

Another Look at Polish-Jewish Relations in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County

A Much Needed Corrective to Jan Grabowski's *Hunt for the Jews*

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Introduction

Given the very narrow focus of Jan Grabowski's book *Hunt for the Jews*¹ – Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, a rural county in Kraków voivodship in southern Poland with a population of some 70,000, one would have expected a thorough and scholarly treatment of this topic. Instead, what we get is a book that is less than reliable in many respects. It is characterized by selectivity, unsubstantiated generalizations, frequent digressions, unnecessary polemics, and tedious moralizing. At least one-quarter of the book is drawn from events and examples from outside the county (often from distant parts of Poland). The book is also marred by inadequate research and misuse of documentary sources. Grabowski is unable to identify most of the documented cases of rescue of Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, and matters that are said to be crucial for our understanding of the topic, such as the role of the Catholic Church, are dealt with in a cursory and even shoddy manner.

Sadly, Grabowski's information cannot be taken at face value. At every turn, one must examine closely the sources he relies on to see whether he has done so accurately. Yet, reviewers (with no expertise on local conditions) have showered accolades on Grabowski's book for his "exemplary" scholarship and "meticulous" research.² Grabowski was even awarded the 2014 Yad Vashem International Book Prize for Holocaust Research. Moreover, Grabowski's findings are relied on as authoritative by prominent Holocaust historians, much to detriment of the scholarship on wartime Polish-Jewish relations.

Until 2020,³ Jan Grabowski was associated with the Polish Center for Holocaust Research (Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów), an academic and research centre linked to the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The bulk of that institution's funding comes from the Polish state. Grabowski's research has benefited greatly from the input of academics associated with the Polish Center for Holocaust Research. As such, his works can be regarded as fairly representative of the scholarship of that milieu which has espoused for itself a

¹ Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013).

² The favourable reviews of Grabowski's book are not noted here, but an excerpt from a typical one by Rosa Lehmann will suffice to capture their flavour: "Grabowski's *Hunt for the Jews* presents an example of outstanding academic writing. Because it is firmly grounded in solid research ..." See *The American Historical Review*, vol. 121, no. 4 (1 October 2016), 1382–83. The following letter of support for Professor Grabowski, couched in superlatives and forwarded to Chancellor of the University of Ottawa by a group of international Holocaust and modern history scholars on June 19, 2017, is reminiscent of those reviews: "We can attest to the fact that he is a scholar of impeccable personal and professional integrity. His scholarship holds to the highest standards of academic research and publication, and for such he has earned widespread acclaim in academia, as well as honors and awards. The contribution Professor Grabowski has made to understanding the Holocaust in Poland and especially the relations between Poles and their Jewish neighbors at the time, has assumed a central place in academic discourse about those subjects." See "Solidarity with Jan Grabowski," Internet: <<http://michael-wildt.de/blog/solidarity-jan-grabowski>>. In a nutshell, Grabowski is the epitome of the current state of Holocaust research. The Chair of the History Department at the University of Ottawa wrote: "I highly regard his research, conducted in the most rigorous manner, based on solid methodology, and peer-reviewed." The reference to peer review brings into question the value of that tool when the reviewers form part of a rather small and like-minded clique.

³ Apparently, Jan Grabowski's departure had to do with his adamant insistence – not supported by hard evidence – that Poles were responsible for killing at least 200,000 Jews during the Second World War.

very specific didactic “mission”—one that is not particularly conducive to sober analysis.⁴ Before the publication of the English version of his book *Hunt for the Jews* in 2013, Grabowski had the benefit of perceptive and detailed scholarly critiques of the 2011 Polish edition, titled *Judenjagd*.⁵ In particular, Bogdan Musiał,⁶ Krystyna Samsonowska⁷ (both of whom are familiar with local conditions) and Przemysław Różański⁸ provided excellent commentary that exposed many of the shortcomings of Grabowski’s research. Unfortunately, Grabowski chose to ignore those valuable critiques and compounded the problems that were identified by adding more material of a dubious nature to the expanded English version of his book.

This critique does not deal with Grabowski’s treatment of the *Judenjagd* per se, that is, the elaborate mechanism that the Germans put in place to carry out manhunts, including the designation of a local person as a hostage to ensure, under pain of death, the participation of villagers. These matters have been discussed by historians Bogdan Musiał and Tomasz Frydel. Why did the Germans think it necessary to go to these great lengths if the local population was, allegedly, so eager to take part in the manhunts? Grabowski provides no persuasive answers. Yet he repeatedly speaks of the villagers’ willing “cooperation” in these operations. Comparisons with

⁴ According to one of the Centre’s critics,

David Engel discusses the problem he identified in some of the works by these scholars. At times they took upon themselves the ‘national mission’ of helping the Polish nation face up to the terrible actions by its sons and daughters during the years of the German occupation, with the goal of making it more mature, releasing it from its whining self-image of victim, and turning into a nation capable of sober reflection on its past. Engel asserts that this is not the role of historians. Rather, their role is to use their research to foster a broad academic and international discourse and to make comparative and integrated use of diverse studies and sources. Research that is addressed mainly to the society in which the historians live, with goals that do not directly serve the research topic, is provincial and will be relegated to the margins.

See Daniel Blatman, “Holocaust Scholarship: Towards a Post-uniqueness Era,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2015): 21–43, here at 34–35. The Centre’s mission most certainly impacts their approach to the interpretation of the historical record. For example, the open identification with the Jewish victim, which is placed at the centre of the narrative, is not conducive to an objective assessment of Polish society as victims’ views are particular and subjective.

⁵ Jan Grabowski, *Judenjagd: Polowanie na Żydów, 1942-1945: Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011).

⁶ Bogdan Musiał, “*Judenjagd* – «umiejętne działanie» czy zbrodnicza perfidia?” *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2011): 159–70; Bogdan Musiał, “Odpowiedź na replikę Jana Grabowskiego: ‘Rznięcie nożem, czyli polemika historyczna à la Bogdan Musiał’,” *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. 43, no. 4 (2011): 171–77. See also Bogdan Musiał, “‘Judenjagd’, czyli naukowy regres,” *Rzeczpospolita–Plus Minus*, March 5–6, 2011; Bogdan Musiał, “Zbrodnicza perfidia czy umiejętne działanie,” *Rzeczpospolita–Plus Minus*, March 19–20, 2011. The only correction that Grabowski appears to have made in *Hunt for the Jews* (at p. 75), without acknowledging Bogdan Musiał’s detection of Grabowski’s misreading of Adam Kazimierz Musiał’s *Krwawe upiory: Dzieje powiatu Dąbrowa Tarnowska w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej* (Tarnów: Karat, 1993) in *Judenjagd* (at p. 79), is the removal of the specific claim that Polish firefighters were used to surround the execution site of Gypsies in Szczurowa, while retaining a general claim along those same lines for which Grabowski provides no source.

⁷ Krystyna Samsonowska, “Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej,” *Więź*, no. 7 (2011): 75–84.

⁸ Przemysław Różański, Review of Jan Grabowski’s *Judenjagd*, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, vol. 61, no. 2 (2012): 627–30.

other jurisdictions where manhunts were conducted would have enhanced our understanding of this phenomenon.⁹

Historian Tomasz Szarota commented on Grabowski's skewed focus in his review of German historian Daniel Brewing's important monograph, *Im Schatten von Auschwitz*,¹⁰ as follows:

while these authors [i.e., Jan Grabowski and Barbara Engelking] blame anti-Semitism and the desire for wealth for causing Poles to join the hunt for Jews, Brewing attributes a causative role to the occupation authorities who sought to use Polish peasants to fight all forms of resistance. In his opinion, several factors stood behind this 'cooperation' with the occupier: submission to the repeated calls from the Nazi authorities, the use of coercion, rewards offered for denouncing hidden Jews and the fear of punishment for failing to follow the occupier's orders (pp. 216–24).¹¹

Thus, the story of wartime Polish-Jewish relations in the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska remains to be written.

A much needed corrective of some—but certainly not all—of those shortcomings follows. We shall consider, in turn, Grabowski's treatment of the Catholic Church and its clergy; Christian attitudes toward the Holocaust; the extent and nature of rescue efforts and the risks associated with them; and phenomena that Grabowski overlooked such as the role of the Jewish police. Throughout, we shall also refer to various problems of Holocaust historiography, methodology, and conceptualization.

⁹ For example, in Vichy France, the manhunt was carried out by volunteers.

If, in the northern zone, due to the formal Franco-German collaboration agreements, the French administration carried on working directly with the Germans authorities and made most of the arrests until the end of the war, then the situation was totally different in the ex-free zone. There, the French government was still enforcing his own anti-Semitic policy, while the Germans were enforcing the manhunt. Without the French administration support (and control tools like the census) and the French police manpower, the German police had to find another way to find and to arrest the Jews. Thus, thousands of French were recruited. A large part of them were dedicated to the enforcement of the "final solution", becoming members of the IVb4 services of the various Sipo-SD posts in France.

Aloïs Brunner, while leading his SS kommando in a massive manhunt operation in the ex-Italian zone (September 1943-march 1944) used the French recruits who were mainly grassroots militants of the "ultra" parties such as Jacques Doriots' *Parti populaire français*, Marcel Déats' *Rassemblement national populaire*, the special services of Darnands' *Milice* or even smaller groups such as the *Jeunes de l'Europe nouvelle* all of which gave to the Germans their knowledge of the terrain and intelligence networks. This expertise eventually overcame Vichy defection, helping the Germans to find and arrest the Jews.

From 1943 until the liberation of the French territory, a period that can be seen as the "second step" of the enforcement of the *Endlösung* [*Endlösung*] in France, the grassroots militants played a major role in the manhunt, while on the other hand and at the same time, more and more French were helping the Jews by various means ranging from sheltering, which was never forbidden by French or German law in France, to evasion networks.

The foregoing paper by Tal Bruttman, "The IVb4 Manhunt in Southern France (1943-1944)," was delivered at the International Conference on Hiding, Sheltering and Borrowing Identities As Avenues of Rescue During the Holocaust held at Yad Vashem, in Jerusalem, in December 2010.

¹⁰ Daniel Brewing, *Im Schatten von Auschwitz: Deutsche Massaker an polnischen Zivilisten 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2016).

¹¹ *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 125 (2018), English-Language Edition no. 2: 178–83, here at 182.

The Catholic Church and Clergy – Some Observations on Grabowski's Methodology

Despite its alleged importance, the topic of the Catholic Church is dealt with exceptional brevity in *Hunt for the Jews* (at pp. 83–84). Grabowski states that only “shreds of evidence” exist regarding the attitude of the clergy, and cites all of two examples, one of which is from outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. As we shall see, in both these cases, Grabowski provides inaccurate summaries of the Jewish survivors' testimonies on which he relies and makes no effort to check the veracity of the information they contain. Grabowski then falls back on the lament that further inquiries are “impossible” because, allegedly, the Church archives in Poland “remain shut tight”. That is incorrect. Scholars have been able to work in church archives, including personal files of the clergy, under supervision.

