate (*Zgromadzenie Misjonarzy Oblatów Maryi Niepokalanej (OMI)—oblaci*): Okopy near Rokitno.

Orionines (*Zgromadzenie Zakonne Małe Dzieło Boskiej Opatrzności (FDP)*—*orioniści*): Łązniew near Warsaw, Warsaw.

Pallottines (*Stowarzyszenie Apostolstwa Katolickiego (SAC)*—*pallotyńi*): Warsaw.

Paulines (*Zakon św. Pawła Pierwszego Pustelnika (OSPPE)*—*paulini*): Częstochowa, Leśniów near Żarki, Hungary.

Redemptorists (Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer) (*Zgromadzenie Najświętszego Odkupiciela (CSsR)*—*redemptoryści*): Mościska near Przemyśl, Tuchów near Tarnów, Warsaw, Wilno.

Resurrectionists (*Zgromadzenie Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa (CR)*—*zmartwychwstańcy*): Międzyrzecz Podlaski, Nowy Sącz or Kraków, Warsaw.

Salesians (The Salesian Society, The Society of St. Francis de Sales) (*Towarzystwo św. Franciszka Salezego (SDB)*—*salezianie*): Częstochowa, Głusków near Warsaw, Łódź, Lwów, Przemyśl, Supraśl, Warsaw (three institutions).

Vincentians (Missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul) (*Zgromadzenie Księży Misjonarzy św. Wincentego à Paulo (CM)*—*misjonarze*): Kraków, Lwów, Tarnów, Warsaw (various priest).

**Polish Roman Catholic Priests and Nuns
Recognized as “Righteous Among the Nations”
by Yad Vashem,
Israel’s Holocaust Remembrance Authority**

Poles form the single largest national group honoured by Yad Vashem. As of January 1, 2020, Yad Vashem has honoured 7,112 Poles with the distinction of “Righteous Among the Nations.”¹⁰⁷⁷ In total, 27,712 persons have been officially recognized as “Righteous Gentiles,” one-quarter of whom are Poles. But that is just the tip of the iceberg. The vast majority of Poles who extended assistance to Jews are now deceased, having died in poverty, and were never recognized by Yad Vashem. In many cases, their Jewish benefactors severed contact with them after leaving their places of refuge.¹⁰⁷⁸

Among the Poles recognized by Yad Vashem (as of the end of 2019) there are 96 members of the Roman Catholic clergy of the Latin rite, including 34 priests and 62 nuns. Another priest was recognized in January 2020, bringing the total to 35. Proportionally, in relation to their numbers, the Polish clergy has been awarded more often than the Catholic clergy of almost every other occupied country,¹⁰⁷⁹ despite the incomparably greater persecution faced by the Polish clergy and the death penalty imposed on Poles for helping Jews. The representation of Catholic clergy among the “Righteous” overall in Europe far exceeds that of the Protestant and Orthodox clergy.

The vast majority of the thousands of members of the Polish Roman Catholic clergy who came to the assistance of Jews have gone unrecognized. They were usually part of a chain of rescuers or communal rescue, as the successful rescue of a Jew was almost never the deed of a *single* nun, priest, or monk.

Polish Roman Catholic Priests Recognized by Yad Vashem

1. Wojciech Bartosik [2014] (Wawrzeńczyce near Kraków)
2. Brunon Boguszewski [1978] (Kraków)
- [Antoni Bradło, not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸⁰]

¹⁰⁷⁷ See “Names and Numbers of Righteous Among the Nations per Country & Ethnic Origin, as of January 1, 2019,” Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://www.yadvashem.org/righteous/statistics.html>>. For a list of Poles awarded by Yad Vashem as of January 1, 2019, see <<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/poland.pdf>>. This list includes only ethnic Poles, as rescuers from other ethnic groups who assisted Jews on the territory of interwar Poland are listed under Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia (e.g., Czechs from Volhynia), Germany, and Austria, as the case may be. Additionally, about 200 ethnic Poles are listed under Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, Germany, Austria (Danuta Czaplińska Kleisinger, Wanda Semrad), and France, even though in many cases their rescue activities occurred on interwar Polish territory. For information about Polish rescuers from countries outside Poland see Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 7: *Europe (Part I) and Other Countries* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), 31–32, 70–71, 86–87, 115–16; vol. 8: *Europe (Part II)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011)—Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine; vol. 9 and 10: *Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010).

¹⁰⁷⁸ See, for example, Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland During the Holocaust* (Columbia, Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 21, 69–70. See also Marcin Urynowicz, “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 262–63; Marcin Urynowicz, “Organized and Individual Assistance of Poles for Jewish People Exterminated by the German Occupants in the Second World War,” in Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Adam Sitarek, eds., *The Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Relations: Selected Issues* (Warsaw: The Institute of National Remembrance–Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation, 2018), 332.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The Yad Vashem count in 2006 for Christian clergy rescuers—mostly Roman Catholic—in various countries was as follows: Austria—none, Belgium—103, Croatia—3, Czech Republic—none, England—one, France—136, Germany—7, Hungary—25, Italy—52, Latvia—one, Lithuania—15, Luxembourg—none, Poland—59, Netherlands—8, Slovakia—5 (including two Eastern-rite Greek Catholics), Switzerland—one, and Ukraine (part of interwar Poland)—9 Eastern-rite Greek Catholics (Uniates). The number of recognized clergy, especially Catholic, has grown considerably since then.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Antoni Bradło (born in 1933) was recognized in 1986 together with his parents and three siblings for rescuing 13 Jews in the village of Lubcza near Pilzno. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 111.

- [Michał Czuba, seminary graduate¹⁰⁸¹]
- 3. Antoni Dunajecki [2019] (Kolbuszowa near Rzeszów)
- 4. Stanisław Falkowski [1993] (Nowe Piekuty near Brańsk)
- 5. Mikołaj Ferenc [2013] (Capuchin until 1943, then a diocesan priest, Markowa near Podhajce)
- 6. Władysław Głowacki [1982] (Warsaw)
- 7. Marcei Godlewski [2009] (Warsaw)
- 8. Antoni Godziszewski [2020] (Częstochowa)
- 9. Józef Gorajek [1989] (Wąwolnica near Lublin)
- [Jan Gozdek, not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸²]
- 10. Henryk Hilchen [2018] (Warsaw)
- 11. Antoni Kania [2013] (Huta Nowa near Monasterzyska)
- 12. Michał Kubacki [1997] (Salesian, Warsaw)
- [Franciszek Leszczyński, not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸³]
- 13. Ferdynand Machay [2017] (Kraków)
- 14. Albin Małysiak [1993] (Kraków, made a bishop postwar)
- 15. Gabriel Marszałek [2015] (Borownica near Sanok)
- 16. Stanisław Mazak [1984] (Szczurowice near Radziechów)
- 17. Aleksander Osiecki [1990] (Brzeźnica near Dębica)
- 18. Andrzej Osikowicz [1995] (sometimes spelled Osikiewicz, Borysław)
- 19. Jan Patrzyk [1979] (Lipinki near Gorlice)
- 20. Jan Pawlicki [1969] (Zborów)
- 21. Jan Poddębniak [1986] (Krężnica Jara near Lublin)
- 22. Jan Raczkowski [2012] (vicar, Otwock near Warsaw)
- [Franciszek Rzotky (1997), not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸⁴]
- 23. Jan Sielewicz [2000] (Worniany near Wilno)
- 24. Adam Skąbania [2006] (Salesian, Głusków near Warsaw)
- 25. Kazimierz Słupski [2018] (Puźniki near Buczacz)
- 26. Franciszek Smorczewski [1979] (Stolin, Polesie or Polesia)
- [Adam Stalmach, not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸⁵]
- [Witold Stolarczyk, not then yet a priest¹⁰⁸⁶]
- 27. Adam Sztark [2001] (Jesuit, Słonim)
- 28. Witold Szymczukiewicz [1966] (Rukojnie near Wilno)

¹⁰⁸¹ Michał Czuba was recognized in 1989 for rescuing four members of the Wajsman family in the town of Radziechów. Although described as a priest in some documents, his status is not clear. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 161.

¹⁰⁸² Jan Gozdek was recognized in 1988 for rescuing two Jewish men in the village of Józików near Końskie. Although described as a priest, his status is not clear. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 252.

¹⁰⁸³ Franciszek Leszczyński (born in 1920) was recognized in 1997 together with his parents and two brothers for sheltering 13 Jews in the village of Bocianka near Siemiatycze. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 452.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Franciszek Rzotky (1923–1971) was recognized in 1997 together with Tadeusz and Janina Lewandowski. His story is found in the text. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 453.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Adam Stalmach (born in 1923) was recognized together with his parents. He was ordained a priest after the war. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 567; The Stelmach Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-stelmach-family>>.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Wiktor Stolarczyk (born in 1920) was recognized in 1995 together with his parents for rescuing five Jews in the village of Dąbrowica near Włoszczowa. He was ordained a priest in 1950. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5, Part 2, 755. According to Rev. Stolarczyk, their Jewish charges lived openly in his family's home and the villagers were aware of their Jewish origin. See Rodzina Stolarczyków, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/historie-pomocy/historia-pomocy-rodzina-stolarczykow>>.

29. Edward Tabaczkowski [2018] (Tłumacz near Stanisławów)
30. Oskar Wiśniewski [2018] (Franciscan, Warsaw)
31. Ludwik Wolski [2008] (pastor, Otwock near Warsaw)
32. Ludwik Wrodarczyk [2000] (Oblate of Mary Immaculate, Okopy, Volhynia)
33. Mieczysław Zawadzki [2007] (Będzin)
34. Jan Zawrzycki [2007] (Rymanów near Krosno)
35. Ignacy Życiński [1993] (sometimes spelled Życzyński, Trójca near Zawichost)

Polish Roman Catholic Nuns Recognized by Yad Vashem

1. Irena Adamek [1984] (Sister Małgorzata, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
2. Władysława Bartkowiak [2002] (Sister Euzebia, Sister of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Mir)
3. Stanisława Bednarska [1984] (Sister Stefania, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
4. Irena Bielawska [1983] (Mother Superior Maria Honorata, Felician Sister, Przemyśl)
5. Anna Borkowska [1984] (born Janina Siostrzewitowska, Sister Bertranda, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
6. Anna Budnowska [2016] (Sister Tekla, Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Łomna)
7. Stanisława Chmielewska [2014] (Sister Helena, Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Podhajce near Brzeżany)
8. Genowefa Czubak [1980] (formerly Sister Dolorosa, Missionary Sister of the Holy Family, Prużana)
9. Aleksandra Drzewiecka (Drzewiecka) [1992] (Wilno)
10. Helena Frąckiewicz [1984] (Sister Diana, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
11. Bronisława Galus [2001] (Sister Róża, Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Turkowice near Hrubieszów)
12. Wanda Garczyńska [1983] (Sister Wanda, Sister of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Warsaw)
13. Matylda Getter [1985] (Mother Matylda, Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Warsaw)
14. Maria Stefania Góraska [1997] (Sister Andrzejka, Ursuline Sister of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus, Warsaw)
15. Anna Grenda [1986] (Sister Ligoria, Sister Servant of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Przemyśl)
16. Weronika Hendzel [2017] (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Warsaw)
17. Bronisława Hryniewicz [1994] (Sister Beata, Daughter of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Skórzec near Siedlce)
18. Kornelia Jankowska [2013] (Sister Kornelia, Sister of the Most Holy Name of Jesus Under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Help of the Faithful, Suchedniów near Skarżysko-Kamienna)
19. Bronisława Jaroszyńska [1981] (Sister Klara, Franciscan Sister Servant of the Cross, Laski near Warsaw)
20. Stanisława Józwickowska [1994] (Sister Stanisława, Daughter of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Skórzec near Siedlce)
21. Leokadia Juśkiewicz [1986] (Sister Longina, Sister Servant of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Przemyśl)
- Maria Kazuczyk [2010] (tertiary, Janowicze near Białystok)
22. Aniela Kędzierska [2015] (Sister Celina, Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Sambor)
23. Janina Kierocińska [1992] (Mother Teresa, Carmelite Sister of the Infant Jesus, Sosnowiec)
24. Aniela Kotowska [1983] (Sister Klara, Felician Sister, Przemyśl)
25. Teofila Kozłowska [2017] (Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Chotomów)
26. Bronisława Krzemińska [2017] (Sister Witolda, Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Chotomów)
27. Marcjanna Łączniak [2017] (Sister Ambrozja, Sister Servant of the Virgin Mother of God Immaculately Conceived (of Dębica), Dominikowice)
28. Bernarda Lemańska [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Warsaw)
29. Zofia Liszka [2015] (Sister Serapiona, Sister Servant of the Virgin Mother of God Immaculately Conceived (of Dębica), Dominikowice)
30. Zofia Makowska [1993] (Sister Bogumiła, Franciscan Missionary Sister of Mary, Zamość)

31. Halina Małkiewicz [1981] (Sister Ludwika, Sister of St. Elizabeth, Otwock)
32. Kazimiera Małolepszy (Małolepsza) [1992] (Sister Madeleine, Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Flers, Orne, France)
33. Antonina Manaszczuk [1989] (Sister Irena, Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Turkowice near Hrubieszów)
34. Stanisława Marciniak [1987] (Sister Gertruda, Mother Superior, Sister of St. Elizabeth, Otwock)
35. Krystyna Marcinowska [2017] (Sister Eugenia, Daughter of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin, Warsaw)
36. Maria Mikulska [1974] (Sister Benedykta, Benedictine Sister, Wilno)
37. Janina Mistera [1985] (Sister Joanna, Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki)
38. Maria Neugebauer [1984] (Sister Imelda, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
39. Zofia Olszewska [2016] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Łomna)
40. Maria Ostreyko [1984] (Sister Jordana, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
41. Józefa Pawłowska [2014] (Sister Vita, Albertine Sister, Częstochowa)
42. Ludwika Peńsko [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Płudy near Warsaw)
43. Maria Pietkiewicz [2004] (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Kamionek in Warsaw)
44. Zofia Pigłowska [2016] (Sister Blanka, Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Lwów)
45. Aniela Polechajło [1989] (Sister Stanisława, Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Turkowice near Hrubieszów)
- Janina Popławska (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki, awarded a certificate of appreciation in 1996)
46. Joanna Reiter [1986] (Sister Zygmunta, Felician Sister, Wawer near Warsaw)
47. Marianna Reszko [1985] (Sister Marcjanna, Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Ignaców near Mińsk Mazowiecki)
48. Józefa Romansewicz [1989] (Sister Hermana, Sister Servant of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś), Turkowice near Hrubieszów)
49. Adela Rosolińska [2013] (Sister Serafia, Sister of the Most Holy Name of Jesus Under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary Help of the Faithful, Suchedniów near Skarżysko-Kamienna)
50. Maria Janina Roszak [1984] (Sister Cecylia, Dominican Sister, Kolonia Wileńska near Wilno)
51. Olga Schwarz (Szwarz) [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Warsaw)
52. Rozalia Domicella Sidelko [1986] (Sister Bernarda, Sister Servant of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Przemyśl)
- Maria Siwek [2002] (tertiary, Brzączowice)
53. Julia Sosnowska [1996] (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Warsaw)
54. Aniela Stawowiak [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Płudy and Międzyzlesie near Warsaw)
55. Romualda Stępak [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Międzyzlesie and Płudy near Warsaw)
56. Zofia Szczygielska [2018] (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Przeworsk)
- Jadwiga Urbańczyk [2002] (tertiary, Brzączowice)
57. Eugenia Wąsowska-Renot [1980] (formerly Sister Alfonsa, Sister Servant of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, Przemyśl)
58. Aniela Wesołowska [2018] (Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary, Puźniki near Buczacz)
- Stefania (Jadwiga) Wojciechowska (Wijewo, awarded a certificate of appreciation in 1997)
59. Bronisława Wilemska [1995] (Sister of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Kraków and Szczawnica)
60. Jadwiga Wyszomirska [2017] (Daughter of the Purest Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Warsaw)
61. Julia Zagrodzka [2016] (Sister Kantalicja, Felician Sister, Sądowa Wisznia near Jaworów)
62. Helena Zienowicz [1992] (Sister of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Wilno)

Protestant Clergymen Recognized by Yad Vashem

- Feliks Gloeh [1984] (Evangelical)
 Władysław Kołodziej [1980] (Methodist)
 Iosif Nazaruk [2005] (Baptist)

Grigory Tsitsura [2000] (Evangelical)

Greek Catholic (Eastern Rite Roman Catholic) Clergymen Recognized by Yad Vashem

Brother Teodosy (Tadeusz Cebryński) [1984]

Brother Lazar [1984]

Antin Navolsky (Izvolski) [1993]

Father Nykanor (Mykola Deyneha) [1985]

Josif Pietrash (Petrash) [1993]

Vasili Popel [2003]

Clement Sheptytski (Kazimierz Szeptycki) [1995]

Marko Stek [1995]

Daniil Tymchina (Tymchyna) [2008]

Eastern Orthodox Clergymen Recognized by Yad Vashem

Konstantin Komar [2001]

Benedykt Kopiec [1988] – not yet a priest at the time of rescue

Polish Roman Catholic Clergy and Religious Murdered by the Germans for Assisting Jews

Sacrificing one's life is not a simple act of kindness. No one has the right to demand of others that they should help someone if it means laying down their lives. Many honest Jewish survivors who were rescued by Poles have stated that they do not know if they would have been able to rescue Poles under such circumstances. Some have said emphatically that they would not have undertaken such a risk. (See the testimonies found in the last section of this compilation.) While Polish Catholic bishops encouraged and approved of rescue activities by the clergy, they did not compel their clergy to perform such deeds of heroism. Indeed, they had no moral right to issue such commands. "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:13) is not a command; at the very most, it is an exhortation. For Christians the gift of life is God's greatest gift. Jesus Christ pleaded with His Father to spare Him from His imminent death on the cross, if at all possible. The apostle Peter denied Jesus three times the day before Jesus died, yet Jesus declared Peter to be the "rock" on which He would build His Church.

No moral or religious code, including Jewish, imposes such an imperative or condemns those who are not willing to put their lives on the line for others. Otherwise, except for a handful of people, we would all fail this test. According to Jewish religious law, there is no duty to risk one's own life for the sake of saving another person's life.¹⁰⁸⁷ At a screening of *The Labyrinth: The Testimony of Marian Kolodziej*, an award-winning film by Ron Schmidt, SJ,¹⁰⁸⁸ at Regis College, University of Toronto, in March 2013, Dr. David Novak of the Centre for Jewish Studies commented that sacrificing one's life is not condoned in Jewish teaching. The Torah teaches that a person is obliged to help, and to share, but at a point when helping endangers one's own life nothing in the Torah permits that. Moreover, the Talmud does not look favourably upon Jews who go out of their way to help non-Jews.¹⁰⁸⁹

It is in this light that we must view the actions of Poles who wondered, and often enquired of their priests, whether they should be risking their own lives and those of their family members to rescue a Jew. The dominant Holocaust narrative is quite different, however. At the ceremonies commemorating the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz held on January 27, 2020, without acknowledging that Poles uniquely faced the death penalty for helping Jews, Israeli President Reuven Rivlin reproached them because "too few" Poles had risked their lives to save Jews. Seemingly, the Poles' wartime purpose was to put their lives at risk to rescue Jews.

No other nation has ever paid a higher price for helping Jews than the Poles. This sacrifice demands enormous respect and profound humility, especially from Jews. Unfortunately, Yad Vashem has been remiss in its responsibility to honour those Poles who sacrificed their lives to rescue Jews. Among the several thousand Polish women, men, and children—often entire families and sometimes even whole

¹⁰⁸⁷ Aaron Kirschenbaum, "The Bystander's Duty To Rescue In Jewish Law," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, vol. 8 (1980): 204–26: "In Judaism, the bystander's duty to come to the rescue of his fellow man who is in peril is religious, ethical and legal. A citizen is expected to engage in the act of rescue both personally and with his financial resources. He is required, however, neither to give his life nor to place his life in substantial jeopardy to save his fellow." According to the Babylonian Talmud, there is no duty to self-risk for the sake of saving another person's life. See Yechiel Michael Barilan, *Jewish Bioethics: Rabbinic Law and Theology in Their Social and Historical Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 120. For a fuller—but far from definitive—discussion see Melech Westreich, "One Life for Another Life in the Holocaust: A Singularity for Jewish Law?" *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2000): 341–67. The sources in these publications deal with the obligations of Jews with respect to other Jews, and not to non-Jews.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *The Labyrinth* is widely regarded as one of the most compelling and evocative artistic portrayals of the fate of prisoners in Auschwitz. See Internet: <<http://www.thelabyrinthdocumentary.com>>.

¹⁰⁸⁹ In her study *Jews, Gentiles, and Other Animals: The Talmud After the Humanities* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), Rabbi Mira Beth Wasserman points out at p.132 that, "According to the baraita [*Avodah Zarah* 26a-b] Gentiles and Jewish shepherds (generally reputed to be thieves) are two groups whom a Jew need not trouble himself to save from a pit, while *minim* [heretics] along with informers and apostates are not only to be raised from the pit, they may actually be cast into it." See also p. 260. The baraita also appears in b. *Sanhedrin* 57a (p. 271).

communities—put to death by the Germans for coming to the assistance of Jews, there were dozens of priests and religious. Not all of the victims of German repressions cited below can be definitively confirmed as being attributable *solely* to helping Jews. Often there was more than one reason for a priest's arrest and execution. In such instances, although the exact charge levelled by the Germans may not have been known, the priest in question was known to have been active in rendering assistance to Jews. In some cases, the name of the priest in question has not been identified. (Those incidents are usually based on the testimony of Jews recorded many years after the fact.) Not all of these cases have been recorded in Wiktor Jacewicz and Jan Woś's monumental register of members of the Polish clergy killed during the German occupation, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, 5 volumes (Warsaw: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1977–1981) [afterwards Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*].

Wacław Zajączkowski, in his *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987) lists—together with source references—the following priests as having been killed, usually by summary execution, for assisting Jews:

[1] Fr. Antoni Grzybowski, a Jesuit, was executed on October 20, 1943 for providing shelter to Jews in the Jesuit novitiate of the Byzantine rite in Albertyn near Słonim, where he was the rector of the Latin rite chapel (Entry 39). Fr. Grzybowski provided Jews with baptismal certificates, and found shelters for them with trusted persons. According to some sources, he was executed by Soviet partisans dressed as Germans¹⁰⁹⁰;

[2] Rev. Andrzej Osikowicz (Osikiewicz), pastor of Borysław, was deported to Majdanek in February 1943 for helping Jews and openly encouraging his parishioners to do so; he perished there on December 29, 1943 (Entry 74)¹⁰⁹¹;

[3] Rev. Henryk Opiatowski, vicar and Home Army chaplain from Brańsk, was arrested on July 15, 1943 for assisting Jews, partisans and escaped Soviet prisoners-of-war, imprisoned in Bielsk Podlaski, and perished in a mass execution of Polish prisoners soon afterwards (Entry 76)¹⁰⁹²;

[4] Rev. Mieczysław Akrejć, pastor of Brasław, in northeastern Poland, perished in June 1942 while interceding on behalf of Jews being taken to their execution (Entry 77);

[5] Rev. Jan Urbanowicz, dean and pastor of Exaltation of the Holy Cross parish in Brześć nad Bugiem in Polesie (Polesia), was executed in June 1943 for aiding Jews by issuing false baptismal certificates and finding shelters for them; he also spoke out against the looting of Jewish property (Entry 84)¹⁰⁹³;

[6] Rev. Teodor Popczyk of St. Barbara's parish in Częstochowa was shot on June 16, 1943, after being identified by a Jew who had received false documentation from this parish (Entry 124)¹⁰⁹⁴;

¹⁰⁹⁰ Stanisław Cieślak, "Jeziuci ratujący Żydów podczas hitlerowskiej okupacji," *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 140–55, at pp. 146–47.

¹⁰⁹¹ See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 568; Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Aleksandra Namysło, eds., *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019), 254–55.

¹⁰⁹² See also Eva Hoffman's *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 232; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 174; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 315.

¹⁰⁹³ See also Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), 126; Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa ewreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, 132; Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 175–76.

¹⁰⁹⁴ See also Jan Pietrzykowski, "Księża diecezji częstochowskiej w walce z okupantem," *Wrocławski Tygodnik Katolicki*, May 10, 1970.

[7] Rev. Adam Sekuła, assistant pastor of Dobra near Limanowa, in southern Poland, was killed in the jail in Nowy Sącz on April 7, 1941 after refusing to betray the names of Jews to whom he had issued baptismal certificates (Entry 141);

[8] Fr. Michał Klimczak (Father Dionizy), guardian of the Conventual Franciscan monastery and pastor of Our Lady of the Angels (*Matki Bożej Anielskiej*) parish in Grodno was executed on July 15, 1943 (Entry 168)¹⁰⁹⁵;

[9] Monsignor Albin Jaroszewicz, dean and pastor of St. Francis Xavier parish in Grodno, was not executed on July 14, 1943, as claimed (Entry 168).¹⁰⁹⁶ Although arrested by the Germans twice, he survived the war only to be arrested by the Soviets and killed in a concentration camp in 1946¹⁰⁹⁷;

[10] Rev. Władysław Grobelny, vicar of Kobryń near Brześć nad Bugiem, was executed on October 15, 1942 together with the Jews he was helping (Entry 222)¹⁰⁹⁸;

[11] Monsignor Jan Wolski, pastor of Kobryń near Brześć nad Bugiem, was executed on October 15, 1942 for assisting partisans and Jews who fled from the ghetto (Entry 223);

[12] Monsignor Zygmunt Surdacki, the Apostolic Administrator of the diocese of Lublin, was arrested in April 1941 for, among other reasons, aiding Jews. He was deported to Auschwitz, where he on April 30, 1941 (Entry 271)¹⁰⁹⁹;

[13] & [14] Two unidentified young priests were shot to death on February 21, 1942 in the Lwów suburb of Zamarstynów, when they were apprehended in their attempt to bring two Jewish families to their monastery (Entry 278)¹¹⁰⁰;

[15] Another unidentified monk from Lwów was shot dead on February 28, 1942 when he was caught carrying food and money to the ghetto and tried to escape (Entry 279)¹¹⁰¹;

[16] Rev. Fabian Poczobutt-Odlanicki, dean and pastor of Łunin and delegate of the Polish government in exile for Polesie (Polesia), was executed on August 4, 1944 for organizing aid for Jews and partisans

¹⁰⁹⁵ On Fr. Dionizy (Michał Klimczak) see Tadeusz Krahel, “Zginęli 15 lipca 1943 r. przy fortach koło Naumicz,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 8, August 2003; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 150, 154. Fr. Dionizy was arrested several times, last on July 14, 1943. He was executed the following day, July 15, 1943, outside Grodno together with two other priests, Rev. Justyn Skokowski and Fr. Kazimierz Szypiłło, as well as many other residents of Grodno arrested in the *Sonderaktion*. The precise cause of Fr. Dionizy’s arrest is not known.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Rev. Jaroszewicz’s fate is incorrectly reported in Friedman, *Their Brothers’ Keepers*, 126.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 156, 230.

¹⁰⁹⁸ See also Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, 132. Rev. Grobelny and Rev. Jan Wolski, the pastor of Kobryń, were arrested on charges of helping Jews and held in the local prison for six weeks. They were executed in a forest near Kobryń together with a group of Jews during the liquidation of the ghetto. See “Księża z Kobrynia—zamordowani za pomoc Żydom,” *Memory and Identity: International Memory Center*, <<http://pamiecitozsamosc.pl/ksieza-z-kobrynia-zamordowani-za-pomoc-zydom>>.

¹⁰⁹⁹ See also Zdzisław Goliński, *Biskupi i kapłani Lubelszczyzny w szponach gestapo 1939–1945* (Lublin: Związek Kapłański “Unitas”, 1946), 13; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 331–32; Szymon Datner, “Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at pp. 133–34.

¹¹⁰⁰ See also Jacek E. Wilczur, *Do nieba nie można od razu: Zapiski z okupowanego Lwowa* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1991), 34.

¹¹⁰¹ See also Wilczur, *Do nieba nie można od razu*, 34–35.

(Entry 300)¹¹⁰²;

[17] Rev. Antoni Mackiewicz, pastor and dean of Mir near Stołpce (voivodship of Nowogródek), was executed in Koldyczewo concentration camp on November 14, 1942 for helping Jews (Entry 322). According to other sources, however, although he did come to the aid of Jews, Rev. Mackiewicz was arrested in the sweep directed against the Polish intelligentsia in the region¹¹⁰³;

[18] Rev. Tadeusz Kaczmarczyk, an assistant pastor from Nowy Sącz who refused to betray the Jews to whom he had provided baptismal certificates, even under torture, was executed on August 21, 1941 (Entry 343);

[19] Rev. Władysław Deszcz, also from Nowy Sącz, who provided Jews with baptismal certificates and other forms of assistance (he smuggled himself into the ghetto to bring sacraments to converted Jews) was executed on August 21, 1941 (Entry 344). According to another source, however, the two priests from Nowy Sącz were arrested in May 1941 for their suspected role in the escape of Jan Karski, a member of the Polish underground, from the local hospital where he was being held in between interrogation and torture sessions, and were executed in a mass reprisal against 32 Poles in Biegonice¹¹⁰⁴;

[20] Monsignor Witold Iwicki, vicar general of the diocese of Pińsk, after refusing an offer of clemency, was executed in Janów Poleski on January 22, 1943 for assisting Jews (Entry 376)¹¹⁰⁵;

[21] Rev. Paweł Dołyżk, pastor of Derewna (Pińsk diocese), was shot to death on August 8, 1943 for aiding partisans and Jews (Entry 377);

[22] Monsignor Józef Bajko, pastor of Naliboki near Nowogródek (Pińsk diocese), and

[23] his assistant, Rev. Józef Baradyn, were locked in a barn and burned alive in August 1943 for aiding Jews and partisans (Entry 378);

[24] Rev. Leopold Aulich, dean of Iwje (Iwie) and pastor of Kamień near Nowogródek (Pińsk diocese), and

[25] his vicar, Rev. Kazimierz Rybałtowski, were both executed on July 24, 1943 on suspicion of aiding Jews and partisans (Entry 379);

[26] Rev. Błażej Nowosad, pastor of Potok Górny near Tomaszów Lubelski, was beaten by the SS Galizien in order to extract information about the location of Polish partisans and Jews hiding in the vicinity and then shot to death on December 19, 1943 (Entry 395);

[27] Fr. Adam Sztark, administrator of the parish in Żyrowice, provided various forms of assistance to Jews. He placed Jewish children in the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Słonim, where he was the chaplain. He was arrested on December 18, 1942 together with two Sisters from this convent, Kazimiera Wołowska, the superior, and Bogumiła Noiszewska, who was in charge of the local polyclinic. All three of them were executed the following day

¹¹⁰² See also Kopówka and Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki*, 175.

¹¹⁰³ Tec, *In the Lion's Den*, 73, 96, 98–99, 254 n.13.

¹¹⁰⁴ E. Thomas Wood and Stanisław M. Jankowski, *Karski: How One Man Tried to Stop the Holocaust* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), 89–90.

¹¹⁰⁵ See also Datner, *Las sprawiedliwych*, 104, 113.

in a mass execution of several hundred Poles (Entries 463 and 702)¹¹⁰⁶;

[28] Fr. Wojciech Kopliński, known as Father Anicet, a Franciscan from the Capuchin monastery on Miodowa Street in Warsaw, was arrested in June 1941 for, among other reasons, helping Jews. He was deported to Auschwitz where he perished in a gas chamber on October 16, 1941 (Entry 531)¹¹⁰⁷;

[29] An unidentified priest from Warsaw who worked closely with Maria Malicki and her brother Tadeusz Romaszewski in providing false baptismal certificates and identification to Jews was shot to death on December 19, 1942, after being identified by one of the Jews who was caught with the false documents (Entry 537). According to Teresa Prekerowa, the priest in question was the pastor of the cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist, who was executed after a certificate he issued for Maria Rajbenbach fell into the hands of the Gestapo.¹¹⁰⁸ However, not all the information in the latter account is accurate. Both Tadeusz Romaszewski and his sister, Maria Malicka, were employed in the chancery (record office) of the Warsaw cathedral parish of St. John the Baptist. Although they were members of the extreme right-wing Szaniec group (a continuation of the interwar National-Radical Camp “ABC”), they issued scores of false baptismal and birth certificates to endangered Jews, as well as Christian Poles. Maria Malicka was betrayed to the Gestapo by her brother’s fiancée, Irena Lis, who—unknown to the organization—was a Gestapo agent. The Gestapo arrested Maria Malicka and her husband Marian Malicki, who was sent to Majdanek, where he perished. Maria Malicka was imprisoned in Warsaw, but survived the war. Tadeusz Romaszewski went into hiding. The information about the priest’s death has not been confirmed, and appears to be an embellishment.¹¹⁰⁹

[30] Monsignor Roman Archutowski, rector of the Archdiocesan Seminary of Warsaw, was arrested (the second time) in November 1942 for, among other reasons, helping Jews. He was imprisoned in Pawiak and tortured. He was deported to Majdanek on March 25, 1943 and died there on April 18, 1943 (Entry 547)¹¹¹⁰;

[31] Rev. Franciszek Garncarek, pastor of St. Augustine’s church in the Warsaw ghetto, was murdered on December 20, 1943; he was shot on the steps of the presbtery of another church outside the ghetto (Entry 574)¹¹¹¹;

[32] Fr. Józef Leńko, from the Missionary Congregation of St. Vincent, a vicar at Holy Cross parish in Warsaw, was arrested for the second time and brought to Pawiak prison on February 7, 1944 for helping Jews. He was deported to Gross-Rosen concentration camp where he perished on May 20, 1944 (Entry 585). Fr.

¹¹⁰⁶ See also Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 236–37; Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 385–86, 390–92; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 311–12.

¹¹⁰⁷ See also Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 334–35; Szymon Datner, “Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at pp. 133–34.

¹¹⁰⁸ Teresa Prekerowa, *Konspiracyjna Rada Pomocy Żydom w Warszawie 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1982), 148–49. See also the account of Maria Rajbenbach and annotations found in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 233, 235, and Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 552, 554 (reproduced *supra*).

¹¹⁰⁹ Damian Sitkiewicz, “Maria Malicka: O pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez organizację narodową Grupa ‘Szańca’,” *Kolbojnik: Biuletyn Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Warszawie*, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 28–31.

¹¹¹⁰ See also Friedman, *Their Brother’s Keepers*, 126; Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 210–12; Władysław Bartoszewski, *Warszawski pierścień śmierci 1939–1944* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1970), 220; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 88.

¹¹¹¹ See also Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven, Connecticut, and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 652–53.

Leńko was particularly active in issuing false baptismal certificates to Jews¹¹¹²;

[33] Fr. Leon Więckiewicz, from the Missionary Congregation of St. Vincent, a vicar at St. Augustine's church in the Warsaw ghetto, was arrested for helping Jews on December 3, 1943; he was deported to Gross-Rosen concentration camp where he died on August 4, 1944 (Entry 590).¹¹¹³ However, according to another source, it is believed that the immediate cause of Fr. Więckiewicz's arrest was not his extensive assistance to Jews but his open display of support for a group Poles slated for execution¹¹¹⁴;

[34] Rev. Alfonsas Lipniūnas, a Lithuanian priest from Wilno, where he was assistant rector of the Ostra Brama chapel and a preacher at the University Church of St. John, was arrested by the Gestapo on March 17, 1943 for his sermons admonishing those who stole Jewish property and participated in violence against Jews. He was sent to the Stutthof concentration camp; he fell ill with typhus when being moved from the approaching Soviet forces and died on March 28, 1945 (Entry 642)¹¹¹⁵;

[35] and [36] Two Basilian Fathers from the Uniate monastery in Wilno were arrested for helping Jews and not heard of again (Entry 643);

[37] Rev. Józef Kuczyński, pastor of Wsielub near Nowogródek (Pińsk diocese), was executed on July 31, 1942 for helping Soviet POWs and sheltering Jewish children (Entry 665).¹¹¹⁶

[38] Rev. Feliks Zachuta of Kraków was arrested for his clandestine baptismal activity towards the end of 1943 and executed in the Płaszów concentration camp in May 1944.¹¹¹⁷

Other priests put to death for helping Jews who are identified in Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945* include:

[39] Rev. Franciszek Żak, the administrator of the parish of Ponikwa near Brody and a catechist in Dolina (archdiocese of Lwów) was imprisoned in Stanisławów and executed in March 1942 for rendering various kinds of assistance to Jews such as providing false birth certificates with which they escaped to Romania and Hungary—p. 157¹¹¹⁸;

[40] Rev. Bolesław Gramz, pastor of Idołta near Brasław—pp. 44, 54¹¹¹⁹;

¹¹¹² Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 648.

¹¹¹³ See also Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 652 (Więckowicz).

¹¹¹⁴ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 647–48.

¹¹¹⁵ See also *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, vol. 3, 349.

¹¹¹⁶ Rev. Józef Kuczyński was arrested on June 29, 1942 in a sweep targeting Polish intelligentsia known as *Polenaktion*. According to other sources, the precise reason for his arrest and execution is unclear. See Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 130, 228.

¹¹¹⁷ Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 3, 119.

¹¹¹⁸ See also Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 176.

¹¹¹⁹ On Rev. Bolesław Gramz see Tadeusz Krahel, "Ksiądz Bolesław Gramz," *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 8, August 1999; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 166–69. Rev. Gramz extended help to Jews, Gypsies and others in need. He was arrested on June 8, 1944 by the Belorussian police and executed. The reason for his arrest is not known.

[41] Witold Sarosiek, pastor of Kundzin—pp.50, 54¹¹²⁰;

[42] Monsignor Karol Lubianiec, pastor of Plebania, dean of Mołodeczno and vicar general for Byelorussia—pp. 44, 54¹¹²¹;

[43] Rev. Kazimierz Grochowski, acting pastor of St. Andrew's parish in Słonim—p. 44.¹¹²²

The last four mentioned priests, who hailed from the archdiocese of Wilno, were also involved in other “subversive” activities—pp. 44, 54.

[44] Rev. Dominik Amankowicz, pastor of Widze (archdiocese of Wilno), collapsed and died on July 26, 1941 as a result of the news of the execution of Jews brought to him by terrified Jews who had sought shelter in the church rectory—p.52;

[45] Rev. Romuald Świrkowski, pastor of Holy Spirit parish in Wilno, located near the ghetto, assisted Jewish fugitives by providing false documents and finding shelters for them. He was arrested on January 15, 1942 and executed in Ponary on May 5, 1942. The precise reason for his arrest is not clear. According to one version, he was betrayed by one of the Jews whom he had helped—p.52. Possibly, his arrest may also have been due to his underground activity as the Archbishop's curia's representative on the Voivodship Council attached to the Command of the Wilno District of the Union of Armed Struggle¹¹²³;

[46] Rev. Piotr Pianko, the administrator of the parish in Szumowo near Zambrów, was shot on September 4, 1941 in his liturgical vestments for refusing to announce German orders calling on the population to obey the German authorities, surrender their arms and capture Soviet soldiers—p.74.¹¹²⁴ The memoirs of Józef Klimaszewski (*nom de guerre* “Cień”) indicate that Rev. Pianko incurred German wrath for defending Jews.¹¹²⁵ There also exists a different version of the execution of Rev. Pianko, as well as Rev. Aleksander Łuniewski, by German gendarmes¹¹²⁶;

[47] Rev. Leon Bujnowski, pastor of Niedźwiedzica (Pińsk diocese), was arrested on June 27, 1943 during a religious ceremony on suspicion of, among other reasons, helping Jews and perished soon after

¹¹²⁰ On Rev. Witold Sarosiek see Tadeusz Krahel, “Ks. Witold Sarosiek (1988–1944),” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 4, April 2000. Rev. Sarosiek was a member of the Home Army who extended help to Jews and others in need. He was arrested on April 10, 1944, imprisoned in Białystok, and sent to the Gross-Rosen concentration camp where he died on December 14, 1944. The precise cause of his arrest is not known.

¹¹²¹ On Monsignor Karol Lubianiec see Tadeusz Krahel, “Ks. Prałat Karol Lubianiec,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 8, August 2000; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 195, 229. Monsignor Lubianiec, born in 1866, settled in village of Plebania near Kraśne where he was in charge of a small church; he was highly regarded by people of all faiths. He was arrested in July or September 1942, imprisoned in Wilejka, and executed. Neither the precise cause of his arrest nor the circumstances of his death are clear.

¹¹²² Rev. Kazimierz Grochowski's rescue efforts are described earlier on. See also Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, Entry 210.

¹¹²³ On Rev. Romuald Świrkowski see Tadeusz Krahel, “Ks. Romuald Świrkowski (1986–1942),” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, no. 2, February 2000; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 116, 225; Tadeusz Krahel, “Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944,” in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 651; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 426–27.

¹¹²⁴ See also Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 2, 84.

¹¹²⁵ Józef Klimaszewski (“Cień”), *W cieniu czerwonego boru*, typescript, 20 (in the author's possession).

¹¹²⁶ See the eyewitness account in Jan Żaryn, “Przez pomyłkę: Ziemia łomżyńska w latach 1939–1945: Rozmowa z ks. Kazimierzem Łupińskim z parafii Szumowo,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 8–9 (September–October 2002): 112–17.