The notion that there is some Church archive that contains secret documents from the Second World War about the activities of the Catholic clergy relating to Jews, and that only such sources could provide the additional information that researchers need, is ludicrous. In fact, the Catholic clergy avoided contemporaneous recording of information about rescue activities during the German occupation as it was highly risky to keep such records and it continued to be the case under the Soviet occupation following 1944–45. In the immediate postwar period, the clergy, who had been decimated during the war, had far more pressing matters to attend to, such as tending to their traumatized, persecuted, wounded, sick, handicapped, and pauperized flock, rebuilding churches and church institutions, and dealing with the repressive measures the Church was subjected to by the Communist authorities. Moreover, there was little interest in rescue accounts anywhere in the world at that time, including Israel where survivors were often shunned. Church institutions in Poland did not begin to collect information about rescue activities until the 1960s. A number of scholarly studies based on those sources were published in the following decades. Their main focus was the activities undertaken by religious orders of women on behalf of Jews.

Most priests and nuns who came to the assistance of Jews did not leave contemporaneous records, so researchers had to actively seek out such testimonies. This should not be surprising, for obvious reasons. The situation did not change much after the war. Fear of the Communist secret police was overwhelming. Hence, writing anything down was considered dangerous. Anything that smacked of underground activities, like hiding Jews, could prompt an insidious question about the clergy's clandestine affiliation, pro-Western no doubt. Yet, despite all this, some records have survived. Further, it was considered unbecoming to engage in self-congratulatory writing. There is no indication, however, that the clergy chose not to publicize their deeds because they were ashamed of them or faced disapproval from Church authorities or the faithful for helping Jews. As we will see, there is a great deal of information that is available about the activities of the Catholic clergy in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. Grabowski simply failed to look for it.

Grabowski starts out by setting up a false equivalence, namely, that some priests helped Jews, while others allegedly harmed them, with emphasis on the latter. He reinforces this notion by citing, in the introduction to his book, someone who survived outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county with the help of Poles, but in all likelihood never set foot in a church during the war. According to Symcha Hampel, “priests often discussed the Jews in church and thanked God that these parasites were gone once and for all. They were grateful to Hitler for having done the dirty work [for them].” (*Hunt for the Jews*. pp. 4–5.) Thus, Grabowski appears to be intent on showing that priests were in the business of inciting their parishioners against Jews, and that if Jews encountered a Catholic priest, there was a good chance the priest would denounce them or steal their belongings. As it turns out, however, there is no reliable evidence to back this claim.

However, the toxic effect of giving credence to such statements is that other scholars accept them without questioning their reliability.¹²

Grabowski takes aim at the Catholic Church throughout his book, in subtle and selective ways, while conveniently ignoring the bigger picture. He mentions the letter Archbishop Adam Sapieha sent to the German authorities protesting the use of Polish youths forcibly conscripted into the *Baudienst*, a so-called Construction Service used for various local building projects, in activities directed against Jews. (Grabowski attempts to portray these unfortunate youths as “collaborators,” although he levies no such charge against Jewish policemen who volunteered for service and even though Jews too could be made to participate in crimes perpetrated against Poles.¹³) Grabowski refers to this as “one of the very few statements made by the leaders of the Polish Catholic Church during the war referring to the extermination of Polish Jews.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 129.)

The harsh reality was that the Church made no public statements about the treatment of its clergy and the destruction of its institutions either, even though the Polish Catholic clergy was the most persecuted clergy in all of occupied Europe. The Germans resorted to terror and executions of clergymen from the outset and had no regard for what the Poles thought. The Germans killed almost 2,800 Polish clergymen, more than 15 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 1,807 Polish clergymen sent to Dachau (65 percent of all clergy interned there), 866 were put to death (more than 90 percent of all clergy who died there). Of 38 Polish bishops and archbishops, thirteen were exiled or arrested and sent to concentration camps (six of them were killed). Yet there were no protests.

It soon became apparent, even before the Holocaust was implemented, that interventions on behalf of Jews were also counterproductive. In the summer of 1940, the Main Welfare Council (*Rada Główna Opiekuńcza—RGO*), a legally functioning social welfare agency, together with Archbishop Sapieha, 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

¹² Relying on Grabowski's *Hunt for the Jews*, Belle Jarniewski, director of Winnipeg's Freeman Family Foundation Holocaust Education Centre and president of the Manitoba Multifaith Council, quoted Symcha Hampel verbatim in her master's thesis, which is posted online, as proof of Poland's Catholic Church's “complicity” in the Holocaust, no less. “The Church, too, was complicit,” she asserts with conviction. See Belle Jarniewski, *Sparks of Light: Survivor Narratives Reflected through the Lens of Irving Greenberg's Theology*, United Centre for Theological Studies, University of Winnipeg, October 2017 (at p. 93), Internet: <<http://winninspace.uwinnipeg.ca/handle/10680/1368>>.

¹³ Rev. Roman Pawłowski, the pastor of Chocz, was publicly shot in Kalisz on October 18, 1939. He was led to the place of execution barefoot and without his cassock. The German police compelled the Jews to fasten him to the execution post, unbind him after he had been shot, kiss his feet, and bury him in their ritual cemetery. See *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). In Koźienice, Jews were forced to help the Germans expel a priest and his belongings from the rectory, and prepare his dwelling for them as quarters. See Gershon Bornshtein, “Memories of My Birthplace,” in Baruch Kaplinski, et al., eds., *Sefer Zikaron le-Kehilat Kosznitz* (Tel Aviv and New York: The Koźienice Organization, 1985), 546, translated as *The Book of Koźienice: The Birth and the Destruction of a Jewish Community*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/kozienice/Kozienice.html#TOC433>>.

Friedrich, were arrested and deported to Auschwitz where they perished. The Jewish community leaders did not approach Catholic Church for further interventions with the German authorities.¹⁴

Let us now turn to the specific examples of the conduct of priests found in *Hunt for the Jews*. The first comes from a town that actually lies *outside* the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. This case merits a much closer look as it exposes many of the weaknesses of Grabowski's scholarship, especially his treatment of source material.

Grabowski claims that a villainous priest from Radomyśl Wielki (in Mielec county), whom he does not identify by name (but whose identity, as we shall see, can readily be established), "first *incited* peasants against the Jews and later *refused* to return the 'Jewish items' that they had previously been entrusted with, to their rightful owners." (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 83, *emphasis added*.) No source is provided for this example. One has to scour the book to track down other references to Radomyśl Wielki that might shed light on this matter. In the Introduction (at page 7), there is an account that appears to match the second part of Grabowski's description. Grabowski cites an undated letter of Chaja Rosenblatt-Lewi (née Garn), which was provided to him by her granddaughter. In that letter, Chaja Rosenblatt states:

We left some of our things (bales of cloth) with the local priest, in Radomyśl. One evening I decided to go back to our kind priest in order to recover some of our possessions because we were left without resources and we were starving. The priest greeted me with the following words: "You know, I am unable to guarantee your safety here. As far as your stuff is concerned: Pielach (the local Polish policeman) took all of it."

As we can see, this account does not corroborate the priest's *refusal* to return items that he had allegedly missappropriated. Rather, the priest said he was no longer in possession of the items because they had been seized by a policeman. Quite a difference, unless it can be shown that the priest was lying. If that was the case, surely Chaja Rosenblatt would have mentioned this significant event in the lengthy account she published in 1946, shortly after the war.¹⁵ She did not.

What other evidence do we have to assess whether the priest was telling the truth? Jan Pielach was actually the commander of the Polish police in Radomyśl Wielki. He was a transplant from Western Poland who declared himself to be *Volksdeutsch*. Trained in the Nowy Sącz police academy, he proved to be a real danger for both Poles and Jews. After the war, a Polish court convicted him of collaboration and sentenced him to a long prison term.¹⁶ According to another statement made by Chaja Rosenblatt, a number of well-to-do Jews deposited items at the rectory

¹⁴ 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. See Aleksander Bieberstein, *Zagłada Żydów w Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985), 38–39, 223.

¹⁵ Chaja Rosenblatt translated into Polish and forwarded to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw in 1986 an article that was published under her name over several issues of the New York Yiddish daily newspaper *Der Tog*, from June 16, 1946 to July 5, 1946. The article was written with the assistance of Reuven Island, a journalist. See the testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 302, number 318; William Leibner, ed., *Zabrze Yizkor Book*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Zabrze/Zabrze.html#TOC>>, 90ff. ("More Children—Edzio Rosenblatt"). In his introduction to Jan Grabowski, ed., *Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...: Losy kobiet ocalałych w okolicach Dąbrowy Tarnowskiej* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2016), Grabowski makes the charge of theft against the Radomyśl priest quite explicit.

¹⁶ On Pielach, see Tomasz Frydel, "The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear," in Frank Bajohr and Andrea Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European Societies: Social Processes and Dynamics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 147–66, here at 152–59.

for safekeeping, so it is likely that fact became known in the town.¹⁷ Why could it not have reached Pielach?

Moreover, there is credible evidence that Rev. Jan Curyłło, the pastor of Radomyśl Wielki at the time, was not ill-disposed towards Jews. As Chaja Rosenblatt herself concedes, Jews trusted him. Rev. Curyłło provided false baptismal certificates to Jews,¹⁸ and even sheltered Jews. Szymon Leibowicz, a Jewish survivor from Radomyśl Wielki, recalls:

I remember Rev. Jan Curyłło very well, as he was a friend of my father's. ... My father used to make contributions to help enlarge the church. In return, the priest promoted my father's company among the inhabitants of the town. Rev. Curyłło sheltered a Jewish family named Schaji (Szmaji), who owned a confectionery in the town square.¹⁹

Although Grabowski cites the book containing this testimony in his bibliography, he suppresses this important information.

Let us now consider the allegation of *incitement*. In her 1946 account, Chaja Rosenblatt describes how she and her husband, Abraham, escaped from Radomyśl Wielki just two days before the German *Aktion* against the Jews of that town and joined her elderly parents at Tomasz Szczurek's farm in the nearby village of Dulcza Wielka (in Mielec county). That bloody operation has been described as follows:

... on [Friday] July 17, 1942, forces of the Gestapo and the police sealed the town. Two days later, in early morning [on Sunday], all the Jews of Radomyśl Wielki were ordered to assemble in the market square with all their possessions. A selection was carried out; and many Jews were murdered during the process, as they were unwilling to be separated from their loved ones. The elderly and infirm (about 150 people) were taken to the Jewish cemetery where [German] forces of the Gestapo, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzpolizei shot them. Their bodies were buried in a mass grave. Those who remained in the marketplace were transported on carts to Dębica, which served as a concentration point for the Jews of the area. From Dębica, most of the Jews were deported with other Jews of the region to the extermination camp in Bełżec.²⁰

The morning of July 19, 1942, Mrs. Szczurek went to Radomyśl perhaps to see what was happening, but probably to attend Sunday mass. When she returned home that afternoon, she was in a state of shock because of what she had just witnessed. According to Chaja Rosenblatt's 1946 account, "Suddenly, the female villager started to explain to us in a *trembling voice* that she was afraid to keep us any longer at their house because at church, during the sermon, the priest

¹⁷ Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), 321.

¹⁸ Testimony of Antoni Balaryn, July 8, 1998, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 48515.

¹⁹ Jan Ziobroń, *Dzieje Gminy Żydowskiej w Radomyślu Wielkim* (Radomyśl Wielki: n.p., 2009), 177. See also 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), 168. Sara Schmaja owned a confectionery business in Radomyśl Wielki. See "Żydowska aktywność gospodarcza w Radomyślu," <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/article/radomysl-wielki/37,handel-przemysl-uslugi/44672,zydowska-aktywnosc-gospodarcza-w-radomyslu/>>.