—pp. 83–84¹¹²⁷;

Rev. Jan Urbanowicz (*supra* [5], *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, Entry 84)—p. 84;

Rev. Józef Kuczyński (*supra* [37], *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, Entry 665)—p. 84;

[48] Rev. Władysław Klimczak, pastor of Porzecze, near Pińsk, was executed in July 1943 for aiding Jews—p.84;

[49] Rev. Jan Grodis, principal of Romuald Traugutt high school in Nieśwież (Pińsk diocese), was executed for assisting Jews and Soviet partisans—p. 84. According to a Jewish source, Rev. Grodis, who “was beloved by his students and especially the Jewish ones, ... expressed his deep shock at the German policies towards the Jews and respected the Jewish suffering.”¹¹²⁸

[50] Rev. Edward Tabaczkowski, pastor of Tłumacz, who provided many false baptismal certificates and other forms of assistance to Jews and sheltered Leon Weiser, a Jewish student in the rectory, was put to death on October 20, 1942—pp. 154–55.¹¹²⁹ According to one source, that Rev. Tabaczkowski was betrayed to the Gestapo by a Jewish woman from Tłumacz.¹¹³⁰

An account in Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, at page 33, identifies:

[51] an unnamed priest in the village of Ossowo near Wilno, who was killed for extending help to Jews.

Franciszek Stopniak, “Katolickie duchowieństwo polskie i Żydzi w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *Polskie podziemie polityczne wobec zagłady Żydów w czasie okupacji*, Conference Papers, Warsaw, April 22, 1987 (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce–Instytut Pamięci Narodowej and Polskie Towarzystwo “Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata,” 1988), at page 70, cites:

[52] Rev. Dominik Przyłuski, pastor of Garbów near Lublin, who died of a heart attack after his rectory was inspected by the Germans. The Jews hidden there were not found.

Other clergymen identified as having been killed for helping Jews include:

[53] Fr. Remigiusz (Antoni) Wójcik, the administrator of the parish in Święty Stanisław near Halicz (archdiocese of Lwów), [54] Fr. Peregryn (Jan) Haczela, the guardian of the Conventual Franciscan monastery in Święty Stanisław, and [55] Brother Szczepan (Franciszek) Kosiorek were arrested, after a denunciation by Ukrainian nationalists, for possession of illegal weapons (which had been planted on the premises) and, according to another version, for hiding a Jewish woman in the church bell tower. After their arrest by the Ukrainian police in July 1942, they were taken to the Gestapo prison in Stanisławów or murdered on the way there. According to one eyewitness account, Fr. Wójcik was held by the Gestapo and beaten for three days and, on the fourth day, ripped apart by dogs in the prison courtyard.¹¹³¹

¹¹²⁷ See also Maria Suchecka, “Proboszcz z Niedźwiedzicy,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Kraków), April 1, 1990.

¹¹²⁸ Cholawsky, *The Jews of Bielorussia during World War II*, 278.

¹¹²⁹ See also Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, 227; Barański, *Przemienili zagońcycy, chliborobi, chasydzi...*, 417–18; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, Entry 741; Blond, *Memorial Book of Tlumacz*, xxxiv, cxxix and clxxiii; Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 154–55.

¹¹³⁰ Lesław Jeżowski, “Ks. Edward Tabaczkowski,” *Semper Fidelis* (Wrocław), no. 3 (16), 1993: 10.

¹¹³¹ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 215, 238–39, 291–92; Barański, *Przemienili zagońcycy, chliborobi, chasydzi...*, 84, 173; Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, 495. See also Szczepan Siekierka, Henryk Komański, and Eugeniusz Różański, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie stanisławowskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Stowarzyszenie Upamiętnienia Ofiar Zbrodni Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów we Wrocławiu, 2008), 503–4 (based on the eyewitness account of Michał Przygrodzki).

[56] Father Maximilian [Maksymilian] Kolbe, who was arrested in February 1941 for, among other reasons, his protective care of over 1,500 Jewish refugees lodged in the Franciscan monastery in Niepokalanów and who was eventually put to death in Auschwitz on August 14, 1941¹¹³²;

[57] Rev. Józef Pawłowski, rector of the Higher Seminary in Kielce (until November 1939) and pastor of the cathedral parish, who was arrested on February 10, 1941 for ministering to the faithful and extending aid to Jews and others. He was deported to Auschwitz and then to Dachau, where he was murdered on January 9, 1942¹¹³³;

[58] Rev. Jan Gielarowski, the pastor of Michałówka near Radymno, with the assistance of an elderly priest from a nearby village, provided false baptismal certificates to a number of Jews and sheltered Jews in the parish rectory. He provided Jadwiga Bałaban with a birth certificate under the name of Jadwiga Kowalczyk. Bałaban also states, in her testimony, that Rev. Gielarowski sheltered a Jewish woman together with her nine-month-old child. Rev. Gielarowski was arrested by the Germans in December 1942, but did not give anyone away during his interrogation in the prison in nearby Jarosław. He was deported to Auschwitz where he perished on March 21, 1943.¹¹³⁴

According to a family source,

[59] Rev. Paweł Szczygiał, the retired pastor of the parish of Jakubkowice near Nowy Sącz, was arrested on April 14, 1942 on charges of smuggling food into the ghetto in Nowy Sącz, which he used to visit under the pretext of caring for his parishioners. He was sent to Auschwitz concentration camp where he died on October 31, 1942.¹¹³⁵

Memoirs of Jewish survivors also contain additional examples of Polish priests who were believed to have been executed for their rescue efforts on behalf of Jews. Joseph Riwash, *Resistance and Revenge 1939–1949* (Montreal: n.p., 1981), at page 144, records that

[60] Rev. Romuald Dronicz, the pastor of Wołkołata in northeastern Poland, who, like many other priests in the area, fed and sheltered Jews, did not take advantage of an opportunity to escape, and was executed by the Gestapo in July 1942.¹¹³⁶

According to the memoirs of Peter Silverman, David Smuschkowitz, and Peter Smuszkowicz, *From Victims to Victors* (Concord, Ontario: The Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, 1992), at pages 246–47 and 325,

[61] and [62] two priests from Ikażń and Prozoroki were shot in a forest outside of Głębokie in northeastern Poland in March 1942 after being arrested for imploring their parishioners to assist Jews and

¹¹³² Treece, *A Man for Others*, 91–93 and endnote 12.

¹¹³³ Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 102–4; “Biogramy 108 męczenników,” *Głos Polski* (Toronto), May 18–24, 1999.

¹¹³⁴ Krętosz and Pawłowiczowa, *Słownik biograficzny duchowieństwa Metropolii Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego ofiar II wojny światowej 1939–1945*, 67; Władysław Smólski, ed., *Za to groziła śmierć: Polacy z pomocą Żydom w czasie okupacji* (Warsaw: Pax, 1981), 113–19; Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 4, 292; Stanisław Zygarowicz and Witold Jedynak, eds., *Świadczenie wiary Diecezji Przemyskiej z lat 1939–1964* (Przemysł: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej: 2001), 85–86; Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 213–14; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 77–78; Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod okupacją niemiecką, Internet: <www.straty.pl>; Testimony of Jadwiga Bałaban, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5476.

¹¹³⁵ Parafia pw. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Borusowej, Internet: <<http://www.borusowa.diecezja.tarnow.pl/szczygial.html>>; Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 4, 389.

¹¹³⁶ According to Polish sources, his death may have been as a result of his patriotic stance. See Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 23, 44; Tadeusz Krahel, “Ks. Romuald Dronicz,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, July 2000; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 195.

not to take part in persecution directed against them.¹¹³⁷ According to Polish sources, Rev. Władysław Maćkowiak, the pastor of Ikażń, and his vicar, Rev. Stanisław Pyrtek, were arrested in December 1941 for their ardent preaching and illegally teaching religion to children. They were detained in the jail in Brasław, and later in Głębokie, along with Rev. Mieczysław Bohatkiewicz, who was arrested in Dryssa in January 1942. All three of them were executed by the Germans on March 4, 1942 in Borek forest near Berezwezc, outside Głębokie.¹¹³⁸

Another Jewish survivor, Wili Fink, mentions:

[63] an unidentified Polish priest in the Wilno area, “who paid with his life for those (birth) certificates given to Jews.”¹¹³⁹

According to a Jewish wartime report, at the beginning of December 1939, [64] a priest was hanged near the synagogue in Gostynin because he traded with the Jews.¹¹⁴⁰ According to Polish sources, however, after the pastor and dean, Rev. Apolinary Kaczyński was arrested in October 1939 along with some thirty Polish and Jewish hostages, three young vicars, Rev. Antoni Dubas, Rev. Stanisław Krystosik, and Rev. Kazimierz Stankiewicz, volunteered to take his place and were executed by the Germans along with the other hostages on December 1, 1939. Rev. Kaczyński was released but arrested again in April 1941. He died on December 26, 1941 due to severe beatings he endured while in prison.

Francesca Bram (née Grochowska) recalls that

[65] the village priest of Grodziec demonstrated tremendous compassion and organized community assistance for the Jews expelled from Konin to surrounding villages in the summer of 1940. According to her testimony, “The Germans sought an opportunity to arrest him and this happened after he helped the Jews in Grodziec. Soon afterwards came news of his death.”¹¹⁴¹ Rev. Franciszek Jaworski, the pastor of Grodziec, was arrested by the Germans on August 26, 1940 and deported to Sachsenhausen, and then transferred to Dachau. Fortunately, he managed to survive the war.¹¹⁴²

Yehudis Pshenitse of Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki recounts the story of

[66] an unidentified parish priest from her town to whom she, as a young girl, turned to assistance after being separated from her family. Not only did the priest shelter her but also, after he was reported to the Germans, he refused to surrender her. Having been beaten mercilessly by the Germans and left to die, the priest had the young girl brought to him, blessed her, and implored his housekeeper to find a safe hiding place for her. He died in her presence. “His body was pierced in several places, and his face was unrecognizable.”¹¹⁴³

The Grajewo Memorial Book mentions:

¹¹³⁷ See also the written statements of Peter (Pejsach) Smuszkowicz, November 18–23 and November 20, 1993 (in the author’s possession); Ariel Machnes and Rina Klinov, eds, *Darkness and Desolation: In Memory of the communities of Brasław, Dubene, Jaisi, Jod, Kisłowszczyzna, Okmienic, Opsa, Plusy, Rimszan, Slobodka, Zamosz, Zaracz* (Tel Aviv: Association of Brasław and Surroundings in Israel and America and Ghetto Fighters’ House and Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House, n.d.), 571, 575.

¹¹³⁸ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 38–39, 58; Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 9–18; Tadeusz Krahel, “Nasi Męczennicy,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, May 1999; Tadeusz Krahel, “Błogosławieni Męczennicy z Berezwezcza,” *Czas Miłosierdzia: Białostocki Biuletyn Kościelny*, March 2001.

¹¹³⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 397.

¹¹⁴⁰ Siek, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, vol. 9, 26.

¹¹⁴¹ M. Gelbart, ed., *Kehilat Konin be-Frihata u-ve Hurbana (The Community of Konin: Its Flowering and Destruction)* (Tel Aviv: Association of Konin Jews in Israel, 1968), 526–27, as cited in Theo Richmond, *Konin: A Quest* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), 163.

¹¹⁴² Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol., 4, 460.

¹¹⁴³ Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From A Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry*, Second, expanded edition (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 177–78.

[67] Rev. Aleksander Pęza of Grajewo, who “tirelessly” called on the Christian population, at the daily masses, not to cooperate with the Germans and their anti-Semitic provocations. When word of this reached the Germans, he was shot. Various dates are given for Rev. Pęza’s death. The most authoritative—on his tombstone—is July 15, 1943.¹¹⁴⁴

Another source of danger for priests, and Poles in general, who assisted Jews in Poland’s southeastern provinces, were the activities of Ukrainian nationalists who waged a campaign of ethnic cleansing aimed at the non-Ukrainian elements, particularly the Poles and the Jews. A case in point is Rev. Błażej Nowosad (*supra* [26]), who was murdered in Potok Górny near Tomaszów Lubelski.

[68] When the Gestapo took a group of Jews from Kolno through the village of Borkowo near Łomża on July 9, 1941, the housekeeper rang the church bell to announce the morning mass. Believing this to have been done as a sign of solidarity with the Jewish prisoners passing near the church, they arrested the pastor, Rev. Stanisław Rejmentowski, and his housekeeper. They disappeared without a trace, and were likely executed in a nearby forest.¹¹⁴⁵

Relying on Soviet and Jewish sources, Israeli historian Leonid Smilovitskii (Smilovitsky) has confirmed that the Germans executed priests in a number of towns in northeastern Poland for helping Jews (Brasław, Brześć, Grodno, Wilejka, Mołodeczno, and Pińsk), and identifies some of these priests by name:

[69] Rev. Mieczysław Kubik, the dean and pastor of Nieśwież (formerly rector of the church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord in Nowogródek),

[70] Rev. Michał Dalecki, the dean and pastor of Nowogródek,

[71] Rev. Tadeusz Grzesiak, the pastor of Kleck,

as well as the aforementioned Rev. Władysław Grobelny (of Kobryń) [*supra* 10], Rev. Józef Kuczyński (of Wsielub) [*supra* 37], Rev. Fabian Poczobutt-Odlanicki (of Łunin) [*supra* 16], Rev. Jan Urbanowicz (of Brześć) [*supra* 5], and other priests.¹¹⁴⁶

According to Polish sources, the aforementioned Rev. Kubik, the dean and pastor of Nieśwież, was executed in Baranowicze in 1942 for contacts with partisans and for assisting Jews.¹¹⁴⁷ This information is also confirmed by Józef Halperin, who was imprisoned with Rev. Kubik in Baranowicze.¹¹⁴⁸

[72] Rev. Aleksander Ciszkiwicz, rector of an auxiliary church in Pleszewicze in the parish of Niedźwiedzica (Pińsk diocese), was arrested by the Belorussian police during a hunt for Jews and handed over to the Gestapo. He was executed in Hult 1942 near Nieśwież.¹¹⁴⁹

[73] Rev. Zygmunt Miłkowski, pastor of Wiszniew, was arrested in August for helping Jews and executed

¹¹⁴⁴ George Gorin, ed., *Grayever yizker-bukh (Grayevo Memorial Book)* (New York: United Brayever Relief Committee, 1950), xxxii–xxxiii. Witold Jemielity gives the date of Rev. Pęza’s execution as July 15, 1941—see Witold Jemielity, “Martyrologia księży diecezji łomżyńskiej 1939–1945,” *Rozporządzenia Urzędowe Łomżyńskiej Kurii Diecezjalnej*, no. 8–9 (1974): 53; whereas Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 2, 184 gives the date as August 15, 1943.

¹¹⁴⁵ Stanisław Łukomski, “Wspomnienia,” in *Rozporządzenia urzędowe Łomżyńskiej Kurii Diecezjalnej*, no. 5–7 (May–July) 1974: 62; Witold Jemielity, “Martyrologium księży diecezji łomżyńskiej 1939–1945,” in *Rozporządzenia urzędowe Łomżyńskiej Kurii Diecezjalnej*, no. 8–9 (August–September) 1974: 55; Jan Żaryn, “Przez pomyłkę: Ziemia łomżyńska w latach 1939–1945. Rozmowa z ks. Kazimierzem Łupińskim z parafii Szumowo,” *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 8–9 (September–October 2002): 112–17.

¹¹⁴⁶ See Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.*, 132.

¹¹⁴⁷ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 84; Laryssa Michajlik, “‘Sąsiedzi’ obok ‘sąsiadów’? Ratowanie Żydów przez chrześcijan na terytorium Białorusi w latach 1941–1944,” in Krzysztof Jasiewicz, ed., *Świat niepożegnany: Żydzi na dawnych ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII–XX wieku* (Warsaw and London: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Rytm, and Polonia Aid Foundation Trust, 2004), 737.

¹¹⁴⁸ Józef Halperin, *Ludzie są wszędzie* (Warsaw: ASPRA-JR, 2002), 173.

¹¹⁴⁹ Jasiewicz, *Świat niepożegnany*, 735.

later that year in Wilejka.¹¹⁵⁰

[74] Rev. Antoni Udalski, formerly the pastor of Wołożyn, was transferred to the parish in Soleczniki Wielkie near Wilno in November 1941. He was arrested by Lithuanian police in mid-1942 for helping Jews. He was imprisoned in Wołożyn, and put to death the following year.¹¹⁵¹

[75] Rev. Wincenty Kuras was the director of an institution for orphans and poor children run by the Michaelite Fathers in Dziatkowicze near Kobryń, in Polesie (Polesia), which sheltered six Jews (three children, a tailor and his wife, and a cobbler) and three escaped Soviet prisoners of war. Rev. Kuras was one of some 400 Poles, among them 17 Catholic priests, arrested at the end of June 1942 and imprisoned in Baranowicze. They were executed on July 13, 1942 by the SS and Belorussian police. At the time of his arrest, the three adult Jews at the institution were executed in Dziatkowicze. On the intervention of Countess Helena Jelska, the institution's benefactor, the Jewish children were given over to Jewish families in Połonka. However, the Jews from Połonka were soon executed in July 1942.¹¹⁵²

[76] Rev. Ludwik Peciak, the dean and pastor of the parish in Kołomyja, provided birth certificates to many Jews, among them Mila Sandberg Mesner, Lola Sandberg, Jasia Elberger, and Iser and Toni Reisman. The Reismans were caught by the SS and murdered, and Rev. Peciak's signature on their documents may have led to his arrest in November 1942 by Ukrainian police, who delivered him to the Gestapo. After being imprisoned in the Majdanek concentration camp, he perished in the Flossenbürg concentration camp on April 16, 1943.¹¹⁵³

Many additional cases that cannot be confirmed independently at the present time are recorded by Franciszek Kącki, in his *Udział księży i zakonnic w holokaucie Żydów*, second revised and expanded edition (Warsaw: Adiutor, 2002). Some of the repressions of clergymen attributed to assisting Jews have been disproved or are doubtful. For example, there is the case of the Salesian Fathers from the Ks. Siemca Institute in Warsaw, mentioned in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, p. 352. According to Adina Blady Szwajger, a Jewish woman who worked in the child welfare section of the Central Relief Council housed in the Salesian Fathers' residence, some priests and lay staff suspected of involvement in underground activities were taken away by the Germans in the spring of 1944 without any explanation and hanged in the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto.¹¹⁵⁴ It appears, however, that they were taken to the Pawiak prison and that some of them, like Rev. Stanisław Janik, were subsequently sent to concentration

¹¹⁵⁰ Jasiewicz, *Świat niepożegnany*, 736–77; Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 126, 168, 195; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at p. 656; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 548.

¹¹⁵¹ Threatened with execution under the Soviet occupation, Rev. Udalski was defended by Jews whom he had helped before the war. He assisted Jews on the entry of the Germans in June 1941 and provided them with false baptismal certificates. He baptized a child born to a Jewish mother and Polish father named Dratwicki, which led to his arrest and the arrest of the child's godparents. See Jasiewicz, *Świat niepożegnany*, 737; Tadeusz Krahel, "Ksiądz Antoni Udalski: Zginął za ratowanie Żydów," *W służbie Miłosierdzia* (Białystok), no. 4 (April 2007); Krahel, *Archidiecezja wileńska w latach II wojny światowej*, 126, 166–67, 195; Tadeusz Krahel, "Il salvataggio degli ebrei da parte del clero dell'arcidiocesi di Vilnius nel 1941–1944," in Mikrut, *Perseguitati per la fede*, 643–61, at pp. 655–56; Krahel, *Martyrologia duchowieństwa archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945*, 438–39.

¹¹⁵² Marcin A. Różański, "Ks. Wincenty Kuras zapomniany bohater," *Niedziela*, August 11, 2015; Dymitr Zagacki, "Szlachetne serce księdza Wincentego Kurasa," *Echa Polesia*, August 28, 2016.

¹¹⁵³ Mila Sandberg-Mesner, *Light from the Shadows* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2005), 81, 104–5; Yehudi Lindeman, ed., *Shards of Memory: Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2007), 10.

¹¹⁵⁴ Szwajger, *I Remember Nothing More*, 122–24.

camps.¹¹⁵⁵

Prior to October 15, 1941, when the death penalty was officially decreed in the General Government for any assistance rendered to Jews, members of the clergy were generally deported to concentration camps for their activities on behalf of Jews, e.g., Father Maximilian Kolbe, Father Anicet (Wojciech Kopliński), Rev. Franciszek J. Gabryl of Kraków,¹¹⁵⁶ and Rev. Witold Dziecioł of Kielce.¹¹⁵⁷ Fr. Kolbe and Fr. Anicet perished; the latter two priests survived. A number of other priests who were arrested for assisting Jews survived incarceration in prisons or camps or managed to escape and hide:

- Rev. Julian Chrościcki, pastor of Włochy (a Warsaw suburb), who was active in the Central Relief Council (RGO), was arrested on September 18, 1942 and imprisoned in Pawiak and Majdanek (miraculously, he was released from Majdanek on May 15, 1944)¹¹⁵⁸;
- Rev. Władysław Miś, pastor of All Saints parish in Kraków, was arrested on September 1, 1942 for issuing a false baptismal and birth certificate to a Jewish woman and was sent to Auschwitz. He survived three concentration camps¹¹⁵⁹;
- Rev. Stanisław Szwaja, a catechist, was arrested in Kraków on November 12, 1942 for aiding Jews; he managed to survive four concentration camps (Auschwitz, Gross-Rosen, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau)¹¹⁶⁰;
- Rev. Ignacy Świrski, professor at the Stefan Batory University in Wilno, had to hide from the Germans near the village of Turgiele for two and a half years¹¹⁶¹;
- Rev. Władysław Świder, a vicar at the parish in Mościce on the outskirts of Tarnów, was arrested on March 5, 1943 for providing a birth and baptismal certificate to a Jewish woman named Jersawitz. The woman was executed. Rev. Świder transferred from the prison in Tarnów to Auschwitz concentration camp on May 26, 1943, and then to Dachau concentration camp on September 4, 1943. Fortunately, he survived and saw the liberation of Dachau on April 29, 1945.¹¹⁶²
- Rev. Mieczysław Kmita, curate of a parish church in Białystok, was warned of his impending arrest and fled to Śliwna, where he hid until the end of the war¹¹⁶³;
- Rev. Stanisław Próchniewicz, the pastor of Rozbity Kamień near Sokołów was arrested on

¹¹⁵⁵ Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Cierpiący świadek Chrystusa: Ks. Stanisław Janik (1909–2006), więzień obozów hitlerowskich i komunistycznych," *Nasz Dziennik*, July 7–8, 2007; Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Wychowawca, nauczyciel, więzień PRL—ks. Stanisław Janik SDB (1909–2006), in Gustaw Romanowski, ed., *Bohaterowie trudnych czasów* (Łódź: Biblioteka Urząd Miasta Łodzi, 2006), vol. 2, 30–45.

¹¹⁵⁶ Antoni Gładysz and Andrzej Szymerski, eds., *Biografia byłych więźniów politycznych niemieckich obozów koncentracyjnych*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Promyk, 1972), 70–71. Rev. Gabryl was arrested for having baptized a Jewish convert before the war. After his detention and repeated beatings in Montelupich prison in Kraków, Rev. Gabryl spent three years in Auschwitz and Dachau.

¹¹⁵⁷ Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, 33.

¹¹⁵⁸ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, lxxxiv; Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 43; Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life*, 269.

¹¹⁵⁹ Jacewicz and Woś, *Martyrologium*, vol. 3, 106.

¹¹⁶⁰ Namysłodzió and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej*, 283; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 310.

¹¹⁶¹ Zieliński, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945*, 52; Szymon Datner, "Materiały z dziedziny ratownictwa Żydów w Polsce w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 133–38, at p. 133.

¹¹⁶² Stanisław Sojka, "Śp. Ks. Rektor Władysław Świder (1907–1995)," *Currenda: Pismo Urzędowe Diecezji Tarnowskiej*, no. 4 (1995).

¹¹⁶³ Kazimierz Litwiejko, "Działalność społeczno-oświatowa Kościoła w południowo-zachodniej części archidiecezji wileńskiej 1939–1945," *Nasza przeszłość: Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce* (Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Księży Misjonarzy), no. 81 (1994): 303.

September 13, 1943, along with the organist and several parishioners, on suspicion of sheltering and helping escaped Soviet prisoners of war and Jews. He was taken to Pawiak prison in Warsaw but released on October 6, 1943, probably for lack of evidence.¹¹⁶⁴

Wacław Zajączkowski, in his *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, at page 257 (Entry 591), as well as Szymon Datner, in *Las sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1968), at page 103, list the names of eight Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul who were executed in Warsaw's Wola district in August 1944 for refusing to surrender the Jewish children who were housed in their children's shelter on Dzielna Street, which was later transferred to the vicinity of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the New Town:

[1] Zofia Dziewanowska,

[2] Helena Jezierska,

[3] Zofia Kowalczyk,

[4] Anna Apolonia Motz,

[5] Maria (Marianna) Nadolska,

[6] Józefa Ogrodowicz,

[7] Aurelia Pomierny, the superior, and

[8] Maria Florentyna Wilman.

According to other sources, the nuns refused to leave the shelter and abandon their charges, who included both Christian and Jewish children.¹¹⁶⁵

Other nuns listed by Zajączkowski:

[9] & [10] Two Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary—Kazimiera Wołowska (Sister Maria Marta of Jesus), the superior of the convent, and Bogumiła Noiszewska (Sister Maria Ewa of Providence), a medical doctor—were arrested in Słonim (voivodship of Nowogródek) on December 18, 1942 for sheltering Jews in the convent and on its grounds. They were executed the following day in a mass execution of several hundred Poles together with the Jesuit priest, Fr. Adam Sztark, administrator of Żyrowice parish and chaplain of the Sisters' convent in Słonim, who had brought Jewish children to the convent (Entries 463 and 702).¹¹⁶⁶ Their story is detailed earlier on.

[11] Sister Jadwiga Assadowska, the superior of the convent of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in Wołkowysk near Białystok in eastern Poland, was repeatedly arrested on suspicion of assisting Jews and others (Entry 663).

Another nun who paid with her life for sheltering Poles and Jews escaping to Hungary across the nearby Polish-Slovak border was [12] Sister Maria Klemensa (Helena Staszewska), the superior of a convent of the Ursulines of the Roman Union in Rokiciny Podhalańskie near Rabka. She was arrested by the Gestapo

¹¹⁶⁴ Engelking, Leociak, and Libionka, *Prowincja noc*, 498, n.215 and Engelking and Grabowski, *Zarys krajobrazu*, 174, based on information published in *Agencja Informacyjna Wieś*, September 28, 1943 (no. 36), 4; Zbigniew Wąsowski, Tomasz Jaszczolt, and Grzegorz Wierzbicki, *Monografia parafii Rozbity Kamień* (Rozbity Kamień: Parafia Rzymskokatolicka pod wezwaniem św. Trójcy, 2004), 38.

¹¹⁶⁵ Jadwiga Kisielewska, "Heroiczne zaangażowanie Sióstr Miłosierdzia św. Wincentego a Paulo prowincji warszawskiej w dzieło ratowania ludności żydowskiej w czasie II wojny światowej," *Życie Konsekwane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 78–85, at p. 80.

¹¹⁶⁶ See also Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 385–86, 390–91; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysłó, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 247–49.

on January 26, 1943, and perished in Auschwitz on July 27 of that year.¹¹⁶⁷

Sister Maria Julia, born Stanisława Rodzińska, the superior of a Dominican convent and director of an orphanage in Wilno, was arrested on July 12, 1943. She was imprisoned in Pravieniškės (Prowieniszki) outside Kaunas, and then in Stutthof concentration camp where she died of typhus on February 20, 1945. She shared her meagre food rations with fellow prisoners in the Jewish barracks and, according to a Jewish inmate, lifted their spirits by her inner strength.¹¹⁶⁸

It should be borne in mind that Catholic priests and nuns constituted a small yet representative portion of Polish rescuers who were punished by the Germans for helping Jews. German law extended the threat of the death penalty not only to those who sheltered or assisted Jews in any way, but also to those who knew about a hidden Jew and did not report it to the authorities.¹¹⁶⁹ In total, possibly several thousand Christian Poles—men, women and children, entire families and even whole communities—were tortured to death, summarily executed, or burned alive for rendering assistance to Jews. Some 800 cases of Poles being put to death for helping Jews have been documented, though the list is still far from complete, and hundreds more were sent to concentration camps.¹¹⁷⁰ The fact that Poles faced death at the hands of the German invaders for helping Jews is virtually ignored or downplayed by many historians and mentioned reluctantly in Jewish sources. To their great shame, the Jews have made no effort to identify these Polish martyrs and commemorate them.

¹¹⁶⁷ Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 445–51; Klemensa Misiurewicz, “Postawa Sióstr Urszulanek Unii Rzymskiej w czasie II wojny światowej wobec osób potrzebujących pomocy,” *Życie Konsekrowane*, nos. 3–4 (131–132) (2018): 131–39, at pp. 136–38. The nuns also operated a shelter for children from Warsaw with tuberculosis, among them Jewish children, which was shut down in July 1942. The transit point from the smuggling operation was located in Raba Wyżna, a village near the Slovak border, and was overseen by Rev. Stanisław Kądziołka, the local vicar, who acted as a liaison between the escapees and the smugglers. Rev. Kądziołka was arrested in September 1942, in a sweep of those involved in the transborder smuggling operation. He was imprisoned in Auschwitz and other camps, but survived. See Aleksander Marczyński, “Udział duchowieństwa w walce z okupantem w Górcach i Beskidach w latach 1939 do 1945,” *Nasza przeszłość: Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce* (Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Księży Misjonarzy), no. 67 (1987): 197–236, at pp. 202, 223–24.

¹¹⁶⁸ Moroz and Datko, *Męczennicy za wiarę 1939–1945*, 282–85. See also Justyna Mirosława Dombek, *Moc w słabości: Życie i męczeństwo bł. Julii Stanisławy Rodzińskiej, dominikanki*, 2nd expanded ed. (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Karmelitów Bosych, 2006).

¹¹⁶⁹ For the relevant German ordinances see Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 632–34, 639–44. For example, the announcement issued by the Kreishauptmann of Dębica county on November 19, 1942 stated: “The Security Police will take measures against anyone who learns of a Jew staying outside a camp without authorization and fails to notify the police.” The measures for failing to notify the police of any Jew in hiding entailed deportation to a concentration camp. *Ibid.*, 643–44. For an in-depth analysis of the laws and measures implemented by the Germans in the *Generalgouvernement* against Poles coming to the aid of Jews see Bogdan Musiał, *Kto dopomoże Żydowi...* (Poznań: Zysk, 2019).

¹¹⁷⁰ See the following publications on this topic: Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers’ Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), 184–85; Waław Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), Part One; Waław Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce–Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1987); Maria Pilarska, ed., *Those Who Helped: Polish Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (Warsaw: The Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against the Polish Nation–The Institute of National Memory and The Polish Society For the Righteous Among Nations), Part I (1993), Part II (1996), and Part III (1997). A portion of the last of the above publications is reproduced in Appendix B in Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939–1944*, Second revised edition (New York: Hippocrene, 1997), and an extensive list of Polish victims also appears in Tadeusz Piotrowski, *Poland’s Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918–1947* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 1998), 119–23. See also Anna Poray, *Those Who Risked Their Lives* (n.p.: Anna Poray, 2007), which is posted online as *Polish Righteous: Those Who Risked Their Lives*, Internet: <<http://www.savingjews.org/>>. For more recent efforts to document the extent of this phenomenon by Poland’s Institute of National Remembrance see Aleksandra Namysło and Grzegorz Berendt, eds., *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2014), which is available on the Internet at: <https://arch.ipn.gov.pl/ftp/pamiec_ebooki/REJESTR_faktow_Represji.pdf>; Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Aleksandra Namysło, eds., *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2019). The latter publication, which is the first volume of a series of such publications, chronicles the fate of 654 persons subjected to repressions for helping Jews.

Western Europeans very rarely faced the prospect of death for helping Jews. Public executions of those caught helping Jews were unheard of. Occasionally, rescuers were deported to concentration camps. Some Holocaust historians who deprecate Polish rescue efforts, like Lucy Dawidowicz, have attempted to argue that essentially there was no difference in the penalty that Poles and Western Europeans—she mentions the Dutch specifically—faced for helping Jews.¹¹⁷¹ However, the sources on which Dawidowicz relies belie this claim. The preeminent Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg described the situation that prevailed in the Netherlands as follows: “If caught, they did not have to fear an automatic death penalty. Thousands were arrested for hiding Jews or Jewish belongings, but it was German policy to detain such people only for a relatively short time in a camp within the country, and in serious cases to confiscate their property.”¹¹⁷²

Helping Jews was not outlawed in Denmark, and virtually no Dane faced punishment on this account. According to a Danish historian, not one of the 600–700 illegal transports carrying Jewish refugees was seized by German police at sea. “Rescuers caught by the Gestapo were handed over to the Danish courts to be charged with assisting illegal migration. The maximum penalty was three months imprisonment, under relatively lenient conditions, in a Danish prison. Most of the cases, however, never came to court, or court officials let the rescuers slip away through the back door. Thus the rescuers faced only very limited sanctions. Contrary to myth, the rescuers did not risk their lives to save the Jews. Neither did they risk deportation to German concentration camps. Persons who participated in the rescue in October 1943, and continued working with illegal routes, risked arrest, prison, and deportation. Some later had to escape to Sweden. But no one was deported to a German concentration camp solely for helping Jews.”¹¹⁷³ Nor was helping Jews outlawed in Italy.¹¹⁷⁴ Similarly, there were no specific ordinances or legislation against the hiding of Jews in France.¹¹⁷⁵ Since arbitrary acts carried out by the Germans beyond legislative norms for such activities were rare, the risk of punishment was negligible. In the Netherlands, where conditions were the harshest in Western Europe, short-term (up to six months) “protective custody” was imposed for sheltering Jews. In many cases, however, those who were caught harbouring Jews, even repeatedly, were left at liberty. Only in severe cases were offenders sent to concentration camps.¹¹⁷⁶ In Belgium, a decree of June 1, 1942 warned the local population against sheltering Jews under punishment with “imprisonment and a fine.”¹¹⁷⁷ While many Dutch non-Jews were imprisoned for helping Jews, few Belgians were.

Nor is there evidence of any death penalty being issued for helping Jews within Germany proper. According to a German historian, “German law did not specifically prohibit helping Jews. . . . In cases of

¹¹⁷¹ Lucy C. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), 166.

¹¹⁷² Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York: Aaron Asher Books/Harper Collins, 1992), 210–11.

¹¹⁷³ Sofie Lene Bak, “Between Tradition and New Departure: The Dilemmas of Collaboration in Denmark,” in Roni Stauber, ed., *Collaboration with the Nazis: Public Discourse After the Holocaust* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 110–24, at p. 116; Sofie Lene Bak, Sofie Lene Bak, “From Rescue to Escape in 1943: On a Path to De-victimizing Danish Jews,” in Marie Louise Seeberg, Irene Levin & Claudia Lenz, eds., *The Holocaust as Active Memory: The Past in the Present* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 139–52, at p. 143.

¹¹⁷⁴ Silvano Longhi, *Die Juden und der Widerstand gegen den Faschismus in Italien (1943–1945)* (Berlin and Münster: Lit, 2010), 97.

¹¹⁷⁵ Moore, *Survivors*, 121. However, other laws could be invoked to prosecute and imprison those involved, such as providing or using false papers, or illegally crossing the demarcation line. In practice, those caught helping Jews could face three months’ internment.

¹¹⁷⁶ Marnix Croes, “The Holocaust in the Netherlands and the Rate of Jewish Survival,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 20, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 474–99.

¹¹⁷⁷ Mordechai Paldiel, *Churches and the Holocaust: Unholy Teaching, Good Samaritans, and Reconciliation* (Jersey City, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 2006), 131–32.

violation, the non-Jewish German party was threatened with protective custody or three months in a concentration camp.”¹¹⁷⁸ Moreover, unlike in occupied Poland, a significant group of people defined as “mixed race” (*Mischlinge*) and Jews in mixed marriages could escape most of the Nazi regime’s anti-Semitic policies, provided they and their children did not practice the Jewish faith.¹¹⁷⁹ Tellingly, approximately 4,700 Jews married to non-Jews lived legally in Berlin throughout the war.¹¹⁸⁰ Likewise, in Austria no specific penalty was legally established for concealing Jews, yet rescue efforts there, as in Germany proper, were exceedingly rare.¹¹⁸¹ The death penalty was also found on the books in several jurisdictions such as Serbia,¹¹⁸² Greece,¹¹⁸³ Norway,¹¹⁸⁴ and the Czech Protectorate,¹¹⁸⁵ though not specifically for helping Jews but for other crimes such as use of illegal documents or illegal border crossing, however, it was rarely used. Such laxity was virtually unheard of in occupied Poland, where the death penalty was meted out with utmost rigour. Several Norwegian resistance fighters were executed for helping Jews to escape to Sweden, and a number of persons were imprisoned.¹¹⁸⁶ Several dozen individuals in the Czech Protectorate were charged by Nazi special courts and sentenced to death.¹¹⁸⁷ Occasionally, rescuers were put to death in Lithuania (approximately a dozen), Latvia (83 helpers), and in

¹¹⁷⁸ Beate Kosmala, “Facing Deportation in Germany, 1941–1945: Jewish and Non-Jewish Responses,” in Beate Kosmala and Feliks Tych, eds., *Facing the Nazi Genocide: Non-Jews and Jews in Europe* (Berlin: Metropol, 2004), 35. According to another source, “Hiding Jews was not specifically outlawed, only the broader crime of *Judenbegünstigung* (“privileged treatment of Jews”) was. The punishment for helping Jews varied considerably, ranging from incarceration in a concentration camp, to shorter prison sentences, to fines, to—sometimes—nothing at all. See Richard N. Lutjens, Jr., “Jews in Hiding in Nazi Berlin, 1941–1945: A Demographic Survey,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (August 2017): 268–97.

¹¹⁷⁹ Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939–1945* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Books, 2008), 70–71, 251, 272–73.

¹¹⁸⁰ Richard N. Lutjens, Jr., “Jews in Hiding in Nazi Berlin, 1941–1945: A Demographic Survey,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 31, no. 2 (August 2017): 268–97.

¹¹⁸¹ Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 8: *Europe (Part I) and Other Countries* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), xxix, liii.

¹¹⁸² Raphaël Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944; Clark, New Jersey: The Law Book Exchange, 2005), 77.

¹¹⁸³ Iason Chandrinos and Anna Maria Droumpouki, “The German Occupation and the Holocaust in Greece: A Survey,” in Giorgos Antoniou and A. Dirk Moses, eds., *The Holocaust in Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 15–35, at p. 27.

¹¹⁸⁴ The Norwegian decree penalized entering or leaving Norway without permission. It did not mention Jews specifically. See Samuel Abrahamsen, *Norway’s Response to the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991), 20.

¹¹⁸⁵ After the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich, on Hitler’s orders Kurt Daluege issued a decree on July 3, 1942, directed primarily against the anti-German underground, to punish by death those who harboured elements hostile to the Reich. Those sentenced by Special Courts in Prague and Brno were cited in the press and over the radio. More than a dozen of those executed in Prague’s Pankrác prison, described as destructive elements (*Volkschädlinge*), were killed for helping Jews and thus “sabotaging the German order for the solution of the Jewish question.” See Livia Rothkirchen, “The Protectorate Government and the ‘Jewish Question’ 1939–1941,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 27 (1999): 331–62. According to an earlier article, the ordinance established “the death penalty for anyone aiding or failing to report persons engaged in activities hostile to the Reich, including sheltering Jews.” See Livia Rothkirchen, “Czech Attitudes towards the Jews during the Nazi Regime,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 13 (1979): 287–320, at p. 314.

¹¹⁸⁶ Mordecai Paldiel, *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (Hoboken, New Jersey: KTAV Publishing House; New York: The Jewish Foundation for Christian Rescuers, 1993), 365–66.

¹¹⁸⁷ Livia Rothkirchen, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: Facing the Holocaust* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2005), 218–27, 303–304. For a list of persons executed on charges of harbouring Jews, see *Heroes and Victims* (London: Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Service, 1945).

the German-occupied areas of the Soviet Union.¹¹⁸⁸

¹¹⁸⁸ Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2003), 326–27 (Lithuania); Jan Mikrut, ed., *Perseguitati per la fede: Le vittime del Nazionalsocialismo in Europa centro-orientale* (San Pietro in Cariano (Verona): Gabrielli, 2019), 530 (Latvia); Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 428, 438. See also Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 111–18, 284–86, 294, 295, for some other examples.

Collective Rescue Efforts of Polish Christians

There is no direct correlation between survival rates of Jews from a particular country and rescue efforts in that country. Survival often depended on factors other than rescue inside a particular country. Forced emigration of Jews from Germany and Austria continued until 1941, allowing tens of thousands of Jews to seek refuge elsewhere. A total of 26,000 Jews left the Czech Protectorate legally from 1939 to 1941.¹¹⁸⁹ Many Jews from other countries were able to flee in time or, in the case of the Soviet Union, tens of thousands of Jews were “saved” by being deported to the Gulag or moving into the Soviet interior. Once the Germans arrived, escape was more problematic but not impossible provided there was a safe haven nearby, which was not often the case. Tens of thousand of Jews were smuggled out of danger zones by smugglers, usually for payment. However, countries of destination like neutral Switzerland often turned Jews away. In the case of Denmark, the Germans reached an agreement with Sweden to accept Danish Jews. Danish fishermen were then mobilized by the underground to transport Jews by boat to Sweden, for hefty payments. Because of German collusion in this scheme, there was virtually no risk for the rescuers or the fugitives. The rescue was orchestrated by the German authorities (and not in defiance of them), largely financed by the Jews themselves, and carried out by well-compensated Danish fishermen without any risk to their safety.¹¹⁹⁰ In most countries, though not in occupied Poland, certain categories of Jews were exempted or

¹¹⁸⁹ Legal emigration from the Czech Protectorate counted 19,016 in 1939, 6,176 in 1940, 535 in 1941, and 93 the following two years. Jews also fled the Protectorate illegally, above all to Poland and, after Poland was occupied, to Slovakia. It is estimated that a total of 30,000 Jews fled the Protectorate in all. See Livia Rothkirchen, “The Protectorate Government and the ‘Jewish Question’ 1939–1941,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 27 (1999): 331–62.