²⁰ 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: *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, Part A, 562.

had warned them of impending house searches in the villages.”²¹ There is nothing here about the priest instructing his parishioners to turn Jews out. That was a later embellishment.

In an interview conducted in 1996,²² Chaja Rosenblatt essentially confirms this information, with with one significant variation. Allegedly, it was Tomasz Szczurek who went to Radomyśl Wielki that Sunday, rather than his wife. She repeats that the priest told those at church not to keep Jews because the Germans would be looking for Jews in their houses. Szczurek returned home in a state of fear. Grabowski also alleges that, after handing over their money and belongings, “the Jews spent *only one day* in hiding – and then the Szczureks *threw them out on the street.*” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 142.) According to the 1996 account, however, the Rosenblatts had brought some of their possessions to the Szczureks’ farm much earlier, and Chaja Rosenblatt’s parents had already stayed there for *two weeks* when she and her husband joined them. According to the 1946 account, this arrangement was supposed to have been temporary, until such time as her parents could return safely to the ghetto. Grabowski had access to both the 1946 and 1996 accounts, so why this selectivity? Unfortunately, as we shall see, that is a recurring problem with his book.

What transpired on Sunday, July 19, is important for four reasons. Firstly, if the priest made an announcement about planned house searches in the area, it is obvious that he would have done so under orders from the Germans. How else could he have known of their plans? Secondly, issuing a warning about an impending search for Jews, the consequences of which could be lethal for those sheltering Jews, is hardly an act of incitement. We will return to the matter of the priest’s announcement a little later. Thirdly, the events in Radomyśl Wielki, coupled with the announced manhunt in the surrounding villages, caused a panic among those who were sheltering Jews. Understandably, the Szczureks were afraid of keeping their charges any longer and told them to leave. The Rosenblatts left the farm that evening when it got dark. Fourthly, the decision to expel their Jewish charges does not appear to have been motivated by villainy or greed, that is, the Szczureks’ desire to hold on to the Rosenblatts’ possessions, but rather by genuine fear. The penalty for hiding Jews wasn’t a fine or a brief period of incarceration, but death.

The likelihood – or even possibility – of an imminent German manhunt for Jewish fugitives in the surrounding countryside, as well as the consequences for the rescuers if Jews were found, was a game changer. Previously, German warnings not to trade with Jews generally fell on deaf ears because illegal trading was widespread, as well as necessary for survival, and retaliations were relatively few. Now that the Germans were conducting bloody *Aktions* in full view of the population, their threats to punish Polish helpers with death were much more credible. Understandably, farmers who were sheltering Jewish fugitives were in a state of panic when they heard about the *Aktion* in Radomyśl Wielki and the planned search for fugitive Jews. The Szczureks’ overwhelming fear was entirely justified and it is not at all surprising that they told their

²¹ Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 302, number 318. That account reads (at page 27): “Nagle wieśniaczka zaczęła drżącym głosem nam tłumaczyć, że ona się boi nas dłużej u siebie przechowywać, ponieważ w kościele, podczas kazania, ksiądz ich uprzedził, że się przygotowuje kontrola wszystkich domów we wsiach.” In an article she published in a Tarnów weekly in 1986, however, Chaja Rosenblatt refers to an “announcement” (*ogłoszenie*) made in the church rather than a sermon: “Nagle wyznała drżącym głosem, że słyszała w kościele ogłoszenie, że każdy, kto przechowuje Żyda, ma go od razu wypędzić i że wkrótce będą oblawy na Żydów w chłopskich domach.” See Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 323. In more recent years, Chaja Rosenblatt became increasingly more strident in her accusations. In a letter to Adam Kazimierz Musiał, she escalated the charge against the priest by claiming that he was the main instigator of the populace and that every Sunday he used his sermons to incite hatred towards the Jews. *Ibid.*, 321. In a letter published in the French media, she went even further in her charges: “I would like to say clearly: if the Poles had not been anti-Semitic from the cradle, mostly influenced by their clergy’s sermons, 80% of Poland’s Jewish population could have survived the German occupation.”

²² Testimony of Hela Lewi (erroneously spelled Levi by Grabowski), February 14, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Interview code 9617.

charges to leave. The Germans showed their resolve by killing Jews; rumors had begun swirling about Christians getting shot for sheltering Jews. The Szczureks harboured no intention of harming their charges or handing them over to the authorities. Their behaviour was motivated not by hostility, but by fear. They just wanted to ensure their own family's safety. Moreover, when manhunts were announced, it was not unusual for Jews to hide in the forests or fields until the immediate danger subsided.

Under the circumstances, given what had happened, the Szczureks were under no obligation to continue to shelter the Rosenblatts, regardless of any prior arrangements and their willingness to compensate the Szczureks.²³ Moreover, Chaja Rosenblatt never explicitly states that the Szczureks refused to return the Rosenblatts' possessions, something that would have been improper on their part. (In her 1946 accounts, Chaja Rosenblatt suggests that she believed she could get her possessions back.) Attributing to the Szczureks sheer callousness, that is, simply "throwing the Jews out on the street" within a day after fleecing them, displays a particular insensitivity to the plight of rescuers. Unfortunately, Chaja Rosenblatt herself is not free from such prejudices. She calls the Szczureks' decision one of "cruelty," for which God would exact punishment. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 142). For a Holocaust survivor such an attitude is perhaps understandable. That a historian cannot appreciate the rescuers' perspective is churlish.

The truth of the matter is that sacrificing one's life is not a simple act of kindness. No one has the right to demand of anyone that they risk their life for another person.²⁴ Many honest Jewish survivors who were rescued by Poles have stated candidly that they do not know if they would have been willing to rescue Poles under such circumstances. Some have said emphatically that they would not have undertaken such a risk. How many well-off Canadians and Americans take in homeless people, something that entails virtually no risk?

As pointed out in Professor Krystyna Samsonowska's review, the perspective of the Poles – those who were expected to lay down their lives and who had every right to be fearful of German punishment – is overlooked by Grabowski. The same criticism has been raised with respect to

²³ Grabowski introduces a "contract" analogy with regard to sheltering Jews, whereby once a Pole agreed to shelter a Jew for payment, the Pole was obliged to keep the Jew indefinitely and not alter the terms of the agreement. (*Hunt for the Jews*, 139.) The "contract" language is more explicit in the Polish version of his book, *Judenjagd*, where, at p. 116, Grabowski states: "Ważne było to, aby ratujący za pieniądze dotrzymał wstępnych warunków kontraktu." Should anyone be bound by an agreement that not only puts their own life at risk but also endangers their family members? Given the changing circumstances, the indefinite nature of the German occupation and the initial lack of precision as to how long the sheltering was to continue, that analogy is flawed. Moreover, Grabowski applies the contract analogy selectively. While it would have been improper to fleece a Jew and then turn them out, Grabowski faults Poles for asking Jews to leave when their money ran out. In the latter case, under the contract analogy, the Poles would clearly have been within their rights to do so. However, Grabowski repeatedly categorizes such an act as a merciless decision to simply "throw the guests into the street." (P. 139.) In some cases, Jewish charges refused to leave, which, as we shall see, sometimes drove their hosts to take desperate measures. It was not unheard of for Jews to use a ruse to be taken in for a short period of time, and then extending their stay indefinitely. Such was the case when Piotr Heleniak was persuaded by Dawid Rottenstein to take in a group of Jews for three weeks, while they made other arrangements. They ended up staying for 30 months. See Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 198.

²⁴ Sacrificing one's life is not condoned in Jewish teaching. 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.

other publications of the Polish Center for Holocaust Research.²⁵ This is not the case with more attuned historians. For example, historian Bob Moore, who has written about Western Europe where conditions were not nearly as acute, comments:

... both France and Belgium where this precise 'crime' [of helping Jews] was never formally punishable under any specific legislation ... it made it far more difficult for the public at large to understand the precise perils involved. This is not to decry the heroism of people who did engage in rescue, as their behaviour would have been conditioned by what they *thought* the risks involved were...²⁶ (author's emphasis)

As Moore points out, rescuers who were caught or (more often) denounced in the Netherlands faced a fine or *at most* a short term of imprisonment (of up to three months), and in many cases *no* punishment was imposed. Yet Moore can appreciate why people in those countries might have been afraid to shelter Jews, nor does he condemn them for their choices. Grabowski does not show this level of understanding. His treatment of this important factor is *pro forma*. The fact that, in Poland, the Germans imposed the death penalty for rendering any form of assistance to Jews, as well as for failing to report the presence of Jews, matters little or not at all. Grabowski makes no real effort to tell the stories of the many Poles who were put to death in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county for helping Jews. Grabowski demonstrates a thinly veiled contempt for Polish villagers faced with impossible choices. Villifying those who are not prepared to lay down their own lives for others crosses the line of common decency. This is especially so when the self-appointed moralizer has no personal track record of having undertaken any such risks.

Grabowski's description of the Rosenblatts' subsequent fate (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 142–43) also contains a number of misrepresentations and omissions regarding assistance provided by Poles. Grabowski mentions a two-week stay with Józef Strozik, a few days' stay with Adam Kokoszka, both of whom were allegedly well compensated, and "a few other unsuccessful attempts at hiding among peasants," all in the village of Dulcza Mała, before finding hiding in bunkers in the Dulcza forest. However, Chaja Rosenblatt's 1946 account provides much more information that casts a different light on many important matters. First of all, the amount of the help the Rosenblatts received from Poles is understated. In fact, they came across many sympathetic and helpful Poles. Secondly, it was not just Poles who demanded payment for their services – Jews did so as well. Thirdly, Jews whom the Rosenblatts encountered also proved to be a source of danger to them and offered precarious assistance. Moreover, one is left to wonder how a person of rather modest means, who left all her belongings with her first host, managed to acquire time and time again the exorbitant sums that she allegedly had to pay to several subsequent helpers.

The Kokoszka family extended shelter to the Rosenblatts not for just a few days, but twice for longer periods. The second time it was for a number of months, while Chaja Rosenblatt was in the final months of her pregnancy. Upon learning of her condition, they did not turn the Rosenblatts out. In fact, Mrs. Kokoszka delivered Chaja's child and cared for Chaja during her subsequent illness. The Rosenblatts felt they had to leave their home because of an unexpected development. The Kokoszka's teenage son failed to report when he was conscripted for forced

²⁵ Karolina Koprowska, "Nocne i dzienne historie: doświadczenie Zagłady na polskiej prowincji: O książce *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski* pod redakcją Barbary Engelking i Jana Grabowskiego," *Wielogłos* (Pismo Wydziału Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego), no. 2 (36), 2018: 161–74, here at 171. Koprowska writes: "Reproducing the complexity of the situation that Poles and Jews found themselves in, as well as the entanglement of relations and differing attitudes, requires taking into account both perspectives. In this regard, *Dalej jest noc* [*Night Without End*] leaves something to be desired. Despite the fact that the authors draw on accounts of Polish witnesses, one gets the impression that the Polish (especially peasant) voice is barely heard in these analyses, functioning rather to complement and as an additional source for the reconstruction of the Jewish narrative. This approach has serious consequences: the experience of Polish eyewitnesses in the countryside is removed from the context of the occupation and its specific conditions."

²⁶ Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 366.

labour in Germany and, because of this, the family expected a visit from the police. Chaja writes about Adam Kokoszka and his wife with admiration for their dedication. She also points out that the Kokoszka family, who lived in a one-room cottage, was "very poor." They allowed the Rosenblatts to stay in their attic, and not in their barn, as Grabowski claims. Grabowski, however, treats the Kokoszkas dismissively, simply as greedy people. Chaja also mentions two other Poles who provided her and her husband with temporary shelter in Dulcza Mała, and expresses appreciation for their kindness: a poor woman who lived in a one-room cottage occupied by seven people; and a man who regularly provided Jewish fugitives living in the forest with bread. (Helena Aussenberg and Cyla Braw, whose testimonies are referred to later, also mention a number of Polish helpers in Dulcza Mała, so evidently there were quite a few of them.) Chaja was able to recover clothing she had left for safekeeping with Polish friends in Radomyśl Wielki. On two occasions, the Rosenblatts used the services of Polish guides who carried out their dangerous missions dependably. When the Rosenblatts relocated to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, the mayor of that town allowed Chaja to use his telephone to make arrangements with a Pole to be smuggled into a work camp. The mayor also warned her of an imminent German operation that was to take place the following day, thus allowing the Rosenblatts to escape from the town in time.

Grabowski avoids mentioning that very often Jews had to pay fellow Jews for the help they received. Corrupt Jewish council members in Radomyśl Wielki gave favourable treatment to those who greased their palms. In exchange for large sums of money, placed Jews on the list of those to be transferred to work camps.²⁷ When the Rosenblatts decided to relocate to the work camp in Mielec, where conditions for Jewish workers were still fairly decent (Chaja describes abundant meals with butter, cheese, eggs and even fruit), they had to pay the Jewish supervisor in US currency to be accepted. Perhaps Grabowski's most egregious omission pertains to the Rosenblatts' short stay with Józef Stozik (actually Szocik²⁸) in Dulcza Mała, who – we are told – "had been handsomely compensated in advance for his hospitality". However, there is much more to the story than that. After staying in the Tarnów ghetto for a period of time, the Rosenblatts had to flee because Abraham Rosenblatt was wanted by the Germans for some shady transaction and was being hunted down relentlessly by the Jewish ghetto police.²⁹ They got in touch with

²⁷ Testimony of Helena Aussenberg, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 3215. The Jewish council also dutifully prepared detailed lists of Jews as demanded by the Germans and took part in rounding up Jews during the deportation operation.

²⁸ Józef Szocik was executed by the German police in July 1943, along with a number of other Poles arrested at the same time, likely for hiding two Soviet parachutists in his attic.

²⁹ Abraham Rosenblatt was by no means the only Jew pursued by the Jewish police in the Tarnów ghetto. After returning to his hometown of Tarnów from Lwów in the fall of 1941, with the help of a paid professional smuggler who was a Jew, Jehuda Leibel (later Roman Malinowski), hid at his girlfriend's home. Jews returning from the Soviet zone were suspected of being Communists and could be shot. Wolf Bachner, a friend of his who had become a ghetto policeman, came around looking for him, and told his girlfriend that he would catch him and kill him. According to this testimony, Jewish policemen were used to guard thousands of Soviet prisoners of war interned in a camp in Pustków, the majority of whom perished over the winter of 1941–1942. Leibel also stated that no one in Tarnów believed him when he described the large pogroms carried out by Ukrainians in Lwów in July 1941, upon the arrival of the Germans. Because of the threat of denunciation, he decided he could no longer remain in the Tarnów ghetto. Towards the end of 1941, posing as Christians, he, his parents and his sister relocated to a house on farm outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska rented from a Jew. Another Jew who worked for baron Konopka, a Polish landowner, arranged for a work card for Leibel. Afterwards, Leibel and his girlfriend rented premises from a wealthy Jew (Schindel?), whose sons survived the war. After the Aktion in the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto in early June 1942, the family hid with a farmer until September 1942. Leibel's father made arrangements with Staszek Matera, a Polish friend, for him and his son to relocate to Warsaw, while his wife and daughter were placed elsewhere under false identities. While in Warsaw, Leibel was afraid of working at a factory that employed Jews lest his cover be given away by them. His entire immediate family, as well as his girlfriend (future wife), all survived the war. Testimony of Roman Malinowski, August 3, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 18176.

Jankiel Eisig, a Jew from Radomyśl Wielki, who was in the business of smuggling Jews out of the Tarnów ghetto and finding accommodations for them with villagers in Dulcza Mała for payment. It turns out that Strozik was in cahoots with several other Jews who were staying with him, such as Zalman Storch, whom Chaja Rosenblatt describes as “dangerous informers.”³⁰ After their clothing was stolen by these Jews and fearful for their lives (the Rosenblatts had money on their persons), they were turned out of Strozik’s cottage in the middle of winter without their coats and boots. They knocked on the doors of unknown villagers looking for shelter. They were eventually taken in by an unidentified woman and then by Adam Kokoszka. The Rosenblatts gave these poor farmers some money for sheltering and providing for them, and these “paid helpers” also behaved conscientiously.

In January 1944, Adam Kokoszka brought the Rosenblatts to the cottage of a poor Polish farmer located at the edge of a forest near Dulcza Mała. Jews from the forest were known to visit this cottage to obtain food. The Rosenblatts were allowed into the Pole’s home, where they soon encountered some of the Jews who came from the forest. Soon, they relocated to the nearby forests (which were partly in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county), where several groups of Jews living in underground “bunkers”. Although their numbers were depleted over time because of German raids, these Jews survived by begging for or purchasing food from farmers, even though many farmers were afraid of selling food to Jews. They also stole large quantities of food from farmers’ fields. Some of the Jews acquired weapons and carried out raids at night on the more affluent farmers,³¹ something that Grabowski neglects to mention. It was likely these raids that led to complaints to the German authorities by affected farmers.

Towards the end of 1942, as the Soviet front approached, the Germans began to remove the civilian population from the area. Consequently, many Polish villagers also hid in the forest. During a massive raid by German forces, on November 11, 1942, the Rosenblatts’ hideout was discovered, as well as those of other Jews hiding in the forest. Its location was betrayed by the footprints they left in the freshly fallen snow, as they moved from their main bunker to nearby “foxholes.” In her 1946 account, Chaja Rosenblatt makes no mention of the participation of Poles in this large raid, which was said to have been carried out by thousands of German soldiers. Nor do other Jews who were caught by the Germans at the same time mention the involvement of Poles.³² In *Hunt for the Jews* (at p. 91), Grabowski cites Chaja Rosenblatt’s 1996 testimony, in which she reportedly stated that “Poles alerted the Germans and led them to our bunker.” However, a careful examination of that testimony belies Grabowski’s putative quotation. In her testimony, Chaja Rosenblatt mentioned that there had been several German raids during the period of time she lived in the forest, and that Poles were aware of the fact that Jews were hiding there. “But this time,” she says, “the Germans found us.” She then goes on to speculate, “probably, the Poles indicated (told) the place where we are [hiding].” There is no mention of Poles leading or accompanying the Germans during the raid. Indeed, how could they have known precisely where the hideouts were located? While the Germans suspected the presence of Jews

³⁰ Jewish accounts describe the extensive – and often lucrative – illegal trade and smuggling activities that Zalman Storch and other Jews were involved in before the Germans started to liquidate the ghettos. See Jechezkel Eisland, “What the Jews Did For a Living” and Pinchas Reichman, “Life in Camp,” in H. Harshoshanim et al., eds., *Radomysl Rabati ve-ha-seviva: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Radomysl and Surroundings in Israel, 1965), translated as *Radomysl Wielki and Neighborhood*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Radomysl/Radomysl.html>>.

³¹ Jochanan Amsterdam, “Life in the Forests,” in H. Harshoshanim et al., eds., *Radomysl Rabati ve-ha-seviva: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Radomysl and Surroundings in Israel, 1965), translated as *Radomysl Wielki and Neighborhood*, Internet: <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Radomysl/Radomysl.html>>; Testimony of Herman Amsterdam in Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 147–49.

³² See, for example, the testimony of Rivka Shenker (Rywka Schenker) in Grabowski, *Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...*

in the forest and were likely looking for Jews as well, they were not the only targets in the November 1944 raid.

Returning to the matter of the *announcement* made by the priest on the day of the *Aktion* in Radomyśl Wielki, it is important to bear in mind that Chaja Rosenblatt's account is second hand. She did not actually hear what the priest supposedly said and offered variations on its content. But even from what she wrote, there is no basis for the charge of incitement levelled by Grabowski. As mentioned, there is no reason to believe that the priest's warning was driven by animus. He was not motivated by a desire to harm Jews, but rather to protect his parishioners. The fact that the Germans were planning to stage house searches for Jews was something that those who were sheltering Jews and risking their own lives should have been made aware of. That information could also have benefited Jews in hiding by giving them an opportunity to relocate to a safer place.

But there is something that is far more important at stake than a skewed interpretation of human behaviour. A proper scholarly assessment of the priest's announcement calls for a familiarity with German practices. This is an important aspect of a historian's task. It is evident, however, that Grabowski is unaware of the fact that priests in rural areas were often ordered by the German authorities to read official announcements at church services, including warnings not to assist Jews under penalty of death. This well-documented phenomenon should have been uncovered by a diligent researcher. An example of such a notice is the circular of December 4, 1942, which the reeve of the village of Zakrzówek near Kraśnik delivered to the local pastor to read in church. That circular stated: "In accordance with the orders of the Kreishauptmann [German county head] 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."³³ Failure to read the notice would not only have put the delinquent priest personally at risk, but would also have subjected him to the moral dilemma of withholding from his parishioners important information about the serious consequences that their activities could entail for them, their families and their neighbours. Hearsay accounts have led uninformed Jews and Holocaust historians to accuse the clergy who simply read such notices of preaching against the Jews. It is telling, however, that no authentic, firsthand accounts of actual sermons in which priests allegedly incited the faithful against the Jews are known to exist, even though hundreds of Jews passed as Christians and attended church services throughout occupied Poland.

Thus, the circumstances surrounding the alleged misconduct of the priest from Radomyśl Wielki are certainly not presented by Grabowski in a scholarly fashion. As we shall see, this is not an isolated occurrence but part of a disturbing pattern. If we are looking for accurate and insightful treatment of sources, we would be hard pressed to find it in *Hunt for the Jews*.

Unlike the case of the priest from Radomyśl Wielki, the next example concerns an unnamed priest from Wietrzychowice. Grabowski's treatment of that case is equally problematic. The source for this story is the testimony of Adam Merc, formerly Majer Künstlich (born in 1935), found in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, though Grabowski does not disclose this.³⁴ Together with his parents, Jakub and Dora Künstlich, Majer Künstlich (also known as Adolf, later Adam Merc or Merz) was sheltered by Józef and Józefa Gibes in the village of Jadowniki Mokre,

³³ Reproduced in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, *Polacy i Żydzi 1918–1955: Współistnienie, Zagłada, komunizm* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2000), at page 185. Although some priests ignored German orders to read notices in church, many priests complied with these demands. 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 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 Brzozowskim i Sanockim 1939–1945* (Brzozów and Przemyśl, 1992), 202.