¹¹⁹⁰ Until the fall of 1943 Danish Jews were unmolested. SS general Dr. Werner Best, the German in charge in Denmark, gave a free hand to Georg Ferdinand Duckwitz, the maritime attaché at the German embassy in Copenhagen, to do whatever was necessary to derail the planned deportation of the Jews. Duckwitz flew to Sweden, where he secretly met with President Per Albin Hansson. The Swedish president assured him that should the action against the Danish Jews take place, Sweden would in principle be ready to admit them. When the round-up of Jews was about to begin, Duckwitz made his way back to Sweden to alert the Swedish government to be ready to admit the fleeing Jews. The local German naval command warned the Danish underground of the impending fate of the Jews, disabled the German harbour patrol, and turned a blind eye to the rescue operation. The Jews who were transported to Sweden by Danish boatmen were allowed entry. Since the rescue operation took place with the connivance of the local German naval command, there were no casualties either among the Jews or among the boatmen. During the initial stages of the rescue operation, only well-to-do Danish Jews could afford the short passage to Sweden. Private boatmen set their own price and the costs were prohibitive, ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 kroner per person (\$160 to \$1600 U.S. in the currency of that period). Afterward, when organized Danish rescue groups stepped in to coordinate the flight and to collect funds, the average price per person fell to 2,000 and then 500 kroner. The total cost of the rescue operation was about 12 million kroner, of which the Jews paid about 7 million kroner, including a 750,000 kroner loan which the Jews had to repay after the war. See Mordecai Paldiel, *The Righteous Among the Nations* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: Collins, 2007), 105–9; Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969), 261–65, 269. As Sofie Lene Bak’s *Nothing to Speak of: Wartime Experiences of the Danish Jews 1943–1945* (Copenhagen: Danish Jewish Museum, 2011) makes clear, “it can no longer be ignored that money was the hinge on which the whole escape apparatus turned.” Money was needed to organize the fishermen and their boats and ensure there were enough of them. The price was based on supply and demand. Some fishermen earned a fortune at the Jews’ expense. The average price was 1,000 kroner per person. There were some payments of 50,000 kroner, but an average of 10,000 kroner for a family of four people. The monthly wage for a skilled worker in 1943 was 414 kroner. However, in the case of Denmark, charging these exorbitant amounts has been justified. We are told that the demands for payment must be viewed in relation to the danger of the crossing, the risks of losing their boats, which would bring a loss of earnings, and the ability to support their families, as well as the possibilities of arrest. However, there were no Germans policing the strait between Denmark and Sweden during October 1943, and not a single boat with Jewish refugees was captured at sea by the Germans. The Danish rescue is universally extolled without reference to the minimal risk it entailed for the rescuers and the handsome compensation they took. Holocaust historians usually suppress the information about the large payments made for this rescue operation (though not about impoverished Poles who demanded payment from Jews). See, for example, Peter Hayes, *Why?: Explaining the Holocaust* (New York and London: Norton, 2017), 237–38; Laurence Rees, *The Holocaust: A New History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2017), 338–41. Conversely, the Polish rescue effort is deprecated without reference to the death penalty the Germans imposed on the Poles for providing any form of assistance and the fact that hundreds if not thousands of Poles paid with their lives for this “crime.” See, for example, Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009), 64, 390–91. (At the same time, Evans downplays German guilt. *Ibid.*, 555, 560.) Pointedly, Danish journalist and researcher Bo Lidegaard rejects those who would hold other European nations in opprobrium for not saving their Jews: “The history of the Holocaust tells a different story, and the terms of occupation, local conditions, and much else differed radically from place to place and over time, making the situation unique in each case. The special Danish example cannot be used to reproach others who experienced the German occupation under far worse conditions than Denmark.” See Bo Lidegaard, *Countrymen* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 348.

protected from German genocidal measures.¹¹⁹¹

In the case of Poland, where the German occupation lasted the longest and was the harshest, all the cards were stacked against Jewish survival. The existence of a national government (even a collaborationist one), or lack of one, made a very significant difference in survival rates. In Poland and the German-occupied Soviet territories, where no national governments existed, Jews had the least protection.¹¹⁹² According to Laurence Rees, “it is a serious mistake to assume that the amount of pre-existing anti-Semitism in any country is a guide to the level of subsequent Jewish suffering under the Nazis. Other factors, such as the type of Nazi governance, the continuing presence of a functioning system of administration and the degree to which the Nazis desired to undertake anti-Semitic persecution within that specific territory all played an important role.”¹¹⁹³ Widespread poverty and poor living conditions also impacted the ability to shelter and feed Jews. Poland was one of the poorest countries in Europe, and conditions deteriorated significantly under German rule. In Warsaw, 75 percent of all abodes consisted of just one room. In the countryside, half of the houses had but one room, usually with an earthen floor, no running water or electricity, and an average occupancy of five people per room. (While almost 70 percent of abodes in Poland consisted of one or two rooms, in Germany 80 percent of abodes consisted of three or four rooms.)¹¹⁹⁴

Yet Poland is frequently compared to Western Europe where conditions were dramatically different. Affluent Denmark enjoyed a fairly tranquil occupation, with extremely few civilian losses—far fewer than London, England, which was bombed by the Germans but never occupied. The only occupied country that was permitted to retain its government, Denmark was Germany’s “model protectorate.” It cooperated to the fullest with Nazi Germany economically and provided large numbers of recruits to support the German war effort. German soldiers were sent there for rest and recreation. British and American airmen shot down over Denmark were routinely handed over by the Danes until the tide of the war turned against the Germans.¹¹⁹⁵ The Germans interfered very little in its internal affairs and remarkably the standard of living actually improved during the war.¹¹⁹⁶ As historian István Deák points out, “in general, Denmark remained serene and peaceful to the end, to the great benefit of the civilian population—and of the German war industry. . . . if everybody in German-occupied Europe had behaved the way the Danes did, the war would have lasted much longer.”¹¹⁹⁷ As another astute observer has pointed out, there is no way of knowing how the Danes would have behaved had they faced a brutal occupation that was comparable to that faced by the Poles.¹¹⁹⁸

Another important factor was the nature of the punishment imposed by the German authorities for helping Jews, or lack thereof. As mentioned earlier, there were no specific laws penalizing non-Jews who aided Jews in Denmark, Italy, German-occupied France or even Germany, for that matter. Since arbitrary acts carried out by the Germans beyond legislative norms for such activities were rare, the risk of punishment was negligible. In the Netherlands and Belgium, a short-term of imprisonment of no more than three months could be imposed for those caught sheltering Jews, but in many if not most cases, no penalty was imposed. In some countries, like Norway, Serbia and the Czech Protectorate, the death penalty was decreed for helping Jews, but rarely carried out. (Most of the executions

¹¹⁹¹ Chrisrian Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 103, 111–13, 118, 165, 168, 236, 384, 388, 389, 409–10, 448.

¹¹⁹² Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, 386.

¹¹⁹³ Rees, *The Holocaust*, 186.

¹¹⁹⁴ Józef Kобрzyński, “Materiały I Kongresu Mieszkaniowego,” *Opiekun Społeczny*, no. 2 (1938): 16–18.

¹¹⁹⁵ Anders Bjørnvad, *De fandt en vej: Den allierede overflyvning af Danmark under besættelsen og hjælpen til nedstyrtede britiske og amerikanske flyvere* [*They Found a Way: Allied Flights over Occupied Denmark and Assistance to Downed British and American Airmen*] (Odense: Odense University Press, 1970).

¹¹⁹⁶ Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Holocaust: A History* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 153.

¹¹⁹⁷ István Deák, *Europe on Trial: The Story of Collaboration, Resistance, and Retribution During World War II* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2015), 134.

¹¹⁹⁸ Laurence Rees, *Auschwitz: A New History* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 217. According to Rudy Bier, a rescued Danish Jew, “I always maintain that if the Germans had wanted to stop that operation they could have done it extremely easily, because the whole of the water between Denmark and Sweden is not all that wide, nor that long, and with four or five motor torpedo boats the whole operation would have gone flat.” *Ibid.*, 216.

occurred in the Czech Protectorate.) In occupied Poland, any form of assistance to Jews, and even not reporting the presence of Jews, was punishable by death. Around 800 such cases have been documented, and there were likely many more. Historian István Deák has summed up the argument against comparing conditions in Western Europe with those in Poland tersely and compellingly:

*The penalty for assisting or even trading with a Jew in German-occupied Poland was death, a fact that makes all comparisons between wartime Polish-Jewish relations and, say, Danish-Jewish relations blatantly unfair. Yet such comparisons are made again and again in Western histories—and virtually always to the detriment of the Poles, with scarce notice taken of the 50,000 to 100,000 Jews said to have been saved by the efforts of Poles to hide or otherwise help them ... one must not ignore the crucial differences between wartime conditions in Eastern and Western Europe.*¹¹⁹⁹

Thus, local conditions played an important role in rescue, including the preventative and punitive measures in place, the extent and duration of German control, and the commitment or capabilities of the rescuers. While rescue took various forms (for example, providing false identity documents, funds or food), long-term clandestine shelter was undoubtedly the most demanding and precarious form of rescue. Long-term sheltering of Jewish fugitives was exceedingly rare in most countries. Historians have even spoken of a “saturation point” for Jews in hiding.¹²⁰⁰ In Norway, with a population of three million people, only about 40 Jews survived in hiding in this manner. Almost 95 percent of those who did not manage to flee the country were caught by the Norwegian police and handed over to the German authorities for deportation to concentration camps. Fewer than a hundred Jews survived in hiding inside Denmark, a country of almost four million people, while at least 130 Jews who remained behind after the evacuation of Jews to Sweden were betrayed. These Jews were handed over to the Germans by the Danish police and deported to concentration camps.¹²⁰¹ In the Czech-populated areas, with a population of some seven million people, “At the end of the war, it is estimated that about 424 persons survived ‘underground’ in Bohemia and Moravia, some hiding with Czech friends and acquaintances, and others living under assumed names or with forged Christian papers.”¹²⁰²

Those who actively helped to hide Jews in Poland were, as in all countries under German control, a minority. Those who extended help in other way were far more numerous. However, all the institutions of power were stacked against them—on the side of the persecutors. All the more reason not to diminish efforts short of actually hiding Jews that helped to prolong the lives of Jews. Given that leading Holocaust historians have argued that the most effective form of resistance for Jews in ghettos was food smuggling,¹²⁰³ the widespread participation of Poles in illegal trade with Jews, when that activity was punishable by death, is no less commendable than the Danish boatmen’s transporting of Jews to Sweden for substantial payment. It must also be stressed that next to the Jews and Roma, ethnic Poles were the most persecuted and most impoverished group under German occupation. Their ability to extend help to anyone was thus severely circumscribed. Yet the hard evidence shows that Poles, both numerically and proportionately, were the most likely to help Jews in all of Europe. Polish historians Władysław Bartoszewski and Teresa Prekerowa have estimated that several hundred thousand Poles were involved in assisting Jews in various ways. According to Marcin Urynowicz, the most likely number of Polish rescuers is around 300,000.¹²⁰⁴ Thus

¹¹⁹⁹ István Deák, “Memories of Hell,” *The New York Review of Books*, June 26, 1997.

¹²⁰⁰ Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, 441.

¹²⁰¹ Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 81, 96.

¹²⁰² Livia Rothkirchen, “Czech Attitudes towards the Jews during the Nazi Regime,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 13 (1979): 287–320, at 314.

¹²⁰³ Hayes, *Why?*, 193.

¹²⁰⁴ Władysław Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us: Pages from the History of Help to the Jews in Occupied Poland* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1970), 222; Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939–1944* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 150; Marcin Urynowicz, “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej,” in Andrzej Żbikowski, ed., *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945: Studia i materiały* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2006), 209–79, at pp. 254–55, 278; Marcin Urynowicz, “Organized and Individual Assistance of Poles for Jewish People Exterminated by the German Occupants in the Second World War,” in Martyna Grądzka-Rejak and Adam Sitarek, eds., *The Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Relations: Selected Issues* (Warsaw: The Institute of National Remembrance—Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation, 2018), 245–58, at pp. 320–21, 357.

attempts to reduce Polish rescue simply to the 7,100 persons recognized by Yad Vashem (as of January 1, 2020) must be dismissed as ill-informed. As Marcin Urynowicz has pointed out, only a very small percentage of Poles identified as helpers in Jewish testimonies have been recognized by Yad Vashem.

The most comprehensive research regarding rescue in Warsaw was conducted by Gunnar S. Paulsson, who summarized some his findings in an article entitled, "The Rescue of Jews by Non-Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland," which appeared in *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, volume 7, nos. 1 & 2 (summer/autumn 1998): pp. 19–44.

In the league of people who are known to have risked their lives to rescue Jews, Poland stands at the very top, accounting for more than a third of all the 'Righteous Gentiles'. ...

Of the 27,000 Jewish fugitives in Warsaw, 17,000 were still alive 15 months after the destruction of the ghetto, on the eve of the Polish uprising in 1944. Of the 23,500 who were not drawn in by the Hotel Polski scheme, 17,000 survived until then. Of these 17,000, 5,000 died in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, and about 10,500 were still alive at liberation. ...

As it happens, there is an excellent standard of comparison, because it is estimated that in the Netherlands, 20–25,000 Jews went into hiding—about the same number as in Warsaw—of whom 10–15,000 survived—again, about the same number. ... The conclusion, then, is quite startling: leaving aside acts of war and Nazi perfidy, a Jew's chances of survival in hiding were no worse in Warsaw, at any rate, than in the Netherlands. ...

The small number of survivors, therefore, is not a direct result of Polish hostility to the Jews ... The Jews were deported from the ghettos to the death camps, not by Poles, but by German gendarmes, reinforced by Ukrainian and Baltic auxiliaries, and with the enforced co-operation of the ghetto police. Neither the Polish police nor any group of Polish civilians was involved in the deportations to any significant degree, nor did they staff the death camps. Nor did the fate of the Jews who were taken to their deaths depend to any significant degree on the attitudes and actions of a people from whom they were isolated by brick walls and barbed wire. ...

The 27,000 Jews in hiding in Warsaw relied on about 50–60,000 people who provided hiding-places and another 20–30,000 who provided other forms of help; on the other hand, blackmailers, police agents, and other actively anti-Jewish elements numbered perhaps 2–3,000, each striking at two or three victims a month. In other words, helpers outnumbered hunters by about 20 or 30 to one. The active helpers of Jews thus made up seven to nine per cent of the population of Warsaw; the Jews themselves, 2.7 per cent; the hunters, perhaps 0.3 per cent; and the whole network—Jews, helpers and hunters—constituted a secret city of at least 100,000: one tenth of the people of Warsaw; more than twice as many as the 40,000 members of the vaunted Polish military underground, the AK [Armia Krajowa or Home Army]. ...

How many people in Poland rescued Jews? Of those that meet Yad Vashem's criteria—perhaps 100,000. Of those that offered minor forms of help—perhaps two or three times as many. Of those who were passively protective—undoubtedly the majority of the population. All these acts, great and small, were necessary to rescue Jews in Poland.

A further study of this topic by Gunnar S. Paulsson appeared in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, volume 13 (2000), at pages 78–103, under the title "The Demography of Jews in Hiding in Warsaw, 1943–1945." Paulsson wrote at pages 96 and 99:

For the sake of comparison, the case of the Netherlands might be examined. There, 20,000–25,000 Jews are estimated to have gone into hiding, mainly in Amsterdam, of whom 10,000–15,000 survived the war. The overall survival rate in Holland was thus 40–60 percent, and in Warsaw, after levelling the playing field, notionally 55–75 percent. Thus the attrition rate among Jews in hiding in Warsaw was relatively low, contrary to expectation and contemporary perceptions. The main obstacles to Jewish survival in Warsaw are seen to have been the Hotel Polski trap and the 1944 uprising and its aftermath, rather than the possibility of discovery or betrayal.

Despite frequent house searches and the prevailing Nazi terror in Warsaw (conditions absent in the Netherlands), and despite extortionists, blackmailers, and antisemitic traditions (much less widespread in the Netherlands), the chance that a Jew in hiding would be betrayed seems to have been lower in Warsaw than in the Netherlands.

... it is clear that Warsaw was the most important centre of rescue activity, certainly in Poland and probably in the whole of occupied Europe. The city accounted for perhaps a quarter of all Jews in hiding in Poland ... The 27,000 Jews in hiding there also constituted undoubtedly the largest group of its kind in Europe ...

See also the following studies by the same author:

Gunnar S. Paulsson, "Evading the Holocaust: The Unexplored Continent of Holocaust Historiography," in John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, eds., *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), volume 1, pp. 302–318;

Gunnar S. Paulsson, "Ringelblum Revisited: Polish-Jewish Relations in Occupied Warsaw, 1940–1945," in Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed., *Contested Memories: Poles and Jews During the Holocaust and Its Aftermath* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2003), pp. 173–92

Gunnar S. Paulsson, *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, 1940–1945* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

Out of approximately 23 million ethnic Poles in 1939, at least two million perished during the war. Some three million ethnic Poles languished in camps and prisons or were deported to Germany as forced labor and to the Gulag. Thus, the remaining population was about 18 million, twice that of the Netherlands. As of January 1, 2019, Yad Vashem bestowed the distinction of “Righteous Among the Nations” on 6,992 Poles, who form the single largest national group honoured by that institution.¹²⁰⁵ (In total, 27,362 persons have been officially recognized as “Righteous Gentiles” as of January 1, 2019, a quarter of whom are Poles.) But that is just the tip of the iceberg. The vast majority of Poles who extended assistance to Jews are now deceased, having died in poverty, and were never recognized by Yad Vashem. In many cases, their Jewish aid recipients severed contact with their rescuers and did not undertake their recognition by Yad Vashem. In some cases, they did not support the rescuers’ request for recognition.¹²⁰⁶

Most Jews who survived the war hiding in Poland received assistance of various sorts from at least several persons, and in many cases from a larger number of Poles. Most of that help was casual or short term, and very often came from complete strangers. That type of assistance is the least likely to be acknowledged since the benefactors are rarely known by name and no effort has been made by Holocaust commemoration and research institutions to identify them. The following survivors attest to their experiences in this regard:

- Leonia Jabłonka (Maria Leonia Jabłonkówna), a stage director and theatre critic, credited some fifty Poles with saving her life.¹²⁰⁷ She wrote: “I am one of those persons who has a particular reason for making a declaration because my survival and health during the ‘days of contempt’ I owe not only to a single individual from among my closest friends but to a whole phalanx representing the most diverse social circles—people, often complete strangers, who, by exposing their own lives rendered me help and offered refuge during the entire occupation. Many of them remained anonymous; their behaviour was not guided by any personal friendliness to me—they were quite unknown to me—or even less by any prospects of return in the future. They followed the impulses of their heart and the dictate of their consciences in the name of fraternal solidarity, inflexible resistance to force and barbarity, in the name of mankind. The help I had was so general, it was manifested so invariably through every stage of the growing terror, that it must be acknowledged as a reflection of the general attitude of the entire Polish society.”¹²⁰⁸
- In an open letter to B’nai B’rith dated February 7, 1996, Joseph F. Kutrzeba wrote: “This may still be a very conservative view, for it is generally ascertained that it was impossible for anyone to singly save a Jew during World War II in Poland; rather, it had taken the cooperation of a number of persons to achieve this—Poland being the only country in Nazi-occupied Europe where a death penalty was mandated for assisting a Jew in any way. In my own case, it had taken the cooperation of nine persons to save my life, not including some 20 who’d aided me along the way. Only one (Rev. Stanisław Falkowski) has been recognized by Yad Vashem.”

¹²⁰⁵ For a list of Poles awarded by Yad Vashem as of January 1, 2019, see <<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/pdf-drupal/poland.pdf>>. This list includes only ethnic Poles, as those from other ethnic groups who rescued Jews on the territory of interwar Poland are listed under Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia (e.g., Czechs from Volhynia), Germany, and Austria, as the case may be. Additionally, about 200 ethnic Poles are listed under Belarus, Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, Germany, Austria (Danuta Czaplínska Kleisinger, Wanda Semrad), and France, even though in many cases their rescue activities occurred on interwar Polish territory. For information about Polish rescuers from countries outside Poland see Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 7: *Europe (Part I) and Other Countries* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2007), 31–32, 70–71, 86–87, 115–16; vol. 8: *Europe (Part II)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011)—Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine; vol. 9 and 10: *Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010).

¹²⁰⁶ See, for example, Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland During the Holocaust* (Columbia, Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 21, 69–70; Stanisława Serafin, “List otwarty do Pana Weissa,” *Przegląd Kolbuszowski*, no. 69 (April 1998) (regarding the recognition of the Kosiorwski family from Kolbuszowa). See also Marcin Urynowicz, “Zorganizowana i indywidualna pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej eksterminowanej przez okupanta niemieckiego w okresie drugiej wojny światowej,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 262–63; Marcin Urynowicz, “Organized and Individual Assistance of Poles for Jewish People Exterminated by the German Occupants in the Second World War,” in Grądzka-Rejak and Sitarek, *The Holocaust and Polish-Jewish Relations*, 332.

¹²⁰⁷ “Świadectwo prawdy,” *Tygodnik Powszechny*, September 1, 1946, as cited in Janina Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Słownik* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 293–94.

¹²⁰⁸ Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earls Court Publications, 1969), 255.

- Hanna Krall, a well-known journalist and author, counted 45 Poles who risked their lives to rescue her.¹²⁰⁹ Franciszka Tusk-Scheinwechsler reported a similar number of Polish benefactors.¹²¹⁰
- Rose Gelbart (née Grosman), who had at least a dozen different hiding places, recalled: “There were so many places and so many people who did know I was Jewish but who didn’t give me away. It had to be at least fifty, even more than fifty.”¹²¹¹
- Anna Forkasiewicz identified three Polish families (consisting of 11 people), three individual Poles, four priests, and a boarding school run by nuns.¹²¹²
- After her escape from the ghetto in Łosice, Stella Zylbersztajn took shelter in several villages in the vicinity of Łosice. In total, 25 Polish families helped her survive the war.¹²¹³
- Sonia and Abram Hurman, who moved about in the area southwest of Łuków, received help from dozens of Poles.¹²¹⁴
- Regina Kempieńska was sheltered by and received other forms of help from 40 individuals and families in and near her native village of Wojakowa near Czchów.¹²¹⁵
- Halina Robinson, born as Lina Trachtenberg, estimates that, over a two-year period, more than 100 people helped her to hide in 13 locations.¹²¹⁶
- Henryk Szaniawski (Chaim Środa) mentions by name 15 individuals and families who helped him survive, and states that were many other Polish helpers whose names he cannot remember.¹²¹⁷
- One Jewish woman had to change hiding places 25 times, whereas another woman 17 times.¹²¹⁸ The renowned immunologist Ludwik Hirszfild moved eleven times.¹²¹⁹
- When asked “What help did the residents of Warsaw provide to people of Jewish origin who hid?” Władysław

¹²⁰⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 410–13. Two of her rescuers, Maria Ostrowska-Ruszczyńska and Tadeusz Stepniewski, were honoured by Yad Vashem.

¹²¹⁰ Franciszka Tusk-Scheinwechsler, “The Price of a Single Life,” in Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 309–17. The following Poles were honoured by Yad Vashem: Janina Ojrzanowska, Maria Ojrzanowska, Klementyna Porowska, and Maria Winnicka.

¹²¹¹ Tammeus and Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People*, 79. Yad Vashem recognized Hanna Janczak-Żak and Adam Żak.

¹²¹² See her testimony in Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland 1939–1945*, 26–27.

¹²¹³ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 287–96; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 685–92; Stella Zylbersztajn, *A gdyby to było Wasze dziecko? Wspomnienia antysemitki w getcie, komunistki w klasztorze i uniwersalistki wśród Ludu Wybranego, Umiłowanego* (Łódź: Oficyna Bibliofilów, 1994; Łosice: Łosickie Stowarzyszenie Rozwoju Equus, 2005). Remarkably, in this case, Yad Vashem recognized 26 rescuers at the insistence of the rescued person: Kazimierz and Anna Gałęcki, Józef Izdebski, Wacława Jezierska, Aniela Kalicka, Helena Kaźmierczyk-Gruszka, Zygmunt and Halina Ługowski, Stanisław and Janina Mróz, Marian and Lucyna Piechowicz, Władysława Piotrowska, Wacław and Anna Radzikowski, Ezechiel and Irena Romaniuk, Jan and Józefa Ułasiuk, Franciszek and Rozalia Wielogórski, Józef and Józefa Zbucki, Andrzej, Józefa and Stanisław Zdanowski.

¹²¹⁴ Abram and Sonia Hurman, as told to Halina Birenbaum, *Pod osłoną nocy: Wspomnienia z lat 1939–1945* (Kraków and Oświęcim: Fundacja Instytut Studiów Strategicznych and Państwowe Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau w Oświęcimiu, 2007). Yad Vashem recognized the following rescuers: Marianna Banasik, Jan and Józefa Kowalczyk, Stanisława Piątek, and Kazimiera Przybyłowicz.

¹²¹⁵ Testimony of Regina Kempieńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3733; Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...: Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 59–62. Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek, Józef, Maria and Stanisław Jarosz, and Anna Sokołowska.

¹²¹⁶ Halina Robinson, “Survivor,” in *The Words to Remember It: Memoirs of Child Holocaust Survivors* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2009), 291–304, at p. 298. Halina Robinson’s memoir is titled *A Cork on the Waves: Reflections of a Turbulent Life* (Sydney: Sydney Jewish Museum, 2005; Sydney: Park Street Press, 2006). Yad Vashem recognized Meta Kemblińska, and Zygmunt and Maria Truchanowicz.

¹²¹⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 390–93. See also the testimony of Henryk Szaniawski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5482.

¹²¹⁸ Nathan Gross, “Unlucky Clara,” *Yad Vashem Bulletin*, no. 10–11 (1956): 34; Małgorzata Melchior, *Zagłada a tożsamość: Polscy Żydzi ocaleni “na aryjskich papierach”*: Analiza doświadczenia biograficznego (Warsaw: IFiS PAN, 2004), 129.

¹²¹⁹ Ludwik Hirszfild, *Ludwik Hirszfild: The Story of One Life* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2010).

Szpilman replied: “A great deal. Poland is not an anti-Semitic country. Those who state the opposite don’t speak the truth and perform a bad service that is hostile to Poland. Let us remember that for taking part in rescue activities on behalf of Jews one was threatened with death. Not everyone could muster up the strength to run this risk. Not everyone is born a hero. At least thirty Poles were engaged in rescuing me. At least thirty, at the risk of their lives.”¹²²⁰

- Bernard Traub, his wife, Helena, and their daughter, Krystyna, were helped by numerous Poles in and around Proszowice, a small town outside Kraków, where Bernard was known as Władysław Józef Kulpa.¹²²¹

Of the approximately 600 Poles who came to the assistance of these 18 Jews alone, most remain nameless. About fifty of these Polish rescuers, that is, no more than ten percent, were honoured by Yad Vashem for risking their lives and those of their families.

Most rescuers identified in testimonies gathered by the Central Jewish Historical Commission in the immediate postwar years have not been acknowledged by Yad Vashem either. For example, after escaping from the ghetto in Czyżew, Etką Żółtak made her way to the village of Helenów where she was taken in by a farmer named Franciszek Świątkiewicz for two weeks, and then by another farmer, Jan Bogucki, for some ten days, before she moved on to Warsaw. The farmers were afraid to keep her longer. Their names are known only because Etką Żółtak recalled them when her testimony was recorded.¹²²² The vast majority of such help has gone unrecorded and the benefactors will remain forever nameless. Of course, some Jews remained with the same protector throughout their entire period of hiding, and occasionally one rescuer (usually a family) sheltered several Jews. But even in these cases, the Jews often received assistance from several other persons along the way. Frequent changing of hiding places was not unique to Poland. Each of the 250 children hidden by a rescue organization in the Netherlands required, on average, five hosts.¹²²³

As mentioned, the most frequent form of assistance was casual assistance, for short periods of time, offered by many fearful but courageous Poles whose names will never be remembered and whose deeds are largely forgotten. A Jew from Zabłudów made an effort to recall the numerous Poles who helped him to survive the German occupation in the Białystok District: “We heard the shooting and immediately went to the path leading to the village we knew very well. Some farmers gave us flour, barley, and butter ... Early in the morning they took us through the path where we could go to Białystok [Białystok] ... [The Nazis] kept hitting me until I fainted. ... I dragged myself to the road; some Christians that stood there and saw me started crying. ... Other [Jewish families] went through back ways to the village to get some food. I managed to get a job from Vintzig Volnetzwick, the Christian ... His son-in-law, Chashick [Czesiek], promised me that if I stayed with him I wouldn’t have to work for the Germans ... One day Vinchick, the Christian that I lived with drove me to Białystok ... Zabłudow [Zabłudów]’s Jewish women went to the Christian’s field to get some potatoes for the winter. ... We hid in Vinchik Velosoviches barn deep in the hay ... The helpful Christian’s wife came to the barn begging me to leave. “There were whispers in the city that you were not seen among the people in the wagons, saying that you are probably hiding.” She asked that I pity her, because if I would be caught her family will be held responsible, and they will be punished severely. I was able to convince her to let me stay until Sunday. ... I came to Novosad [Nowosady] village, I knew a good Christian there. My appearance scared him, and immediately he told me about the order that they have to bring any Jews without delay to the Nazi headquarters. “I have to be very careful,” he said. He gave me some food and took me to a place behind the barn where I could escape. When evening came I arrived at a new village. I had a friend there ... He too took me in courteously and brought me food, but refused to let me stay. Fearfully he gave me food quickly and begged me to leave, I continued my wandering ... later on I had the opportunity to find shelter in an agriculture farm of Christian people I knew. I left the place when they told me that the Germans were hunting the area and were planning to sleep in their house. I wandered all night through fields and forests until I got to Baranke [Baranki] village, where my father used to live. A farmer, a good acquaintance that we knew from the past took me in nicely. I shaved and bathed; they even provided me with clean clothes. I hid in the side section of the house where no one lived. ... I

¹²²⁰ Tadeusz Knade, “Władysław Szpilman ostatni wywiad,” *Rzeczpospolita*, October 12, 2002. Yad Vashem recognized Andrzej Bogucki, Janina Godlewska, and Czesław Lewicki.

¹²²¹ Bernard Trawiński, *Przeblyski czarnej nocy: Wspomnienia 1939–1945: Kraków, Kościelniki, Proszowice* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka; Proszowice: Gmina i Miasto Proszowice, 2011).

¹²²² Marta Cobel-Tokarska, *Bezludna wyspa, nora, grób: Wojenne kryjówki Żydów w okupowanej Polsce* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2012), 97, based on the testimony of Etką Żółtak, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 545.

¹²²³ Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews*, 415.

stayed in the forest until the evening, and then I came back to the Christians. The Germans were not in the village anymore, but the farmer didn't let me stay and take the risk. I wandered again, and soon I got to another agriculture farm and stayed there a couple of days. The farmer didn't allow for me to stay with him; he was afraid the children might talk and risk giving me away. From there I moved to a farm near Araje. ... The farm's owners gave me shelter. I knew his son from the old days where we were both captured by the Germans. For a while I was able to rest. When the Christians' holiday came I took part in the ceremonies, and I acted like them. ... In the forests there were a lot of Russian partisans ... When I realized that the Nazis raided around the farm where I was staying I decided to escape. ... I got to a big village by the name of Zavick [Zawyki]. I slipped away secretly to the barn and laid there until the morning. The barn's owner found me, but he was a good man who was ready to help. He took me to his house, fed me, and helped me hide. It was a secret basement under the dining room. ... the Nazis searched the village and came to the farmer's house. ... They were looking for Jews and partisans. ... I stayed in the hiding place for a few days. I was asked to leave by his wife who had started to cry, saying that I was putting her family in danger. "I'm a mother of six children," she said. "If they'll find out that I am hiding you they will kill us. I'll give you food and drink and be on your way. Have pity on us, and save your soul." I promised that I would leave that night. ... I got to the previous farm from which I had escaped. The frightened Christian told me that the night I escaped the Nazis searched the house and barn. ... It was dangerous to stay in the village, where to go? I decided to go toward Bialystok. On the way I stopped at different villages. ... The Christian who told me the news was ready to leave the next morning with his wagon to bring food to Bialystok. I asked him to take me with him in his wagon. His wife gave me bread and fat. We left early in the morning so that nobody would see me. ... When we approached Bialystok the farmer got scared and asked me to get off the wagon. I got off, raised my collar and continued by foot ..."¹²²⁴

Many long-term rescues were preceded by periods of wandering from village to village, during which time food and temporary lodging was provided to the Jewish fugitives by a number of Poles. The following rescue stories, in addition to many cited earlier in this compilation, are representative of this phenomenon and belie the notion that farmers were anxious to denounce Jews wandering in the countryside:

- Ten-year old Sofia Kalski and her mother fled in early June 1943, after a German operation against the Trembowla ghetto, far from city, seeking to survive. For about two months they wandered through the fields living off gifts of food that good farmers gave them. Eventually, they were taken in by the Galoński family in the village of Humnisko.¹²²⁵
- After escaping from the ghetto in Skierniewice, Jakub and Towa Putermilch sought refuge in local villages. After wandering about in the fields for several days, they encountered Stefan Gawlikowski, who took them to his father's house in the village of Julków.¹²²⁶
- Moshe Kestenbaum's two children, Yaakov and Esther, escaped during the liquidation of the ghetto in Annopol-Rachów and stayed in the surrounding villages asking for help from people who had known their father. They eventually turned to the Judziński family in the village of Opoka Duża who took them in.¹²²⁷
- Józef Goldberg (later Golan) escaped from the Warsaw ghetto as a 12-year-old boy and made his way to the rural area around the city. In the course of his wanderings, he reached the village of Goszczyn near Grójec, where he happened to meet a farmer named Waclaw Kołacz. Although he suspected the boy of being Jewish, Kołacz offered him a job in exchange for room and board. He taught him to speak Polish with a proper accent, as well as some basic Christian customs.¹²²⁸
- Hana Cytryniarz (later Citrin) fled from the ghetto in Adamów at the time of its liquidation with her 12-year-old son. They wandered for months in the surrounding villages until they came to the farm of the Latoszyński family in Wielkie Lendo near Ryki. Although her Polish accent gave away her Jewish identity, the Latoszyński

¹²²⁴ Account of Phinia Korovski in Nechama Shmueli-Schmush, ed., *Zabludow: Dapim mi-tokh yisker-bukh* (Tel Aviv: The Zabludow Community in Israel, 1987), an English translation of which is posted on the Internet at: <www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/zabludow/>.

¹²²⁵ Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), 551–52.

¹²²⁶ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 554.

¹²²⁷ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 566.

¹²²⁸ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 573.

took in her son and she hid elsewhere in the vicinity.¹²²⁹

- After 12-year-old Haim Shapiro left Grodno in October 1942, he wandered from village to village, begging or offering his services to farmers, until he was taken in permanently by the Litwińczyks, an elderly couple, the following year. He remained with them until 1951.¹²³⁰
- After escaping the Otwock ghetto in the summer of 1942, Chana Reizman wandered for some weeks through the nearby towns and villages before she turned to Józef Łysik, the headman of the village of Wiązowna, who sheltered her and secured false identity documents for her.¹²³¹
- Three brothers, Josek, Pinkas and Hyman Federman, were given food by various farmers after leaving Działoszyce and wandering for weeks in fields and villages. They were taken in by the Matuszczyk family in the village of Bronów, where they remained until the liberation.¹²³²
- After escaping from ghettos, Mendel Tider and Józef Langdorf wandered for six months in villages begging for help before being taken in by the Mika family in the village of Zaborów north of Brzesko, where they remained until the liberation.¹²³³
- After fleeing from the ghetto in Zakrzówek near Kraśnik with her two-year-old daughter, Rachel Griner wandered through the nearby villages knocking on people's doors for food and shelter. They were taken in by the Piłat family in Kolonia Góry.¹²³⁴
- The five-member Graudens family wandered near Staszów begging for help before being sheltered by the Skuza family in the village of Solec Stary.¹²³⁵
- After his escape from Ejszyski, 16-year-old Hirsz Michalowski (later Tzvi Michaeli) received extensive help as he wandered for four months through villages, forests and marshes before he was taken in by the Wojewódzki family in the village of Dociszki.¹²³⁶
- Murray Berger attests to receiving extensive help from numerous villagers, when he left the ghetto of Wsielub near Nowogródek in December 1941, until he joined up with the Bielski partisans the following year.¹²³⁷ Sarah Fishkin left a diary attesting to repeated acts of kindness by villagers in the Rubieżewicze area.¹²³⁸

As for the make-up and profile of Polish rescuers, Lawrence Powell offers the following astute observations: “There is a burgeoning literature on the sociology and psychology of ‘righteous gentiles,’ but the sociological literature is frankly inconclusive. Rescuers do not cluster on one or two rungs of the social ladder. They derive in almost equal proportions from the working class and the middle class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, the educated and the unlettered. Nor are they conspicuously religious or unusually politically active. There have been attempts to identify them as social marginals, people who marched to a different drummer and were impervious to the good opinion of friends and neighbors. But, apart from a psychological ability to act independently of social norms, *there is little*

¹²²⁹ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 586–87.

¹²³⁰ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 589–90.

¹²³¹ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 590.

¹²³² Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 595–96.

¹²³³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 597–98.

¹²³⁴ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 605.

¹²³⁵ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 615–16.

¹²³⁶ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 632–33.

¹²³⁷ Murray Berger's account is in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives.

¹²³⁸ Anna Eilenberg-Eibeshitz, *Remember! A Collection of Testimonies* (Haifa: H. Eibeshitz Institute for Holocaust Studies, 1999), 285–306.

evidence showing that rescuers were anything but organically embodied in the communities in which they lived.”¹²³⁹ Moreover, as is evident from memoirs from the Warsaw area, Powell noted: “Almost without exception Jewish rescue occurred within networks. Minimally, it required ten rescuers to save one Jew. ... Several of these rescue operations were complex organizations, such as Żegota ... But most underground railroads were informal and ad hoc, carefully woven webs of associates whose involvement started out gradually and then, before they realized what was happening, metamorphosed into major commitments. ... The challenge of starting a rescue network, however, was knowing whom to trust. Which friends and relatives were reliable, who was discreet? Routine intimacies had to be reevaluated, well-worn social conventions sifted through for clues as to who combined the right mixture of empathy and discretion.”¹²⁴⁰

Unfortunately, Yad Vashem ignores, or certainly downplays, the importance of networks in rendering assistance to Jews. Many of the awarded rescuers often relied on the help of other Poles, but the assistance of those Poles is not mentioned by Yad Vashem. A case in point is Stanisław Jackowski, who is credited with saving at least 30 Jews in Stanisławów, a city in Eastern Galicia. According to Yad Vashem,¹²⁴¹

Some years before the German occupation, Stanislaw [Stanisław] Jackowski (later Jackow) became well-known for his friendship to the Jews of Stanislawow [Stanisławów], his native city, in Eastern Galicia. This friendship found concrete expression in 1942, when the Germans began liquidating the local ghetto and Jackowski hid Jewish fugitives in his farmyard. [Actually, they were hidden in a hideout especially built in the cellar of his home. M.P.] Despite his straitened circumstances and the hostile environment in which he lived, Jackowski helped no less than 31 refugees, without expecting anything in return. He provided his Jewish charges with handgrenades and four guns with which to defend themselves in case they were discovered. In saving his Jewish friends, Jackowski was guided by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship. The refugees who hid on his farm were liberated in July 1944 and, after the war, immigrated to Israel and the United States, where they were later followed by Jackowski. In the early 1960s, the World Association of Stanislawow Jews presented him with a gift as a token of their esteem and gratitude.

However, Stanisław Jackowski did not act alone. Indeed, it would be beyond belief that one person could manage to shelter and feed such a large number of people in these circumstances, in complete secrecy and without the assistance of others. Subsequently, Franciszek Uciurkiewicz, an employee of Jackowski’s, and Bronisława Ogniewska, who worked at the local health clinic, were also recognized by Yad Vashem for their contribution to the rescue effort.¹²⁴² Marek Lessing, one of Jackowski’s charges, mentions other helpers without whom the rescue would not have succeeded: an unidentified Pole who hid Jews in his attic before transferring them to one of Jackowski’s bunkers; an unidentified administrator of a mill, who provided flour; an unidentified administrator of an estate, who provided butter and lard.¹²⁴³ In his testimony, Stanisław Jackowski mentions another Polish rescuer by the name of Bogdanowicz, and describes the conditions and barriers to rescue that had to be overcome. They were rooted in fear, rather than lack of empathy. Characteristic of the “Righteous,” he does not blame those who did extend help when such a deed carried with it the death penalty.¹²⁴⁴ Who has a right to do so? What guarantee can they give that they would endanger their own lives for another? Jackowski tells his remarkable story without embellishment:

I lived in Stanisławów in eastern Poland, where there were fewer Poles than Jews and Ukrainians. I think there was

¹²³⁹ Lawrence N. Powell, *Troubled Memory: Anne Levy, the Holocaust, and David Duke’s Louisiana* (Chapel Hill and London: The University Press of North Carolina, 2000), 281–82.

¹²⁴⁰ Powell, *Troubled Memory*, 279–80. In addition to its formal members and activists, Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, relied on an extensive network of Polish helpers. See the testimony of Stefan Sendlak, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3973.

¹²⁴¹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 291–92.

¹²⁴² Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 560, 834.

¹²⁴³ Testimony of Marek Lessing, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4680, translated in Jerzy Diatłowicki and Janusz Roszkowski, eds., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma and Sowiarszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2010), vol. 2, 185–91, at pp. 190–91.

¹²⁴⁴ Richard C. Lukas, ed., *Out of the Inferno: Poles Remember the Holocaust* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989), 76–78.

far less anti-Semitism in central Poland than in eastern Poland. One big reason for this was the fact that thousands of Jews willingly cooperated with the Soviets after their occupation of eastern Poland in 1939.¹²⁴⁵ ...

It all started with my attempt to find and rescue an old school friend, Max Saginur. We had been friends for years, a friendship that both his parents and mine tried to discourage. Unless Jews were thoroughly assimilated, few of them wanted to have close personal relationships with Polish Gentiles. ...

Fortunately, I found my friend Max and his wife, Gitya, who along with Gitya's brother and sister-in-law, made their way to my home from the ghetto early in 1943. At first I hid them in a partitioned area behind the kitchen, but that didn't work out because they almost suffocated from lack of air. Besides it was possible to hear every move they made behind the partition. That's when I decided to build a bunker in the cellar.

Before it was all over, I ended up building three bunkers. Little by little, more and more Jews came to me for help. One group of Jews came from another "basket"—the name given to a place where Jews were hidden—that was maintained by another Polish rescuer. This Pole, Bogdanowicz, was afraid to keep his Jews any longer for fear of getting caught by the Gestapo. After all, any Pole caught helping a Jew was automatically executed. I even took in some Jews who had threatened to denounce me and their kinsmen whom I was hiding of I didn't help them.

I had made preparations to receive six Jewish physicians, but shortly before they were supposed to come to my home, the Gestapo arrested them. The unfortunate doctors took poison rather than wait to be shot by the Germans. It wasn't easy looking after thirty-two people in a place that was a stone's throw from Gestapo headquarters, yet keep a secret of it. The bunkers were well equipped with water, electricity, beds, and stoves for cooking. ... The Jews in the bunker had water downstairs but I had no plumbing at all upstairs!

Janina Ciszewska, another Pole from Stanisławów who was recognized by Yad Vashem for having sheltered ten Jews,¹²⁴⁶ pointed to another serious problem that endangered both the rescuer and the charges: quarrels and outbursts often erupted among the charges that could easily draw attention to outsiders and jeopardize the rescue.¹²⁴⁷

Contrary to what is often claimed in Holocaust literature,¹²⁴⁸ there are many recorded cases of entire Polish villages sympathizing with the Jews and participating in their rescue. Such rescue activities were simply unthinkable in Germany and Austria—no Jew would have survived the collective scrutiny of the local villagers in those countries. With rare exceptions, these Polish rescuers—and indeed the vast majority of those who extended assistance to Jews—have not been recognized by Yad Vashem. Emanuel Ringelblum recorded: "I heard from Jews of Głowno [Głowno] how peasants helped them during the whole of the winter. A Jew who went out to a village in search of food usually returned with a bag of potatoes ... In many villages, the peasants showed open sympathy for the Jews. They threw bread and other food [through the barbed-wire fence] into the camps ... located in their neighborhood."¹²⁴⁹ The Michalak family, who lived in in Boczki Domaradzkie near Głowno, took in the Rajch family, who pretended to be Polish. Although the villagers suspected otherwise, no one betrayed the Jewish family.¹²⁵⁰ Tadeusz Kalski was one of several Jewish teenagers and young men who were openly working for Polish farmers in the village of Chruslin near Głowno. It was only when the police started to come around looking for Jews

¹²⁴⁵ On this topic see Mark Paul, *Neighbours on the Eve of the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Relations in Soviet-Occupied Eastern Poland, 1939–1941*, Internet: <<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>>.

¹²⁴⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 151.

¹²⁴⁷ Testimony of Janina Ciszewska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2514.

¹²⁴⁸ For example, Joanna Michlic, a prolific exponent of the "black legend" of Polish-Jewish relations, points to the rescue efforts of the Huguenot village of Le-Chambon-sur-Lignon in Vichy France to denigrate Polish rescue efforts and effectively deny the phenomenon of collective rescue in occupied Poland. Her juxtaposition of a case that is truly exceptional even by Western European standards and sweeping generalizations about Poles, who are condemned as an entire nation for the activities of a tiny portion of the population, is characteristic of her animus and genre of writing: "Therefore, one can argue that in the history of aid to Jews in Poland, we... hardly find an account similar to that of the successful collective rescue efforts in the village of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon in France. Instead, one finds chilling accounts of solidarity in chasing away and murdering Jewish fugitives, and solidarity in condemning and undermining rescue operations and hurting and betraying the selfless rescuers of Jews." See Joanna B. Michlic, "'I will never forget what you did for me during the war': Rescuer-Rescuer Relationships in the Light of Postwar Correspondence in Poland, 1945–1949," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2011): 169–207, at pp. 189–90. It is a pity that Michlic did not turn her attention to explain why Polish Jews produced corrupt and brutal councils and police forces that engaged in widespread abuses of the ghetto population, but Western European Jews did not.

¹²⁴⁹ Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978), 116.

¹²⁵⁰ Józef Grabowicz, "Rzykować życie," *Res Humana*, no. 3 (2004): 39–42. The Michalak family were recognized by Yad Vashem. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 508–9.

that the farmers became afraid to keep them any longer.¹²⁵¹ Hercek Cedrowski, Tojwje Drajhorm and Jankiel Borkowski wrote in 1947: “The Jews of Ozorków maintained contact with the Poles. The Polish population did not help the Germans in the liquidation of the Jews. They traded with the Jews and brought food to the ghetto. The Jews were afraid of speaking with Poles, and Poles were afraid of helping Jews, but there were no denunciations of Jews.”¹²⁵² Isadore Burstyn, as a boy of eleven, was able to survive through the kindness of people in the village of Głupianka near Otwock (outside of Warsaw), where he passed as a local boy and herded cows. He hid in the forest when his presence threatened the family with whom he often stayed and friends from the village would bring him food. “In my case the entire village sheltered me even though I know there were still about 20 per cent anti-Semites among them.”¹²⁵³ Abram Jakub Zand, a tailor from the village of Bolimów near Skierniewice, “stole back to his village; the local peasants welcomed him back, and he was passed from house to house, working a week or two in each. ... ‘If I were to thank everyone, whole villages would have to visit me.’” Both he and his sister survived in this way.¹²⁵⁴ Shmuel Eliraz, then known as Ludwik Poznański, was born in Warsaw in 1935. Confined in the Warsaw ghetto with his parents, they arranged for their little son to be taken to safety, and entrusted him to his mother’s former nanny, Maria Walewska. Walewska was unmarried, had no children of her own, and after a long service to their family had moved to the village of Nowy Kawęczyn near Skierniewice. Shmuel became Wiesiu, Maria’s nephew. When she first brought the boy home, her neighbours were distrustful and suspected that she was hiding a Jewish child. However, they eventually left them in peace. He remained in the village under Walewska’s care for the rest of the war years.¹²⁵⁵ A Polish Red Cross worker gave over to a Polish couple by the name of Kaczmarek, themselves refugees from western Poland living in the town of Żyrardów near Warsaw, a young Jewish girl found abandoned in an empty death train: “Many of the neighbours knew that she was Jewish, yet no one informed.”¹²⁵⁶ Ten-year-old Estera Borensztajn was sheltered by the villagers of Osiny, between Zelechów and Łuków: “the peasants arranged among themselves that each would hide a Jewish girl for a certain period so that ‘everyone would be guilty and no one could inform.’”¹²⁵⁷ Since she was well known in the village, Estera eventually moved on, staying with other farmers, among them the Goławski family, until she reached the village of Kłoczew. She was taken in by the Pieniak family and remained with them for two years. Once again, her presence became widely known in the village. During anticipated German raids, she was sheltered by Rev. Stefan Kosmulski, the local pastor, who extended his protection to the child.¹²⁵⁸ Sara Bryn took up residence in the village of Adamów with her young child, passing as a Christian by the name of Stefania Romaniuk. Although it was widely suspected that she was Jewish, and she was told as much, no one betrayed her.¹²⁵⁹ After running out of money, Hanka Jeleń and her young son Stanisław wandered in the countryside near Łuków, begging for food and a place to stay. Usually, they were put up in barns. For several months before the arrival of the Soviet army, Hanka worked for a farmer. The farmers’ neighbours were aware of this, but no one betrayed them.¹²⁶⁰ The Latoszyński family of Lendo Wielkie near Ryki took in 12-year-old Arthur Cytryniarz (later Citrin) from Warsaw as a farmhand, at the behest of his

¹²⁵¹ Testimony of Tadeusz Kalski, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2987.

¹²⁵² Michał Grynberg and Maria Kotowska, comp. and eds., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich 1939–1945: Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), 488.

¹²⁵³ “Edmonton survivor returns to Poland,” *The Canadian Jewish News* (Toronto), August 2, 1990, and “Return to Otwock brings back rush of memories,” *The Canadian Jewish News*, August 30, 1990; Mary Kaye Ritz, “Holocaust Survivor Sees Own childhood on Film,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 31, 2003. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 927.

¹²⁵⁴ Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1963), 27; Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 105, 123–24.

¹²⁵⁵ Maria Walewska, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/stories/walewska.asp>>.

¹²⁵⁶ Zbigniew Pakula, *The Jews of Poznań* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003), 51.

¹²⁵⁷ Testimony of Estera Borensztajn, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2989, as cited in Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland, 1939–1945*, 27.

¹²⁵⁸ Waldemar Piasecki, “Gdzie jesteś Teresko,” *Dziennik Związkowy* (Chicago), March 9, 2009; Wojtek Maślanka, “Dlaczego, Teresko... dlaczego nie chcesz się spotkać...,” *Nowy Dziennik* (Garfield, New Jersey), August 3, 2015; Wojtek Maślanka, “Szczęśliwy finał 44-letnich poszukiwań: Spotkanie po 44 latach,” *Nowy Dziennik* (Garfield, New Jersey), November 26, 2016.

¹²⁵⁹ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 165; Stefania Romaniuk, “Moja okupacja,” *Odra*, no. 5 (1988): 24–32, at pp. 30–31.

¹²⁶⁰ Testimony of Stanisław Jeleń, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2997.

mother, who also hid in the vicinity under a false identity and visited her son from time to time. Although the boy had a good command of Polish, his mother's Polish accent gave her Jewish identity away. Among the people on the farm it was never openly said that he was Jewish but everybody knew it.¹²⁶¹ Henryk Prajs survived the war passing as a Pole in the village of Podwierzbie near Magnuszew where the fact that he was Jewish was widely known, with the protection of the head of the village.¹²⁶² Hana Grynberg, who was just ten years old when she escaped from the ghetto in Koźnice in 1942, lived openly with the Polish Bratos family in the village of Trzebień near Magnuszew for some two years, where the fact that she was Jewish was widely known.¹²⁶³ In the small village of Bokowo Wielkie near Sierpc four Jews were rescued by diverse Polish farmers.¹²⁶⁴ Mindzia Kirszenbaum (Mindze Kirschenbaum) was taken in by the family of Bolesław Topolewski in the village of Przeradz Mały near Biezuń, where she lived openly for some two years and her origin was known to the villagers. Previously she had lived with various farmers in the villages of Sadłów, Września and Lutocin, where her origin was also known.¹²⁶⁵ Natan Passe was sheltered by several Polish families in the village of Siemiątkowo near Żuromin: Gosik, Bukowski, Woźniak, and Piórkowski. Although his presence there was widely known, no one betrayed him.¹²⁶⁶ After being smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto with her bother and wandering around villages working for farmers as cowherds, 12-year-old Ester Rotfing (later Livny) began working for the Jankowski family in the village of Młyniec(?). She remained with them until the end of the German occupation, even though many of the villagers knew that she was Jewish.¹²⁶⁷ After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto in August 1942, 13-year-old Chana Ajzenfisz and her ten-year-old sister Chaya wandered for two weeks from village to village, in the countryside north of Warsaw. Unkempt and dirty, they were readily recognizable as Jews by their appearance and accent but received food and temporary lodging from farmers on whose doors they knocked. When they arrived in the village of Krzyczki-Pieniążki near Nasielsk, about 50 kilometres from Warsaw, they were taken in by the extended Krzyczkowski family. The girls lived in the village openly, passed off as distant family members, for the rest of the war. Although the villagers were aware of their Jewish origin no one betrayed them.¹²⁶⁸ After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, Paweł Dutman, a young teenager, was apprehended by the Gestapo in 1942, as he crossed the border between the *Generalgouvernement* and the Reich on the way to his home town of Ciechanów. Warned by a Pole of his imminent execution, Paweł managed to escape from his work site. Poles he called in the vicinity of Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, most of them complete strangers, gave him food and clothes. Paweł then started to work as a farm hand for various farmers for the duration of the war.¹²⁶⁹ After marrying and converting to Catholicism, shortly before the war Władysław Gugła, a school teacher, settled in the village of Chociszewo, north of Warsaw, where his origin was widely known. He survived with assistance of a number of villagers who sheltered him, as he moved from place to place, teaching village children clandestinely.¹²⁷⁰ Yisrael Golos, then a 12-year-old boy, managed to escape from the ghetto in Ciechanów during an Aktion. He took on an assumed Polish identity and began to wander in the area, hiring himself out to do farm work in villages where he was not known. In early 1943, he arrived at the home of Stanisław and Maria Pajewski in the

¹²⁶¹ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 586–87.

¹²⁶² Testimony of Henryk Prajs, 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/henryk-prajs>>.

¹²⁶³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 112.

¹²⁶⁴ Leon Gongola, "O prawach i ludziach," *Polska* (Warsaw), no. 7 (1971): 170–72.

¹²⁶⁵ Artur K.F. Wołosz, ed., *Księga pamięci Żydów bieżuńskich* (Biezuń: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Bieżunia and Muzeum Małego Miasta w Bieżuniu, Oddział Muzeum Wsi Mazowieckiej w Sierpcu, 2009), 98–101; translation of *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kedoshei Biezun* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Biezun, 1956).

¹²⁶⁶ Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudol, eds., *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 80–81.

¹²⁶⁷ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 563–64.

¹²⁶⁸ Jacek Leociak, *Ratowanie: Opowieści Polaków i Żydów* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010), 123–24, 128–29, 131–35.

¹²⁶⁹ Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 73–74, based on the testimony of Paweł Dutman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4311.

¹²⁷⁰ Suzanne Rozdeba, "A Polish Village's Secret: A Farming Town Hid a Jewish-born Teacher During the Holocaust," *Tablet*, August 21, 2012.

village of Mierzanowo near Grudusk. They hired Golos in return for room and board. One day a farmer from another village happened to arrive at their house. He recognized Golos and revealed that he was Jewish. “To Golos’s surprise, not only did his employers not treat him any worse as a result, they treated him even better. From that time on, the family took special precautions to safeguard Golos’s life and the neighbors demonstrated solidarity with the Pajewski family and did not inform on them to the Germans.”¹²⁷¹ After escaping from a German camp, Margita (Miriam) Weiss-Löwy, a Czech Jew made her way to the farm of Józef and Maria Sadurski in Końskowola near Puławy. Although the neighbours were aware of her presence, she remained there safely until the end of the German occupation.¹²⁷² A Jewish man by the name of Duczy lived openly, without any problems, in his native village of Tarzymiechy near Zamość throughout the entire war. He had always been on good terms with the villagers and was so well liked that he lived there safely, without fear of being betrayed to the Germans. He also arranged for several Jews to hide on the farm of a Catholic family in that village.¹²⁷³ Moshe Frank, a teenager from Zamość, was taken in by a poor farmer in Dębowiec who lived in a one-room hut with his wife and sister-in-law. Upon learning he was Jewish, they consulted with relatives and friends about what to do, and decided to go on behaving as though Moshe were a Christian.¹²⁷⁴ Jakub Hersz Griner (later Grzegorz Pawłowski), an 11-year-old boy from Zamość, wandered through nearby villages looking for a job as a farmhand. He was taken in by poor Polish families in Białowola and Lipsko-Polesie. Although he pretended to be a Polish orphan, his flawed Polish and behaviour gave him away. He remained with the Bajak family for about a year, and then worked for another family by the name of Kuroń. News that the boy was Jewish had spread in the village, but no one mentioned this openly. The boy remained there until liberation.¹²⁷⁵ Adam Shtibel, then Abram Szybel, born in Komarów near Zamość in 1928, worked for a local Polish farmer herding cows. When the farmers were ordered to surrender Jews working for them at the end of 1942, he joined a group of Jewish children who wandered the countryside, sleeping in forests or barns and begging for food from farmers. In the summer of 1943, pretending to be an orphaned Polish child, he was expelled from Zamość together with other Poles to make room ethnic Germans to be resettled there. He was placed with a childless couple, Jan Szelaż and his wife, in the village of Borki near Stoczek Łukowski. Dark-haired and circumcised, unable to speak Polish well and unfamiliar with Catholic prayers, it soon became apparent to his hosts that the boy was Jewish. Although this aroused the concern of neighbours, who reminded the Szelażs of the danger for everyone if they were found to be sheltering a Jew, the couple stood by him and no one betrayed him to the authorities. The boy remained with them for more than two years following the end of the war.¹²⁷⁶ Sala Zylberbaum from Zamość (born in 1931) found employment with two farmers in the nearby village of Huszczka Duża, where she was able to remain even though she was recognized by villagers as a Jewish girl.¹²⁷⁷ The case of author Jerzy Kosinski and his parents, who lived openly in Dąbrowa Rzczycka near Stalowa Wola, is another example. The Kosiński family attended church in nearby Wola Rzczycka, obtained food from villagers in Kępa Rzczycka, and were sheltered temporarily in Rzczyca Okrągła. Other Jews were also assisted by the local villagers.¹²⁷⁸ A network of Polish families was instrumental in rescuing the 8-member Krüger (Krueger) family, consisting of parents and six children, from Sowina, a village located north of Jasło, and Jacek Klec, a tailor from the Warsaw area. The rescuers included two

¹²⁷¹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 575.

¹²⁷² “Jak można podziękować za życie: Sprawiedliwi wśród narodów świata z Lublina i Końskowoli,” *Dziennik Wschodni*, April 26, 2015; “Sadurski,” The Righteous Among the Nations Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=sadurski&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=10578491&ind=0>.

¹²⁷³ Philip “Fizel” Bialowitz with Joseph Bialowitz, *A Promise at Sobibór: A Jewish Boy’s Story of Revolt and Survival in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 141–42.

¹²⁷⁴ Nahum Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers: The Rescue of Jewish Children with Assumed Identities in Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 88–89, 97. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 718.

¹²⁷⁵ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, 530–31; “Historia rodziny Bajaków,” Ośrodek “Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN,” Internet: <<http://teatrnn.pl/sprawiedliwi-lubelszczyzna/historia-rodziny-bajakow-bialowola-k-zamoscia/>>.

¹²⁷⁶ Rachel Shtibel and Adam Shtibel, *The Violin / A Child’s Testimony* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation and Centre for Jewish Studies at York University, 2007), vii–viii, 178–212; Testimony of Abram Szybel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 3683.

¹²⁷⁷ Olga Orzeł, ed., *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady: Wczesne świadectwa 1944–1948: Relacje dziecięce za zbiorów Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 283.

¹²⁷⁸ James Park Sloan, *Jerzy Kosinski: A Biography* (New York: Dutton/Penguin, 1996), 7–54; Joanna Siedlecka, *The Ugly Black Bird* (Washington, D.C.: Leopolis Press, 2018), 21–37.

families from Sowina who were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles, namely, Stanisław and Anna Kopec, and Jan and Kunegunda Frączek with their daughter, Adela Liszka, as well the Stasiowski and Hendzel families and others.¹²⁷⁹ Marcin and Maria Brykczyński had an estate in Skołyszyn, a village west of Jasło, where they lived with their four children. In 1940, they took in a Polish family who had been expelled by the Germans from Poznań. Feliks Sandauer, born in 1928, was brought there from Lwów by Maria Brykczyńska's sister in 1941, and ostensibly passed as their nephew, Feliks Sawicki. Although word of this spread among the villagers, no one betrayed them.¹²⁸⁰ Józef and Józefa Marć hid at least twelve Jews in the attic of their house in Jedlicze near Krosno, among them many members of the Fries family. They were assisted by their son and the Zub family, who lived in the neighbourhood. Many inhabitants of the village were aware of this but no one betrayed them. Zila Weinstein-Beer (later Cipora Re'em or Zippora Ram), born in 1939, was taken in Maria and Stanisław Dudek, a childless couple, in the village of Odrzykoń near Krosno. She was able to pass as a Catholic with the assistance of the local pastor, who baptized her and preached the duty of helping one's neighbours, and the solidarity of the Dudeks' neighbours. Most of the villagers knew where the little girl, the daughter of a local sawmill owner, had come from, but kept silent.¹²⁸¹ Five Polish families in the nearby villages of Przybówka and Niepla, lying between Jasło and Krosno—Obara, Zajchowski, Stefanik, Pomprończ, and Faryniarz—sheltered the Abraham and Regina Bigajer and their daughters, who also hailed from Przybówka.¹²⁸² Several dozen Polish families sheltered Jews in the villages of Ropa, Moszczenica and Rzepiennik Strzyżewski near Gorlice.¹²⁸³ The entire village of Ciechania, located south of Jasło near the Slovak border, rescued a local Jew, who moved from one farmer to another.¹²⁸⁴ Two Jewish sisters from the Gershen family and the husband of one of them were sheltered by the Adamiak family in the village of Pakoszówka near Sanok. While staying there, they would leave at night to beg for food from various Polish families.¹²⁸⁵ On the day Jews were told to report for "transport to the labour camps," Paul Axer, an elderly music teacher from Przemyśl removed his yellow armband, gathered up his stool and balalaika, and set out on foot. After reaching the banks of San River, he sat down on his stool until dark, gazing at the depths of the river. He was found by a couple of shepherds, brother and sister, who took him home, where they had room for him after their grandfather's death. The whole village knew about it but no one denounced him. Unfortunately, he died before the end of the war.¹²⁸⁶ Although it was widely known that the young daughter of Reb Moshe Kestenbaum was sheltered

¹²⁷⁹ Anna Kopec, The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous, Internet: <<http://www.jfr.org/pages/rescuer-support/stories/poland/-anna-kopec>>; The Kopec Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-kopec-family>>; Testimony of Anna Kopec, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/audio-list?&page=26>>.

¹²⁸⁰ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 153; Jolanta Chodorska, ed., *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny: Świadczenia nadesłane na apel Radia Maryja* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, 2002), Part Two, 214–18. The Brykczyńskis were recognized as Righteous by Yad Vashem in 2010.

Elżbieta Rączy and Igor Witowicz, *Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945 / Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2011), 92.

¹²⁸¹ Stanisław & Maria Dudek, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4211640>>; The Dudek Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dudek-family>>.

¹²⁸² Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 601; Rączy and Witowicz, *Polacy ratujący Żydów na Rzeszowszczyźnie w latach 1939–1945 / Poles Rescuing Jews in the Rzeszów Region in the Years 1939–1945*, 158.

¹²⁸³ Michał Kalisz and Elżbieta Rączy, *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatu gorlickiego podczas okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Rzeszowie, 2015), 87–89.

¹²⁸⁴ Zuzanna Schnepf-Kołacz, "“In the Ciechania Presbytery”: The Story of Saving Zofia Trembska: A Case Study," *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* (Warsaw: Polish Center for Holocaust Research), vol. 2 (2010), 367.

¹²⁸⁵ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 227.

¹²⁸⁶ Anna Bikont, *The Crime and the Silence: Confronting the Massacre of Jews in Wartime Jedwabne* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 52. Otto Axer, Paul Axer's son, loathed the peasants his whole life for their anti-Semitism and was always saying that they denounced Jews during the war. "And then it turned out it was peasants who'd saved his father and the whole village knew about it." *Ibid.*, 52–53.

in an orphanage run by nuns in his native village of Grodzisko Dolne near Przeworsk, no one betrayed her.¹²⁸⁷ Menachem Superman, who survived in the Rzeszów area, wrote: “the entire village knew that I was Jewish, but [my rescuer] always said to me that I shouldn’t be afraid, because no one will hand me over to the Germans.”¹²⁸⁸ Józef Leichter, a teenager, was hired as a farmhand by Jan Trojanowski of Nowy Borek near Rzeszów. Although it was common knowledge that the boy was a Jew, the farmer allowed him to stay on despite the danger. On the advice of the village headman, the boy did not venture out. Despite some threats, he was not denounced.¹²⁸⁹ Fifteen members of the extended family of Isaac and Leah Gamss were hidden from 1942 to 1944 in the attic of a farmhouse belonging to Stanisław and Maria Grocholski in the vicinity of Urzejowice near Przeworsk. The villagers knew the Grocholskis were hiding Jews because several members of the group called on a number of villagers to ask for food and it was the only house that in the winter did not have snow on the roof. Leslie Gilbert-Lurie, the daughter of one of the hidden Jews, states: “I would say it took a whole village of people for my mother’s family to survive.”¹²⁹⁰ Faiga Rosenbluth, a penniless teenage Jewish girl from Kańczuga, roamed the countryside moving from one village to the next for some two years; she was helped by very many peasants and was not betrayed, even though she was readily recognized as a Jew.¹²⁹¹ Marian Gołębiowski, who was awarded by Yad Vashem, placed Dr. Bernard Ryszard Hellreich (later Ingram) and his future wife Irena Szumska, who went by the names of Zbigniew and Irena Jakobiszyn, in the village of Czermna near Jasło. Their presence was known to all the villagers and they enjoyed the protection of the owners and manager of a local estate.¹²⁹² The Kądziołka family of Więckowice near Jarosław took in two siblings, Mojżesz and Blima Katz, from the neighbouring village of Czelatyce. They were joined by a third person, Mejer Blau, and were visited occasionally by the brother, Icek, who was welcomed to eat with them. The neighbours suspected that the Kądziołkas were hiding Jews but said nothing.¹²⁹³ Barbara Mikłasz, an elderly woman from Pruchnik near Jarosław, sheltered Elżbieta Roserman (born in 1940) at the behest of her parents, who were deported by the Germans. The villagers were aware of this as the child lived there openly throughout the occupation, and remained with her adoptive family after the war.¹²⁹⁴ The case of Doctor Olga Lilien, a Holocaust survivor from Lwów with a very marked Jewish appearance, who lived with a Polish family in Mokrzyszów near Tarnobrzeg, is another example of solidarity among Polish villagers. Germans came looking for a fugitive and summoned the villagers to a meeting to question them about their whereabouts. “Suddenly he looked at me and said, ‘Oh, but this is a Jewess.’ The head of the village said, ‘Oh, no, she cooks at the school. She is a very good cook.’ Nobody said, ‘Oh, well, she is Jewish. Take her.’ He let me go. The population of the village was about two thousand. They all knew there was something ‘wrong’ with me. Any one of them could have sold me to the Germans for two hundred deutsche marks, but out of two thousand people nobody did it. Everybody in the village protected me. I had very good relations with them.”¹²⁹⁵ The villagers of Czajków near Staszów were known for the support they gave to Jews who were hiding from the Germans: “it was something exceptional to see the humane way the villagers behaved. These simple people helped us of their own free will, and without receiving any money in return. From them we

¹²⁸⁷ Bertha Ferderber-Salz, *And the Sun Kept Shining...* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1980), 199. For other rescues in Grodzisko Dolne and vicinity see Lukas, *Out of the Inferno*, 62–64.

¹²⁸⁸ Elżbieta Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945* (Rzeszów: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2008), 128.

¹²⁸⁹ Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, 68–72, based on the testimony of Józef Leichter, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 891.

¹²⁹⁰ Leslie Gilbert-Lurie with Rita Lurie, *Bending Toward the Sun: A Mother and Daughter Memoir* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 46–47, 58, 293.

¹²⁹¹ Fay Walker and Leo Rosen (with Caren S. Neile), *Hidden: A Sister and Brother in Nazi Poland* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), passim; Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 249–50; Testimony of Fela Walke-Rozenblit, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2981.

¹²⁹² Piotr Zychowicz, “Ratowali Żydów i nie godzą się na kłamstwa,” *Rzeczpospolita*, October 30, 2009; Marian Gołębiowski, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-golebiowski-marian>>.

¹²⁹³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 567–68.

¹²⁹⁴ *Sprawiedliwa wśród narodów świata—Barbara Mikłasz*, Gimnazjum Publiczne im. Ks. Bronisława Markiewicza w Pruchniku, Internet: <<http://www.gimnazjumpruchnik.pl/projekty/sprawiedliwa.pdf>>.

¹²⁹⁵ Ellen Land-Weber, *To Save a Life: Stories of Holocaust Rescue* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 246.

often heard some kind words, quite apart from the money, loaves of bread and boiled potatoes they gave us from time to time.”¹²⁹⁶ More than a dozen villagers have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles.¹²⁹⁷ Two Polish families in the village of Rytwiiany sheltered the Mandel family, consisting of parents and their four children, from nearby Staszów, even though people in the village suspected them of hiding Jews.¹²⁹⁸ Many villagers in Głuchów near Łańcut were also engaged in sheltering Maria Blazer and her son Tadeusz, and did so with the support of the entire community.¹²⁹⁹ An illiterate Jewish woman who survived in a village near Lublin acknowledged that “the entire village rescued me. They all wanted me to survive. And when the Germans were routed, I left the village and shall never return there.” When asked why she didn’t want to see the people who saved her life, she replied: “Because I would be beholden to the entire village. So I left and won’t return.”¹³⁰⁰ Marianna Krasnodębska (née Jarosz), whose family was awarded by Yad Vashem for rescuing thirteen Jews in Piaski near Lublin, stated: “With absolute confidence and with a clear conscience,” she states, “I can say that none of the residents of Piaski ever betrayed the Jews in hiding. They might have been too afraid to help, but would not sell one out. There were two informers, but they were executed by the Home Army.”¹³⁰¹ Hanka Drescher recalled how a group of Jews hiding in the forest near Piaski survived by begging for food from farmers.¹³⁰² The villagers of Wola Przybysławska near Lublin took turns sheltering and caring for a young Jewish girl who survived a German raid on a forest bunker. She was passed from one home to another, thus ensuring there wouldn’t be any informing.¹³⁰³ A Jewish woman named Berkowa (née Zelman) was rescued by Jan Łoś in the village of Żabno near Żółkiewka; although this was widely known, no one betrayed her. The Wajc family, consisting of Mendel and Ryfka and their two young sons, Jankiel and Zygmunt, survived in the village of Różki near Żółkiewka, where they were known to the villagers.¹³⁰⁴ Hershel Mostyzer and Sara Fuks were directed by a mailman to the home of his mother, Franciszka Rybak, in the village of Rogalin near Hrubiszów. Mostysser, a tailor by profession, did odd sewing jobs for his rescuer’s tenants and her neighbours in order to help support themselves. Despite some opposition because of the danger this created for the village, no one betrayed them.¹³⁰⁵ A Jewish boy of seven or eight years named Abraham, who tended geese for a farmer near Sandomierz, was known to the peasants as “Żydek” (little Jew), and yet survived unharmed.¹³⁰⁶ The Idasiak family took in a teenaged Jewish boy by the name of Dawid, whom they sheltered for almost two years near Jedwabne. The neighbours were fully aware that he was Jewish and also helped him. He herded cows and played with the village children.¹³⁰⁷ A nine-year-old Jewish boy by the name of Wintluk (Wintel), who had lost his mother and three fingers when shot at by Germans while escaping, was taken in by a poor Polish family in Mulawicze near

¹²⁹⁶ Gabriel Singer, “As Beasts in the Woods,” in Elhanan Ehrlich, ed., *Sefer Staszow* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Staszowites in Israel with the Assistance of the Staszowite Organizations in the Diaspora, 1962), xviii (English section).

¹²⁹⁷ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vols. 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, 197; Part 2, 670.

¹²⁹⁸ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 609–10.

¹²⁹⁹ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 63.

¹³⁰⁰ Klara Mirska, *W cieniu wiecznego strachu: Wspomnienia* (Paris, n.p.: 1980), 455.

¹³⁰¹ *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2008), 79.

¹³⁰² Diana Wang, *Los niños escondidos: Del Holocausto a Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Marea, 2004), 125–26.

¹³⁰³ Shiye Goldberg (Shie Chehever), *The Undefeated* (Tel Aviv: H. Leivick Publishing House, 1985), 166–67; Zofia Krzyżanowska, “W naszym domu ukrywana była mała Żydóweczka,” Ośrodek “Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN,” Internet: <http://teatrnn.pl/historiamowiona/swiadek/Krzy%C5%BCanowska%2C_Zofia_%281942-_%29?tar=85329>; “Polacy na ratunek Żydów: Historie niezwykle: Wola Przybysławska,” May 10, 2018, TVP 3 Lublin, Internet: <<http://lublin.tvp.pl/37148503/10-maja-2018>>.

¹³⁰⁴ Chaim Zylberklang, *Z Żółkiewki do Erec Israel: Przez Kotlas, Buzułuk, Ural, Polskę, Niemcy i Francję*, Second revised and expanded edition (Lublin: Akko, 2004), 169, 171–72.

¹³⁰⁵ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 684.

¹³⁰⁶ Eva Feldenkreis-Grinbal, ed., *Eth Ezkera—Whenever I Remember: Memorial Book of the Jewish Community in Tzoymir (Sandomierz)* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots’e Tsoizmir be-Yisra’l: Moreshet, bet iedut ‘a. sh. Mordekhai Anilevits’, 1993), 544.

¹³⁰⁷ B. Idasiak, “Jedwabne: Dłaczego kłamstwa?,” *Nasz Dziennik*, February 26, 2001.

Bielsk Podlaski and then cared for and protected by the entire village who took pity on him: “The entire village, which was more aware of the danger, took responsibility for his survival. The village administrator gave warning of visits by the Germans, who were stationed in the village school. Thanks to this collective effort, the boy survived the war.”¹³⁰⁸ Alfreda and Bolesław Pietraszek sheltered several Jewish families consisting of 18 people on their farm in Czekanów near Sokolów Podlaski for a period of two years. Although their presence was known to many villagers and the Pietraszeks had to rely on the assistance of neighbours to feed their charges, no one betrayed them.¹³⁰⁹ Two young Jewish men were passed from farmer to farmer in the village of Zdziebórz near Wyszaków and were eventually accepted into the Home Army.¹³¹⁰ Yitzhak Kuniak from Kałuszyn hid among peasants for whom he was sewing secretly. He moved about in a few villages where he was fed and sheltered.¹³¹¹ A teenaged boy and his mother, who lived in a damaged, abandoned house in Drzewica where he openly played with village boys, survived the war despite his Semitic appearance.¹³¹² A poor Jewish tailor survived the war by being passed from home to home in the village of Dąbrowica near Ulanów.¹³¹³ Jerzy and Irena Krępec, who were awarded by Yad Vashem, sheltered and otherwise assisted a number of Jews on their farm in Gołębki near Warsaw. Their son, a 14-year-old boy at the time, recalled: “the fact that they were hiding Jews was an open secret in the village. At times, there were 20 or 30 people living on the farm. Many of the visitors were urban Jews who spoke Polish with an accent. Their children attended underground schools that moved from house to house. ‘The neighbors knew. It would have been impossible to manage this without people finding out. But everyone knew they had to keep quiet—it was a matter of life or death.’” In fact, many of the Krępec’s Polish neighbours helped, “if only to provide a meal.”¹³¹⁴ Hinda Żaboklicka was rescued by Salicki family in the village of Złotokłos near Warsaw. The rescuers were her prewar teachers, who smuggled her from the ghetto in Kałuszyn and brought her to their home. They obtained false identification for her and kept her for the rest of the occupation, even though the neighbours suspected she was Jewish and some of them expressed concerns about the risk this posed.¹³¹⁵ After living in Warsaw on Aryan papers passing as a Christian, Joseph Dattner moved to a village outside Warsaw in May 1944. Working as a tailor to earn food, he moved from house to house sewing clothes. Dattner recalls: “I survived, like my brothers, by pretending to be Christian. I took the name Poluk but I was well-known and most people knew I was Jewish.”¹³¹⁶ After leaving the ghetto in Jeżów, Nathan Gold received extensive support from Poles in the nearby villages of Przybyszyce and Słupia: “Some ten families in the villages took turns hiding him, each one not knowing about the other’s activities.

¹³⁰⁸ Alina Cała, *The Image of the Jew in Polish Folk Culture* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1995), 209–10.

¹³⁰⁹ “A Race for Life—Rescued: Ben Zion Sela (Solarz),” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/your-stories/race-life-rescued-ben-zion-sela-solarz>>; Testimony of Jusek Kopyto, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4085. Two Jewish families consisting of six people were also sheltered by the Fink family. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4, Part 1, 215–16.

¹³¹⁰ Krystian Brodacki, “Musimy ich uszanować!” *Tygodnik Solidarność*, December 17, 2004.

¹³¹¹ Layb Rochman, “With Kuniak in Hiding,” in A. Shamri and Sh. Soroka, eds., *Sefer Kaluszyn: Geheylt der khorev gevorener kehile* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kaluszyn in Israel, 1961), 437 ff., translated as *The Memorial Book of Kaluszyn*, Internet: <<http://jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kaluszyn/Kaluszyn.html>>.

¹³¹² Sven Sonnenberg, *A Two Stop Journey to Hell* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2001).

¹³¹³ Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 161–62.

¹³¹⁴ Peggy Curran, “Decent people: Polish couple honored for saving Jews from Nazis,” *Gazette* (Montreal), December 10, 1994; Janice Arnold, “Polish widow made Righteous Gentile,” *The Canadian Jewish News* (Montreal edition), January 26, 1995; Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Żegota: The Rescue of Jews in Wartime Poland* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1994), 141–43; Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Żegota: The Council for Aid to Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1999), 131–32; Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Code Name: Żegota: Rescuing Jews in Occupied Poland, 1942–1945: The Most Dangerous Conspiracy in Wartime Europe* (Santa Barbara, California: Praeger/ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 140–43.

¹³¹⁵ Joanna Michlic, “Stories of Rescue Activities in the Letters of Jewish Survivors about Christian Polish Rescuers, 1944–1949,” in Glenn Dynner and François Guesnet, eds., *Warsaw: The Jewish Metropolis* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 530–31.

¹³¹⁶ Interview with Joseph Dattner, December 20, 1988, Phoenix Holocaust Survivors’ Association in affiliation with the Cline Library of Northern Arizona University; Al Sokol, “Holocaust Theme Underscores Work of Artist,” *Toronto Star*, November 7, 1996.

They were poor people, many of the older ones illiterate, but all opened their hearts and their homes to him.”¹³¹⁷ Ludwika Fiszer was one of three women who escaped naked from an execution pit where Jews from the Poniatowa labour camp were taken by Germans and their Ukrainian henchmen. Roaming from village to village, despite their dishevelled appearances, they received various forms of assistance, even though the peasants were clearly terrified of Ukrainian retaliation. Although most peasants were reluctant to keep them for any length of time, no one betrayed them, and several weeks later they met up with a Polish woman who took them to Warsaw.¹³¹⁸ In June 1943, Hary (Tzvi) Norich, born in Chorzów in 1928, left the ghetto in Będzin and found shelter with Andrzej and Maria Skop in the village of Woźniki, south of Częstochowa. He stayed with the Skops for eight months, despite the fact that quite a few people from Chorzów could have recognized him as Jewish, and did a few times, and many people in Woźniki knew his parents, who had lived there for a while after their marriage, and saw their likeness in him. He decided to look for a different hideout so as not to endanger the Skops, and survived the war with the help of another Polish family.¹³¹⁹ David Danieli, a nine-year-old boy from Rybnik, was taken in by a Polish family who looked after him devotedly and saw to all his needs. He later discovered that many people had known he was Jewish but had not denounced his adoptive parents.¹³²⁰ After escaping from the Sosnowiec ghetto, Adela Grünfeld and her son Leon took up residence in Bujaków near Bielsko-Biała, in the Beskid Mountains. She was recognized by Bolesław Blachura, a friend from before the war and underground member hiding in the same village with the Wawak and Porębski families. Adela Grünfeld brought many other Jews to the village, including her sister and brother-in-law. They stayed in the barn or in the attic, and only the boy Leon lived openly in the house. When asked about the danger of being denounced because of this large movement of people, Władysław Porębski answers: “I was only afraid of [being denounced by] Germans, not Poles, because one of them [the Poles] was in Auschwitz, another in forced labour, transported to Germany, another one was a partisan, yet another left in 1939 and never came back... These things united people.”¹³²¹ Hania Gross was taken in by the Matlak family of Przeciszów, a village near Oświęcim, at the age of nine. She was passed off as a distant relative, but the neighbours soon began to suspect the child’s true identity. Despite the danger posed to their lives, the Matlaks continued to care for Hania as if she were their own. “They were afraid they might get denounced. Fortunately, no one did.” Hania lived a normal life, playing with other children, attending church – not in hiding at all.¹³²² A Jew from Kraków by the name of Gelbart settled in the nearby village of Wyciąże with his wife and child. They survived the occupation by moving from cottage to cottage, providing tailoring services in exchange for room and board. Their presence was known to hundreds of people, yet no one betrayed them.¹³²³ Jan Wlazło, a farmer who lived in Liszki near Kraków, took in as tenants a Jewish family passing as Poles. Although they had Jewish appearances and everyone knew about their presence, they were not betrayed.¹³²⁴ The Pinkies family was rescued by the villagers of the hamlet of Czyżyczka of Gierczyce near Bochnia.¹³²⁵ Lidia Parecka, who hailed from a family of converts from Lwów, was taken in lived openly with Jadwiga and Stanisław Skarzyński in Piaski near the village of Czchów, not far from Brzesko. Although she had marked Semitic features and her Jewish origin was widely suspected, no one betrayed her.¹³²⁶ Bogusława Lifszyc

¹³¹⁷ Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 1st edition, *Zegota*, 143–44; Tomaszewski and Werbowski, *Code Name: Żegota*, 43.