³⁴ Testimony of Adam Merc, August 15, 1995, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 66249.

in the parish of Wietrzychowice. In his testimony, Adam Merc states that his sister, Weronika Künstlich (later Merc-Kozakiewicz), who was born while the family was in hiding, was left as a newborn with the Szatan (later Szatkowski) family, neighbours of the Gibes family. Apparently, Maria Szatan, who was said to be very religious, informed the priest that she was caring for a Jewish child, and the priest reassured her that she was performing a service for God. Grabowski fails to mention that encounter. Adam Merc also claims that that priest had sheltered five Jews and that, after being denounced to the authorities by another priest, he was executed together with his Jewish charges. However, initially, all Grabowski states about this entire matter is that the priest from Wietrzychowice “put [his] life on the line to provide Jews with shelter.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 83.) Later on, entry 279 in Table 11 (“Jews Who Were Killed while Hiding on the Territory of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, 1942–1945”) states that five unidentified Jews were killed in Wietrzychowice, “hidden by the local priest, denounced by another priest, in 1943.” No reference is provided for that entry, which, in any event, is not an accurate rendition of Adam Merc’s account. Thus, Grabowski is hardly forthcoming about the source and circumstances of these alleged events. (There are also other material aspects of Adam Merc’s testimony concealed by Grabowski which will be addressed later on.)

How much of Adam Merc’s hearsay account is true? One thing is clear: Grabowski made no effort to verify its accuracy. In fact, Grabowski routinely accepts most Jewish testimonies as gospel, without any verification. As we have seen, he even reads into them things that are simply not there and removes important information that does not conform to his view of Polish society. In this case, it would not have been an onerous task to carry out some minimal research. It can be readily ascertained that the pastor of Wietrzychowice, Rev. Jakub Opoka, served in that parish from 1935 until 1965.³⁵ So he was certainly not executed by the Germans, nor was the vicar, Rev. Adam Śmietana.³⁶ Nor in all likelihood was any priest there denounced by another priest, since the former priest would likely have faced some retaliation from the German authorities and the latter punitive action from the Polish underground. Yet there is no record of any of that. Moreover, there is no confirmation in the parish records or elsewhere that Rev. Opoka sheltered Jews, which does not necessarily preclude his having helped them in some way. It is not even clear that five unidentified Jews were killed in Wietrzychowice. There is information that Rev. Opoka was on good terms with the local Jews before the war.³⁷ There is conflicting information as to whether or not Rev. Opoka declined to baptize Weronika Künstlich. Józef Gibes states that she was baptized,³⁸ thus assisting in the child’s cover. Józef Gibes is probably a more reliable source in this regard than Adam Merc, who was eight years old at the time. So what is reported by Grabowski as fact about the parish priest of Wietrzychowice and another unnamed priest turns out to be mere hearsay of little value. It is worth noting here that there are various degrees of

³⁵ Portal historyczny parafii Wietrzychowice, Internet: <<https://sites.google.com/site/cmeto2009/home/historia-parafii/proboszczowie>>.

³⁶ Rev. Adam Śmietana, the vicar, also served as a Home Army chaplain. In August 1943, he was appointed vicar of Kołbuszowa. He was arrested by the Communist authorities in 1951 and released in 1955. See Marek Łabuz, *Okupacja niemiecka w Radgoszczy w oczach jej mieszkańców* (Tarnów: Biblos, 2010), 154; Robert Zapart, “Wsparcie duchowieństwa dla działalności polskiego wywiadu rozpracowującego niemieckie próby z bronią “V” na poligonie w Bliźnie w okresie II wojny światowej,” *Rocznik Kołbuszowski*, no. 11 (2011): 215–34, here at 220.

³⁷ “Ksiądz Władysław Deszcz,” Internet: <http://www.greboszow.diecezja.tarnow.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=263:ksidz-wadysaw-deszcz&catid=15:rozslawili&Itemid=59>.

³⁸ Portal historyczny parafii Wietrzychowice, Internet: <<https://sites.google.com/site/cmeto2009/home/wojna-1939-45/ukrywanie-zydow-w-jadownikach-mokrych>>; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 485.

hearsay, some more reliable than others. In this case, Adam Merc's account appears to be based on some vague rumour whose source is unknown.³⁹

³⁹ There was an incident in Wietrzychowice involving the blowing up of the parish house, which was occupied at the time by the local postmaster, a suspected collaborator. Moreover, German officials occupied the vicar's house. See Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 477–78.

Clergy Assistance Overlooked

Let us now consider three other references to the wartime activities of priests in *Hunt for the Jews*, before turning our attention to extant sources regarding priests that Grabowski fails to mention. The only account whose veracity does not raise serious concerns is that of Rozalia Połanecka (found on page 113). Połanecka, a Jewish woman from the village of Ujście Jezuićkie in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, was hiding in the village of Wola Przemykowska when she was apprehended. She managed to smuggle out a short note from her cell in Wietrzychowice, where she was held by the Polish police. Her letter, dated September 18, 1942, somehow survived the war and reads in part as follows (according to the translation in *Hunt for the Jews*):

This letter is written by Rozalia Połanecka (nee Berl) from Ujście Jezuićkie, 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*, 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. ... (Emphasis added.)

It is not readily apparent from the translated text that one of her benefactors was in fact a priest. Most readers would probably not realize that the words “reverend father” refer to a priest. In Polish, Połanecka uses the term “proboszcz,”⁴⁰ which refers to the parish priest or pastor. (Larger parishes were often also served by a vicar.) Grabowski does not mention the name of the priest Połanecka was referring to. He did not bother to find out. In fact, it was Rev. Zygmunt Jakus, the pastor of Gręboszów. What form of assistance that priest provided to Połanecka is not known, but it must have been significant to warrant such praise at a time like that.

The next two references do not pertain to the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. First, in her lengthy testimony (which has hardly anything to do with the county), Giza Beller (Landau) mentions a favour that an unnamed priest from Nowy Sącz performed. The priest purchased train tickets for her mother that enabled her and her mother to escape from that town. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 224). Second, an endnote on page 252 refers to Rev. Józef Opióła, the pastor of Szebnie, a village located between the towns of Jasło and Krosno. Grabowski takes Rev. Opióła to task for intervening on behalf of Christian prisoners in the penal labour camp in Szebnie. What was the priest’s dishonourable motive? Unlike the Jewish prisoners, Christian prisoners were excluded from lighter tasks in the highly coveted kitchen detail and outside the camp perimeter. The priest interceded on their behalf so the Poles would also be eligible for lighter tasks.

Thus, in summary, Grabowski refers to just two examples of the conduct of three priests from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. One reference (Wietrzychowice) is poorly researched and in all likelihood unfounded; the other (Gręboszów) is rather obtuse.

Let us now turn our attention to documented cases from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county that Grabowski does not mention, but which should have been included in a scholarly survey of this nature.

The first such case is that of an unidentified priest from Szczucin. Grabowski neglects to mention one of the earliest and probably best known examples of a priest’s response to the German persecution of the Jews, found in Philip Friedman’s pioneering study, *Their Brothers’ Keepers*,⁴¹ where the historian writes:

In Szczucin, on the Day of Atonement, [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

⁴⁰ Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1365.

⁴¹ New York: Holocaust Library, 1978, at page 126. Friedman’s based this on an eyewitness report published in *The Inter-Allied Review*, no. 3 (March 1941).

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.

It is not known, however, precisely who this priest was: Rev. Jan Ligęza, the pastor, who at one point had to go into hiding from the Gestapo,⁴² or perhaps one of the other priests serving at this parish.

Yet, in Chapter 2 of *Hunt for the Jews*, Grabowski mentions the testimony of Abraham Mahler, “from Szczucin,” who claimed that, in the interwar period, “one of the most active antisemites was a local priest who never missed an opportunity to campaign against the Jews.” (P. 21.) No documentary source is provided for this statement and there is no further mention of Abraham Mahler in the book. Upon examining the interview with Mahler in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive,⁴³ we find a charge similar to this, namely, that every Sunday in church the priest talked against the Jews. The problem is that Mahlers moved from Szczucin to Jaworzno, a city located near Sosnowiec, around 1928, when Abraham was eight years old. His memories of anti-Semitism relate to Jaworzno, not Szczucin. The provenance of this story is some vague hearsay, which should be assessed in conjunction with his other charges: Jews had to buy kosher meat underground because the practice was banned; Jews could only rise to the rank of sergeant in the Polish army. Speaking in English, Mahler consistently refers to Poles demeaningly as “Polacks.” One has to wonder what criteria, if any, Grabowski employs before he cites a convenient testimony.

Here is another example Grabowski missed. Aniela Podkówka sheltered a Jewish girl named Irena Mosiek in the village of Maniów near Szczucin. The girl was taught catechism by a priest from the parish in Szczucin. When Podkówka was stopped in Mędrzechów along with her young charge, the Germans summoned a priest who was ordered to question the girl on her religious knowledge. The priest averred that she had passed the test.⁴⁴ In all likelihood, this was a local priest who was aware of the girl’s Jewish origin.

Another well-documented example of clergy rescue is that of Rev. Wojciech Dybiec, the pastor of Bolesław. Rev. Dybiec provided the brothers Dolek and Roman Kegl from that village with false birth and baptismal certificates. Dolek or Dawid Kegl assumed the identity of Władysław Bernat (Biernat), while Roman Kegl became Aleksander Ciepiela. A third brother, Moniek, moved to Dubno in Volhynia, where he was sheltered by a Polish school teacher. All three brothers survived the war. The name Dolek Kegl appears on the list of Jews who reported to the Dąbrowa Tarnowska office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, as having survived in an unspecified

⁴² Adam Stachoń, Wikipedia, Internet: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_Stacho%C5%84>.

⁴³ Testimony of Abraham Mahler, May 30, 1995, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2894. Abraham Mahler tells an interesting story about joining a Polish underground group in Jaworzno together with his brother. One of the group’s Polish members acquired a radio receiver, a capital offence under the Nazis, which was concealed for a time in the tenement building where the Mahlers resided. The Germans raided the premises in April 1940 but didn’t find the receiver, as it had been removed by the Polish owner’s nephew by that time. The ten Polish members of this group fled, but Abraham and his brother decided to report to the authorities when summoned. Although tortured (their finger and toe nails were pulled out), the Mahler brothers did not admit to anything and were released. Both the Mahlers and the Polish underground members wanted to kill this Jewish betrayer but refrained from doing so, so as not to give credence to the existence of the receiver. A Jewish neighbour had betrayed them for 200 marks, which he later admitted to the Mahlers. Abraham and his brother were imprisoned in concentration camps, but survived the war. After returning to Jaworzno, they joined the Communist security police.

⁴⁴ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 350–51.

hideout.⁴⁵ Dolek Kegl later immigrated to the United States and settled in Brooklyn. In a letter dated December 19, 1965, he wrote:

As concerns the late Rev. Dybiec one must underscore his altruism and great patriotism. It happened in Bolesław, when the German bandits were murdering the civilian population, especially defenceless Jews were falling victim, so one evening my bother and I went to 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.⁴⁶

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of this letter. It is found in a book that was published in 1971, when the author of the letter was still alive.

Samuel (Solomon) Goldberg and Izaak Goldberg, brothers, received shelter and other forms of assistance from a number of Poles as they wandered the countryside around Olesno. For a time, they found refuge on the farm of Monsignor Jan Jakubowski.⁴⁷ Rev. Jakubowski, the pastor of Olesno, provided shelter, food and false baptismal certificates to a number of Jews. Henryk (Abraham) Adler, who survived with the help of villagers in Ćwików, thanked Rev. Jakubowski after the war for his assistance.⁴⁸ There is more about the rescue of the Adler family later on.

Rev. Stanisław Kobos of Gręboszów provided a false baptismal certificate to a Jew who was later apprehended. Rev. Kobos was warned of his impending arrest and had to hide for the remainder of the war.⁴⁹ Lucylla Chmura (later Kowalska), a rescuer recognized by Yad Vashem, obtained identity documents from an unidentified priest for Henryk Margulies under the name of Marian

⁴⁵ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 239 (table 9, entry 79). Grabowski lists Dawid Kogel (Władysław Biernat) and Mendel Kogel (Aleksander Ciepiela), in all likelihood the Kegl brothers, as having survived in unspecified camps outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. Ibid., 234 (Table 8, entries 7 and 8). The details of their survival are not known, but is unlikely that they would have retained their assumed names had they not passed as Poles throughout the war.

⁴⁶ Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, eds., *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 345, based on the testimony of Dolek (Kegl) Bernat.

⁴⁷ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 273. See also Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 171. Solomon Goldberg is mentioned by Grabowski as having hid for some time together with Fiszel Drelich, who was hidden by Augustyniak. The rescuer's name is actually Jan Augustyński, which, once again, Grabowski fails to establish. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 230 (Table 7, entries 12 and 13).

⁴⁸ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 284. Grabowski lists Abraham Adler as having survived in an unspecified hideout. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 237 (Table 9, entry 5). However, according to archival records, several members of the Adler family survived in hiding in Ćwików, Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. See Krystyna Samsonowska, "Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej," *Więź*, no. 7 (2011): 75–84, here at 78 (Table, entries 1 to 6).

⁴⁹ The information about Rev. Kobos was provided to the author by Adam Kazimierz Musiał.

Jackowski. This priest was probably from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where Lucylla Chmura Kowalska resided at the time.⁵⁰

Another priest, perhaps from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, supplied false birth and baptismal certificates for Hinda and Fejga Windheil, daughters of the local blacksmith. Initially, they had turned to Józef Kozaczka for assistance. Kozaczka enlisted the support of two Home Army colleagues, Franciszek Fijał and Karol Minor, in this endeavour. The sisters obtained Kennkarte as Janina Bąk and Ludwika Kowal, respectively. As an employee of the Arbeitsamt in Tarnów, Kozaczka was able to send them to Germany as Polish “volunteer labourers.” They corresponded with Kozaczka from Germany in order to enhance their cover as Poles. After the war they settled in the United States, and wrote to Kozaczka to thank him for his help.⁵¹

The pastor of Luszowice parish, Rev. Franciszek Okoński, a Home Army chaplain, came to the assistance of a number of Jews. He supplied false baptismal certificates and sheltered Jews at various times. He hid a Jewish lawyer from Kraków in the parish rectory. When the Germans raided the rectory on December 5, 1942, Rev. Okoński and his Jewish charge managed to escape out of a window, while Polish policemen just stood around without apprehending them. In retaliation, two church employees – Julia Żurawska, the housekeeper, and Jan Wiśniewski, a farmhand – were seized and executed on the spot. As a further consequence, two junior priests were arrested but were later released because proof of complicity in the rescue was lacking. The Home Army executed the informer, Tomasz Madura.⁵² After the assassination of Englebert Guzdek, the local commander of the German gendarmes, in August 1943, Rev. Okoński came out of hiding. Towards the end of the occupation, he engaged Lea Anmuth (Amnuth), then passing as Helena Podgórska, as his housekeeper. Earlier, Lea Anmuth had been sheltered by Czesław Wojewoda, a school inspector, and his wife, Maria, in the village of Lubcza near Jasło, in the farmhouse of Wojewoda’s parents. As the frontline approached and German soldiers became a daily occurrence, it was too dangerous for her to remain there any longer. Wojewoda placed Lea with his friend, Rev. Okoński in Luszowice, where she awaited the departure of the Germans. Czesław and Maria Wojewoda were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles, but Rev. Okoński was not.⁵³

⁵⁰ “The Kowalski Family,” Polish Righteous, Polin – Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Internet: <<https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-kowalski-family-1>>.

⁵¹ Józef Kozaczka, “Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska,” in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 345; Marian Turski, ed., *Polish Eyewitnesses to the Shoah* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2010), 127; Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, Volume 2: *Dystrykt krakowski Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020), account 23. See also the testimony of Florence Feige Birnbaum, Yad Vashem Testimonies; Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 49.

⁵² Józef Kozaczka, “Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska,” in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 344–45; Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 151, 171; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 107–8, 175, 246; Wacław Zajęczkowski, *Martyrs of Charity: Christian and Jewish Response to the Holocaust*, Part One (Washington, D.C.: St. Maximilian Kolbe Foundation, 1987), Entries 275 and 299 (the village is misidentified as Lukowiecko); Wacław Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce–Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1987), 80, 86 (Entries 800 and 872). The vicars of Luszowice parish in 1942 were Rev. Zygmunt Zajęc and Rev. Franciszek Duda.

⁵³ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (Poland, Part 2), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 885–86; Yad Vashem Archive, ID 10667623. See also the testimony of Maria Wojewoda in Piątkowski, *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2, account 86.

Rev. Maciej Sieniatycki, a retired professor of theology and one-time rector of the Jagiellonian University (1918–1919), sheltered Dr. Süß for a period of time in Miechowice Małe.⁵⁴ Rev. Stanisław Rychlec, the pastor of Szarwark, provided food to Jews who were hiding in the area.⁵⁵

In total, twelve priests from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county are known to have come to the assistance of Jews. There were possibly more such priests, as every case of help has likely not come to light. Jan Grabowski mentions only two of these priests in *Hunt for the Jews*. His track record in this area is dismal, considering that the information he overlooked is found in published sources. None of the alleged instances of opprobrious behaviour on the part of the Catholic clergy, whether within or outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, has been substantiated. So much for the black legend of the Polish Catholic clergy who, allegedly, stole Jewish property, incited the faithful against the Jews, and denounced fellow priests who sheltered Jews.

⁵⁴ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 478. Afterwards, Dr. Süß relocated to the vicinity of Nowy Sącz, where he worked as a doctor with Christian identity documents. He was caught by the Germans after treating a wounded partisan and killed himself in jail by taking poison.

⁵⁵ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 122.

Polish Attitudes, Risks Associated with Rescue, and the “Emerging” Holocaust Narrative

Before examining Grabowski's track record in identifying resuers other than priests, let us consider his views about the alleged attitude of Polish society – the “parishioners, the local peasants,” as Grabowski refers to villagers or farmers disparagingly (at p. 83) – towards the Jews.

The original Polish title of Grabowski's book, *Judenjagd: Polowanie na Żydów*, translates as *Judenjagd: The Hunt for the Jews*. It refers to a specific German operation, *Judenjagd*. The English title has a broader connotation, one that shifts the focus away from that operation onto the Polish population. According to Grabowski, Polish helpers “broke a certain consensus in their own community. Within this consensus there was no place for helping Jews.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 166.) In essence, this charge – one that sociologist Jan Gross has advanced earlier – is a variation on the charge of widespread complicity on the part of Poles in the crimes of the Holocaust. The immediate perpetrators, we are told, were “representative” of Poles in general and enjoyed the support of their fellow citizens. In reality, this disparate and numerically small group of malfeasants did not represent anyone but themselves, acting in their personal capacity and under extreme (i.e., highly abnormal) conditions. They constituted a miniscule part of the population, and did not require or seek out social sanction to act as they did. The notion that rescuers were somehow social outcasts also does not stand up to closer scrutiny.

As a key to understanding how the “local (Catholic) peasants” were able to “reconcile actions undertaken against the Jews by their neighbours (or by themselves),” Grabowski cites all of one “authority,” the philosopher Zbigniew Mikołajko. In an interview published in *Gazeta Wyborcza* in 2010, Mikołajko declared, in categorical terms, his firm belief that “in Poland, there is no concept of sin. ... Once you step outside the church, everything is allowed, and you can forget about your faith.” According to Mikołajko, for Poles, “God does not exist in the social, moral and intellectual sphere.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 83–84.)

Neither Grabowski nor Mikołajko cite any empirical studies to back this sweeping statement, which is intended to be an indictment of traditional Polish society.⁵⁶ Grabowski also neglects to mention that Mikołajko is an atheist. Thus, his views of Polish religiosity and morality may not be the most objective. From an atheist's perspective, however, one would think Mikołajko would find solace in the notion that Poles have little use for God in their lives and readily discard Catholic teachings they only pay lip service to. Incredibly, that is the extent of Grabowski's exploration of this topic. It is the equivalent of citing as an “authority” someone who believes that Jews are, by and large, Communists at heart. A crass anti-Semitic stereotype of that kind would, of course, discredit an author (historian). Not so in when it comes to Poles in this context: even in scholarly writing, anything goes! Mikołajko's crude generalizations, it should be noted, are an add-on to Grabowski's earlier Polish-language version of *Hunt for the Jews* – perhaps because they are more palatable for an audience that has become increasingly accustomed to hearing such charges and has no way of gauging their validity.

The notion that the Poles, with few exceptions, were happy to see the Jews being mistreated and annihilated, and eagerly joined in their persecution – found in polemical literature and more recently pushed in scholarly studies by authors like sociologist Jan Gross and his followers – has been discredited by many actual observers, including Jews and Germans, who actually lived through those times. Characteristically, Grabowski does not refer to any of those eyewitnesses. Since Grabowski's charge is one that pertains to the Polish population at large, we need not confine ourselves here to the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Let us consider, first of all,

⁵⁶ In fact, recent data show a direct correlation between a lack of regular church attendance and criminality. See “Porównanie przestępczości i religijności na mapach,” GIS-Expert, January 26, 2017, Internet: <<https://gis-expert.pl/blog/porownanie/>>. Despite his scholarly credentials, Zbigniew Mikołajko's writings are full of unfounded claims. See Ebenezer Rojt, “Zbigniew Mikołajko o nienawiści Lutra do choinki albo przykre skutki gadulstwa,” Internet: <<https://kompromitacje.blogspot.com/2018/11/mikolajko-o-lutrze-i-choince.html>>.

eyewitnesses who comment specifically on the impact of religion on the attitude of Poles, and then those who make more general observations about the conduct of Poles.