¹³¹⁸ Account of Ludwika Fiszer in the web site *Women and the Holocaust* (Personal Reflections—In Ghettos/Camps), Internet: <<http://www.interlog.com/~mighty/personal/ludwika.html>>.

¹³¹⁹ Skop Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8033905>>.

¹³²⁰ Bogner, *At the Mercy of Strangers*, 62–63.

¹³²¹ *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, August 2009), 115. See also Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 634–35.

¹³²² *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, November 2008), 97.

¹³²³ Krystyna Samsonowska, “Pomoc dla Żydów krakowskich w okresie okupacja hitlerowskiej,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 856.

¹³²⁴ Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 346.

¹³²⁵ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 815.

¹³²⁶ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 371–72.

was smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto and brought to the village of Laskowa near Nowy Sącz, where she was taken in by the Kraśny family. Although posing as a Catholic, Halina Pisz, her dark features made her stand out and the villagers suspected she was Jewish. However, no one betrayed her.¹³²⁷ It was an open secret that Ewa Rajec, the two-year-old child being cared for by Mieczysława Foryniak in the village of Dursztyn near Nowy Targ, was the daughter of the local Jewish doctor. The child was baptized by Father Marian Peczeko, a Reformed Franciscan, the local parish priest. Her parents were in hiding nearby in a remote shelter.¹³²⁸ A lay orphanage run by Jadwiga Stzałecka and financed by the Central Relief Council, which transferred from Warsaw to Poronin near Zakopane after the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, included both Jewish charges and staff members. The director's Polish staff either knew or surmised the truth, yet none of the children or personnel was arrested.¹³²⁹ Alter Szymaszynowicz made soap for villagers near Opoczno and Końskie in exchange for food and shelter.¹³³⁰ In the village of Dziurków near Radom, a local Jew lived openly throughout the war with two Polish families under an assumed identity furnished by the Home Army, and even took seasonal employment with the Germans, without being betrayed.¹³³¹ In the village of Tarłów, between Zwoleń and Sandomierz, Józef and Wiktoria Krawczyk agreed to shelter Ewa Górecka, the three-year-old daughter of a Jewish woman whom they did not know. They passed her off as their granddaughter, even though their two adult sons were childless and the neighbours knew she was not their granddaughter. They kept the child until 1949, when she was removed from them by deception.¹³³² When a Jew passing as a Christian became a driver and had to transport some German officials to his hometown of Wierzbnik, he wondered "How come no one recognized me? There are many gentiles who knew me in the town where I was born and raised and still I was not exposed." After the war he learned that many had indeed recognized him, but "kept their mouths shut."¹³³³ The Konarski and Mermer families sheltered seven Jews who escaped from the Hassag labour camp in the attic of their house in the village of Komorniki, on the outskirts of Częstochowa, for a period of twenty-two months. Although their neighbours were aware of the rescue, no one betrayed them.¹³³⁴ In the village of Olsztyn near Częstochowa, four Jewish families passed as Polish Christians with the collusion of the villagers.¹³³⁵ After escaping from the ghetto in Częstochowa, Ignacy Jakobson and his colleagues joined a partisan unit near Koniecpol where they were assisted by a priest and a number of farmers in Kościelna: "the farmers in that village were most favourably disposed to us."¹³³⁶ Another eyewitness writes: "In Kielce Voivodship I know of cases where an entire village knew that a Jew or a Jewess were hiding out, disguised in peasant clothes, and no one betrayed them even though they were poor Jews who not only could not pay for their silence but had to be fed, clothed and

¹³²⁷ Paweł Knap, "Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj": Relacje "Sprawiedliwych" i o "Sprawiedliwych" z województwa zachodniopomorskiego (Szczecin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, Oddział w Szczecinie, 2010), 37–38.

¹³²⁸ Żaryn and Sudol, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 171–78.

¹³²⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 93; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5, Part 2, 760 (Jadwiga Strzałecka and Janusz Strzałecki). One of the Jewish charges, Janina Hescheles Altman from Lwów (born in 1931), penned a memoir which was translated as Janina Hescheles, *My Lvov: Holocaust Memoir of a Twelve-Year-Old Girl* (Oegstegeest, The Netherlands: Amsterdam Publishers, 2020).

¹³³⁰ Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 125–26.

¹³³¹ Tadeusz Kozłowski, "Spotkanie z żydowskim kolegą po 50 latach," *Gazeta* (Toronto), May 12–14, 1995.

¹³³² Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 579–80.

¹³³³ Menachem Mincberg, "In the Jaws of Destiny," in Mark Schutzman, ed., *Wierzbnik-Starachowicz: A Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Wierzbnik-Starachowicz Relief Society in Israel and Abroad, 1973), 201ff, translated as *Wierzbnik-Starachowicz: A Memorial Book*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Wierzbnik/Wierzbnik.html>>.

¹³³⁴ "Sprawiedliwy Wśród Narodów Świata," *Puls Regionu* (Częstochowa), May 2008 <<http://region.czyst.pl/cz50/sprawiedliwy.php>>.

¹³³⁵ Frank Morgens, *Years at the Edge of Existence: War Memoirs, 1939–1945* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1996), 97, 99.

¹³³⁶ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 588–89.

housed.”¹³³⁷ A similar attitude in several villages near Łowicz is described by Joseph Szmekura.¹³³⁸ Hanna Mesz, along with her mother, spent the period September 1944 to February 1945 in the village of Korzeniówka near Grójec, supporting themselves by working for various farmers who suspected they were Jewish.¹³³⁹ Zygmunt Sruł Warszawer hid for 26 months moving from place to place among numerous villages, such as Wielki Las, in the triangle formed by Łaskarzew, Sobolew, and Wilga, “visiting every farm because he figured that if everyone helped him no one would turn him in—to do so would mean self-destruction.” No one turned him away empty handed during those 26 months: “‘No one ever refused to help you?’ ‘No, not food! In twenty-six months, not once. Sometimes they were afraid to let me into the house, or into the barn. It varied, but their food they shared.’”¹³⁴⁰ Additional villages (Kownacica, Gończyce, Leokadia, Sośninka, Izdebno, Zygmunt, Romanów) and some helpers are mentioned in another testimony by Zygmunt Warszawer.¹³⁴¹ Jankiel Grynblat (Grynblatt) found shelter with farmers he knew in the villages of Koryczany, Sokola, Kokoszka and Feliksin, east of Żelechów, for whom he worked as a tailor. His presence there was known to other villagers and they treated him well.¹³⁴² The young sons of Janina Dulman, namely Jerzy and Władysław, whose mother had married a Jew and converted to Judaism before the war, were sheltered by her their aunt, Władysława Kaszubska of Żelechów, who was Janina’s younger sister. She hid them with different people in the surrounding villages until the liberation.¹³⁴³ Lea Starowiejska, a young girl from Warsaw with Semitic features, somehow managed to make her way to Żeliszew Podkościelny, a village lying between Mińsk Mazowiecki and Siedlce. She was taken in by Rev. Julian Borkowski, the local pastor, who taught her Catholic prayers so that she could play the part of a Polish orphan. The appeal for a Polish family to take her in was answered by the Górczyńskis, who cared for her like a daughter. They lived in the hamlet of Łęki. Everyone there was aware that the child was Jewish. No one betrayed them.¹³⁴⁴ Eva Safszycka, not yet 20 at the time, left the ghetto in Siedlce, obtained false identity documents with the help of a Pole, a stranger she happened to encounter, and took a position as a domestic on an estate owned by a Pole. She recalled: “I met with so much kindness from the Poles, so many were decent and helpful that it is unbelievable. ... They hid other Jews, one of them a girl of eleven.”¹³⁴⁵ Tema Rotman-Weinstock from Frampol near Biłgoraj, in the Lublin area, presents a similar story. Dressed as a peasant, she roamed the familiar countryside—Trzęsiny, Gorajec, Czarnystok, Smoryń, Kajetanówka—moving from employer to employer, most of whom were hungry themselves and found it hard to feed her. She met a cousin who lived with his wife in a bunker in the forest, but he refused to let her join them. Once when she was on the verge of collapse, kind peasants took her into their home. After a month, afraid to keep her, they directed her to a woman who lived on a farm with her daughter in the village of Kajetanówka. She remained there until the liberation, even though the word had spread that she was Jewish. “Fortunately, no bad consequences followed because she found a powerful protector in the local priest. He baptized Tema and defended her ... ‘The priest stood up for me,

¹³³⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 361.

¹³³⁸ Gedaliah Shaiak, ed., *Łowicz, A Town in Mazovia: Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Lowitcher Landsmanshaften in Melbourne and Sydney, Australia, 1966), xvi–xvii.

¹³³⁹ Wiktoria Śliwowska, ed., *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1998), vol. 1, 120–23.

¹³⁴⁰ Małgorzata Niezabitowska, *Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland* (New York: Friendly Press, 1986), 118–24.

¹³⁴¹ Żaryn and Sudoł, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 80.

¹³⁴² Testimony of Jankiel Grynblat, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4800, reproduced in Diatłowski and Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 2, 140.

¹³⁴³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 569–70.

¹³⁴⁴ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 557; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1021; Edward Kopówka and Paweł Rytel-Andrianik, *Dam im imię na wieki: Polacy z okolic Treblinki ratujący Żydów* (Oxford and Treblinka: Drohiczyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe i Kuria Diecezjalna w Drohiczyń, 2011), 304; *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2008), 53.

¹³⁴⁵ Nechama Tec, *Resilience and Courage: Women, Men, and the Holocaust* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 224.

arguing that conversion was a wonderful Christian deed.”¹³⁴⁶ In another village named Kajetanówka near Bychawa, closer to the city of Lublin, four-year-old Rózia Bejman was taken in by the Dudziak family, who passed her off as a relative and enrolled her in the village school. The child had Semitic features and was suspected of being Jewish.¹³⁴⁷ Three families of farmers—Dziedzic, Niezgoda and Woś—from the villages of Kajetanówka and nearby Bystrzyca Stara participated in the rescue of Lejzor Zandberg, staying with each family for a few weeks at a time.¹³⁴⁸ Zandberg recalled that he looked for help with Polish acquaintances “in Strzyżewice, Bystrzyca Stara and Nowa, as well as in surrounding places where I knew almost everyone, especially the young people. The Poles who helped me to survive were well-known to me and easy for me to contact. In autumn, winter and early spring, I hid in attics and sheds. In other times of the year, especially during summer, I hid in the crop fields, amongst bushes and in other remote places.”¹³⁴⁹ Rina Eitani (11 years old at the time) and her mother and sister (10 years old) supported themselves by smuggling farm goods from the countryside to Warsaw. They worked separately to lessen the risk of discovery. While the Germans were ruthless toward smugglers, the natives treated them kindly: “One day I was buying something in a store. A little girl came in, warning me, ‘The Gestapo are in the house where you live.’ Right away, the owner of the store, a woman, put me in the cellar. She wouldn’t let me go until the Gestapo left. ... We stayed a lot in the villages where we bought the produce. The peasants were nice to us. They would feed us and sometimes, in exchange, we worked for them.”¹³⁵⁰ Chava Grinberg-Brown, who hailed from the village of Wiskitki, roamed the countryside near Żyrardów for the final years of the German occupation: “...at the end of each day, I would beg people to let me come in and sleep. I remember that once someone gave me a place to stay and offered me chicken soup ... In another home, one of the women gave me medication for my skin condition. They knew that I was Jewish ... it was obvious. As I wandered from one little place to another, people fed me and let me sleep in their homes or close to them; in barns, pigstys, etc.” When a Pole who recognized her wanted to turn her in, “Some peasants who realized what he was after threatened to give him a beating he would never forget. That stopped him from bothering me.” Her story continues: “I went to the place I had worked before [the war]. I stayed there for a few days. After that, I kept moving from one place to another. Some refused me work. Then a peasant offered me a more stable job. ... I remained with this peasant for most of the summer. Then I left and went to another village. I went from one village to another. Even during the summer I would change places. When the Poles sent me away, I was not angry. I understood that they were afraid or had not enough food and could not share the little they had. I did not particularly feel their anti-Semitism. ... Most people knew right away when I came in that I was Jewish, but they did not harm me. Only a few times did I have to run away. ... When I entered a village I would go first to the head of the village, and he would send me to a peasant. Usually they were not afraid if they had a note from the head of the village. ... I have no bad feelings toward the Christians. I survived the war thanks to them.”¹³⁵¹ A 31-year-old barber named Zimler, who wandered with his wife in the Wiskitki area near Żyrardów in 1941, cutting hair for farmers, wrote that “the attitude of the farmers to us was extremely good.” The farmers in various villages such as Oryszew, Wyczółki and Janówka, allowed them to stay in their homes, gave them food, washed their laundry, and even invited them to a wedding.¹³⁵² After escaping from the Warsaw ghetto, the teenage brothers Zwi and Józef Ditman from Wiskitki wandered the villages in the area, looking for a place to stay, until they were taken in by a family in the

¹³⁴⁶ Tec, *Resilience and Courage*, 227–29; Testimony of Tema Wajnsztok, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 7214.

¹³⁴⁷ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 192; The Dudziak Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dudziak-family-0>>.

¹³⁴⁸ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 201.

¹³⁴⁹ The Niezgoda Family and The Woś Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/it-was-awakening-humanity-story-niezgoda-family>>; <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/their-calm-healed-our-sick-heart-story-wos-family>>.

¹³⁵⁰ Tec, *Resilience and Courage*, 231–32.

¹³⁵¹ Tec, *Resilience and Courage*, 225–27.

¹³⁵² Marta Markowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Dzień po dniu Zagłady* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, Dom Spotkań z Historią, and Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2008), 100–1.

village of Skrzelew.¹³⁵³ A number of Jews were sheltered by villagers in a small unidentified locality outside Warsaw with the knowledge of the entire village, yet no one was betrayed.¹³⁵⁴ Józefa Grzegorek of the village of Nowa Wieś near Sochaczew took in a Jewish girl from Zwierzyniec by the name of Jadwiga, whom she sheltered from 1942 until 1945. The entire village was aware of this, but no one betrayed the girl.¹³⁵⁵ Franciszka Aronson, from a village near Mińsk Mazowiecki, wandered from village to village, including villages where she was known, begging for food before she was taken in by nuns at a convent in Ignaców.¹³⁵⁶ Brindla (Bronka) and Mojżesz Siekierka and their two sons were sheltered by the family of Bronisław Bylicki in the village of Żwirówka without compensation. Stanisława Roś, a friend of Brindla's, brought them food and money for fuel on a regular basis, and Brindla would make the rounds in surrounding villages begging for food.¹³⁵⁷ Dr. Zofia Szymańska, who was sheltered by the Grey Ursulines in Ołtarzew (Ożarów), received material care and an abundance of spiritual comfort from many nuns and priests, without any effort on their part to convert her. News of her stay was widely known to the villagers but no one betrayed her, not even when a German military unit was, at one point, quartered in the convent. Her ten-year-old niece, who had a very Semitic appearance, was sheltered by the Sisters of the Immaculate Virgin Mary in Szymanów, along with more than a dozen Jewish girls. All of the nuns were aware that their young charges were Jews, as were the lay staff, the parents of non-Jewish children and many villagers. None of the Christian parents removed their children from the school despite the potential danger, and in fact many of them contributed to the upkeep of the Jewish children. Dr. Szymańska wrote: "The children were under the protection of the entire convent and village. Not one traitor was to be found among them."¹³⁵⁸ Another example is provided by Mary Rolicka, whose mother, one other Jewish woman and two Jewish men were sheltered by the Sisters of Charity, with the assistance of their chaplain, Rev. Albin Małysiak, in the Helcel Institute in Kraków and later at an old age home in Szczawnica. Rev. Małysiak recalled: "All of the charges of the institute as well as the personnel (nuns and lay staff) knew that there were Jews hidden among us. It was impossible to conceal that fact, even though it was known what danger faced those who were responsible for sheltering Jews. After the passage of weeks and months many of the residents of Szczawnica learned of the Jewish boarders. No one betrayed this to the Germans who were stationed in the immediate vicinity."¹³⁵⁹ Henryk Schönker recalled that when he was fingered in Wieliczka near Kraków by a boy who started to chase him, the passers-by ignored the boy's cry to "catch the Jew." No one made an effort to apprehend him. One of the onlookers seized the boy and admonished him.¹³⁶⁰ Marian Małowist, who survived the war in the village of Jabłoń near Parczew, said: "The family with whom I lived knew everything about me—in fact, two families knew. After the war it came out that more families knew, and also the chief of the navy-blue police, a Pole, a very decent person. [Professor] Juliusz Kleiner was hiding in the neighbourhood; in the next village there was a Jewess; in that area many were hiding."¹³⁶¹ Jewish partisan Gustaw Alef-Bolkowiak identifies the following villages in the Parczew-Ostrów Lubelski area as ones where "almost the entire population was actively engaged in helping fugitives from the ghettos": Rudka, Jedlanka, Makoszka, Tyśmienica and Bójki. He also states that in the village of Niedźwiada near Opole Lubleskie, the foresters sheltered several Jewish families with the knowledge of the entire village.¹³⁶² About one hundred and fifty Poles were killed in mass executions in the villages of Białka in

¹³⁵³ Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 541–42.

¹³⁵⁴ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 572–73.

¹³⁵⁵ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 210. In the 1960s, Jadwiga, then Bekir, visited the Grzegorek family with her husband to express their gratitude.

¹³⁵⁶ Ewa Kurek, *Dzieci żydowskie w klasztorach: Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce a latach 1939–1945* (Lublin: Clio, 2001; Lublin: Gaudium, 2004), 116.

¹³⁵⁷ Justyna Kowalska-Leder, "Pomaganie skazanym na Zagładę jako źródło destrukcji—na podstawie dokumentów osobistych Brandli Siekierkowej," *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, IFiS PAN, 2012), vol. 8, 176–87.

¹³⁵⁸ Zofia Szymańska, *Byłam tylko lekarzem...* (Warsaw: Pax, 1979), 149–76.

¹³⁵⁹ Mary Rolicka, "A Memoir of Survival in Poland," *Midstream*, April 1988, 26–27.

¹³⁶⁰ See Henryk Schönker, *Dotknięcie anioła* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2005), 135–36.

¹³⁶¹ "Marian Małowist on History and Historians," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 13 (2000): 338.

¹³⁶² Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 533–34.

the Parczew forest and Sterdyń near Sokołów Podlaski for extensive help given to Jews by those villages.¹³⁶³ More than a dozen villagers in Mętów near Głusk, outside of Lublin, sheltered Jews.¹³⁶⁴ Survivors from Sokoły recall: “The village Landowa [Lendowo near Brańsk] had a good name among the Jews who were hiding in the area around Sokoly, and they regarded it as a paradise. Many Jews began to stream there. ... there wasn’t a house in Landowa where there weren’t three or four Jews.” (Liba Goldberg-Warobel) “Finally, we came to the village of Landowa [Lendowo]. ... we knocked on the door of a house, not far from the forest. An old farmwoman brought us into the house. ... I remained alone with the old farmwoman. ... Over time, it became known to all of them that I was not related to her family and that I didn’t even know Polish. The farmwoman did not hesitate to admit that she had adopted me, a Jewish girl, as her daughter. ... The farmwoman began to teach me Christian prayers, and on Sundays I went with her to church. ... The goyim, residents of the village who knew I was Jewish, did not hand me over to the Germans.” (Tzipora Tabak-Burstein)¹³⁶⁵ Another survivor writes: “This village Lendowo became a refuge for a lot of wandering Jews, they called this village the Garden of Eden. ... here they opened wide the doors without having any fear. Soon there were Jews in every house.”¹³⁶⁶ Several Jews, among them Ida Lewartowska and her daughter, were hidden in a forest bunker near the village of Leńce, just north of Białystok. The villagers in the area from Nowe Aleksandrowo, Dobrzyniewo Fabryczne and Letniki knew about these Jews, but no one denounced them.¹³⁶⁷ A number of Jewish fugitives took refuge in a forest near the village of Jaświły near Mońki, where many villagers brought them food.¹³⁶⁸ Szymon Datner recalled that his Jewish partisan group “Forojs” (Forward), consisting of escapees from the Białystok ghetto, were assisted by nearly all of the villagers of Dworzysk, yet Yad Vashem recognized only three of them. Among those mentioned as offering food and shelter to the partisans were Alfons and Stefania Radziwanowski, Zachariasz and Józef Słowiński, Afanazy Kaczanowski, and the Tur, Cholewski, Czaban, Kuklik and Kwiatkowski families. The entire village took part or was aware of this assistance, and no one betrayed the partisans or rescuers.¹³⁶⁹ Maria Kazuczyk, a widow who lived alone in a small house on the edge of the village of Janowicze near Białystok, sheltered Mira Kwasowicer. Villagers became aware of Mira’s presence, but no one betrayed them. The village headman, who was responsible for registering all residents under pain of death, was fearful for the fate of the villagers and wanted Mira to leave the village. Maria turned to the local priest, in the nearby village of Juchnowiec Kościelny, who stood up for Maria and protected her charge.¹³⁷⁰ Rywka Chus and her husband, a grain merchant from Ostrów Mazowiecka, were protected by the villagers of Króle Duże who respected and helped them survive the war.¹³⁷¹ Kalmen Wewryk describes the assistance he received, after his escape from Sobibór, from numerous peasants as he wandered from village to village in an area south of Chełm populated by decent but frightened Catholic Poles and some Ukrainian Baptists. A family of five Jews hid in Teresin near Chełm: “Everybody in the hamlet knew that this family was hiding, but nobody knew where and they didn’t

¹³⁶³ Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 123–24, 228.

¹³⁶⁴ Dariusz Libionka, “Polska ludność chrześcijańska wobec eksterminacji Żydów—dystrykt lubelski,” in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), 325.

¹³⁶⁵ Shmuel Kalisher, ed., *Sokoly: B’maavak l’haim* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Sokoły Emigrés in Israel, 1975), 188–207, translated as *Sokoly: In the Fight for Life*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/sokoly/sokoly.html>>.

¹³⁶⁶ Luba Wrobel Goldberg, *A Sparkle of Hope: An Autobiography* (Melbourne: n.p., 1998), 63.

¹³⁶⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 741–42.

¹³⁶⁸ Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, “Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej,” *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 372.

¹³⁶⁹ Szymon Datner, “Szkice do studiów nad dziejami żydowskiego ruchu partyzanckiego w Okręgu białostockim (1941–1944),” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 73 (January–March 1970): 3–46, at pp. 45–46; Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 348–50; Rogalewska, *Getto białostockie*, 196.

¹³⁷⁰ Kazuczyk Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8490751>>; Testimony of Mira Kwasowicer-Glikfeld, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2007; Marianna Kazuczyk, Memory and Identity: International Information Center, Internet: <<http://pamiecitozasamosc.pl/en/marianna-kazuczyk-her-husband-son-zygmunt-maria-kazuczyk>>.

¹³⁷¹ Andrzej Żbikowski, *U genezy Jedwabnego: Żydzi na Kresach Północno-Wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej. Wrzesień 1939–lipiec 1941* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2006), 69.

want to know. Moishe told me how they were loved in that hamlet—there were decent people there.”¹³⁷² A teenager, Marian Finkielman wandered the villages in the vicinity of Dubeczno where he was employed as a farmhand by various farmers: “In 1941 and 1942 many young Jews wandered from village to village, offering their services in exchange for room and board. The peasant farmers knew who they were, and for some time took advantage of their help, just as the farmer in the village of Kozaki benefited from my situation.” In Kozaki, “Luckily, during my stay there from April through July 1942, ... none of the inhabitants of the village, Ukrainians or Poles, informed of Jurek’s [a Jewish boy from Warsaw who also worked as a herdsman] or my existence. It seemed that there were no informants in this village ...”¹³⁷³ Cypora Frydman, the daughter of a mill owner in Nowy Orzechów near Ostrów Lubelski, hid in a hut near a lake. She recalled: “All the peasants in the village knew me because all of them used to come to our mill, but not one of them denounced me even though everyone knew I was hiding near the lake. Sometimes they gave me bread for free, sometimes a little milk ... I used to return from the village late at night and hid in my hut.”¹³⁷⁴ The villagers of Kubra near Radziłów, north of Łomża, did not betray the family of Helena Chlewicka when the Gestapo came looking for them in July 1942, and she and her mother survived the war penniless moving from village to village.¹³⁷⁵ Chaya and Yisrael Finkielsztejn and their four children posed as Christian Poles in the village of Konopki-Błonie near Radziłów, moving around among several farmers they knew in the area.¹³⁷⁶ Mirla Frydlich (Szternzys), from Żółkiewka, was shot in the thigh when she jumped from a train headed for the Bełżec death camp. A Pole who happened to be driving by took her in his carriage and nursed her back to health with the help of another Pole. When Mirla returned to Żółkiewka she received assistance from a number of Poles in several nearby villages.¹³⁷⁷ About 12 miles outside Lwów, Abraham Trasawucki, dressed only in rags, jumped from a death train headed for Bełżec in the middle of winter. Although he was easily identifiable as a Jew on the run, the villagers did not betray him, rather he was offered temporary shelter, food, clothing and money at two random Polish farmsteads, and given rides in the wagons of other Poles. He was sold a train ticket by an official, allowed on the train by a guard who checked his ticket, and not denounced by the passengers, even though everyone recognized him as a Jew.¹³⁷⁸ Ryfka Goldiner, a newborn at the time, was sheltered by Stanisław and Helena Wiśliński in Bełżyce near Lublin. Although the villagers were aware of her origin no one betrayed them. The local priest did not agree to formally baptize the child in the event her parents survived the war. In fact, they did survive and reclaimed their daughter.¹³⁷⁹ After her parents were shot by the Germans, villagers urged Edwarda Kleinfeld (born in 1935, later Rorat) and her older sister to run away. The head of the village of Olszanka near Lublin, a prewar acquaintance of Edwarda’s father, took an interest in the girls’ fate. He arranged for each of them to work on separate farms. Edwarda was eventually taken in by Jan and Stefania Rorat, a poor, elderly couple, who treated her like their own daughter. The fact that she was Jewish was an open secret in Olszanka and in the nearby village of Krzczonów where she attended school. Edwarda enjoyed the protection of her teachers who would hide when the Germans came to the village. The parish priest, who was very fond of her, did not press her to convert. Her sister also survived the war.¹³⁸⁰ Luba Hochlerer, ten years of age, lived openly with Józef and Bronisława Zajac in the hamlet of Witoldów

¹³⁷² Kalmen Wawryk, *To Sobibor and Back: An Eyewitness Account* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 1999), 66–68, 71

¹³⁷³ Marian Finkielman, *Out of the Ghetto: A Young Jewish Orphan Boy’s Struggle for Survival* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2000), 34–36; Marian (Finkielman) Domanski, *Fleeing from the Hunter* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2010), 34–35.

¹³⁷⁴ Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 89.

¹³⁷⁵ Danuta and Aleksander Wroniszewski, “...aby żyć,” *Kontakty—Łomżyński Tygodnik Społeczny*, July 10, 1988.

¹³⁷⁶ Waldemar Monkiewicz and Józef Kowalczyk, “Pomoc Żydom w regionie białostockim podczas II wojny światowej,” *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. 2 (1989): 362–79, at p. 365; Paweł Machcewicz and Krzysztof Persak, eds., *Wokół Jedwabnego* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2002), vol. 1, 317 n.58; Testimony of Chaya and Yisrael Finkielsztejn, Yad Vashem Archives, file 033033–2636/255, August 16, 1966.

¹³⁷⁷ Zylberklang, *Z Żółkiewki do Erec Israel*, 181–84.

¹³⁷⁸ Abraham Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2007), 165–72.

¹³⁷⁹ Anna Dąbrowska, ed., *Światła w ciemności: Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata: Relacje* (Lublin: Ośrodek “Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN,” 2008), 56–61.

¹³⁸⁰ Rorat Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7075782>>; Oral history interviews with Edwarda Rorat, April 15, 1995 and February 25, 1996, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

near Wojsławice, where she attended village school, yet no one betrayed her.¹³⁸¹ Irena Szyncer, a Jewish girl with strikingly Semitic features, who was sheltered by a Polish woman in the village of Bełżec, recalled shortly after the war: “I was well cared for by that lady and was not afraid of anything. Although the neighbours knew I was Jewish, this lady had no enemies so nothing [bad] could happen.”¹³⁸² Julia Pępiak of Bełżec sheltered Salomea Helman, her former neighbour and friend, and her young daughter, Bronia, something that became widely known in the village. Both of them survived.¹³⁸³ According to three separate testimonies of Jewish escapees from the death camps of Treblinka and Sobibór, they “walked about the villages” and were “known to everybody,” including the farm-hands and school children, without being betrayed.¹³⁸⁴ After escaping from Treblinka, Szymon Goldberg made his way to the villages of Kukawki, Basinów and Kiciny, just beyond Łochów, where the farmers protected him. He recalled: “There were good people, they helped, they gave me food.”¹³⁸⁵ Mieczysław Grajewski, who escaped from the Treblinka death camp, recalled the help he received from peasants: “I was free. I walked to a village. . . . I knocked to ask for bread. The peasants looked at me in silence. ‘Bread, bread.’ They saw my red hands, torn jacket, worn-out slippers, and handed me some hard, gray crusts. A peasant woman, huddled in shawls, gave me a bowl of hot milk and a bag. We didn’t talk: my body had turned red and blue from the blows and the cold, and my clothes, everything proclaimed Jew! But they gave me bread. Thank you Polish peasants. I slept in a stable near the animals, taking a little warm milk from the cow in the morning. My bag filled with bread.”¹³⁸⁶ A Jew from Serock (north of Warsaw) who escaped from a German execution site badly wounded, was cared for by very many villagers where he sought refuge.¹³⁸⁷ Izaak Zemelman of Płock recalled the assistance provided by a large number of Polish families in the nearby village of Sikórz where he and his family took shelter: Stawiarski, Romanowski, Górski, Danielak, Adamski, Kłosiński, and others.¹³⁸⁸ Some Jews came to realize that their guise as Christian Poles was not as foolproof as they had believed, but this had not caused them to be betrayed. A Jew who called on farmhouses in the Urzędów area, pretending to be a Christian, recalled: “I would cross myself, bless Jesus Christ, and ask for something to eat. I had made up a story in case questions were asked. Most farmers were not talkative. Viewed suspiciously, sometimes I would be given soup or bread and asked to leave quickly: sometimes I was just told to go. Later it dawned on me

¹³⁸¹ Ibid., 106–7.

¹³⁸² Teresa Prekerowa, “Stosunek ludności polskiej do żydowskich uciekinierów z obozów zagłady w Treblince, Sobiborze i Bełżcu w świetle relacji żydowskich i polskich,” *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, vol. 35 (1993): 104, based on the testimony of Irena Schnitzer (Szyncer), Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4638. The rescuers of Irena Szyncer, Maciej and Cecylia Brogowski, were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2008. See Brogowski Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=5684693>>; The Brogowski Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-brogowski-family-0>>; “Zagłada Żydów Biecha – Sprawiedliwi wśród Narodów Świata,” Internet: <<http://krzyprzy.zso4.gliwice.pl/zaglada/sprawiedliwi/sprawiedliwi.htm>>.

¹³⁸³ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 597; Zuzanna Schnepf-Kolacz, “Pomoc Polaków dla Żydów na wsi w czasie okupacji niemieckiej: Próba opisu na przykładzie Sprawiedliwych wśród Narodów Świata,” in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Zarys krajobrazu: Wieś polska wobec zagłady Żydów 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 236; Karolina Dzieciółowska, “‘I forgot about the terror, the fear and the consequences.’ The Story of Julia Pępiak,” Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/i-forgot-about-terror-fear-and-consequences-story-julia-pepiak>>.

¹³⁸⁴ Teresa Prekerowa, “Stosunek ludności polskiej do żydowskich uciekinierów z obozów zagłady w Treblince, Sobiborze i Bełżcu w świetle relacji żydowskich i polskich,” *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu—Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, vol. 35 (1993): 108.

¹³⁸⁵ Testimony of Szymon Goldberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 656, noted in Marek Józwiak, Teresa Mahorowska, and Apolonia Umińska, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespol 301, Nr. 1–900 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 1–900* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 1998), vol. 1, 227.

¹³⁸⁶ Martin Gray, with Max Gallo, *For Those I Loved* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1972), 178. In her article, “The Men Who Whitewash Hitler,” *The New Statesman*, November 2, 1979, historian Gitta Sereny alleged that Martin Gray was never in Treblinka.

¹³⁸⁷ Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w reencji ciechanowskiej 1939–1942* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1984), 134.

¹³⁸⁸ Jan Przedpełski, *Żydzi płoccy: Dzieje i martyrologia, 1939–1945* (Płock: Fraza, 1993), 52.

that I was crossing myself incorrectly, touching my chin rather than the chest.”¹³⁸⁹ In 1942, Fr. Jerzy Mirewicz, a Jesuit priest, escorted a Jewish fugitive by train from Biłgoraj to Milanówek near Warsaw, so that he could join members of his family who were being hidden by a Christian family. Even though the priest had permission to travel, officials were constantly checking the papers of passengers. When the train reached Dęblin, a policeman came into the car and demanded to know if his companion was a Jew. Fortunately for the priest and the fugitive, the whole compartment came to their rescue by insisting that priest was escorting a “lunatic” to a hospital asylum.¹³⁹⁰ Irena Bakowska, then a teenager, was part of a group of six Jews being smuggled from Warsaw to the countryside: “We entered into a single train compartment occupied already by the Christian Poles ... We were greeted in a friendly manner, and the man sitting by himself moved over and sat with his four companions. ... The conductor, a Christian Pole, entered the compartment to check the tickets. ... we uncovered our armbands to identify ourselves. I watched the reaction of the Christian Polish passengers with great apprehension. ... But the attitude of the Christian passengers was sympathetic and not at all hostile. They started talking with us, and urged us to throw away our armbands and our Jewish identity. ... Those five people seemed truly to care about my survival, repeating over and over again that I could be saved and survive as a Pole. They persuaded me that all Poles did not hate us, did not wish us to perish.”¹³⁹¹ Several Jews were hiding in the village of Osieczny near Myślenice, south of Kraków. Although this was a widely known fact, no one was betrayed.¹³⁹² Janina Katz, who was born in 1939, was adopted by the Kapłański family of Dobczyce, south of Kraków. The family was well known in the town so it was impossible for the community not to have known the truth about Janina. The child lived there peacefully throughout the war.¹³⁹³ A number of Jews took refuge in a forest near the village of Kornatka, which was located near Dobczyce. The entire village became aware of their presence. The priest from the nearby parish in Dobczyce urged his parishioners to help the Jewish fugitives, and not to betray them. Villagers provided them with food and, during the winter months, they would allow them to stay overnight in their homes, barns and stables.¹³⁹⁴ A Jew by the name of Eichhorn was hidden by a farmer in Wola Skrzydlańska near Limanowa for a long period of time. When this became known to a treacherous Polish policeman, neighbours of the farmer took the fugitive in, passing him from hand to hand until the end of the occupation.¹³⁹⁵ A Jewish lawyer was able to continue his practice in Mielec, in defiance of a Nazi ban, with the collusion of the town’s entire legal profession, until he was denounced by a fellow Jew, first to the Gestapo and then to the Justice Department.¹³⁹⁶ In the village of Czajkowa near Mielec, where the brothers Zygie and Sol Allweiss were sheltered by the family of Maciej and Zofia Dudzik, neighbours who lived around the Dudzik farm were aware that Jewish boys were hiding there but chose not to betray the family: “In the village, if one knows something, everyone knows,” the rescuers said. “They were our neighbors and they were good people.”¹³⁹⁷ A Jewish woman who had converted to Catholicism when she married a Pole continued to live in her village near Mielec throughout the war with the acquiescence of the local community.¹³⁹⁸ Menachem Kuperman, then a young teenage boy, wandered into the village of Borki Nizińskie, north of the town of Mielec, without any documents. He entered

¹³⁸⁹ David Makow, *Dangerous Luck: Memories of a Hunted Life* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 2000), 28.

¹³⁹⁰ Vincent A. Lapomarda, *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (Lewiston/Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 130.

¹³⁹¹ Irena Bakowska, *Not All Was Lost: A Young Woman’s Memoir, 1939–1946* (Kingston, Ontario: Karijan, 1998), 142–44.

¹³⁹² Marek Stoszek, “The History of Jews in Myślenice County During the Second World War,” in Waclaw Wierzbieniec and Elżbieta Rączy, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: The Scope and Forms of Help to Jews in East Central Europe During Occupation by the Third Reich* (Jarosław: The Bronisław Markiewicz State Higher School of Technology and Economics in Jarosław, 2014), 49–50.

¹³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 50.

¹³⁹⁴ Przemysław Miśkiewicz, interview with Tadeusz Jakubowicz, “Dzięki nim żyję, dla mnie to bohaterowie,” *Dodatek Narodowy Dzień Pamięci Polaków ratujących Żydów*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, March 26, 2018. See also Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 263–66; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 234.

¹³⁹⁵ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 409, based on Tadeusz Seweryn, “Wielostronna pomoc Żydom w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej,” *Przegląd Lekarski*, no. 1 (1967): 162–83, at p. 166.

¹³⁹⁶ Mark Verstandig, *I Rest My Case* (Melbourne: Saga Press, 1995), viii, 109–13, 130–32.

¹³⁹⁷ Tammeus and Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People*, 22.

¹³⁹⁸ Tomasz Frydel, “Powiat dębicki,” in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, eds., *Dalej jest noc: Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018), vol. 2, 434.

the home of Eugeniusz Pieróg, a farmer whom he had never met before, and introduced himself as a Polish boy looking for farm work. Pieróg agreed to take him on as a farmhand. One day, when they were collecting wood in the forest, they came across German soldiers. Pieróg warned Kuperman not to approach them and on the way home said to the boy, “Did you think I didn’t know you were Jewish?” In time, Kuperman learned that not only did Pieróg know that he was Jewish but that there were others in the village who suspected his true identity. Whenever Kuperman became frightened that someone in the village would inform on him, Pieróg cheered him up, telling him not to fear because he had no enemies who would harm him in the village. Kuperman remained with Pieróg unharmed until the war ended.¹³⁹⁹ The Jewish Social Self-Help organization in the town of Proszowice near Miechów, in November 1941, solicited food supplies from 20 Polish estates in the vicinity for the soup kitchen in the ghetto; 19 owners promptly responded, promising produce free of charge.¹⁴⁰⁰ In the village of Goszcza near Miechów, everyone was aware that Jews, some of them with a marked Semitic appearance, were being sheltered yet no one betrayed them.¹⁴⁰¹ Alexander Bronowski and his family were passing as Poles in the village of Imbramowice near Wolbrom. Although their true identity became known to the priest and other villagers, no one betrayed them.¹⁴⁰² After fleeing the Szczucin ghetto during its liquidation, Shiyer Mutzenmacher ran to the farm of Anna and Stanisław Jaje in nearby village of Lubasz. Everyone in the village knew that a young man of Jewish descent was hiding in the Jajes’ house, but nobody denounced him. He did tailoring jobs for the neighbours and other villagers, which contributed to the household expenses.¹⁴⁰³ Similar reports come from the villages of Gałuszowice and Chrzastów near Mielec.¹⁴⁰⁴ In the latter village, it was widely known among the villagers that the Markowski family was sheltering the Verstandig family, and several other Polish families were also hiding Jews.¹⁴⁰⁵ In Majdan Nepryski, west of Tomaszów Lubelski, several families sheltered a young Jewish girl thrown from a train headed for Bełżec.¹⁴⁰⁶ In Grodzisk, a small town outside Warsaw, an elderly Jewish teacher was able to live openly with his wife, a Polish Catholic woman, throughout the war: “Everybody knew my uncle was Jewish but no one reported him to the Gestapo.” This family took in other Jews, also without incident.¹⁴⁰⁷ A foundry in Wołomin, outside of Warsaw, engaged a Jew whose appearance and manner of speaking readily gave him away, yet no one betrayed him.¹⁴⁰⁸ After receiving a great deal of sporadic help from Poles as he wandered in the countryside around Garwolin, Meir Herc was introduced, through a Jewish friend and his Christian intermediary, to a farmer in the village of Jagodne who agreed to shelter him for payment. Herc was one of six Jews the farmer hid in his pigsty. Herc was able to pay for his upkeep with the money he received from various Poles to whom he had entrusted his property. The money was collected by an intermediary and delivered to Herc. The entire group of six Jews survived this way for 23 months. Meir Herc writes: “I only survived thanks to more than a dozen Poles who sold our goods and would send the money to me. They even knew the village in which I was hiding but did not betray me.”¹⁴⁰⁹ Another resident of Garwolin, Chana Karpman-Rozenberg, received a great deal of help from many local residents before she decided to move to Warsaw. When she travelled by train to Warsaw pretending to be a smuggler, she encountered many Poles

¹³⁹⁹ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: Poland, Part 2, 605.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012), vol. II, Part A, 552.

¹⁴⁰¹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 643–44.

¹⁴⁰² Alexander Bronowski, *The Were Few* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 38–39.