In a report to Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, on February 6, 1940, General Johannes Blaskowitz, commander of the Eighth German Army during the September 1939 campaign wrote: "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."⁵⁷

The impact of religion was also observed from close range by Jews who were actually living among Poles. As a young girl, Goldie Szachter was sheltered by a Polish farm family in Świętomarz near Bodzentyn. The head of the family confided in the village priest, who assisted in the pretence that Goldie was their niece, and a Catholic. That 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."⁵⁸ Stefan Chaskielewicz, who was in hiding in Warsaw, recalled how a priest counselled a Polish woman, who had broken down out of fear because of announced German reprisals, to continue to shelter a Jewish family in her home. Chaskielewicz noted the beneficial role played by religion in his memoirs:

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.⁵⁹

There are numerous Jewish accounts that attest to widespread compassion and assistance on the part of Poles from the very outset of the German occupation. Abraham Lewin recorded in his wartime diary:

I have heard many stories of Jews who fled Warsaw on that momentous day, 6 September 1939, and were given shelter, hospitality and food by Polish peasants who did not ask for any payment for their help. It is also known that our children who go begging and appear in their tens and hundreds in the Christian streets are given generous amounts of bread and potatoes and from this they manage to feed themselves and their families in the ghetto.⁶⁰

A Jewish eyewitness from Parczew recalled that the burial of 200 Jewish prisoners of war executed by the Germans in February 1940 "made a huge impression on the population both Jewish and Polish."⁶¹ On two different occasions when the Germans were parading or humiliating

⁵⁷ 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 Books, 1988), 939.

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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), vol. 5, 391.

⁶⁰ Abraham Lewin, *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto* (Oxford and New York: Basil Black in association with the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, Oxford, 1988), 124–25.

⁶¹ Account of Nuchem Perlman, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record Group 301, number 608.

Jews before killing them, Bruno Shatyn observed: "The Poles lined the sidewalks, looking on in absolute silence, as though frozen in place. ... Poles gathered on the sidewalks, incredulous, some crossing themselves at this monstrous sight."⁶²

A Jewish survivor from Radom recalled that during a deportation:

All inmates of the Szkolna Street camp [in Radom] were lined up by the Germans and ordered to march in the direction of Opoczno. The S.S. men hurried the tardy marchers along with the aid of their clubs and whips. The Jews all marched together – old men, women, children and the sick. ... They passed farms and hamlets and noticed how the Polish villagers locked themselves behind their doors, hoping thus to shut out the sight of the Jewish prisoners walking and falling again toward an unknown destination. ...

They were marched to the railroad station to board a train; no one suspected that these were death trains speeding to the crematoria. Some of the Polish railroad men working on the wheels of the locomotive whispered to the prisoners:

"You poor beggars, they're taking you to Auschwitz. Save yourselves, if you can."⁶³

A Jewish underground journal, *Undzere Weg*, wrote on March 1, 1942:

The Poles, who avoided any negotiations and contacts with the Germans and who didn't want to hear anything about establishing a Polish government which would obey the Germans and their rulers, announced their sympathy for the tortured Jews on every occasion. That was the reaction from members of the Polish intelligentsia, the Polish workers and peasants; they stressed that the Poles, as a people with beliefs, a politically mature people, would not be tempted to catch the racial hook. ... The occupier did everything in his power to isolate the Jews from the Poles.⁶⁴

These accounts, among many others, contradict the selectively-chosen ones of Poles rejoicing at Jewish suffering. A thorough canvassing of the Polish underground press of all political stripes has not revealed any evidence of widespread approval for the crimes of the Holocaust; on the contrary, those persons involved in atrocities committed against the Jews were unequivocally condemned by all political factions, including those on the extreme right.⁶⁵

Just like Poles, Jews were also pressed into serving the German masters to accomplish their nefarious deeds. Leon Lezer recalled the following events he personally experienced in nearby Tarnów:

The Jews lived in relative calm at the beginning; there were only sporadic cases of bothering or beating Jews in the street, as well as the shooting of Poles. They then took Poles outside the city and snatched groups of Jews who were told to dig pits. The Poles were stood in a row and they were shot. The Jews had to bury the dead bodies. In such cases the Jews first had to lie in the pits. The Germans stood over us with loaded rifles and threatened that they would kill us and then they permitted us to go, beating us without mercy. I myself once was terribly beaten. I was grabbed for such an execution and, before being allowed to return

⁶² Bruno Shatyn, *A Private War: Surviving in Poland on False Papers, 1941–1945* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), 42, 121.

⁶³ Tuvia Friedman, *Nazi Hunter* (Haifa: Institute for the Documentation of Nazi War Crimes, 1961), 97–98.

⁶⁴ As cited in Havi Ben-Sasson, "Polish-Jewish Relations during the Holocaust: A Changing Jewish Viewpoint," in Robert Cherry and Annamaria Orla-Bukowska, eds., *Rethinking Poles and Jews: Troubled Past, Brighter Future* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 90.

⁶⁵ Andrzej Friszke, "Publicystyka Polski Podziemnej wobec zagłady Żydów 1939–1944," in Ewa Grześkowiak-Łuczyk, ed., *Polska, Polacy, mniejszości narodowe* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1992), 193–213, here at 210.

home, was threatened with the death penalty if I dared to utter a peep about what had happened there.⁶⁶

Were these Jews victimizers or merely victims? If the latter, would not the Poles who were pressed into such dire circumstances also be merely victims? An account from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county describes how Polish village men were forced out of their homes by Germans at gunpoint late one evening to bury a group of Jews who were about to be executed. A hush fell over these terrified villagers as they witnessed the shocking execution. No one rejoiced. They were then abruptly ordered to bury the bodies under threat of execution.⁶⁷

Denouncers of Jews like *szmalcowniki* (blackmailers) and others did not enjoy a good reputation in the community. They were often shunned.⁶⁸ It is important to bear in mind that postwar convictions of persons who harmed Jews relied heavily on Polish witnesses coming forward to testify against the culprits.

Despite the existence of anti-Semitism in Polish society – something that was present throughout most of Europe at the time, other factors usually played a more important role in the rescue of Jews. Grabowski downplays the harsh conditions that prevailed in occupied Poland and the impact of the draconian penalty – death – imposed by the Germans for extending any kind of help to a Jew. There was no penalty for sheltering a Jew in Denmark, Italy, France, or even Germany for that matter. In the Netherlands and Belgium, offenders could face a fine or a short term of imprisonment (no more than three months), but very often no punishment was imposed. Thus, the risk of being killed by the Germans if caught harbouring a Jew was virtually unheard of in Western Europe, and even a severe punishment was only a remote possibility. In Poland, persons caught helping Jews, including providing food or trading with them, were frequently put to death. There are hundreds of such cases. Sometimes entire families were summarily shot and their farmsteads burned to the ground. Many Poles were imprisoned or sent to concentration camps for the crime of helping Jews. Given the very real risk of death for the entire family of the rescuer, one could argue that it was irresponsible of the rescuer to place their family, especially children, in that position. As we shall see, Jews also experienced rejection by Jews to whom they turned for help in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.

⁶⁶ Abraham Komet, "The Annihilation of the Jews of Tarnow," in A. Chomet, ed., *Tarnow: Kiyuma ve-hurbana shel ir yehudit* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Tarnow, 1954), 815; translated as *Tarnow: The Life and Decline of a Jewish City*, Internet: <<https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/tarnow/tarnow.html>>.

⁶⁷ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 251–53.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 106. The following additional examples are from outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. In an unspecified village near Warsaw, "A Jew who had been starving in the woods turned up one day, asking for water. The farmer called the police, who shot the Jew on the spot. This had so outraged the village that the offender had to flee to Warsaw in fear of reprisal." See Natan Gross, *Who Are You, Mr Grymek?* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2001), 248–49. Władysława Słotwińska, from a family of rescuers from Bystrzyca Nowa near Lublin awarded by Yad Vashem, recalled that a Pole who turned a Jewish woman and her two children over to the Germans was ostracized by the villagers. After the war he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. See Anna Dąbrowska, ed., *Światła w ciemności: Sprawiedliwi Wśród Narodów Świata. Relacje* (Lublin: Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN," 2008), 171. Local Poles who took part in capturing two Jews in the village of Falkowa near Nowy Sącz, which also resulted in the arrest of two rescuers, met with the aversion of the rural society. Waław Noworol, the ringleader of the vigilante group, was sentenced to death by the underground Special Civil Court (*Cywilny Sąd Specjalny*) in Kraków. See Dagmara Swattek, "For a Coat, a Suitcase, and an Apple: Crimes Against Jews Hiding in the Villages of Falkowa, Wieniec and Janowice in the Light of Post-War Trial Documents," *Holocaust: Studies and Materials* (Warsaw), vol. 2 (2010): 399–419, here at 403–6. When a Pole from a village near Białystok by the name of Linczewski, who had betrayed a number of Jews, was struck and killed by a train, the villagers declared that this was God's punishment for what he had done to the Jews. See the account of Abram Manelis in Jerzy Diatłowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2009), 280.

One should not, therefore, look disparagingly on those who refused to endanger themselves and their families for the sake of others, especially strangers. Risking one's life for another person is not a simple act of kindness. Many Jewish survivors who were rescued by Poles have stated candidly that they do not know if they would have been willing to rescue Poles under such circumstances. Some have said emphatically that they would not have undertaken such a risk.

"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."⁶⁹

"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."⁷⁰

"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."⁷¹

"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."⁷²

"I'm not surprised people didn't want to hide Jews. Everyone was afraid, who would risk his family's lives? ... 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."⁷³

Anna Dembowa recalled that her 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."⁷⁴ 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. They did not want to endanger others. They did not value their own safety above that of others.

Those persons who fault Poles for not risking their lives to save Jews necessarily invite close scrutiny of their own level of heroism. 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 go out of their way to fault those Poles for not risking their lives would most probably never have undertaken such a risk themselves. Righteous people don't point fingers at others. Indeed, what guarantee can Grabowski offer that he would not have chased away (to use his terminology) someone in these circumstances?

⁶⁹ 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), 29.

⁷⁰ Hanna Wehr, *Ze wspomnień* (Montreal: Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation of Canada, 2001).

⁷¹ Roman Frister, *The Cap, or the Price of a Life* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 194.

⁷² Testimony of Marek Oren (Orenstein), in Piotr Głuchowski and Marcin Kowalski, "Żyd miły z bliska," *Gazeta Wyborcza-Duży Format*, September 11, 2007.

⁷³ Henryk Prajs, January 2005, Internet: <<http://www.centropa.org/biography/henryk-prajs>>.

⁷⁴ Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinówna, eds., *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, Second revised and expanded edition (Kraków: Znak, 1969), 534–35.