¹⁴⁰³ Jaje Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4411153>>; Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), 344–49.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 721–22.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, Second revised edition (Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne w Mielcu, 2013), 98.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 709–10.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Sylvia Rothchild, ed., *Voices from the Holocaust* (New York: New American Library, 1981), 225.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Antoni Marianowicz, *Życie surowo wzbronione* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1995), 159–60; translated as Antoni Marianowicz, *Life Strictly Forbidden* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Meir Herc, “My Experience in September,” in Moshe Zaltsman and Baruch Shein, eds., *Garwolin yisker-bukh* (Tel Aviv, New York and Paris: Garwolin Societies, 1972), 187–93. Rubin Rudolf Steckman was sheltered by several farmers near Garwolin, moving from house to house. See the testimony of Rubin Rudolf Steckman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1753.

from Garwolin whom she knew but none of them denounced her. She was helped by a number of Poles in Warsaw. While passing as a Pole, she met many Poles from Garwolin, among them Home Army members and a policeman, who were glad to see her.¹⁴¹⁰ A Jewish boy named Josek Mansdorf was allowed to stay on as a farmhand in a village in the township of Ryglice near Tarnów, even after his identity was exposed and villagers became aware of it.¹⁴¹¹ Other examples of communal assistance by Poles in central Poland include: Niedźwiada near Opole Lubleskie; an entire street in the city of Przemyśl was aware of a Jewish hideout; Runów near Grójec; Przydonica, Ubiad, Klimkówka, Jelna, Słowikowa, and Librantowa near Nowy Sącz; Rakszawa near Łańcut.¹⁴¹² Additional examples of communal rescue include: Medynia Głogowska near Rzeszów, Siedleczka near Rzeszów, Sokołów Małopolski near Rzeszów¹⁴¹³; two villages near Parczew¹⁴¹⁴; Piszczac near Biała Podlaska and nearby Kolonia Dworska¹⁴¹⁵; villages near Lublin¹⁴¹⁶; Mchy near Krasnystaw¹⁴¹⁷; villages near Skierniewice, Rożki near Krasnystaw, villages near Zamość, villages near Radzymin, and villages near Otwock.¹⁴¹⁸ A teenage boy with a Semitic appearance, the son of a Jewish beggar woman, lived openly in the village of Głowaczowa near Dębica, with the Polish farmer who had taken him in, without being betrayed.¹⁴¹⁹ Several Polish families in the villages of Bobrowa, Wola Bobrowska, and Nagoszyn near Dębica sheltered various members of the Knie family. Among the rescuers from Nagoszyn recognized by Yad Vashem are Michał Dygdoń and Józef Cholewa. Although a number of villagers became aware of the Jews' presence, no one betrayed them.¹⁴²⁰ People readily recognizable as Jews who spoke poor Polish were able to survive in the Western Polish countryside, an area that was incorporated directly into the German Reich, without being betrayed: "[Alexander] said that he had gone through the war with a false identity. It sounds like a joke with his Yiddish accented Polish, with his looks. 'I presented myself as a Lithuanian, I had no papers, I had no money, but I was young and strong. ... I escaped westward, to the Poznan [Poznań] region where Jews were hardly known. I worked in the village, at the farm of somebody ... He didn't pay me anything. ... What matters is that he fed me, gave me some rags to wear, and I lived like a king.'"¹⁴²¹ Even when neighbours were displeased with the fact that they were put at risk because of the Jews sheltered in their midst, and justifiably fearful of German retaliation, this did not necessarily result in denunciations, as is shown by several cases.¹⁴²² Nor did public executions of Polish

¹⁴¹⁰ Chana Karpman-Rozenberg, "On the Aryan Side," in Zaltsman and Shein, *Garwolin yisker-bukh*, 208–15.

¹⁴¹¹ Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, 109, based on the testimony of Josek Mansdorf, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 570.

¹⁴¹² Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 269, 307, 322, 349, 353, respectively.

¹⁴¹³ Rączy, *Pomoc Polaków dla ludności żydowskiej na Rzeszowszczyźnie 1939–1945*, 63.

¹⁴¹⁴ Isaac Kowalski, *Anthology on Armed Jewish Resistance, 1939–1945*, vol. 3 (Brooklyn, New York: Jewish Combatants Publishers House, 1986), 308.

¹⁴¹⁵ Diane Armstrong, *Mosaic: A Chronicle of Five Generations* (Milsons Point, New South Wales: Random House, 1998), 576–81; Roman Soszyński, *Piszczac: Miasto ongiś królewskie* (N.p., n.p., 1993), 95, 97; Andrzej W. Kaczorowski, "Danusia z miasteczka Piszczac," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*, no. 8 (March 2009): 69–73.

¹⁴¹⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vols. 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, 95, 317, 326.

¹⁴¹⁷ Thomas Toivi Blatt, *From the Ashes of Sobibor: A Story of Survival* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 207 ff.

¹⁴¹⁸ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vols. 4 and 5: *Poland*, Part 1, 343–44, 452; Part 2, 647, 673 and 692, 927. Regarding Rożki see also Sabina Leszczyńska, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-leszczynska-sabina>>.

¹⁴¹⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 640.

¹⁴²⁰ Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), vol. 2, 535–37; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 719–20.

¹⁴²¹ Ephraim F. Sten, *1111 Days In My Life Plus Four* (Takoma Park, Maryland: Dryad Press, in association with the University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 66–67.

¹⁴²² Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 192–93.

rescuers bring rescue activity to a halt.¹⁴²³

Assistance by Polish villagers in Eastern Galicia and in Volhynia was also plentiful. Jewish historians Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski list several examples of help extended by entire rural communities. In Kretowce near Zbaraż, Tarnopol voivodship, “several dozen Jews were able to move about almost freely because the whole village shielded them from the Nazis.”¹⁴²⁴ In Woronówka near Ludwipol, Volhynia, “the collusion of the peasants was cemented by blood ties: every villager was either a Kuriata or a Torgoń. The peasants in Kościejów, in the vicinity of which ran the railway line leading to the extermination camp at Bełżec, tended to Jews who jumped out of the ‘death trains.’ They not only brought them food and clothing but also sent word to Jews in the nearby village of Kulików to come and fetch the heavily injured immediately; the rest were taken by the peasants themselves to Kulików under cover of darkness. In Bar [near Gródek Jagielloński] villagers supplied a group of 18 Jews hiding in the neighbouring woods with food; they came into the village at night for their provisions and thanks to this help were able to hold out until the area was liberated by the Soviet Army.”¹⁴²⁵ Several Jews were sheltered by Polish villagers in Święty Stanisław near Stanisławów. No one betrayed them.¹⁴²⁶ One of the rescued Jews praises the “noble attitude of the entire population, without exception, of the Polish village of Bar” (near Gródek Jagielloński), who helped more than twenty people hiding in nearby forests to survive.¹⁴²⁷ The Polish villagers of Stanisłówka near Żółkiew fed and sheltered Jews who moved from place to place without betrayal.¹⁴²⁸ In the Polish village of Czukiew near Sambor, a farmer hid 18 Jews, who were not betrayed although most of the village knew about them.¹⁴²⁹ Almost every Polish family in the hamlet of Zawołocze near Ludwipol, in Volhynia, sheltered or helped Jews. None of the Jews were betrayed.¹⁴³⁰ Jews hiding in the forests in the vicinity of Berezne (Bereżne) near Kostopol, Volhynia, received extensive assistance from Polish villagers and partisans.¹⁴³¹ A number of Jews were sheltered in the Polish colony of Święte Jezioro near Olesk, some of them living there openly. Their presence was also known to Poles living in nearby villages. The villagers also provided food to Jews living in the forests.¹⁴³² Polish villages in the vicinity of Korzec, Volhynia, helped Jews hiding in the forests.¹⁴³³ After leaving the home of a Ukrainian Baptist family in the village of Charaľuh, Haya Tessler, her brother Israel and their nephew Mordechai

¹⁴²³ See, for example, Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part One, 21 (Mariampol).

¹⁴²⁴ Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 27.

¹⁴²⁵ Berenstein and Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland 1939–1945*, 45–46. According to Marek Szmajuk, some 70 Jews from Zbaraż were rescued by Poles, and the village of Kretowce, where more than 20 Jews were saved, stood out in this respect. Jews there lived openly and their presence was known to the entire village. See the testimony of Marek Szmajuk, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2571, cited in Michał Czajka, Marta Janczewska, and Apolonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 2001–3000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 2001–3000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 2002), vol. 3, 233–34 (Kretowce), and reproduced in Roszkowski, *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945*, vol. 3, 268–69 (Kretowce). The following Poles from Kretowce have been recognized as “Righteous” by Yad Vashem: Agnieszka Mazurkiewicz, Helena Sokalska and her daughter, Janina Szkilnik, and six members of the Zalwowski family.

¹⁴²⁶ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 620; Knap, “*Jak ci się uda uratować, pamiętaj*”, 101–3.

¹⁴²⁷ Gerszon Taffet, *Zagłada Żydów żółkiewskich* (Łódź: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna, 1946), 62; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 444; Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 115–16.

¹⁴²⁸ Śliwowska, *The Last Eyewitnesses*, vol. 1, 172–74.

¹⁴²⁹ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 825; based on the testimony of Meyer Lamet, July 15, 1945, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 4967.

¹⁴³⁰ Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part Two, 77–78.

¹⁴³¹ Testimony of Seweryn Dobroszkłanka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1222; Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 324–25; Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady*, 79–82.

¹⁴³² Suzanne Ginsburg, *Noike: A Memoir of Leon Ginsburg* (San Francisco: Avenger Books, 2012), 93–99, 120–24, 127–37, 141–58. This book refers to the Polish colony as “Podswientne” and mentions several helpful families by name.

¹⁴³³ Nyuma Anapolsky, “We survived thanks to the kind people—Ukrainians and Poles,” in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), 10–11.

Tennenbaum, all from Międzyrzecz Korecki, “got to a village where Poles lived ... we stayed in their midst for a while, and when they decided to abandon the village for the safety of the dense forests, ... we joined them.”¹⁴³⁴ A report about the village of Stara Huta near Szumsk, in Volhynia, states: “The people of a small Polish village named Stara Huta [sic] welcomed a group of Jews to stay and hide in their homes. The Ukrainians found out about the Jewish presence in the village. They informed the Germans right away. The Poles had managed to help the Jews run into the fields, but they were all caught and killed during their escape.”¹⁴³⁵ Dawid Sasower recalls: “near Zaturne [near Łuck], there was a Polish village in which about twenty Jews lived. In the daytime they worked in the fields and at night the Poles gave them rifles so that they could protect themselves from the banderovtsy [Ukrainian nationalist partisans].”¹⁴³⁶ A survivor had nothing but praise for the Czech villagers of Czeskie Nowosiółki near Beresteczko, in Volhynia, for their helpfulness toward Jewish fugitives, stating, “I do not know if a Jew would do for them what they did for us.”¹⁴³⁷ Regarding Kozowa, a small predominantly Polish town near Brzeżany, in Eastern Galicia, Bronia Beker (née Rohatiner) states: “My aunt didn’t have to hide. She was so well loved and respected by all because she always helped the poorest of the poor, that while she was walking around freely, living among the ruins nobody gave her away. ... The people in the town also made sure she had food at all times.”¹⁴³⁸ Samuel Eisen, a teenager who survived in a forest near Thuste, recalled: “We had no money, but in the village nearby lived a lot of Poles who knew us and were good to us. They were afraid to hide us but they [always] gave us food.”¹⁴³⁹ Maria Fischer Zahn, who hid near Zborów, stated: “Everybody in the neighborhood knew we were hiding, but nobody told the Germans. The people in Jezierna were good people. They didn’t give us away. They helped us with food. We couldn’t have survived without them.”¹⁴⁴⁰ Shlomo Berger, who passed as a Pole in a small town near Czortków, working for Tadeusz Duchowski, the Polish director of a company, recalled: “I rented a room in Niżniów with one of the Polish workers. I learned from him that the man who was in charge of the office was the son of a judge who was a Jew who had converted to Catholicism. The son was probably raised as a Christian, but by German criteria he was still Jewish. The people at the office knew who he was, but nobody said anything.”¹⁴⁴¹ A number of Jews were sheltered by Polish villagers in Ułaszowce near Czortków.¹⁴⁴² Markus Lecker, who joined up with a large group of Jews living in a forest bunker in the vicinity of Borszczów, describes their relations with a Polish settlement that provided them with food: “The colony ... consisted of six houses with six Polish families living there. ... These 6 Polish families were the main support for us Jewish outcasts who lived in the bunker. We used to go to the Polish colony at night and exchange whatever we had left for food ... But I must say these Polish colonists did supply us with some food ... even if we didn’t have what to give them in return ...”¹⁴⁴³ Hundreds of Jews were

¹⁴³⁴ Mordechai Tennenbaum, “The Life History of a Holocaust Survivor from Mezirich,” in Israel Zinman, ed., *Memorial for Greater Mezirich: In Construction and Destruction* (Haifa: n.p., 1999), Internet: <<http://jewishgen.org/yizkor/Mezhirichi/Mezirich.html>>.

¹⁴³⁵ Ruth Szejnman Halperin, “The Last Days of Shumsk,” in H. Rabin, ed., *Szumsk: Memorial Book of the Martyrs of Szumsk*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/szumsk/szumsk.html>>, translation of *Shumsk: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Shumsk* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szumsk in Israel, 1968), 29 ff.

¹⁴³⁶ Rima Dulkanienė and Kerry Keys, eds., *Su adata širdyje: Getų ir koncentracijos stovyklų kalinių atsiminimai; With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis and Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania, 2003), 319–20.

¹⁴³⁷ Testimony of Sonoa Resnick-Tetelbaum, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9702.

¹⁴³⁸ Bronia Beker’s account in “Women of Valor: Partisans and Resistance Fighters,” www.interlog.com/~mighty/personal/bronia.htm, originally published in the *Journal of the Center for Holocaust Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4 (spring 1990).

¹⁴³⁹ Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, 206, based on the testimony of Samuel Eisen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 197.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Carole Garbuny Vogel, *We Shall Not Forget!: Memories of the Holocaust*, Second edition (Lexington, Massachusetts: Temple Isaiah, 1995), 280, and also 276.

¹⁴⁴¹ Ronald J. Berger, *Constructing a Collective Memory of the Holocaust: A Life History of Two Brothers’ Survival* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1995), 55.

¹⁴⁴² Abraham Morgenstern, *Chortkov Remembered: The Annihilation of a Jewish Community* (Dumont, New Jersey: n.p., 1990), 83–84, 98.

¹⁴⁴³ Marcus Lecker, *I Remember: Odyssey of a Jewish Teenager in Eastern Europe* (Montreal: The Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies, and The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 1999), 56.

helped by Polish villagers in Biłka Szlachecka,¹⁴⁴⁴ about 20 kilometres east of Lwów, and in Hanaczów and Świrz,¹⁴⁴⁵ about 40 kilometres east of Lwów. More than 200 Jews were sheltered or helped by Poles in Hanaczów.¹⁴⁴⁶ Even though their presence was widely known, the Polish villagers did not betray them. Of Ostra Mogiła near Skalał Jewish survivors wrote: “The people in this village were friendly to the Jews and provided them with whatever they could. ... Twenty-nine Jews survived in Ostra-Mogiła.”¹⁴⁴⁷ One of the Jews stated that of the ten houses on the street where his rescuers, the Firuta family lived, almost everyone had sheltered Jews and that the entire street merited recognition.¹⁴⁴⁸ Other examples of communal assistance by Poles include: Władysławówka near Swojczów, Volhynia¹⁴⁴⁹; Konińsk near Sarny, Pańska Dolina near Dubno, Świnarzyn near Dominopol, an entire street in the city of Przemyśl was aware of a Jewish hideout, the vicinity of Bereżne near Kostopol, Woronówka near Ludwipol, Obórki, Wólka Kotowska near Łuck, Przebraże¹⁴⁵⁰; Zdołbunów, Adamy, Huta Brodzka¹⁴⁵¹; Konińsk near Sarny¹⁴⁵²; Blizhov (“I must say that these peasants treated us fairly well. In the area of Blizhov there were no attacks or denunciations of Jews.”), Netebe, Okopy, Dołhań, and Borowskie Budki (or Budki Borowskie) near Kisorycze, Volhynia (“in the village of Netebe [sic], tens of Jews from Rokitno and the area found shelter. They were helped by the villagers who not only did not harm them but also hid them near the village during the day. At night they took

¹⁴⁴⁴ Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 483; Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 602–3.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Jerzy Węgiński, *W lwowskiej Armii Krajowej* (Warsaw: Pax, 1989), 77–78, 147–48, 151–52, 201; Eliyahu Yones, *Smoke in the Sand: The Jews of Lvov in the War Years 1939–1944* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2004), 227–28; Dorota Szwarcman, “Żywoć Klemzera: Wywiad z Leopoldem Kozłowskim,” *Midrasz*, January 2003; Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka w faszyzm w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2011), vol. 3, 12–13 (testimony of Edmund Adler), 346–50; Jolanta Chodorska, ed., *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny: Świadczenia nadesłane na apel Radia Maryja* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sióstr Loretanek, 2002), Part Two, 204–207; *Na Rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 1 (20) 1997: 21; *Na Rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 59 (2002): 18; *Na Rubieży* (Wrocław), no. 73 (2004): 6–22; Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 286–90, 774–78, 789–91, 798–99; Dariusz Libionka, “ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu RP wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich,” in Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 112–13; Testimony of Edmund Adler, Archive of Jewish Historical Institute, record group 301, number 808 and Yad Vashem Archives, file O.62/143; Testimony of Feiga Pfeffer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/1356, as cited in Michał Czajka, Marek Józwick, Teresa Mahorowska, and Apollonia Umińska-Keff, eds., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 901–2000 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 901–2000* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut Naukowo-Badawczy, 2000), vol. 2, 154. The Home Army unit also cooperated with a Jewish partisan unit in that area. The leaders of the Jewish unit (Captain Fryderyk Staub “Proch”, Isaac Braun) were decorated for their valour by the head of the Lwów district of the Home Army, and the Wojtowicz brothers (Alojzy, Kazimierz, and Antoni), local Home Army members, were recognized by Yad Vashem as “Righteous Among the Nations.” See Shmuel Krakowski, “The Polish Underground and the Jews in the Years of the Second World War,” in Bankier and Gutman, eds., *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*, 226; Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5: *Poland*, Part 2, 886–87.

¹⁴⁴⁶ This remarkable story is described in Joshua D. Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 314–17.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Abraham Weissbord, *Death of a Shtetl*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Skalat1/Skalat.html>>, translation of *Es shtarbt a shtetl: Megiles Skalat* (Munich: Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone of Germany, 1948), 65.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Firuta Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4288027>>.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 1027; Testimony of Jacek Grębicki in Edmund Mazur, “Po prostu człowiek: Materiały dotyczące pomocy niesionej Żydom w czasie okupacji hitlerowskiej w Warszawie,” *Palestra*, no. 11 (1968): 65–104, at p. 84.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 263, 265, 266, 307, 324–25, 327, 361 and 389, 386–392.

¹⁴⁵¹ Edward Prus, *Holocaust po banderowsku: Czy Żydzi byli w UPA?* (Wrocław: Nortom, 1995), 82, 144, 167; Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 605 (Zdołbunów).

¹⁴⁵² Asher Tarmon, ed., *Memorial Book: The Jewish Communities of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, and Kolki (Volyn Region)* (Tel-Aviv: Organization of Survivors of Manyevitz, Horodok, Lishnivka, Troyanuvka, Povursk, Kolki and Surroundings Living in Israel and Overseas, 2004), 39–40, 67–68, 74, 85.

them to their homes. Many Jews survived there until the liberation by the Red Army. In the Polish village of Budki some Jews survived ... In the same area, in the Polish village of Okopi [sic], some tens of Jews were saved thanks to two special individuals... the Catholic priest [Rev. Ludwik Wrodarczyk] and the village teacher. The priest used to give sermons to his followers telling them not to be involved in the extermination of Jews. He asked them to help the Jews to survive ... The village teacher also had compassion for the unfortunate Jews. Their suffering touched her heart and she helped in any way possible. She was killed by a Ukrainian gang on the way from the village of Rokitno where she was helping a Jewish family. The priest was burned alive in his church.”), a village near Snodowicze (“in a Polish village near Snodovich [Snodowicze], we found a few Jewish families working in the houses and fields of the villagers”)¹⁴⁵³; after escaping from the ghetto in Rokitno, Rachela Szulner moved from village to village surviving by sewing for farmers¹⁴⁵⁴; Huta Sopaczewska near Sarny, and Polish villages near the village of Bereżolupy near Rożyszcze, Volhynia (“When I arrived in the Polish village, someone told me that five kilometers from there, here was another Polish village where I might find my brother ... I went there and asked the farmers about him. They told me where to go, and I found him in a forest, with a group of six other Jews. ... They too had spent the winter in the forest, and at night they had brought potatoes and bread from the Polish village. ... I was accepted by an older couple ... My brother also got a job with another Polish farmer, about four kilometers from the village where I was. ... I stayed with that farmer for almost a year, until the Russians freed our area in April 1944.”)¹⁴⁵⁵; Karaczun near Kostopol, Volhynia (where both the Polish underground and Polish villagers were extremely helpful to Jews who hid in the forest)¹⁴⁵⁶; Huta Stepańska near Kostopol, Volhynia, where Jews joined the village self-defence to fight off Ukrainian partisan attacks¹⁴⁵⁷; Przebraże and Huta Stepańska, Volhynia¹⁴⁵⁸; a village near Horochów, Volhynia¹⁴⁵⁹; Kurdybań Warkowicki, Bortnica, Pańska Dolina, Żeniówka (Ziniówka), all near Dubno in Volhynia, where Jewish fugitives joined with Poles who protected them in defending these settlements from attacks by Ukrainian partisans¹⁴⁶⁰; a Polish village in the vicinity of Międzyrzec near Równie, Volhynia¹⁴⁶¹; Tresteniec, a Polish settlement near Aleksandria in Volhynia, where all the villagers knew about and assisted the

¹⁴⁵³ E. Leoni, ed., *Rokitno (Volin) ve-ha-sevivah: Sefer edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rokitno in Israel, 1967), translated as *Rokitno-Wolyn and Surroundings: Memorial Book and Testimony*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/rokitnoye/Rokitnoye.html>>, 293 ff., 317 ff., 327 ff., 334 ff., 342 ff., 351; Yehuda Bauer, “Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia),” in Steven T. Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2007), 273. The following Poles from Okopy have been recognized by Yad Vashem: Rev. Ludwik Wrodarczyk, Felicja Masojada, Weronika Kozińska-Romaniewicz, and Aniela Romaniewicz. See Gutman, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II, 594–95, 611.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 125.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Denise Nevo and Mira Berger, eds., *We Remember: Testimonies of Twenty-four Members of Kibbutz Megiddo who Survived the Holocaust* (New York: Shengold, 1994), 209, 257.

¹⁴⁵⁶ J. Peri, “Death and Sorrow,” in Yitzhak Ganuz, ed., *Our Town Stepan*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/stepan/Stepan.html>>, translation of *Ayaratenu Stepan* (Tel Aviv: Stepan Society, 1977), 213 ff.; Stanisław Siekierski, ed., *Żyli wśród nas...: Wspomnienia Polaków i Żydów nadesłane na konkurs pamięci polsko-żydowskiej o nagrodę imienia Dawida Ben Guriona* (Płońsk: Zarząd Miasta Płońsk, Miejskie Centrum Kultury w Płońsku, and Towarzystwo Miłośników Ziemi Płońskiej, 2001), 121; Andrzej Leja, “Urodzona w ZSRS,” Internet: <<https://www.salon24.pl/u/polismpc/157657,urodzona-w-zsrs-andrzej-leja>>; Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów*, 363, 368.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Ganuz, *Our Town Stepan*, 287; Testimony of Motel Waks, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2363, as cited in Czajka, et al., *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue*, vol. 3, 154, and reproduced in Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady*, 265–66.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Daniel Kac, *Koncert grany żywym* (Warsaw: Tu, 1998), 183. Regarding Przebraże, see also the testimony of Estera Kac, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2890—English translation: Boaz Cohen and Beate Müller, “A Teacher and His Students: Child Holocaust Testimonies from Early Postwar Polish Bytom,” *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2016): 68–115, at 96–97.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Sonya Tesler-Gyraph, “Memories from the Nazi Period,” in Yosef Kariv, ed., *Horchiv Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Horchiv Committee in Israel, 1966), 63.

¹⁴⁶⁰ Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 250–52; Tadeusz Piotrowski, ed., *Genocide and Rescue in Wołyń: Recollections of the Ukrainian Nationalist Ethnic Cleansing Campaign Against the Poles During World War II* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2000), 214–16.

¹⁴⁶¹ Account of Mordechai Tennenbaum in Israel Zinman, ed., *Memorial for Greater Mezirich: In Construction and Destruction* (Haifa: Organization of Meziritsh Association, 1999), Internet: <www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/mezhirichi/>.

sisters Cypa and Rywa Szparberg and their father¹⁴⁶²; Głębozczyca, Volhynia¹⁴⁶³; Wodzinów near Włodzimierz Wołyński, Volhynia¹⁴⁶⁴; Rakowiec and Hołosko Wielkie, both near Lwów¹⁴⁶⁵; Adamy near Busk¹⁴⁶⁶; Żeniów near Gliniany (“The few Jews of Gliniany who saved their lives were hiding in the woods near Zeniow [Żeniów]. The Polish peasants of that village supplied their food.”)¹⁴⁶⁷; Dzwonica near Złoczów¹⁴⁶⁸; Hucisko Olejskie (or Huta Olejska) near Złoczów (“It is a Polish village ... The gentiles were also very kind. We were there. We slept in barns. We slept here a day, here a day, here a night.”)¹⁴⁶⁹; an unidentified village near Złoczów¹⁴⁷⁰; Horyhlady near Tłumacz, and Wojciechówka near Buczacz¹⁴⁷¹; Wojciechówka near Buczacz¹⁴⁷²; Mateuszówka near Buczacz¹⁴⁷³; Dźwinogród near Buczacz¹⁴⁷⁴; Nowosiółka Koropiecka near Buczacz¹⁴⁷⁵; the Polish village of Hucisko near Brzeżany, a Home Army base.¹⁴⁷⁶ Spontaneous assistance was much more frequent than is often assumed, as illustrated by the following additional examples. Michael Zipper and his cousins, Maria Goldhirsh and her daughter Ruzia (later Rose Slutzky), and Fella Sieler were among the thirteen Jews, including five children, hidden in a forest

¹⁴⁶² Żbikowski, *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945*, 309.

¹⁴⁶³ Władysław Siemaszko and Ewa Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: von borowiecky, 2000), vol. 1, 872.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady*, 104–5. Dwojra Frymet (born in 1930) states that after the war she wanted to convert and be a Pole because Poles had helped her during the German occupation, whereas Jews had never treated her decently.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Stepan Makarczuk, “Straty ludności w Galicji Wschodniej w latach II wojny światowej (1939–1945),” in *Polska–Ukraina: Trudne pytania*, vol. 6 (Warsaw: Światowy Związek Żołnierzy Armii Krajowej, Związek Ukraińców w Polsce, and Karta, 2000), 240.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Bronisław Szeremeta, “Zagłada wsi Adamy—rok 1943,” *Semper Fidelis* (Wrocław), no. 1 (14), 1993: 19; Testimony of Leokadja Bochner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 234, noted in Józwick, Mahorowska, and Umińska, *Relacje z czasów Zagłady Inwentarz: Archiwum ŻIH IN-B, zespół 301, Nr. 1–900 / Holocaust Survivor Testimonies Catalogue: Jewish Historical Institute Archives, Record Group 301, No. 1–900*, vol. 1, 93–94.

¹⁴⁶⁷ “Letter of Chayah Kanner,” *Khurbn Glinyane* (New York: New York: Emergency Relief Committee for Gliniany and Vicinity, 1946), translated as *The Tragic End of Our Gliniany*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/glinyany1/Glinyany1.html>>.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Poland (with a historical survey of the Jew as fighter and soldier in the Diaspora)* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), 450; “Letter of Chayah Kanner,” *Khurbn Glinyane* (New York: New York: Emergency Relief Committee for Gliniany and Vicinity, 1946), translated as *The Tragic End of Our Gliniany*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/glinyany1/Glinyany1.html>>.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Account of Rose (Raisel) Meltzak in Donald L. Niewyk ed., *Fresh Wounds: Early Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 164.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Testimony of H. Fromer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1793/6.

¹⁴⁷¹ Shlomo Blond, et al., eds., *Memorial Book of Tłumacz: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community* (Tel Aviv: Tłumacz Societies in Israel and the U.S.A., 1976), column clxxiv; Alicia Appleman-Jurman, *Alicia: My Story* (New York: Bantam, 1988), 149, 157.

¹⁴⁷² David Ravid (Shmukler), ed., *The Cieszanow Memorial Book* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2006), 190–91; Oral history interview with Pepa (Sternberg) Gold, March 26, 1987, Kean College of New Jersey Holocaust Resource Center; Testimony of Pepa Gold, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39449 (misidentified as Wojciechowice).

¹⁴⁷³ Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 98–99.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 106–108; Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Ustna harmojjka: Relacje Żydów, których uratowali od zagłady Polacy* (Warsaw: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Polskie, 2000), 96–98.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Yehuda Bauer, “Buczacz and Krzemieniec: The Story of Two Towns During the Holocaust,” in *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 33 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, 2005), 298.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Hersch Altman, *One the Fields of Loneliness* (New York and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and The Holocaust Survivors’ Memors Project, 2006), 139 ff.

bunker near the predominantly Polish village of Zabojki near Tarnopol, for a period of eight months. According to Rose Slutzky, “The whole village kept us a secret, and when they could, they shared some food with us. ... good Polish people who gave us a bit of food, when they themselves were hungry.”¹⁴⁷⁷ Sixteen Jews were rescued in the predominantly Polish village of Draganówka near Tarnopol.¹⁴⁷⁸ A group of 28 Jews took refuge in the forests near their hometown of Skala Podolska, on the River Zbrucz, in Tarnopol voivodship. They turned for food and other supplies to a Polish colony known as Mazury: “There was a small village at the edge of the Skala [Skala] forest, called Mazury. ... I vividly remember the late June of 1943, when my two cousins and I, along with a handful of other young men and women, escaped to the forest during a week-long rainy weather spell. We were cold, wet and starving for days. Our first ‘meal’ in the forest, was a slice of cold corn pudding we all shared, that my cousin, Nechamia Stock of blessed memory, brought from the Mazury colony after sneaking out of the forest and knocking at the door of a Polish colonist, a total stranger. Later that summer, my cousin Malcia Rothststein (nee Stock) made a deal with a woman colonist to knit sweaters with wool provided by her in exchange for bottles of milk, a rare luxury at the time. In the fall of 1943, after German troops raided our section of the forest, killing scores of Jews, we decided to build underground bunkers for the winter. The Mazury colonists were those who lent us the necessary construction tools—saws, picks, shovels and hammers—no questions asked. Those tools eventually made our survival possible! Regretfully, the names of those individual Polish colonists lie buried in the graves of the survivors who dealt with them at the time, but their deeds are still remembered with gratitude.”¹⁴⁷⁹ In October 1942, after the liquidation of the ghetto in Zdołbunów, the Germans and Ukrainian militiamen combed the town to locate any signs of survivors: “[Fritz] Germ would point to a certain house, always one occupied by Polish citizens, and the guards would crash through the door or a window, emerging with a family and the Jews whom they had hidden. The fate was the same for the rescuers as it was for the Jews. This occurred at four or five different homes.”¹⁴⁸⁰ Irene Gut Opdyke, a Polish rescuer recalled: “There was a priest in Janówka [near Tarnopol]. He knew about the Jews’ escape—many of the Polish people knew about it. ... Many people brought food and other things—not right to the forest, but to the edge—from the village. The priest could not say directly ‘help the Jews,’ but he would say in church, ‘not one of you should take the blood of your brother.’ ... During the next couple of weeks there were posters on every street corner saying, ‘This is a Jew-free town, and if any one should help an escaped Jew, the sentence is death.’”¹⁴⁸¹ The warning soon became a terrifying reality when the town square in Tarnopol “was choked with a milling, bewildered crowd. SS men abruptly pushed me into the middle of the square, just as they had the others, with a command not to leave. A scaffold had been erected in the center of the square, and what appeared to be two separate families were slowly escorted through the crowd to the block. A Polish couple, holding two small children, were brought up first, followed by a Jewish couple with one child, all three wearing the yellow Star of David. Both groups were lined up in front of dangling nooses. They were going to hang the children as well! Why didn’t somebody do something? What could be done? Finally, their ‘crimes’ were announced—the Polish family had been caught harboring the Jewish family! Thus we were forced to witness the punishment for helping or befriending a Jew.”¹⁴⁸² Public executions of Poles who had helped Jews became commonplace in an effort to instill fear into the population.¹⁴⁸³ About twenty residents of Berecz, in Volhynia, were killed during a pacification of that Polish settlement by Ukrainian police in November 1942 for assisting Jews who had escaped from the ghetto in Powórsk (Powórsk).¹⁴⁸⁴ In Huta Werchobuska or Werchobudzka (near Złoczów) and Huta Pieniacka (near Brody), the Polish

¹⁴⁷⁷ Testimony of Rose Slutzky in Belle Millo, ed., *Voices of Winnipeg Holocaust Survivors* (Winnipeg: Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, 2010), 364; Testimony of Rose Slutzky, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 23960.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Testimony of Jakub Zajd, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2166.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Max Mermelstein (Weidenfeld) and Tony Hausner, eds., *Skala on the River Zbrucz: A History of the Former Skala Jewish Community* (United States: Skala Research Group and Skala Benevolent Society, 2009), 397–98, also 183–90.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Douglas K. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety During the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1985), 84.

¹⁴⁸¹ Carol Rittner and Sondra Myers, eds., *The Courage to Care: Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 47–48.

¹⁴⁸² Irene Gut Opdyke with Jeffrey M. Elliot, *Into the Flames: The Life Story of a Righteous Gentile* (San Bernardino, California: The Borgo Press, 1992), 139.

¹⁴⁸³ Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 229 (Entry 482, Stryj).

¹⁴⁸⁴ Władysław Siemaszko and Ewa Siemaszko, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej Wołynia, 1939–1945* (Warsaw: von borowiecky, 2000), vol. 1, 363.

villagers were simply annihilated and their homes and farmsteads burned down in German pacifications (among the perpetrators were SS Galizien forces) brought on in part by long-standing assistance provided to Jews.¹⁴⁸⁵ Feiwel Auerbach, a Jew from Sasów, made the following deposition shortly after the war: “There were 30 of us [Jews] in the forest. We hid in Huta Werchobuska and Huta Pieniacka. The Polish inhabitants of those villages helped us. The peasants were very poor and were themselves hungry but they shared with us their last bits of food. We stayed there from July 1943 until March 1944. Thanks to them we are alive. When there were manhunts, the village reeve warned us. Once 500 Germans encircled the forest, but since they were afraid to enter deep into the forest they set their dogs on us. We were saved because our Polish friends warned us of the impending danger. Because of a denunciation [by the Ukrainian police] all of the villagers of Huta Pieniacka and Huta Werchobuska were killed. Some of them were burned alive in a barn. The village was burned to the ground.”¹⁴⁸⁶ The villagers in nearby Majdan Pieniacki supplied scores of Jews from that and other villages living in forest bunkers with food, and some of the Jews joined the village self-defence to fend off raids by Ukrainian nationalist partisans.¹⁴⁸⁷ In Polesie (Polesia), a largely Belorussian area, Kopel Kolpanitzky describes the helpfulness of the residents of Zahorie [Zahorze], a small village of Polish Catholics three kilometers from Łachwa, which the Germans later burned to the ground.¹⁴⁸⁸

There were also many examples of collective rescue in northeastern Poland. Shulamit Schreyber Żabinska, a teenage girl who was sheltered by Poles in the Wilno countryside, recalled that many Poles brought food to the ghetto, “otherwise everyone would have starved to death. It was dangerous, and people were shot for this.” After escaping from the ghetto she was taken in by Weronika (“Wercia”) Stankiewicz and her mother, passing as Wercia’s niece. Although the villagers knew she was Jewish no one betrayed her.¹⁴⁸⁹ Similarly, Estera Bielicka was taken in by the Myślicki family in Matejkany where she lived openly. Although the villagers knew about her Jewish origin, no one betrayed her.¹⁴⁹⁰ After miraculously surviving a mass execution in Ponary, Ita Straż wandered in the countryside without documents near Nowa Wilejka, Witaniszki and Gajluny, sewing for farmers in exchange for food. A pharmacist survived in the vicinity of Kiemieliszki by healing sick villagers and livestock.¹⁴⁹¹ The neighbours of a Polish family in Białozoryszki near Wilno were aware that that family was sheltering a Jewish boy.¹⁴⁹² Pola Wawer, who hailed from Wilno, recalled the help she and her parents, Don and Dr. Maria Komaj, received from all of the inhabitants of the hamlet of Zameczek, north of Wilejka, who consisted of the families of five cousins, the Aloszko and Nieścierowicz families.¹⁴⁹³ Joanna Malberg lived openly in the town of Niemenczyn under an assumed identity, working as a private French teacher. Since she had a marked Semitic appearance, it was widely suspected she was of

¹⁴⁸⁵ Zajączkowski, *Martyrs of Charity*, Part One, 154–55; Tsvi Weigler, “Two Polish Villages Razed for Extending Help to Jews,” *Yad Washem Bulletin*, no. 1 (April 1957): 19–20; Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, 450–53. See also Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946*, 66–71 (Huta Pieniacka), 499–500 (Huta Werchodudzka); Bernard Scharf, *Courage* ([Canada]: Mark Scharf, 2011), 50, 54 (misidentified as “Wutawakabusta”); 35 Jews hidden by Polish villagers escaped during the pacification of the village).

¹⁴⁸⁶ Testimony of Fajwel (Feiwel) Auerbach, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 1200. Irving Guttman, a native of Złoczów who was given sanctuary by a Christian woman in Huta Pieniacka, recalled the raid that took the lives of hundreds of villagers, among them a number of Jews who were hidden there. Based on his personal experiences, Guttman has only good things to say about the Poles in this area. See the testimony of Irving Guttman, April 25, 1995, Holocaust Memorial Center, Farmington Mills, Michigan and Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 24374.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Scharf, *Courage*, 39, 44, 50, 54.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Kopel Kolpanitzky, *Sentenced To Life: The Story of a Survivor of the Lahwah Ghetto* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007), 89–96.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 1st edition, *Zegota*, 117–18; Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 2nd edition, *Żegota*, 110; Tomaszewski and Werbowski, 3rd edition, *Code Name: Żegota*, 117.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Wiktor Noskowski, “Czy Yaffa Eliach przeprosi Polaków?” *Mysł Polska* (Warsaw), July 20–27, 1997.

¹⁴⁹¹ Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...*, 124, 126.

¹⁴⁹² Chodorska, *Godni synowie naszej Ojczyzny*, Part One, 104–109.

¹⁴⁹³ Pola Wawer, *Poza gettem i obozem* (Warsaw: Volumen, 1993), 69, 71–73. One of the families, Wincenty and Paulina Aloszko and their two sons, were awarded by Yad Vashem for sheltering Izaak and Celina Melcer, and their daughters, Raya and Helena. See Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: *Poland*, Part 1, 57.

Jewish origin.¹⁴⁹⁴ Chana Mirski (later Hana Shachar), born at the end of 1939 or early 1940, was given over for safekeeping by her paternal grandfather, Nathan Mirski, to his acquaintance, Stanisław Świetlikowski, who smuggled her out of the ghetto in Podbrodzie, a town northeast of Wilno, in September 1941. Stanisław and his wife Katarzyna had the child baptized, as their own. Given her age at the time, it would have been apparent to the priest, even if he had not been told, that the child was likely Jewish. The birth and baptismal certificate facilitated the cover-up. Their neighbours also figured out that the sudden new addition to the family was a Jewish child, yet no one denounced them.¹⁴⁹⁵ Another Jew from the Wilno region recalled the assistance he and his father received from the villagers of Powiańce on a number of occasions: “The village was composed of some forty houses strung out side by side on a single street. Each house was inhabited by Poles, but my father knew many of them and had done favours for them in the past. At each house, we knocked and explained our plight. Only a few turned us down ... Very soon our wagon was filled with butter and eggs and flour and fresh vegetables, and my father and I wept at their kindness and at the realization that we had been reduced to beggars. The people of Powielancy were so generous ... Now we sent out a food gathering group each evening to beg in the neighbouring villages where most of the people felt kindly toward us. One of the villages in this area was Powielancy whose people had filled our cart with food when father and I had come from the Radun [Raduń] ghetto. They helped us again most willingly for they sympathized with our plight.”¹⁴⁹⁶ Meir Stoler, who escaped the German massacre of Jews in Raduń on May 10, 1942, managed to reach the tiny Polish hamlet of Mizhantz [Mieżańce], where the villagers took him in and gave him food.¹⁴⁹⁷ The village of Mieżańce is mentioned in other accounts as friendly to the Jews.¹⁴⁹⁸ Boris and Gitel Smolnik were sheltered by the Korobiec family in Porzeczce near Grodno. Their neighbours were aware of the Smolniks’ presence, but no one denounced them.¹⁴⁹⁹ The Krepski family of Helenów near Stołpce sheltered Shimon Kantorowicz for two years. Even though almost the entire village was aware of this, no one betrayed them.¹⁵⁰⁰

Jews passing as Polish Christians in large cities were often recognized but not betrayed. Stefan Chaskiewlewicz, passing as a Christian in Warsaw, unexpectedly ran into many Poles whom he knew without being betrayed: “I often met people I knew who either looked at me without greeting me, or greeted me with open sympathy. ... Occasionally, I did not even realize that the person I met knew me.”¹⁵⁰¹ Marcus David Leuchter, who lived in “Aryan” Warsaw for more than two years, attested: “Having escaped from the Ghetto [in Kraków], I assumed a Polish gentile identity. While everybody around me knew, or at least suspected, that I was a Jew, nobody betrayed me.”¹⁵⁰² The well-known writer Jan Brzechwa, who was of Jewish origin, lived openly in Warsaw, frequenting the same places he used to frequent before the war, yet no one denounced him.¹⁵⁰³ When Wiera Gran, a well-known singer, was hospitalized in Warsaw everyone knew she was Jewish, but no one betrayed her.¹⁵⁰⁴ Henryk Grabowski, the famed liaison officer between the Polish and Jewish underground who smuggled scores of Jews out of the

¹⁴⁹⁴ Gutman and Bender, *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 4: Poland, Part 1, 58–59; Antonowicz Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4024932>>; Testimony of Waclawa Dobrzyńska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 5427.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Świetlikowski Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=8995952>>.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Leon Kahn (as told to Marjorie Morris), *No Time To Mourn: A True Story of a Jewish Partisan Fighter* (Vancouver: Laurelton Press, 1978), 55, 124.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2003), 19.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Testimony of Benjamin Rogowski, March 14, 1965, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2820.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Emilia Korobiec, the Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=7026931>>.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Yad Vashem, file no. 5844.

¹⁵⁰¹ Stefan Chaskiewlewicz, *Ukrywałem się w Warszawie: Styczeń 1943–styczeń 1945* (Kraków: Znak, 1988), 35–36.

¹⁵⁰² Marcus David Leuchter, “Reflections on the Holocaust,” *The Sarmatian Review* (Houston, Texas), vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2000).

¹⁵⁰³ Mariusz Urbanek, *Brzechwa: Nie dla dzieci* (Warsaw: Iskry, 2023), 98 ff.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Agata Tuszyńska, *Oskarżona Wiera Gran* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2010), 142.

Warsaw ghetto, often used his small, crowded home in Warsaw to hide Jews—something that was widely known to his neighbours.¹⁵⁰⁵ Edward Reicher, who resided with a group of Jews on Waliców Street in Warsaw, recalled: “Petty incidents led us to quarrel constantly and without dignity. We fought not just with words but also with our fists.” He continues: “It was obvious that we were living there, but days, weeks, and months went by and nobody denounced us, even though the entire apartment complex, which was home to several hundred people, knew of our presence. Even the Polish prostitutes who received German clients in the same building did not betray us.”¹⁵⁰⁶ Wanda Jedlicka (then Grossman or Grosman), her husband, Wilhelm, and their two young sons, did not relocate to the Warsaw ghetto when it was created in 1940, but remained in Warsaw. Although they had converted to Calvinism several years before the war, they were considered to be Jews. Her husband managed to obtain false identity documents for the family under the name of Jedlicki, and they did not go into hiding. They survived the war with the help of a number of Poles. As Jedlicka pointed out, dozens of persons knew or surmised the truth, yet only once did they encounter problems with a gang of professional blackmailers, who afterwards were liquidated by the underground.¹⁵⁰⁷ An entire apartment building in the working-class district of Mokotów in Warsaw was aware that an extended Jewish family, some of them Semitic-looking and speaking Polish poorly, resided in their midst.¹⁵⁰⁸ Zofia Rosen remained in her Warsaw apartment, with the knowledge and assistance of the building’s residents, until outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising in August 1944.¹⁵⁰⁹ Irena Dąb was taken in by Juliusz and Jadwiga Saloni as a 7-year-old child who had escaped from the Warsaw ghetto. Because of her appearance and her performing a Jewish dance in public, the neighbours in the apartment building in the Saska Kępa suburb in which the Salonis resided realized that the child was Jewish, but no one betrayed them.¹⁵¹⁰ The journalist Rafał Praga and his wife were sheltered by Franciszek and Klementyna Olbrychski in their apartment on Nowogrodzka Street in Warsaw. Although Rafał Praga had a distinctly Jewish appearance and used to frequent a nearby café, no one betrayed them even though their Jewish origin was common knowledge.¹⁵¹¹ Fryderyka Godlewska (Szulemit Karmi), then a six-year-old child with obvious Semitic features, was taken in by the Domański family of Warsaw and passed off as their daughter. The entire tenement house in Mokotów was aware of this but no one betrayed them.¹⁵¹² Another such Warsaw tenement house was located at 11 Wielka Street, as well as the boarding house on 45 Morszyńska Street.¹⁵¹³ A Jewish woman who had to find new lodgings in Warsaw for herself and a friend with a Jewish appearance recalled: “Maria’s physician paid a house call, bringing some medication and an injection. It was only one of several visits for which he never asked payment or information of any kind. ... We combed the neighborhood, asking in the storefronts if there might be a room to let. We gave many in those streets occasion to wonder about the two forlorn young women, one with a black-and-blue face. But no one denounced us as Jews or escapees from the ghetto. In fact, one morning the owner of a barber shop on Rakowiecka Street offered Maria his shop to stay in. All he asked was that she come late and leave early, before his help arrived.”¹⁵¹⁴ Fanny Gothajner and her teenaged son lived with the Slowakiewicz family on Powsińska Street in the Czerniaków district. Many of the residents of the apartment

¹⁵⁰⁵ Barbara Stanisławczyk, *Czterdzieści twardych* (Warsaw: ABC, 1997), 91.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Reicher, *Country of Ash*, 198, 201.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 675–81.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Marek Halter, “Tzedek,” *Wprost*, June 13, 1993.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Stanisław Piątkowski, “W mrokach kamienic,” *Kuryer Kielecki*, July 6, 2020.

¹⁵¹⁰ Juliusz Bożydar Saloni, Archiwum Historii Mówionej, Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego, Internet: <<https://www.1944.pl/archiwum-historii-mowionej/juliusz-bozydar-saloni,2273.html>>. The Salonis were recognized by Yad Vashem for rescuing Irena Dąb and her parents.

¹⁵¹¹ Justyna Kobus, “Wykołysał mnie Drohiczyn,” *Magazyn Sukces*, March 28, 2008; Ewa Bağlaj, *Słoneczna dziewczyna: Opowieść o Klementynie Solonowicz-Olbrychskiej* (Warsaw: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza, 2007).

¹⁵¹² Piotr Zychowicz, “Są nowi sprawiedliwi,” *Rzeczpospolita*, December 21, 2011.

¹⁵¹³ Michał Grynberg, *Księga sprawiedliwych* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1993), 533; Bartoszewski and Lewin, *Righteous Among Nations*, 93; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 2nd ed., 208–209.

¹⁵¹⁴ Blanca Rosenberg, *To Tell at Last: Survival under False Identity, 1941–45* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 122.

building were aware she was Jewish, but no one betrayed her; in fact, they were favourably disposed.¹⁵¹⁵ Employees of the Warsaw Department of Social Welfare were heavily involved in the rescue of Jewish children, placing hundreds of them in Catholic convents. “Once we were informed that two boys were hidden in a cubbyhole in [the suburb of] Praga. One of them was running a high fever and it was imperative to move them. A nun took the sick boy on a streetcar and he started to scream out something in Yiddish. The driver was astute enough to sense the danger and yelled out: ‘This streetcar is going to the depot. Everyone out.’ At the same time he signalled to the nun that she and the boy should remain.”¹⁵¹⁶ A Jewish woman who was being pursued by a blackmailer in Warsaw turned to the conductor of the streetcar she had boarded with a plea, “‘Sir, that man is an extortionist and he’s persecuting me.’ Without hesitating, the conductor went over to the intruder and slapped him twice across the face.” In the ensuing confusion, she managed to jump off.¹⁵¹⁷ Tomasz Prot, who was accepted into the Stefan Czarnecki Boarding School for Boys in Warsaw run by the Main Welfare Council, wrote: “At that time my looks were very characteristic. I was a dark-haired boy, the features of my face were clearly Semite. ... seeing my looks ... would hardly have any doubts on me being a hiding Jewish boy. Nevertheless, during my stay at the school, ... none of the teachers, nor even my schoolmates made me feel that they knew I was Jewish.”¹⁵¹⁸ Feliks Tych, a historian at the Jewish Historical Museum in Warsaw, who survived the war as a teenager, recalls: “Not infrequently, I would see individuals on the tramway or on the street who were, rather doubtless, Jews, looking about themselves anxiously, but no one paid attention to them, or rather pretended not to. ... For most of the time I was in hiding, I lived with my adopted family in the Warsaw suburb of Miedzeszyn. The neighbours could not have not known that several Jews were hidden in that building. No one was denounced. They all survived.”¹⁵¹⁹ A network of Poles in the Warsaw suburb of Żoliborz was engaged in finding rooms among trusted persons for Jews passing as Poles.¹⁵²⁰ As one Jew remarked, “in the small houses in Warsaw’s Żoliborz district inhabited mostly by the Polish intelligentsia there were hidden many Jews who had escaped from the ghetto. I was in such a home which belonged to a known prewar Endek [nationalist]. Having learned that he was sheltering two Jewesses I asked with surprise: ‘You who before the war were an anti-Semite are now harbouring Jews in his home???’ He replied: ‘We have a common enemy and I am fighting in my way. They are Polish citizens and I have to help them.’”¹⁵²¹

Bernard Nissenbaum, a Jewish survivor, wrote with admiration about the Polish prisoners of Pawiak prison, located inside the ghetto. Their acts of kindness brought the Jewish prisoners “comfort and encouragement,” both “physically and morally.”

*The behavior of other [Pawiak prison] inmates, all political prisoners—towards us, Jewish prisoners, deserves high praise. They showed good comradeship and solidarity with us. When passing the street of the prison, they threw us their bread rations through the prison windows. On Sunday, when we were brought to the prison for [delousing], the kitchen personnel, with the inmates’ agreement, had kept for us the entire rations of soup and bread for distribution among us: What that meant to us, only people who have suffered acute hunger as we had under the Nazis know.*¹⁵²²

¹⁵¹⁵ Testimony of Fanny Gothajner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2011.

¹⁵¹⁶ “Traktowałem to jako obowiązek chrześcijański i polski” (an interview with Jan Dobraczyński), *Słowo–Dziennik Katolicki* (Warsaw), no. 67, 1993.

¹⁵¹⁷ Natan Gross, *Who Are You, Mr Grymek?* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), 249–50.

¹⁵¹⁸ Ceremony of Awarding Medals and Honary Diplomas “Righteous Among the Nations,” Warsaw, June 14, 2010.

¹⁵¹⁹ “O ukrywaniu się po ‘aryjskiej stronie’: Z profesorem Feliksem Tychem rozmawia Barbara Engelking,” *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów IFiS PAN, 2005), 234; Barbara Engelking, “Rozmowa z prof. Feliksem Tychem,” *Zagłada Żydów: Studia i materiały*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów IFiS PAN, 2006), 340.

¹⁵²⁰ Marian Turski, ed., *Losy żydowskie: Świadectwo żywych*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatanów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 1999), 150.

¹⁵²¹ Zdzisław Przygoda, *Niezwykłe przygody w zwyczajnym życiu* (Warszawa: Ypsilon, 1994), 49.

¹⁵²² Bernard Nissenbaum, “My Deportation,” p. 28, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession number 1984.066, RG number RG-02.005.01, cited in Michael Berkowitz, *The Crime of My Very Existence: Nazism and the Myth of Jewish Criminality* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2007), 87.

Almost all of the Jews who survived the August 1944 Warsaw Uprising, numbering at least several thousand, were evacuated along with the Polish population to a transit camp in Pruszków, some 20 kilometres away. As historian Gunnar Paulsson points out, these included people who had a conspicuously Semitic appearance and had previously lived under the surface. Along the way, there were many opportunities for hostile Poles to spot and denounce them. However, no concrete evidence has come to light of Jews being betrayed during this exodus. Nor is there evidence that any Jews perished in Pruszków as a result of denunciation by Poles.¹⁵²³ There were also many Jews among those injured during the uprising who were taken to the make-shift hospital in nearby Podkowa Leśna. All of the patients, including those recognized as Jews, were treated with great care and devotion by the Polish doctors and nurses without distinction. There is no record of any betrayals by fellow patients or personnel.¹⁵²⁴

Jews hiding in larger cities outside Warsaw also reported favourable experiences. Helena Ziemba, one of several Jews rescued in Kalinowszczyzna, a suburb of Lublin, stated that many Poles knew she was being hidden and some even brought food to her hideout. A Polish housekeeper who had an illegitimate son by her Jewish employer was not betrayed by anyone.¹⁵²⁵ An entire street in the city of Przemyśl was aware of a Jewish hideout which was not betrayed.¹⁵²⁶ Nine Jews lived behind a false wall in an attic of a flour mill in Tarnów for two years. Some of the Jewish men used to leave the hideout at night to forage for food. It is unclear how many Poles knew about the Jews in hiding, yet not one of them denounced the Jews to the Germans. Israel Unger, one of those hidden there as a child, at first estimates about ten: “Who knew about the Jews in the attic? I am not sure even to this day. Probably the Dagnans, and the Skorupas, and the Drozds. ... Likely about ten non-Jewish people knew about the Jews in hiding and no one told on us.” However, later Unger learns that the existence of the hidden Jews was an open secret among the Poles who worked at the flour mill.¹⁵²⁷ Mordecai Peleg, who was passing as a Pole, remained in his native Tarnów for a time and then returned on several occasions. He was not betrayed by anyone even though he was well known: “Among the Poles, as it turned out, I had no enemies and no-one bothered me.”¹⁵²⁸ Frederick Weitzenblum Baar did not look Jewish and this helped him to pass as Pole, moving from place to place in his hometown of Kraków. Many people knew him, but no one denounced him.¹⁵²⁹ Henryk Meller hid for a time on the Aryan side of Kraków, where he was one of the street children who sold cigarettes for a living. According to his testimony, he made enough money to allow himself to dress properly and eat well and even attend the cinema in the evening. The local Polish youths viewed him as an equal, and if they were short of stocks they would shout to him, “Jew-boy, give us a Sport” (the brand of cigarettes). They knew he was a Jew but respected him and did not inform on him.¹⁵³⁰ The following story of solidarity emerged from Radom:

My parents along with the other Jews of Radom, Poland were imprisoned in the ghetto in March of 1941. My grandfather's huge leather factory, located a mile or so outside the ghetto, was seized by the Nazis and the Polish workers who had been employed by my grandfather were forced to work in the factory under harsh Nazi supervision. The leather they were producing was being turned into combat boots for German soldiers fighting on the Eastern front.

As the Radom ghetto was being 'liquidated' by the Nazis in October 1942, my mother was nine-months pregnant with me. A few of the factory's Polish workers came into the ghetto and smuggled my mother to the factory. There, in the factory's attic, with Gestapo officers one floor below closely supervising the Polish workers preparing the

¹⁵²³ Paulsson, *Secret City*, 191–92.

¹⁵²⁴ Testimony of Róża Dobrecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 301, number 2274.

¹⁵²⁵ Jerzy Jacek Bojarski, ed., *Ścieżki pamięci: Żydowskie miasto w Lublinie—losy, miejsca, historia* (Lublin and Rishon LeZion: Norbertinum, Ośrodek “Brama Grodzka—Teatr NN,” Towarzystwo Przyjaźni Polsko-Izraelskiej w Lublinie, Stowarzyszenie Środkowoeuropejskie “Dziedzictwo i Współczesność,” 2002), 35.

¹⁵²⁶ Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 307.

¹⁵²⁷ Carolyn Gammon and Israel Unger, *The Unwritten Diary of Israel Unger* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2013), 14–15, 199.

¹⁵²⁸ Miriam Peleg-Mariańska and Mordecai Peleg, *Witnesses: Life in Occupied Kraków* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 4.

¹⁵²⁹ Frederic B. [Baar] Holocaust Testimony (HVT–2016), Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University Library.

¹⁵³⁰ Hochberg-Mariańska and Grüss, *The Children Accuse*, 66.

leather used to make the boots for Nazi soldiers, my mother gave birth to me with the help of a Polish midwife, and was guarded by a cluster of Polish workers. During all this time, not one of the hundred workers in the factory or the hundreds of Poles living in the village nearby, betrayed my mother to the Nazis. These brave Poles risked their own lives to save the life of my mother and me, her newborn child. My mother was then smuggled back to the ghetto and one of the Polish workers immediately took me to his home; there he and his wife raised me as their own child for three years, risking their own lives and that of their 19-month-old daughter since the Nazi were killing Poles on sight who were harboring Jews.

Then, back in the Radom ghetto, as my parents, together with other Jews, were being marched to the cattle train, Polish partisans—probably employees of my grandfather’s factory—pulled my parents out of the line and, hiding them in a horse and carriage, smuggled them up to Warsaw where another Polish family hid them in their basement for three years.¹⁵³¹

In Poznań, a stronghold of the anti-Semitic National Democratic (Endek) Party, relations with the Jews imprisoned in the Stadion labour camp in 1941–1943 were amicable. Samuel Bronowski, who appeared as a witness in the trial of Arthur Greiser, Gauleiter of the so-called Wartheland, made the following deposition before the Supreme National Tribunal: “The only help possible was aid in kind by supplying food. In the camp we received 200 grams of bread and one litre of turnip soup per day. Obviously, those who had no help from outside were bound to die within a short time. A committee was formed in Poznań for the collection of food. This was no easy matter since everything was rationed under the food coupon system. Many a time, we received bigger parcels which reached us secretly at the construction sites where we worked and met the Polish people. Parcels were also thrown into the camp by night. It is not easy to describe the attitude of the civilian population outside the camp—to say that it was friendly, would be too little. There was marked compassion. There has not been a single case in Poznań of a Pole who would betray a Jew escaping the camp. There has not been a single case on the construction site of a foreman striking a Jew without immediate reaction on the part of the Polish co-workers. Those Jews who survived did so only thanks to the help from the Polish population of Poznań.” Maks Moszkowicz, another inmate of the Stadion labour camp, stated in his deposition for Yad Vashem: “I wish to stress that the behaviour of the Polish population in Poznań towards us, the Jewish prisoners, was very friendly and when our labour battalions were coming out of the camp, people—mostly women—waited for us in the street in order to throw us food in spite of severe interdictions and punishment.”¹⁵³² Similar stories come from other German camps. Sarah Blattberg-Cooper, who was rescued by Poles near Mielec, states that one of her daughters and a niece, who volunteered to go to Germany posing as Polish workers, spent two years there in separate labour camps. Although recognized as Jews by the Polish workers, they were not betrayed to the German administration.¹⁵³³

Lajosné Fleischer, a Jewish woman from Hungary who, with the help of Poles, survived the forced death march during the evacuation of the Stutthof concentration camp near the end of the war, recalled: “If we marched through a village during the day, then from behind the fences they would throw us pieces of bread from open windows and boiled potatoes with their skin on. Running alongside our columns, Polish women poured hot coffee into our mess kits. They paid no attention either to the shouts of the SS men or the butts of their rifles. We who survived will remember with lifelong gratitude these simple Polish people who took food from their mouths and gave it to us. Thanks to these few morsels they saved the lives of many of us.”¹⁵³⁴

After the war, Jewish children were remarkably easy to track down because their presence in a village was usually an open secret.¹⁵³⁵ When representatives of the Jewish Committee went looking for Jewish children who had

¹⁵³¹ Andrew Griffel, “Did the Poles Who Saved My Parents Do It For Money?,” *The Times of Israel*, Blog, February, 19, 2018. Andrew Griffel’s parents, Henryk and Paulina Griffel, were sheltered in Warsaw by Helena and Piotr Spus. See the testimony of Helena Spus, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 49133.

¹⁵³² Bartoszewski, *The Blood Shed Unites Us*, 225.

¹⁵³³ Sarah Blattberg-Cooper, “My Memories from the Bloodiest Era of My People’s History,” in *Sefer zikaron le-kehillat Mielec: Sipur hashmadat ha-kehila ha-yehudit* (New York: Mielec Yizkor Book Committee, 1979), translated as *Remembering Mielec: The Destruction of the Jewish Community*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/mielec/Mielec.html>>.

¹⁵³⁴ Tomasz Ceran, “Prości polscy ludzie,” “Nieznane historie z dziejów ratowania Żydów pod okupacją niemiecką,” Supplement to PlusMinus, *Rzeczpospolita*, March 23–24, 2019.

¹⁵³⁵ See, for example, Emunah Nachmany Gafny, *Dividing Hearts: The Removal of Jewish Children from Gentile Families in Poland in the Immediate Post-Holocaust Years* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 82–83, 88 (Gielczew, and a village near Góra Kalwaria, and another unidentified locality).

survived hidden with Polish farmers and in convents, their main source of information were Poles. As Izajasz Druker stated, “When I began my work with the [Polish] army rabbinate in 1945, Jews were returning from all points and reporting that while visiting family villages and town they had heard of Jewish children who had been saved by peasants. During the war one could not talk about this, but after the war people talked about this openly. I then began an operation to find these children, and this became my main work during the years 1945–49.”¹⁵³⁶ This too contradicts the notion that rescuers were socially ostracized, as often villagers would rally to the support of rescuers who were reluctant to surrender their charges to Jewish organizations.¹⁵³⁷

Ethnic Poles played a prominent role in rescue activities on interwar Lithuanian territories. Nine Polish families (consisting of 18 people) from the predominantly Polish county of Giedraičiai (Giedrojcie) were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles,¹⁵³⁸ as well as some Poles from largely Polish Kėdainiai (Kiejdany) county.¹⁵³⁹ A Jewish woman from Butrimonys (Butrymańce) recalled the widespread assistance of the local Polish minority: “Parankova [Parankowa] became known among us unfortunate Jews as a Polish hamlet where nobody would hand you over to the murderers; ‘to me Parankova is truly the Jerusalem of Lithuania’.”¹⁵⁴⁰ Other survivor accounts mention Butrimonys (Butrymańce),¹⁵⁴¹ villages near Stakliškės (Stokliszki),¹⁵⁴² Keleriškiai near Kaišiadorys (Kieleryszki near Koszedary),¹⁵⁴³ Telšiai (Telsze),¹⁵⁴⁴ and various other localities.¹⁵⁴⁵ Marija Leščinskienė (Maria Leszczyńska), an ethnic Pole, was known as the “mother” of the Jewish partisans from the Kaunas ghetto.¹⁵⁴⁶

¹⁵³⁶ Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, 205.

¹⁵³⁷ See, for example, Gafny, *Dividing Hearts*, 228, 251, 254.

¹⁵³⁸ Israel Gutman, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 8: *Europe (Part II)* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), 215–16. The following families are mentioned: Czajkowski, Godlewski, Gulbinowicz, Lutkiewicz, Masewicz, Rauba (2 families), Stankiewicz, and Rynkiewicz.

¹⁵³⁹ Two Polish families recognized by Yad Vashem, Augustynowicz and Rymowicz, are on the Lithuanian list, whereas the Bogdanowicz family appears on the Polish list of rescuers.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Rivka Lozansky Bogomolnaya, *Wartime Experiences in Lithuania* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000), 75. See also *If I Forget Thee...: The Destruction of the Shtetl Butrimantz: Testimony by Riva Lozansky and Other Witnesses* (Washington, D.C.: Remembrance Books, 1998), passim.

¹⁵⁴¹ *If I Forget Thee...: The Destruction of the Shtetl Butrimantz. Testimony by Riva Lozansky and Other Witnesses* (Washington, D.C.: Remembrance Books, 1998), passim; Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012), vol. II, Part B, 1046.

¹⁵⁴² Testimony of Sarah Epstein (Sara Epshteyn) in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), 297.

¹⁵⁴³ Waclaw and Anna Paszkowski (also given as Paškovski or Paškauskas) and their stepson, Stanisław Krywicz (also given as Krivičius), were recognized by Yad Vashem in 1999. A homage to that Polish family can be found in Nancy Wright Beasley, *Izzy's Fire: Finding Humanity in the Holocaust* (Richmond, Virginia: Palari Publishing, 2008), 251, passim.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Waclaw and Halina Szukszta were recognized as Righteous Gentiles in 2006. See the Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=5732214>>.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Solomon Abramovich and Yakov Zilberg, eds., *Smuggled in Potato Sacks: Fifty Stories of the Hidden Children of the Kaunas Ghetto* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2011), 48–53, 63–64, 79, 85–87, 103–4, 161–62, 218, 254, 274–79, 316–17, 327–29, 337, 343–45, 379; Dorothy Leivers, *Jews of Kopcheve* (Bergenfield, New Jersey: Avotaynu, 2006), 47–49 (Kapčiamiestis/Kopciowo). Aba Gefen mentions a large number of rescuers with Slavic, as opposed to Lithuanian names in his *Defying the Holocaust: A Diplomat's Report* (San Bernardino, California, 1993), but identifies only one person as a Pole: pp. 58–59, 76 (Meteliai/Metel near Simnas/Simno). However, in his oral history review, he states that Poles in Lithuania were friendlier to the Jews than Lithuanians. See the interview with Aba Gefen, October 17, 2011, Oral History Branch, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

¹⁵⁴⁶ Christopher Lawrence Zuger, *The Forgotten: Catholics of the Soviet Union from Lenin through Stalin* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 450; Freda Hodge, comp., *Tragedy and Triumph: Early Testimonies of Jewish Survivors of World War II* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 2018), 176.

Recognition and (In)Gratitude¹⁵⁴⁷

Szymon Datner, long-time director of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute:

*"In my research I have found only one case of help being refused [by nuns]. No other sector was so ready to help those persecuted by the Germans, including the Jews; this attitude, which was unanimous and widespread, is deserving of recognition and respect."*¹⁵⁴⁸

Yehuda Bauer, Israeli historian:

*"Nor was the Catholic clergy any help at all. With some very honorable exceptions, the clergy by and large not only echoed the antisemitic sentiments, but led them. ... Against the background of church antisemitism in an overwhelmingly Catholic country, the action of the Uniate archbishop of Lwow [Lwów], Count Andreas Szeptycki, who ordered his clergy to save Jews despite his antisemitic views, stands out. So do the actions of the Ursuline sisters, and other individual monastic houses and occasional village priests."*¹⁵⁴⁹

*"... from the perspective of most Jews, interwar Poland was an oppressive regime and could hardly demand loyalty from its badly treated Jewish population."*¹⁵⁵⁰

Testimonials by Jews rescued by Poles:

*"I do not accuse anyone that did not hide or help a Jew. We cannot demand from others to sacrifice their lives. One has no right to demand such risks."*¹⁵⁵¹

"Heroism is something extraordinary, something that one cannot demand from anybody, something, moreover, that cannot even be expected. An individual becomes a hero not because this is what is demanded of him, or even less so because that is what he is forced to do. Heroism is a matter of personal decisions and personal courage. And if someone complains that there were not very many righteous heroes, he should think of whether he himself would have acted heroically in the opposite situation: what would you have done if somebody else, rather than yourself, had been sentenced to extermination. Would you have come running to save him at the peril of death? This is an abstract question, essentially a rhetorical one, but I think it needs to be asked all the same. Even though there is no answer to it, for heroic deeds are done in particular, for most

¹⁵⁴⁷ This compilation canvases a very broad spectrum of Jewish attitudes, both positive and negative, based entirely on Jewish sources. Joanna Michlic, a Jewish apologist historian and purveyor of anti-Polish stereotypes, has claimed that it perpetuates the "myth" of the "ungrateful" Jew. Allegedly, this myth is the invention of Polish Communists and "ethnonationalists" and has no basis in fact. See Joanna B. Michlic, "I will never forget what you did for me during the war": Rescuer-Rescued Relationships in the Light of Postwar Correspondence in Poland, 1945-1949, *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2011): 169-207, at p. 204n.85. Michlic herself advances two myths: universal gratitude on the part of Jewish rescuers (the notion that Jews are incapable of ingratitude has been amply debunked in this context); the sole reason for cutting off contact was to protect the rescuers from their violent anti-Semitic neighbours (in many cases, after leaving their hosts Jews made no contact with their rescuers at all). "Yes, it's true that many Jews broke off contact with their rescuers," Michlic says. Citing no evidence she continues, "but that was done deliberately to protect them because anti-Semitism was so rampant at the time that had suspicions been raised that they had saved Jews, they would have been punished by their neighbors for being traitors. So while many Jews would have like [sic] to stay in contact with their rescuers after the war, they decided it was best to stay away." See Judy Maltz, "Debunking the Myth of the 'Ungrateful' Holocaust Survivor," *Haaretz*, June 18, 2014. Testimonies of Polish testimonies do not support such a sweeping alibi. If established at all, contact was usually broken off fairly early and unilaterally by the rescued Jews, often to the dismay of their rescuers, and this had nothing to do with the rescuers' alleged fear of retaliation by their neighbours. In quite a few cases, the rescued Jews simply left without ever contacting their rescuers again. See Sebastian Piątkowski, "Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków zamieszkałych we wsiach Lubelszczyzny w latach 1939-1944: Wybór materiałów źródłowych," in Marcin Przegiętka et al., eds., *Polska pod okupacją 1939-1945*, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej-Komsija Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2016), 205-57, see especially 217, 220, 225, 238-39, 241, 246, 251, 253, 255. All of this begets the question, why has Yad Vashem done next to nothing to acknowledge that as many as 1,000 Poles put to death for helping Jews? Why is there no monument to honour their memory? Displeased with Jews (with lived experience) who hold balanced views that undermine her take on these matters, cultural anthropologist Joanna Tokarska-Bakir has called this compilation "childish." Apparently, it does live up to her "sophisticated" scholarly and moral standards.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Szymon Datner, "Wydział ochrony człowieka," *Znak* (Kraków), no. 347 (1983), 1607.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), 57, 59-60.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 37.

¹⁵⁵¹ Pola Stein, cited in Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 129.

part unpredictable situations.”¹⁵⁵²

“Everyone who states the view that helping Jews was during those times a reality, a duty and nothing more should think long and hard how he himself would behave in that situation. I admit that I am not sure that I could summon up enough courage in the conditions of raging Nazi terror.”¹⁵⁵³

One Polish Jew who often asked this question of Jewish survivors recalled: “The answer was always the same and it is mine too. I do not know if I would have endangered my life to save a Christian.”¹⁵⁵⁴

“I am not at all sure that I would give a bowl of food to a Pole if it could mean death for me and my daughter,” a Jewish woman admitted candidly.¹⁵⁵⁵

A Jewish woman who was rescued as a child by a poor Polish family: “Today I would like to talk about my saviors and about the great heroism it requires to give the same amount of food to a third child who isn’t yours. Even at times of great hunger they shared each slice of bread—which was so rare—into three equal parts. I have three children and I don’t know if in the same circumstances I would be able to give my child less in order to feed someone else’s child. It is the greatest heroism one can ever imagine.”¹⁵⁵⁶

“Today, with the perspective of time, I am full of admiration for the courage and dedication ... of all those Poles who in those times, day in, day out, put their lives on the line. I do not know if we Jews, in the face of the tragedy of another nation, would be equally capable of this kind of sacrifice.”¹⁵⁵⁷

“And what right did I have to condemn them? Why should they risk themselves and their families for a Jewish boy they didn’t know? Would I have behaved any differently? I knew the answer to that, too. I wouldn’t have lifted a finger. Everyone was equally intimidated.”¹⁵⁵⁸

“I’m not surprised people didn’t want to hide Jews. Everyone was afraid, who would risk his family’s lives? You can accuse the ones who kept a Jew, exploited him financially, and later gave him away or killed him. They’re murderers. But you absolutely can’t blame an average Pole, I don’t know if anyone would be more decent, if any Jew would be more decent.”¹⁵⁵⁹

“We did survive thanks to some Polish people. And we are grateful to the Polish Home Army, the leaders, the people directly involved with us who saved many other Jewish people, poor people, without any compensation. Risked their own lives, and I said it before, could anyone of us? Try to inspect my own soul. Could I do the same thing what those Polish people did? I honestly don’t know. I was never a hero. Maybe I’m a coward, I don’t know. But they were heroes in my eyes, they were.”¹⁵⁶⁰

“When I later traveled in the world and Jews would talk to me about how badly Poles behaved with respect to Jews, that they didn’t hide them, I always had this answer: ‘All right, they could have done more. But I wonder how many could one find among you, the Jews, who would hide a Polish family knowing that not only you, but

¹⁵⁵² Michał Głowiński, “O sprawiedliwych / About the Righteous,” in *Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History* (Warsaw: Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland and Museum of the History of Polish Jews, 2013), 9. Surprisingly, questions along these lines are not put to survivors interviewed for the Shoah Foundation—The Institute for Visual History and Education at the University of Southern California.

¹⁵⁵³ Hanna Wehr, *Ze wspomnień* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2001).

¹⁵⁵⁴ Cited in Marc Hillel, *Le massacre des survivants: En Pologne après l’holocauste (1945–1947)* (Paris: Plon, 1985), 99.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Cited in Małgorzata Niezabitowska, *Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland* (New York: Friendly Press, 1986), 249.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Shoshana (Rozalia) Ronen née Wassner cited in The Nawłoka Family, Polish Righteous, POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-nawloka-family>>.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Janka Altman, cited in Marek Arczyński and Wiesław Balcerak, *Kryptonim “Żegota”: Z dziejów pomocy Żydom w Polsce 1939–1945*, 2nd edition (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), 264.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Roman Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 194.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Testimony of Henryk Prajs, 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org/biography/henryk-prajs>>.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Felix Horn, Interview dated July 19, 1994, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

your children, your whole family, would get shot were you found out?’ After that there was always silence and nobody said anything more.”¹⁵⁶¹

“To tell the truth, I don’t know whether today ... there are many Jews who would do the same for another nation. We were another nation ...”¹⁵⁶²

“As for the Poles: I do not bear a grudge because many of them did not want to incur danger for us [Jews]; I do not know how we would have behaved [towards them].”¹⁵⁶³

“When we come to Poland with Israeli youth and I tell them about what happened during the war, I say to them: ‘I know that if I had to risk my own life, and my family’s, for a stranger, I probably wouldn’t have the courage to do so.’”¹⁵⁶⁴

“I say this without needless comments, because I’ve been asked before: If I had a family I would not shelter a Jew during the occupation.”¹⁵⁶⁵

“If I were in their place, would I act like them [i.e., his Polish rescuers]? This is the question that I have been asking myself from the days of my youth, and until this very day I have not come up with an answer. I believe that even if I were to give a positive answer to this question, it is most doubtful if I would act accordingly, were I to find myself in a similar situation as the Righteous Among the Nations.”¹⁵⁶⁶

Leon Lepold, who, like his future wife, survived with the assistance of Poles in southeastern Poland, took issue with those Jews who blamed the Poles for the Holocaust. “If not for the Poles, none of us would have survived A lot of Polish people were murdered, hung, shot, and had their homes burned because they were hiding Jewish people. ... It would be opposite ... Jewish people wouldn’t do that for the Polish people.”¹⁵⁶⁷

Hymen (Chaim) Federman was one of three brothers rescued by the Matuszczyk family in the village of Bronów near Działoszyce. They did not maintain any contact with their rescuers after the war. In the 2004 documentary *Hiding and Seeking: Faith and Tolerance after the Holocaust*, when asked whether he would have undertaken the risk that his Polish benefactors did, Hymen Federman answered that he would not have done so.¹⁵⁶⁸

“One must pay tribute to those Poles who lost their lives rescuing Jews. Moreover, one cannot blame those who did not rescue Jews. We should not forget that one cannot demand heroism from ordinary, average people. True there are times and causes that demand heroism, but only certain individuals can aspire to that. One cannot harbour ill-feelings towards or have grounds for complaining about someone for not attaining that level.”¹⁵⁶⁹

“I always protest when I hear that Poles did ‘too little.’ How can one judge people who found themselves in such a difficult situation? Human nature is such that one is concerned foremost about one’s own life and the

¹⁵⁶¹ Ewa S. (Stapp), September 2005, Centropa, Internet: <<https://www.centropa.org>> (Biographies).

¹⁵⁶² Testimony of Bencjon Drutin, in Marzena Baum-Gruszowska and Dominika Majuk, eds., *Światła w ciemności: Sprawiedliwi wśród narodów świata: Relacje historii mówionej w działaniach edukacyjnych* (Lublin: Ośrodek “Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN,” 2009), 58.

¹⁵⁶³ Testimony of Emilka Rozencwajg (Shoshana Kossower Rosenzweig), a Home Army and Jewish underground liaison officer in Warsaw, interviewed by Anka Grupińska, “Ja myślałam, że wszyscy są razem,” *Tygodnik Powszechny*, May 6, 2001.

¹⁵⁶⁴ Testimony of Ada Lubelczyk Willenberg, Interview with Samuel and Ada Willenberg, “To, o czym pisze Gross jest prawdą,” *Polska Agencja Prasowa (PAP)*, January 10, 2011.

¹⁵⁶⁵ Testimony of Marek Oren (Orenstein), in Piotr Głuchowski and Marcin Kowalski, “Żyd miły z bliska,” *Wyborcza–Duży Format*, September 11, 2007.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Testimony of Dr. Avraham Horowitz, Świda Family, The Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<https://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=9429811>>.

¹⁵⁶⁷ *Oral history interview with Leon Lepold conducted on July 25, 1989 for William B. Helmreich’s book Against All Odds: Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made in America (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Transaction Publishers, 1996). Helmreich notes, however, that most of his interlocutors “were even more hostile, on the whole, toward Poles, often comparing them unfavorably to Germans.” Ibid., 252.*

¹⁵⁶⁸ *Hiding and Seeking* opens with director Menachem Daum playing a tape for his two sons, who are both Orthodox Jews like him. It is a recording of a Brooklyn rabbi instructing his followers that the “only good goyim is a dead goyim.”

¹⁵⁶⁹ Henryk Bryskier, *Żydzi pod swastyką czyli getto w Warszawie w XX wieku* (Warsaw: Aspra-Jr, 2006), 231.

lives of close ones. It is their safety that is the most important thing. One has to have great courage to risk death – one's own and one's children – in order to rescue a stranger. To require this of ordinary people terrorized by the occupiers is to ask too much. The Jewish people themselves didn't pass that test either. Who knows how many heroes like the Polish Righteous would be found among the Jews."¹⁵⁷⁰

"Would Roman risk his own life now to save others? 'It's funny that you should ask that question,' he said, 'because when I teach the children, sixth graders, and I tell them how Maria saved my life, I say to the children, 'How many of you would be willing to risk your life to save someone else, knowing that if you're caught you'll be put to death?' And, of course, after hearing my story, many of them say, 'Oh, we would, Mr. Frayman, we would.' But I say, 'Put your hands down. Let me tell you honestly, if someone asked me if I'd do it, my honest answer is, 'I don't know.' Would I be willing to sacrifice my children, my grandchildren, I don't know. You don't know that until you are in that circumstance. I don't know how gutsy I am."¹⁵⁷¹

These honest Jewish survivors raise thought-provoking questions. If the situation were reversed, how many Polish fugitives would be sheltered in shtetls? How could they blend in? What if the Germans imposed the death penalty for rescuing them? How many would be denounced? We know from Jewish testimonies that denunciation of fellow Jews was a serious problem. What if the Germans ordered the Jewish police to search out Polish fugitives or risk punishment?

Only someone who has risked his or her life for another person has the moral right to chastise others for their failure to undertake such actions. This proposition is entirely hypothetical because true heroes would never compromise their moral values and ethical convictions by demanding such behaviour of others. Eugeniusz Bradło, a member of a family that was awarded by Yad Vashem for rescuing 13 Jews, does not disparage his neighbours for not sheltering Jews. "No one found the courage to take them in for a longer period. People were good, but they were afraid of the Germans and said, 'Here is some food, and leave. Don't admit to anyone that we gave it to you.'"¹⁵⁷² Heroism is a purely personal and self-effacing choice. No one else can make that decision for another person, let alone impose it. No one has that right. But, unfortunately, it is done all too frequently when it comes to Poles. At best, those crude generalizations are a display of self-righteous indignation. At worst, it reveals a darker side about that person—a deep-seated contempt for others and valuing their life above another person's. What if someone from your neighbourhood—a complete stranger—were to come to you and demand that you hide him in your tiny apartment because a criminal gang, who has killed many times, has threatened his life and has also announced that they would do away with anyone who helps this person hide. This ruthless gang is known to patrol the neighbourhood, break into homes randomly, and rough up people at will. The police are corrupt and afraid of them, so they don't intervene and won't offer you any protection. This person tells you point blank: "Hide me! My life is worth just as much as yours! If you don't hide me, my people will forever malign you." How many well-off Canadians and Americans would consider taking in a homeless person, something that entails virtually no risk? Those who argue that hundreds of thousands of more Poles should have risked their lives, and use this argument to question the decency and morality of those who weren't prepared to put their lives on the line under such circumstances, necessarily invite a close scrutiny of their own demonstrated track record.

What other survivors have to say:

"Now you see why we hate the Polacks,' one survivor concluded her account, in which she presented many instances of Poles' help. There was no word about hating the Germans."¹⁵⁷³

"The Wanderers were among the luckiest Jewish families in town. Both parents and the girls survived the war. They were hidden successively by several Polish families. After the war, the Wanderers emigrated to America. I sent the Wanderer sisters information about the Regulas, one of the Polish families in whose house on the outskirts of Brzezany [Brzezany] they had hid after the Judenrein roundup. I hoped that they would start the procedure of granting them the Righteous Gentiles award, but nothing came of it. ... When I called Rena, the older one, and asked whether a young Polish historian, a colleague of mine who was doing research in New York, could interview her for my project on Brzezany, her reaction was curt and clear: 'I

¹⁵⁷⁰ Szewach Weiss, "Polacy pozostali niezłomni," *Rzeczpospolita*, January 26, 2011.

¹⁵⁷¹ Cited in Bill Tammeus and Jacques Cukierkorn, *They Were Just People: Stories of Rescue in Poland During the Holocaust* (Columbia, Missouri and London: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 69. Roman Frayman states: "But the thing I feel guilty about today is that we never maintained a relationship [with his rescuer, Maria Bałagowa], while she was living." *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁵⁷² Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), 330. The presence of the Jews became widely known or suspected because of their frequent and loud quarrelling, because of the chance discovery of their hideout by a neighbour who hid in the Bradłos' barn during a German raid, and because of their nocturnal expeditions to obtain food from other farmers since the Bradłos were in no position to feed so many people. *Ibid.*, 331. Another family of rescuers, the Styrnas, hid two penniless siblings whose presence became known to their neighbours despite the precautions the Styrnas took to conceal their charges. Although the Styrnas trusted their neighbours and did not experience denunciation, they were nonetheless afraid that a weak person might betray them out of fear. Despite their assurances, after the war, their charges showed little gratitude. *Ibid.*, 335–36.

¹⁵⁷³ Cited in Eva Hoffman, *Shtetl: The Life and Death of a Small Town and the World of Polish Jews* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 245.

hate all Polacks.' ... Rena advised me not to present the Poles in too favorable a way 'for the sake of our martyrs.'"¹⁵⁷⁴

*Liwa Gomulka, the wife of Communist leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, "refused to see an old Polish woman who had hidden her during the Nazi occupation and had come to her for some small favour."*¹⁵⁷⁵

Berek Rojzman was part of a group of six Jews who escaped from Treblinka and built an underground shelter in a forest, where they relied on a Polish farmer named Staszek for their food supply. Gitta Sereny, herself a Holocaust survivor, remarks: "Rojzman said no more about the man Staszek, thanks to whom they had survived. The implication was that he was paid for what he did. He probably was, but considering the risk he had taken, one did wonder whether that degree of help could ever be paid for in money."¹⁵⁷⁶

After his escape from the German death camp in Sobibór, Stanisław Szmajzner and his two companions took refuge with a Polish family, where they survived the war.¹⁵⁷⁷ Characteristically, Szmajzner said the following in a 1983 interview given in German:

*"I will never return to Poland, ever. Had the Poles been different, more like the Danes, the Dutch or the French, I think 70, 80 or possibly even 90 per cent of the Jews would still be alive today. Because the Germans had no idea who was Jewish and who wasn't. ... I don't want to speak Polish and I don't want to return to Poland. This is my sixth visit to Germany and believe me: I really don't want to go to Poland. ... If they [i.e., the Poles] wanted to kill Jews they could always find a pretext. ... That's what the Poles are like. Can you ever like these people? It's impossible. ... Poland was never, and never will be, a country where Jews can live. I would like to make an appeal to those few Jews still in Poland: Leave. This is not a country where you can live. ... It is not necessary for all Germans to atone for all of this. Many Germans were opposed to fascism."*¹⁵⁷⁸

Ephraim Sten (Sternschuss), one of the more than forty Jews rescued by a number of Polish families in the village of Jelechowice:

*"They (the Poles) had no objection to the job being perpetrated by the Germans ... That is why the overwhelming majority did not lift a finger to help. ... Poland was the perfect center for the Jewish liquidation."*¹⁵⁷⁹

Raoul Harmelin, who survived in his native Borysław with the help of a Pole named Jankowski, a Home Army member:

*"And generally, I would consider Poles much worse than the Germans."*¹⁵⁸⁰

Peter Gersh, who was captured by the Gestapo in Kraków and imprisoned in several German concentration camps:

"...if I hated anyone, I would hate the Polish people. The priests and the Catholic Church, they instilled hate in the Polish people ... in the war they [Poles] had a field day. ... When I heard that the Russians occupied

¹⁵⁷⁴ Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1918–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 22.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Michael Checinski, *Poland: Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism* (New York: Karz-Cohl, 1982), 143.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing To Mass Murder* (New York: McGraw-Hill; London: Deutsch, 1974), 242–44.

¹⁵⁷⁷ Stanisław Szmajzner, *Inferno em Sobibor: A tragédia de um adolscente judeu* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Bloch, 1968), 296–301.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Sobiborinterviews.nl—Survivors of an Extermination Camp, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Internet: <<http://www.sobiborinterviews.nl/en/interviewees/2-profielen/12-stanislaw-szmajzner>>. Polish Jews were required to wear distinctive armbands and most were readily identifiable by their appearance. Almost eighty percent of Dutch Jews, it must be remembered, were murdered by the Germans with considerable Dutch collaboration. Most of those who attempted to hide were betrayed. Many Dutch Jews were able to survive because they were exempted from Nazi genocidal measures.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Ephraim F. Sten, *1111 Days In My Life Plus Four* (Takoma Park, Maryland: Dryad Press, in association with the University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 31–32. Yet the author records, at p.75, a raid on the village of Jelechowice where several Polish families were sheltering more than 40 Jews (including him): "Today was some panic because last night Hryc informed us about the police arriving ... looking for Jews. ... there were area combings, the Wehrmacht arrived, as well as the foresters and police, and they went from house to house, from forest to forest, because Jews were hiding in the environs."

¹⁵⁸⁰ Interview with Raoul Harmelin, April 26, 1992, Gratz College Holocaust Oral History Archive, 47.

*Poland, I thought, God should see to it that they're there for a thousand years!"*¹⁵⁸¹

The Christian spouses of Jews who immigrated to Israel in the 1950s and 1960s—mostly Polish women who had saved the lives of their Jewish husbands—were perceived to constitute a threat to Jewish national identity. They often experienced discrimination and abusive treatment at the hands of Jewish Israeli society.¹⁵⁸²

Menachem Begin, former Israeli Prime Minister:

*"What concerns the Jews, the Poles have been collaborating with the Germans. ... only at most one hundred people have been helping Jews. ... Polish priests did not save even one Jewish life."*¹⁵⁸³

Yair Lapid, prominent Israeli politician:

"No Polish law will change history, Poland was complicit in the Holocaust. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were murdered on its soil without them having met any German officer. There were Polish death camps and no law can ever change that. I am a son of a Holocaust survivor. My grandmother was murdered in Poland

¹⁵⁸¹ Cited in Rhoda G. Lewin, ed., *Witnesses to the Holocaust: An Oral History* (Boston: Twayne, 1990), 35.

¹⁵⁸² Ofer Aderet, "The Polish Women Who Saved Jews in WWII, Only to be Called 'Russian Prostitutes' in Israel," *Haaretz*, August 30, 2020. For an account of a Polish woman attesting to such mistreatment experienced by her as well as by her children in the 1950s see Daniel Boćkowski, Ewa Rogalewska, and Joanna Sadowska, *Kres świata białostockich Żydów* (Białystok: Muzeum Wojska w Białymstoku; Galeria Śledzińskich w Białymstoku, 2013), 85. Stefan Raczyński, whom Yad Vashem recognized as a Righteous Gentile for saving his future wife, Shoshana Dezent, and a number of other Jews, moved to Israel with his wife in 1960. Shoshana recalled how he was mistreated there: "Stefan has changed a great deal since we came to Israel. They injured him; he felt humiliated and he became cynical. When our son went to the army he wanted to be a pilot. They told him, 'Your father is a Polish Catholic, you won't be a pilot.' One day a few religious Jews were throwing stones at our house screaming, 'Go away, goy,'" See *Rescuers Bios*, "Shtetl," PBS Frontline, Internet: <<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shtetl/righteous/stephan.html>>.

¹⁵⁸³ Said on Dutch television in 1979. Cited in Stewart Stevens, *The Poles* (St. James's Place, London: Collins/Harvill, 1982), 317. Stevens, a Jew, described this outburst as "a disgraceful statement in which Begin disgraced himself and dishonored his own people." The disturbing phenomenon of anti-Polonism was explored by Steve Paiken, in his article "Poland Striving to Shake Off an Anti-Semitic Past," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), May 29, 1992: "And many Jews around the world blame the Poles nearly as much as the Germans for the Holocaust. They say it wasn't coincidental that the majority of the death camps were on Polish soil—that anti-Semitism in Poland made Hitler's Final Solution in Poland achievable. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir once summed up that view by saying that Poles drink anti-Semitism with their mother's milk. ... The signs of change are even prompting some to challenge the long-held view that Poles were just about as guilty as the Germans for the Holocaust. That view is 'ingrained,' says Nathan Leipziger, chairman of the Canadian Jewish Congress Holocaust Remembrance Committee, and a survivor of Auschwitz. 'How can you say that? I was in camps where 90 per cent of the inmates were Poles. ... Most of this [anti-Polish] feeling is just based on myth.'" Shamir's scandalous remarks were renewed by Israeli Foreign Minister Yisrael Katz in public statement in February 2019, so they are clearly indicative of widespread, albeit not universal, appeal among Israelis and Jews.

by Germans and Poles.”¹⁵⁸⁴

Israeli President Reuven Rivlin, during an address at the March of the Living, April 2018:

*“The country of Poland allowed the implementation of the horrific genocidal ideology of Hitler. ... Not for nothing we describe the death camps as the camps of Nazis and their helpers ... we cannot deny the fact that Poland and the Poles lent a hand to the annihilation” of Jews.*¹⁵⁸⁵

Jack Rosen, the President of the American Jewish Congress:

*“without the complicity, whether direct or indirect, of ordinary Poles, the Nazi extermination of three million Polish Jews would not have been possible. The term ‘Polish death camps’ may not be technically correct, but the vast majority of Nazi death camps in Europe were built on Polish soil.”*¹⁵⁸⁶

Elie Wiesel, author and Nobel Prize winner:

¹⁵⁸⁴ TOI Staff and AP, “Lapid: Poland Was Complicit in the Holocaust, New Bill ‘Can’t Change History,’” *The Times of Israel*, January 27, 2018. Since Lapid’s two grandmothers actually lived through the Holocaust (one in Palestine, the other in Budapest), he later had to “clarify” that it was his father’s grandmother who was killed, and explained—in terms many Jews, unfortunately, fully endorse—why Poles were responsible for her death:

My father’s grandmother, Hermione, was arrested by the Germans in Serbia. She was sent to Auschwitz, where she was murdered in the gas chambers. Why did she make that long journey to her death? Why were most of the camps set up in Poland? The Germans knew that at least some of the local population would cooperate.

The new law that the Polish government is trying to pass denies all this. So that we’ll know that “fake news” has reached Poland, they spun the law with a false headline. “There is no such thing,” they said, “as Polish extermination camps. The camps were German.” It’s an absurd statement. No one ever says the death camps were built by the Poles. The Germans built them. But they built them on Polish land, with Polish help, in the face of Polish silence.

Three million Polish Jews were murdered (and another three million Jews from other countries). The Germans managed the extermination and bear ultimate responsibility but they could not have done it alone.

We have not forgotten and not forgiven. ... We will not accept the re-writing of history. We will not accept the attempt to avoid responsibility.

See Yair Lapid, “The Truth about Poland and the Holocaust,” Blogs, *The Times of Israel*, January 29, 2018. Commenting on this state of affairs, Seth J. Frantzman, who addressed this issue in a balanced article, “Setting History Straight: Poland Resisted Nazis,” in the January 29, 2018 issue of the *Jerusalem Post*, demonstrated great perception and courage when he stated:

Over the last few days there has been an extreme outpouring of hatred in Israel and on social media against Poland over a law about the Holocaust; what’s strange is that the comments aren’t against the law, just hatred and blame for Poland and Poles. And what’s even more strange is the constant claim that the death camps were built in Poland are somehow the fault of Poland rather than the German Nazi occupying regime. It’s all the more surprising because in other countries in the 1940s there were active collaborationist governments such as Vichy in France or Ustache [Ustashe] in Croatia. Yet anger and hatred is reserved for Poland, not just about the law; but deep antipathy. Is this because of bad education about the Shoah? Or is it about something deeper, anger that has sat quietly and is bursting forth with the law as a symbol of a larger issue? I find it difficult to believe if there was a similar law in Croatia or Hungary or elsewhere that there would be the same level of anger.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Ofer Aderet, “Israeli President to Polish Counterpart: We Cannot Deny That Poland and Poles Participated in the Holocaust,” *Haaretz*, April 12, 2018; “Poles Helped in Nazi Extermination, Rivlin Tells Polish Counterpart,” *The Times of Israel*, April 12, 2018. At the ceremonies commemorating the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz held on January 27, 2020, Israeli President Rivlin renewed his charge that “many Poles ... assisted in the murder of Jews” and, without acknowledging that Poles uniquely faced the death penalty for helping Jews, reproached them because “too few” Poles risked their lives to save Jews. See Ofer Aderet, “Rivlin Told Poles What Netanyahu Wouldn’t,” *Haaretz*, January 27, 2020. The “unvarnished truth” that emerges from this narrative, seemingly endorsed by Yad Vashem, is that Poles’ wartime purpose was to put their lives at risk to rescue Jews (they ran no greater risk than other Europeans for doing so); otherwise, Poles were hateful anti-Semites (usually), indifferent (at best), or collaborators/murderers (very often).

¹⁵⁸⁶ Jack Rosen, “I Take Poland’s Holocaust Revisionism Personally,” *Haaretz*, February 25, 2018.

*"We had so many enemies! ... the Poles betrayed them. True, here and there a 'good' citizen was found whose cooperation could be bought [sic] with Jewish money. But how many good-hearted, upright Poles were to be found at the time in Poland? Very few."*¹⁵⁸⁷

Yitzhak Arad (Rudnicki), former partisan and Israeli historian:

*"It was a period in which the morality of the Church was tested. The clergy should have voiced their objections to the murders and extended help to the victims, despite risks to themselves. An outcry on their part would not have changed the Germans' annihilation policies ..."*¹⁵⁸⁸

David Kertzer, American historian, asks rhetorically:

*"... could there be any link between the efficiency of the slaughter of millions of Jews in Poland and the deep anti-Semitism inculcated in the Catholic population there?"*¹⁵⁸⁹

Omer Bartov, Israeli-American historian:

*"the very term 'bystander' is largely meaningless. The majority of the non-Jewish population profited from the genocide and either directly or indirectly collaborated with the perpetrators of the Holocaust. Even if at times the non-Jews also resisted the occupation for their own reasons, only a minority was involved in rescue and feared the vengeance of the majority. In this sense no one was passive or indifferent."*¹⁵⁹⁰

Jan Grabowski, Jewish-Canadian historian:

*"But no one, in these circumstances, could remain a neutral, emotionally detached witness, often described by historians as a 'bystander to the Holocaust.' ... each rural inhabitant—each man, woman, and child [sic]—had a role to play in this horrible theatre of death."*¹⁵⁹¹

*"The motivations of rescuers varied from case to case. If the helpers, however, acted out of compassion, they broke a certain consensus in their own community. Within this consensus there was no place for helping Jews."*¹⁵⁹²

Yoram Lubling, Israeli professor of philosophy:

*"Personally, it was only after I met the Polish people that I could finally understand how the Holocaust happened. It is not the case, as some argued, that it was the largest concentration of Jews that motivated the Nazis to build their extermination camp in Poland. Rather, the Germans constructed all their major extermination camps in Poland because they understood the deep and religiously motivated hatred that the Polish masses held against their Jewish neighbors; neither were the death-camps built in Poland for the purpose of exterminating the Polish nation, as Polish historians want us to believe."*¹⁵⁹³

Yisrael Meir Lau, Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel (1993–2003), who survived the war in hiding:

"The Gentiles ... are interested in one thing only: to see the Jews devastated. ... Take such a big country as

¹⁵⁸⁷ Introduction to Vladka Meed, *On Both Sides of the Wall: Memoirs from the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), 3–4.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 449–50.

¹⁵⁸⁹ David I. Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Knopf, 2001), 10.

¹⁵⁹⁰ Omer Bartov, "Much Forgotten, Little Learned," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2007): 276.

¹⁵⁹¹ Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 83. Jan Grabowski's father, Zbigniew Ryszard Grabowski (then Ryszard Abrahamer), whose family passed as Christians in Warsaw, states that his (Zbigniew's) father was fingered in a streetcar by a Jewish Gestapo agent. "Jews in the service of the Gestapo," he writes, "were best at recognizing other Jews." See Katarzyna Meloch and Halina Szostkiewicz, eds., *Dzieci Holocaustu mówią...*, vol. 4 (Warsaw: Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu" w Polsce, 2012), 195.

¹⁵⁹² Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 166.

¹⁵⁹³ Yoram Lubling, *Twice-Dead: Moshe Y. Lubling, the Ethics of Memory, and the Treblinka Revolt* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 107.

Poland before World War II. The Jews made it fruitful and turned it into a blooming country, with a flourishing economy, industry and agriculture. And look at it now, after WWII, after 3.5 million Jews abandoned her. It is an island of destruction, a country failing in all areas, in its economy, its industry, and socially as well. Nevertheless, a great many Poles cooperated with the Nazis in the annihilation, G-d forbid, of the Jewish people. The six largest extermination camps were located on Polish territory. They knew that with the loss of the Jews they would suffer dearly. But it did not deter them, for this is the nature of anti-Semitism—to destroy the Jewish nation, instead of benefiting from them.”¹⁵⁹⁴

Rabbi Menachem Levine of San Jose, California, grandson of Holocaust survivors:

“Yad Vashem makes it clear that it was Poles who made the Nazi Holocaust in Poland possible. Without the cooperation of the local citizenry, sometimes passively observing and many times enthusiastically supportive, a program of mass murder would have been impossible. ...

Nearly all of the death camps in occupied Europe were built in Poland. There were no crematoria or gas chambers in occupied France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Czechoslovakia or any other nation invaded by Nazi troops. Auschwitz, Birkenau, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, Treblinka and others were built in Poland. Why?

The answer is that the Nazis knew that Poland had been anti-Semitic for centuries and the Germans were convinced that the Poles would not protest against death camps for Jews on their soil. As history shows, they were correct. ... Poland ... both allowed and assisted in the Holocaust.”¹⁵⁹⁵

Rabbi Zev Friedman, dean of Rambam Mesivta for Boys (Lawrence, New York) and Shalhevet High School for Girls (North Woodmere, New York):

“Many [Jews] believe that the major killing camps were specifically located in Poland—because it was fertile ground for antisemitism, and it was thought that the murder of Jews would be readily accepted there.”¹⁵⁹⁶

Rabbi Joseph Polak, director of the Florence and Chafetz Hillel House at Boston University:

“While Poland boasts the largest number of righteous Gentiles who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust, it has still not fully embraced the moral challenge of why it did so little to save so many others.”¹⁵⁹⁷

Rabbi Charles Grysman of Vaughan, Ontario, child of a Holocaust survivor:

“True, there were indeed thousands of Righteous Gentiles ... But there were also many Poles who ... watched passively while Jews were disenfranchised, humiliated, abused and confined to ghettos or simply were able to turn their heads away as entire Jewish populations were deported from towns and villages to labour and death camps.”¹⁵⁹⁸

Dr. David Rakowski of Toronto, member of The Friends of Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Senate:

“The Poles’ complicity in the mass murders of European Jewry easily allowed the Nazis to operate concentration and death camps because of the rampant anti-Semitism of the majority of the Polish population at the time.”¹⁵⁹⁹

Gideon Meir, Israeli diplomat:

“The Germans wouldn’t have built the camps in Poland without the corporation [sic] of the Polish [sic] people.”¹⁶⁰⁰

¹⁵⁹⁴ An adaptation of a Dvar Torah on Arutz 7. Cited in *The Jewish Press*, Brooklyn, August 13, 1993.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Menachem Levine, “Why Poland’s New Holocaust Law Is a Mockery,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 2018.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Zev Friedman, “Why Would Any Jews Spend Money in Poland?” *The Algemeiner*, February 25, 2018.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Joseph Polak, “The Silence lifts on Poland’s Jews,” *The Boston Globe*, July 28, 2007.

¹⁵⁹⁸ Rabbi Charles Grysman, “Not All Poles Were Innocent,” *The National Post*, May 16, 2008.

¹⁵⁹⁹ Dr. David Rakowski, letter, “Let’s not repeat the past,” *National Post* (Toronto), November 16, 2019.

¹⁶⁰⁰ “Skandaliczne i kłamliwe słowa b. ambasadora Izraela we Włoszech,” November 25, 2019, Internet: <<https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/474503-byly-ambasador-izraela-klamie-ws-polakow>>.

Regrettably, such perverse and odious views are still being promoted in 2019 by Israeli officials and well-educated persons from international organizations, even though they have been discredited long ago by leading Holocaust historians like Yisael Gutman and Lucy Dawidowicz and called out as “Holocaust distortion” by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA). The working definition of Holocaust Denial and Distortion endorsed by the IHRA gives the following as an example of “Holocaust distortion”: “attempts to blur the responsibility for the establishment of concentration and death camps devised and operated by Nazi Germany by putting blame on other nations or ethnic groups.”¹⁶⁰¹

Rabbi Abraham D. Feffer of Toronto, a Holocaust survivor from Drobin:

“Yet many fortunate survivors from my own shtetl, remember well and with great fondness and admiration the help of the brave Christian farmers who lived in nearby villages where we worked on cold winter days. (In Poland, hiding a Jew, or feeding him was punishable by death, usually hanging). We remember how these men and women, at great peril, opened their poor “chatkis” [cottages] to share with us warm soup, bread and potatoes.”¹⁶⁰²

Rabbi Icchok Wolgelernter, a survivor from Działoszyce:

“The simple peasant did not feel hatred toward us—on the contrary, he always willingly contacted a Jew and trusted him in every matter. ... The peasants sympathized with us in our suffering and misfortune. They demonstrated this by giving us bread and water. To be sure they were afraid to take us into their homes, because in every village notices were put up warning that anyone who takes in a Jew or gives him a piece of bread will pay for it with his life. Despite this, when things quietened down a little, they allowed us to sleep in their barns, and even took women and children into their homes.”¹⁶⁰³

Cantor Matus Radzivilover, a survivor from Warsaw:

“I never had the tendency to be a nationalist. I am positively devoted to my Jewish brethren and I am proud of my heritage, but I also loved the country of my birth, Poland. I loved my neighbors, the Poles I grew up with and lived with in love and peace. I never accused them of failing to help us because they were in great danger themselves. Hundreds of thousands of them were killed or deported to concentration camps. They paid their price under Nazism, too. Hitler’s intentions were to exterminate the Poles after he was done with the Jews.”¹⁶⁰⁴

David Klin, a member of the Jewish underground in Warsaw and a liaison officer between the Polish Home Army and Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, addressed a meeting of former Israeli servicemen:

“As a whole, the Polish Nation acted heroically in their attitude to the Jews.” Immediately he was shouted down that this was not true.

“I know it is true because I was there,” he replied. “If the situation was reversed, how many of you would hide a Pole and so risk your life?” asked David Klin. Sudden silence was the answer. “Well! You see for yourselves!” he said and ended his address.¹⁶⁰⁵

Hanna Szper Cohen, a native of Lublin, who was rescued by unknown Poles on several occasions:

“To this day I say—since Jews have bad feelings about Poles—I assert that we who survived, a small percentage though it be, none of us would have survived if in some moment he did not get help, usually without ulterior motives, from some Pole. It was impossible to survive otherwise.”¹⁶⁰⁶

Nika Kohn Fleissig, a native of Wieliczka near Kraków, who was saved by a number of Polish Christians:

¹⁶⁰¹ See International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, Internet: <<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-holocaust-denial-and-distortion>>.

¹⁶⁰² Rabbi Abraham D. Feffer, *My Shtetl Drobin: A Saga of a Survivor* (Toronto: n.p., 1990), 22.

¹⁶⁰³ Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...: Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 52–53, based on Rabin Icchok Wolgelernter, *Dziennik pisany w ukryciu*, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), record group 302, number 46.

¹⁶⁰⁴ Matus Radzivilover, *Now or Never: A Time For Survival* (New York: Frederick Fell, 1979), 82.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Cited in Chciuk, *Saving Jews in War-Torn Poland, 1939–1945*, 18.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Julian Cohen, *Escape from Belzec: Saved By a Pair of Heels*, Internet: <<http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/ar/belzec/belzecescape.html>>.

*"I learned that one cannot generalize: I was once endangered by a nasty Jewish woman, who sent a policeman to arrest me to free herself. I met a number of Christians who saved my life when they could have turned away. So there were good people and bad ones. In tough times, one discovers the truth about people, and it has nothing to do with religion."*¹⁶⁰⁷

Mark S. Smith, an American journalist based in Scotland:

*"It was difficult to fight the rising hatred I suddenly felt for these peasants. My sense of justice wanted to reject such feelings, because it dishonoured those Poles who found ways to resist the Nazi tyranny and assist the persecuted—but the courageous were too few, and Poland's guilt is that of a nation that could have saved the lives of hundreds of thousands [sic] of people, in spite of the Germans, but did not."*¹⁶⁰⁸

Szymon Datner, former director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw and Holocaust survivor:

"The Second World War is a period that I have been dealing with for several decades, and I obstinately maintain that one must be very careful in passing judgment. ...

... the Holocaust was such a specific, though unimaginable, crime. But it cannot be charged against the Poles. It was German work and it was carried out by German hands. The Polish police were employed in a very marginal way, in what I would call keeping order. I must state with all decisiveness that more than 90% of that terrifying, murderous work was carried out by the Germans, with no Polish participation whatsoever. ...

... Every form of aid was forbidden under pain of death for oneself and one's whole family.

To us today the choice seems altogether clear. And yet I was shocked not long ago by a girl I know, a Jew. She is a person my age, someone I value highly for her honesty and courage. And she told me, 'I am not at all sure I would give a bowl of food to a Pole if it could mean death for me and my daughter.'

It was a truly satanic moral trial that Poles were subjected to. I do not know if anyone else would have emerged victorious from it. ...

*On the other hand, to speak concretely of the attitude of Poles toward Jews: the majority of Poles behaved passively, but that can be explained by the terror and also by the fact that Poles, too, were being systematically murdered on a mass scale by the Germans."*¹⁶⁰⁹

Raul Hilberg, preeminent Holocaust historian:

"Overall, the general Polish population is not mentioned in German documents in respect of its participation as harassing Jews and helping the Germans. To the contrary; many German reports indicate that Poles felt anxiety for their own safety after the Jews disappeared. There are some German documents that mention some Poles, notably Polish police, railroad-workers and low-level employees in German offices but there was no Polish central authority collaborating with the Germans, as we find in e.g. Norway and its Quisling government or France and its Vichy regime. This was never the case in Poland.

As was the case in many European countries, there were also Polish individuals that played extortion games with Jews, but then there were also Poles that helped Jews under risk of facing death penalty from the German occupants. Both categories were relatively small in comparison to the general population, albeit one must take into consideration that most survivors made it through the war by Polish help and protection. A friend of mine, Bronia Klebanski, who is Jewish but lived on the 'Aryan' side of society and was an active member of the Jewish underground in the Białystok [Białystok] area, once told me a story of how she at a time took the train during the war; and was suddenly pointed out by a little girl who yelled 'Jew!'. All the Polish passengers sat quietly; and nobody said anything to instigate further interest. This account is a small example of the general practice of non-collaboration among the Poles during the war.

*... In Ukraine, contrary to Poland, where the Germans built secluded death camps, Jews were often massacred on the spot. The Nazi death camps in occupied Poland such as Treblinka, Belzec [Bełżec], Sobibor [Sobibór] and Chelmno [Chełmno] were all hidden to the public."*¹⁶¹⁰

¹⁶⁰⁷ Alicia Fleissig Magal, *From Miracle to Miracle: A Story of Survival* (Parker, Colorado: Outskirts Press, 2011), 93.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Mark Smith, "Escape from Treblinka," *The Herald* (Scotland), May 31, 2010.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Interview with Szymon Datner in Małgorzata Niezabitowska, *Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland* (New York: Friendly Press, 1986), 247–49.

¹⁶¹⁰ Interview with Professor Raul Hilberg, June 20, 2005, Internet: <http://www.maxveritas.com/pb/wp_1add70b0.html?0.611384753320024>. A scene similar to the one described by Bronia Klebanski was observed by Szmul Zygielbojm, a respected Jewish member of the Polish National Council in London. Zygielbojm recalled that when he was on his way to Kraków, he heard a Pole sermonizing on the Jews in the presence of other Poles. Finally, one of the Polish peasants who had heard enough of the anti-Semitic diatribe asked the man, "And where did you learn to preach so well in German?" The anti-Semite tried to respond but was drowned out by the laughter of the pro-Jewish Poles. See Richard C. Lukas, *The Forgotten Holocaust: The Poles Under German Occupation, 1939–1944* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 142–43.

Israel Gutman, former chief historian at Yad Vashem, editor-in-chief of *The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, Warsaw ghetto fighter, prisoner of Auschwitz:

“This feeling of identification of Poles from all social spheres and their anti-German solidarity is a previously unheard of historical achievement and one of Europe’s greatest under Nazi occupation. I should like to make two things clear here. First, all accusations against the Poles that they were responsible for what is referred to as the ‘Final Solution’ are not even worth mentioning. Secondly, there is no validity at all in the contention that ... Polish attitudes were the reason for the siting of the death camps in Poland.

Poland was a completely occupied country. There was a difference in the kind of ‘occupation’ countries underwent in Europe. Each country experienced a different occupation and almost all had a certain amount of autonomy, limited and defined in various ways. This autonomy did not exist in Poland. No one asked the Poles how one should treat the Jews.”¹⁶¹¹

*“Only in Poland did the Germans impose such draconian punishments (i.e., death) for helping Jews. Yet despite that, Poles constitute the largest number of ‘Righteous.’ To a great extent, it is the ‘Righteous’ who have changed the Israelis’ perception of Poland. That is what influenced me. I too, at first, accepted these negative stereotypes as truth. Collaborators, blackmailers, neighbours who wouldn’t help. That’s what was said in all articles, in books. But when Yad Vashem published its *Encyclopedia of the Righteous*—I was the editor—I was forced to examine this again through the stories told by Jews who were saved. I don’t change my opinions readily, but these testimonies brought about a diametrical change in opinion. ... Gradually, they (i.e., Israelis) are learning about this. It enables them to see Poles as real people, made of flesh and blood. The same as Jews. In the archives of Yad Vashem I found testimonies of such deeds, deeds that I myself would not be able to do. And that disturbs my peace. It was a trial, a test of one’s humanity. Would we pass this test if placed in that situation? All of us—both Jews and Poles—we are only human. We are not saints. Yes, there were blackmailers in Poland. There were also heroes. People like (Irena) Sendlerowa, of whom you may be very proud.”¹⁶¹²*

“Sometimes I hear Jews accusing the Poles of deliberately not helping them even though they could have done so. Such observations are expressions of pain, which eclipse a sensible attitude. More could certainly have been done to save Jews, but the Poles in the conditions of the occupation could not fundamentally have changed the fate of the Jews. ... I shall permit myself to say more—there is no moral imperative which demands that a normal mortal should risk his life and that of his family to save his neighbour. Are we capable of imagining the agony of fear of an individual, a family who selflessly and voluntarily, only due to an inner human impulse, bring into their home someone threatened with death? ... The Poles should be proud that they had so many just lights, of whom Ringelblum spoke, who are the real heroes of the deluge. And we can never do enough to thank these rare people.”¹⁶¹³

Isaac Glick, Thornhill, Ontario, former Lieutenant-Colonel in the Israeli Defence Force:

“Although it is generally believed that Germans, as a nation, were responsible for the Holocaust, it is very important to state that people in Germany were more resistant to Jewish repression than those in the neighbouring occupied countries, including Poland ... The reason Germans established ghettos and

¹⁶¹¹ Polin: *A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies), vol. 2 (1987), 341. Other well-informed historians have also argued compellingly that the decisive factor in staging the Holocaust in occupied Poland was not native attitudes, but total subjugation of the terrorized population. The Germans had no respect for Polish attitudes, as evidenced by their policy of liquidating Poles. There was nowhere and to no one to object; moreover, any objection would have been counterproductive. As James Hawes pointed out in *The Shortest History of Germany* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2017):

The SS needed somewhere no turbulent priests would interfere, where their work could be kept really secret, where European civilisation had already ceased to exist. By late 1941, with Poland and swathes of western Russia in their hands, they had just the place. When, on 20 January 1942, senior Nazi officialdom gathered to coordinate strategies for the eradication of Europe’s Jews (the so-called *Endlösung*, or Final Solution) at the Wannsee Conference, the SS No. 2 Reinhard Heydrich spoke pointedly of “our new prospects in the East.” In that conquered and shattered wasteland, his words implied, no one was going to object.

¹⁶¹² “Poles Can Be Very Proud of Sendlerowa,” Israel Gutman interviewed by Piotr Zychowicz, *Rzeczpospolita* (Warsaw), May 13, 2008.

¹⁶¹³ Contribution to the discussion “Ethical Problems of the Holocaust in Poland: Discussion Held at the International Conference on the History and Culture of Polish Jewry in Jerusalem on Monday 1 February 1988,” reproduced in Antony Polonsky, ed., *My Brother’s Keeper? Recent Polish Debates on the Holocaust* (London and New York: Routledge, in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1990), 203–4.

concentration camps in these countries was because the local populations not only didn't object, they were often seen as righteous. The anti-Semitism in Poland actually rivaled that in Germany."¹⁶¹⁴

Freda Wineman was a French Jew arrested by French policemen and sent to the Drancy internment camp near Paris, which was run by the French police. French policemen loaded her and her family onto a train operated by French railroad workers and deported them to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Wineman has taken to teaching impressionable students and the public in the United Kingdom about Polish "complicity" in the Holocaust, even though she never encountered a Polish collaborator—only many French ones:

*"When the Nazis invaded, Poland had the largest Jewish population in Europe, and yet they were rounded up so quickly into the ghettos within a short frame of time that there must have been some complicity with the local Polish population, and only very few actually stood up and tried to help Jews they had lived alongside for a long time. They were almost pleased to be able to take over their homes and things that the Jews had to leave behind."*¹⁶¹⁵

The following is a characteristic excerpt from a Jewish memorial book that, unfortunately, informs much of Jewish historiography on Polish-Jewish relations, demonizing Poles and turning them into the primary target of a broad-based assault on Christianity and, in particular, the Catholic Church.

The anti-Semitic propaganda, which was being conducted in Poland before the outbreak of the Second World War, trained the hearts and prepared the ground for the deeds so horrifying in their cruelty and ruthlessness during the war. When Hitler's minions invaded Poland they found Poles who already agreed with them, for regarding the destruction of the Jews there were Poles who were of one mind with the Nazis. The Poles were well trained by the fifth column, Hitler's agents, who spread hatred of the Jews. The Nazis found in the Poles not opponents, but loyal assistants in the act of destruction. All circles of Poles participated in this project of mass-murder, from the laborer to the priest. ...

Due to this attitude of the Poles regarding the Jews, can it be surprising that Poland was chosen by the Devil and his demons of destruction to be the arena for the destruction of European Jewry. The ground here had been worked and prepared enough for the task. The Nazi monster was certain that its satanic enterprise would have a one hundred percent success rate here. ...

This is the Christian ethic, which aspired to be the most exalted ethic for all of humanity. With regard to the Jews, Christianity—of which the Poles were considered its most devoted practitioners—was revealed in all of its despicableness and lowliness. Christianity did not purify their souls: they remained wild, blood thirsty, just as they had been a thousand years before when they were still sunk in the ignorance of paganism.¹⁶¹⁶ The moral and humane imperative of our prophets: "My refugees shall live among you, hide the refugees and do not reveal the wanderer!" [Isaiah 16/3]—such an imperative was strange and foreign to our Polish neighbors.¹⁶¹⁷

The harsh and hateful criticism of Poles which permeates much of Jewish literature necessarily invites assessing the bearers of such criticism by their own standards. Is there any evidence that any of these harsh critics have themselves performed a deed of significant self-sacrifice, let alone heroism, on behalf of a non-Jew?

French-Jewish intellectual Pierre Vidal-Naquet has decried "the sort of primitive anti-Polish sentiments that too often characterize those whom I shall call 'professional Jews'."¹⁶¹⁸ Unfortunately, the pathology of anti-polonism runs deep and has infected "artistic" pursuits. In a spiteful parody of a "Passion play" titled "Rebbe," Artists For Israel International have, contrary to the documented historical record, recast Polish priests as the instigators of the death of a rabbi—a Jesus figure—in the Warsaw ghetto. (Internet: <<http://www.afii.org/rebbe.txt>>.)

¹⁶¹⁴ "The Poles Are Not Without Blame," Letter to the Editor, *National Post*, Toronto, December 30, 2011.

¹⁶¹⁵ Tamara Zieve, "What Do Holocaust Survivors Think of 'Polish Death Camps'?" *Jerusalem Post*, February 3, 2018.

¹⁶¹⁶ Jewish historiography, for the most part, and indeed almost all Jews who write about contemporary Polish-Jewish relations, are tellingly silent on the earliest contacts between Jews (depicted as paragons of virtue and righteousness, consistently oppressed by evil Christians) and Poles (depicted as innately and endemically "despicable," "lowly," "wild," "bloodthirsty," and "ignorant"). As mentioned earlier, Jews first came to Poland in the 10th century as traders in—among other commodities, but primarily—Christian slaves, which certainly did not augur well for mutual relations between Poles and Jews.

¹⁶¹⁷ "Relations Between the Poles and the Jews," in Pinchas Cytron, ed., *Sefer Kielce: The History of the Community of Kielce. From Its Foundation To Its Destruction* (Tel Aviv: Organization of Immigrants from Kielce in Israel, 1957), 47 ff.; translation of *Sefer Kielce: Toldot Kehilat Kielce: Miyom Hivsudah V'ad Churbanah*.

¹⁶¹⁸ Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *The Jews: History, Memory, and the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 182.

At this point the invasion of Poland by the Nazis begins and a series of short scenes with ominous and sad music depict the occupation of the city and the sealing off of the Jewish Quarter which now becomes the Warsaw Ghetto. Now the Nazis lock the Jewish Quarter and force the Czerniakow character to come to them and cut a deal to get the key, which he does by appointing Yehudah as the head of the Jewish police who will co-operate with the Polish police and the German occupation authorities.

The last maamar (Chassidic version of Last Supper Yn 13-17 OJBC) of Rebbe (who is now wearing a Star of David armband, as are the rest of Rebbe's talmidim) comes as a reply to Shimon the Zealot. Shimon the Zealot speaks in the upper room to all the Rebbe's talmidim disciples) in an impassioned manner about the boxcars leading to a death camp and the need for underground resistance fighters. When the other Shimon (Kefa or Peter) vows his part in protecting the Rebbe (Yn 13:37 OJBC), Rebbe goes to the window and looks out. With a revelatory flutter-cut Rebbe sees the tarnegol (rooster) in the wooden crate cage in the back of the passing truck, and Rebbe announces prophetically the coming betrayal. Yehudah, wearing his Chassidic garb, departs into the Warsaw night.

In the next scene Shimon Kefa and Rebbe pass the security point where Yehudah is able to flag them through, checking their passes, which are "work permits" allowing them to leave the Jewish Ghetto. Yehudah gives Rebbe a kiss on the cheek. The Polish police at the checkpoint see this and look at each other knowingly. Shimon Kefa accompanies Rebbe to a Cathedral and waits outside while Rebbe goes up to the door to knock.

Inside the Cathedral, a Catholic S.S. officer is leaving the confessional booth where he has been confessing to Father Kayafenski. Father Nikodimski follows him out and ushers Rebbe into the vestibule of the Roman Catholic church to have a meeting with Father Kayafenski. Since it is Pesach season, Father Nikodimski hopes that the senior priest will use his ecumenical influence with a Catholic S.S. officer to have the food rations increased for the Jewish people in the Ghetto. Father Nikodimski leaves Rebbe alone in the vestibule with Father Kayafenski.

In this scene between Rebbe and Father Kayafenski, Rebbe is invited to enter the sanctuary, but he refuses because of the tzelamim (idols, images, any physical object or statue worshiped as deity). The scene that unfolds is similar in some respects to the Grand Inquisitor scene in the Brothers Karamazov. Finally, Father Kayafenski becomes angry and exits the vestibule, going outside through the front door. Rebbe begins to tear down the tzelamim, using a tall white metal candelabrum to shatter the images including that of a San Gennaro statue with the money fastened all over it). Then the Catholic S.S. Officer and Father Kayafenski burst into the sanctuary with other soldiers and police and Rebbe is bound and taken out of the Catholic church.

On the steps outside a Nazi soldier seizes Shimon Kefa, shouting, "You were with him!" Shimon Kefa curses Rebbe, and just then a truck goes by with a tarnegol (rooster) in the wooden crate cage in the back of the passing truck. Then Kefa stares at Rebbe in shock and remorse.

At the railroad terminal, in front of several empty boxcars, the Nazi soldiers cut Rebbe's payos with their bayonets and beat him up, shouting, "You killed our G-d, we kill you." They force Rebbe to put on a striped Holocaust death camp prison uniform, then take him to the top of a gallows, then pierce his wrists and feet with their bayonets and put him on a gallows with two other Jews in stripped Holocaust death camp prison uniforms where they leave him hanging in the middle. As a shot of Warsaw reveals the horrific evil going on throughout the city, the body of Rebbe is tossed in the boxcar with the other two Jews. We see the boxcar slowly going into the dusk of the approaching night toward the death camps.

Then, in their death camp uniforms, the talmidim (minus Yehudah as in Yn chp 21 OJBC) awaken in a boat near the shore in Lake Galilee to find themselves amazingly no longer in the Polish ghetto but now in modern Eretz Yisroel (previewed in the wedding vision earlier). The talmidim have a sense of the presence of the Moshiach. As they see Rebbe in his kaftan with his Star of David armband, standing on the seashore, they follow his instructions and throw out their net. The fish we saw at the beginning are seen again, symbolizing the world-wide fishing expedition (fishing for lost unredeemed men) of Moshiach's Kehillah. For the camera pulls up from the fish in the giant net in an aerial shot which becomes a satellite shot of Israel and then a space station shot of the whole world as the music swells.