Historians from the Polish Center for Holocaust Research (Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów) see things differently. They compare sheltering Jews, which entailed enormous efforts and a long-term commitment, and was thus infrequent, to engaging in illegal trade, which generally entailed quick transactions that were necessary for survival, and was thus widespread. So, the argument goes, risking your life to save a Jew was no big deal. While activities like illegal trade, possession of underground literature and illegal slaughter of certain livestock were also punishable by death, in fact they rarely were. Moreover, they were of an entirely different nature and complexity. People simply do not assume unnecessary risks for an extended period of time that are fraught with real danger. Those historians also argue that since “only” some 800 Poles (a low figure) were killed for helping Jews, the risk of losing your life was not really all that great. People should just have opened their doors to every Jew who knocked on them. It should have been as simple as that.⁷⁵ Taking for granted the risk that Poles faced for helping Jews, those historians do not particularly value the loss of Polish lives. Barbara Engelking, the director of Polish Center for Holocaust Research, wrote condescendingly:

Death ... for Poles was merely a biological event, something quite natural – one death was just like any other. But for Jews it was a tragedy, a dramatic experience, metaphysics, a meeting with the highest. It is difficult to imagine how they experienced this death.⁷⁶

Even though the death penalty was imposed for helping Jews in any way, nevertheless it is still important to distinguish between various forms of assistance. Providing food or temporary shelter for a night or two was widespread and far more frequent than long-term shelter. Grabowski downplays the former, although they were also perilous. Of course, the longer the rescue, the higher the probability of being caught. However, if one applied Grabowski’s risk analysis and “social acceptance” theory, it should have made no difference. In addition to the fear of being caught and punished, grinding poverty made long-term assistance very difficult, if not impossible, for the majority of Poles. Rural poverty was widespread in the interwar period. Millions of farmers owned little or no land and lived in modest one- or two-room wooden cottages (huts by contemporary North American standards), often with thatched roofs and dirt floors.⁷⁷ After the German invasion, conditions deteriorated considerably with acute shortages of food and consumer goods. A stark indication of the continual impoverishment of Polish society is the fivefold increase of the value of the US dollar on the black market between mid-1942 and the early part of 1945 (from around 44 złoty to over 200 złoty). Once the Germans imposed produce and livestock levies on farmers, destitution became the norm. Millions of villagers barely subsisted. Most farmers simply did not have enough food to share with others, especially for any length of time. The effort and expenses involved were so onerous that only the most altruistic person, who was relatively well off, would be in a position to undertake rescue activity without

⁷⁵ Barbara Engelking-Boni interviewed by Michał Okoński, “Sen o Zagładzie: Jak biedni Polacy patrzą na getto,” *Tygodnik Powszechny*, August 28, 2005.

⁷⁶ “Kropka nad i,” TVN24, February 9, 2011: “Ta śmierć żydowska wynikała z całkowitej niemożności porozumienia. Dla Polaków to była po prostu kwestia biologiczna, naturalna – śmierć jak śmierć, a dla Żydów to była tragedia, to było dramatyczne doświadczenie, to była metafizyka, to było spotkanie z najwyższym, czy nie wiem, w jaki sposób oni przeżywali tą śmierć.” Engelking’s words are eerily reminiscent of Talmudic teachings – still voiced by some today – that the soul of a Gentile (goy) is inferior to that of a Jew. Eli Ben Dahan, an Orthodox rabbi and then Deputy Religious Services Minister, stated in an interview published in *Maariv*, a leading Israeli Hebrew-language daily newspaper, in December 2013, that “a Jew always has a much higher soul than a non-Jew.” See “The Gospel According to Eli Ben Dahan,” Editorial, *Haaretz*, December 30, 2013.

⁷⁷ In 1939, 87 percent of the farms in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county had an area of less than 5 hectares (approximately 12.4 acres), which was considered below the level of self-sufficiency. There were few wealthy people in the county. Fourteen out of 24 landed estates belonged to Jews, and only 10 to Poles. See Krzysztof Struziak, “Przemiany w strukturze agrarnej powiatu Dąbrowa Tarnowska w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej,” *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis, Studia Historica XIV* (2013), Folia 139, 179–91.

some contribution from the Jews themselves. It is not surprising therefore, that often – as was the case in Western Europe (as we shall see later) – Jews were expected to pay for food or their upkeep. Even when they did find shelter with a Polish family, Jews often had to beg for food elsewhere and even resorted to stealing food even from other villagers. Galloping inflation and food shortages naturally had an impact on the rising cost of sheltering a Jew.⁷⁸

Long-term rescue was not more frequent in most countries outside Poland, including the much more prosperous and tranquil countries of Western European, even though the consequences for helping Jews in those countries were usually far less severe than in Poland. Historian Christian Gerlach has noted that “conditions could make clandestine survival almost impossible, even in countries where compatriots helped many [Jews] escape abroad.”⁷⁹ In Norway, a country with a population of three million in 1942, no more than 40 Jews actually survived the war in hiding. Almost all of the Norwegian Jews who did survive, approximately 1,000, did so by reaching neighbouring Sweden, a neutral country that allowed them in. (Escape routes from Poland were extremely limited.) Norwegian couriers who brought Jews to Sweden were usually paid for their smuggling services by the Jews themselves. About 95 percent of the 1,000 Jews who remained behind were captured and handed over to the Germans, for the most part by Norwegian police, and deported to death camps.⁸⁰ Fewer than a hundred Jews survived in hiding inside Denmark, with a population of almost four million. At least 130 Jews who remained behind after the German-orchestrated evacuation of Jews to Sweden were betrayed. They were handed over to the Germans by Danish police and deported to concentration camps.⁸¹ Long-term sheltering of Jewish fugitives was also exceedingly rare in Bohemia and Moravia, with a Czech population of some seven million.⁸²

One other matter that must be addressed is the fairly recent charge – pushed by Jan Grabowski and, perhaps even more stridently, by historian Omer Bartov – that there were no “bystanders” (that is, someone who watches but does not take part) to the Holocaust in occupied Poland: every Polish man, woman and child was either a direct perpetrator or complicit in those crimes, presumably even infants and those who were languishing in concentration camps.

But no one, in these circumstances, could remain a neutral, emotionally detached witness, often described by historians as a “bystander to the Holocaust.” The complicated, multilayered system invented for the needs of the *Judenjagd* ensured that each rural

⁷⁸ Grzegorz Berendt, “The Price of Life: Economic Determinants of Jews’ Existence on the “Aryan” Side,” in Sebastian Rejak and Elżbieta Frister, eds., *Inferno of Choices: Poles and the Holocaust*, Second edition (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza Rytm, 2012), 115–65.

⁷⁹ Christian Gerlach, *The Extermination of the European Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 417 n91.

⁸⁰ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Third edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), vol. 2, 584–89; Saul S. Friedman, *A History of the Holocaust* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004), 327–29; Moore, *Survivors*, 74–83.

⁸¹ Moore, *Survivors*, 81, 96.

⁸² According to historian Livia Rothkirchen, “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.” See Livia Rothkirchen, “Czech Attitudes towards the Jews during the Nazi Regime,” *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 13 (1979): 287–320, at 314.

inhabitant—each man, woman, and child—had a role to play in this horrible theater of death.⁸³

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.⁸⁴

Tellingly, none of Grabowski's many supporters expressed any concern about his charge that is eerily reminiscent of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir infamous words that Poles suck in anti-Semitism with their mother's milk.

Historian Antony Polonsky offers a much more compelling reason for the inadequacy of the term "bystander". He finds the use of "bystanders" to be "problematic" and argues that

The implication that the bystanders had free choice, as in the parable of the good Samaritan, either to assist the Jews or go on their way fails to take into account the nature of Nazi rule. Discussion of the actions of the 'bystanders' also addresses principally not what they did, but what they did not do. Much of the debate is overly moralistic, and failures to act are often referred to as 'sins of omission'. Yet attempts to speculate on what might have happened had alternative courses of action been taken are open to serious question. There is also a tendency to shift the overwhelming responsibility for the genocide from the Nazi leadership and its henchmen, resulting in the inclination to assign 'secondary responsibility' to others.

Polonsky points out that those living under Nazi occupation were subject to "savage repression," noting that "assistance to Jews was punished severely, often by death, while participation in the looting and murder of Jews was rewarded, particularly in the case of those who served in local police forces and other units subordinate to the Germans."⁸⁵

Some of the Jewish testimonies cited by Grabowski, which fit in nicely with his narrative, are more explicit about the alleged role of the Polish population in the Holocaust, even suggesting that the Poles were effectively principal perpetrators alongside the Germans. For example, Emanuel Tanay, who was hidden in a Catholic monastery near Kraków as a young teenager and then escaped with his mother and sister to Slovakia and on to Hungary in the fall of 1943, stated that "the majority of the Polish population assisted the Germans in their efforts to annihilate the Jews." Dr. Symcha Hampel, another Jew who survived outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county with the help of Poles, insists that "Poland is probably the only country in the world where practically the whole society betrayed and handed over to the Germans each hidden Jew. The entire Polish society is to be blamed, and the Polish clergy most of all." Leo Drellich, who did originate from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, was able to actually quantify the extent of Polish participation or

⁸³ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 83. According to Grabowski, the term "bystanders" is "slowly becoming obsolete." Ibid., 5.

⁸⁴ Omer Bartov, "Much Forgotten, Little Learned," *Yad Vashem Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2007), 267–87: 276. Bartov harped on this theme repeatedly in his numerous articles on Buczacz, for example, "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, here at 403–4. Interestingly, Bartov appears to have abandoned this strident line of sophistry in his monograph *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).

⁸⁵ Antony Polonsky, *The Jews in Poland and Russia*, vol. 3: 1914 to 2008 (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012), 437. Jan Gross and Jan Grabowski have emerged as the leading exponents of this overly moralistic "school." Other notable examples include Barbara Engelking, Dariusz Libionka, Anna Bikont, Joanna Michlic, and Joanna Tokarska-Bakir.

complicity, as the terms seem to be interchangeable in this context: “If it were not for them [i.e., the Poles], fifty percent of Jews would have survived.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 4.⁸⁶) David Engel, another historian involved in “cutting edge” Holocaust research, has argued that it was Poles, among other Slavs (more of whom were killed by the Germans than Jews themselves), who were the actual inspiration for the Final Solution: “the idea of systematic killing may well have recommended itself to its German initiators in part through their observation of the behavior of local non-Jews toward Jews in the Soviet, Polish, and Yugoslav territories occupied by Germany in 1941.”⁸⁷ All of this blurring of facts actually comes together to form a fairly consistent narrative.

Yet the notion that Polish society enthusiastically participated in (or even inspired) the Final Solution, that Poles struck it rich during the war because they collaborated wholeheartedly with the Germans in robbing Jews, and that rescuers lived in fear of their lives simply because of their evil neighbours is so bizarre that highly respected Jewish historians *who actually lived through the German occupation* have dismissed such charges *summarily*. Israel Gutman, a Warsaw ghetto insurgent and former chief historian at Yad Vashem, stated quite bluntly, “all accusations against the Poles that they were responsible for what is referred to as the ‘Final Solution’ are not even worth mentioning.”⁸⁸ As British historian Norman Davies aptly observed in 1982, we are in the throes of “one of the meanest controversies of modern controversies”⁸⁹ – one, it seems, that shows no signs of abatement. The second part of Davies’s insightful comparison of the plight of Poles and Jews has gained acceptance, but the first part appears to have made little or no headway: “the Polish peasant fearful of reprisals, cannot be judged by the morality of free men in normal times, any more than one can judge the Jewish informers who sought to ransom their lives by denouncing their fellows.” According to Grabowski’s worldview, after the liquidation of the ghettos, Poles were no longer mere onlookers, but rather were invested with the power to “decide which Jews would live or die.” They could have easily saved them, but instead failed to open up their hearts. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 5.) It was as simple as that.

⁸⁶ In his rather disjointed testimony, Leo (Leibish) Drellich states that he was attacked with an axe when he came to reclaim property left with a farmer near Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Grabowski mentions this in *Hunt for the Jews*, at pp. 147–48, however, he neglects to mention that after this attack, another farmer bandaged the wound to Drellich’s head and cared for him. Drellich spent several months hiding with Polish farmers near Dąbrowa Tarnowska before moving to the Tarnów ghetto, when conditions had settled down there. Testimony of Leo Drellich, August 6, 2000, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 51138.

⁸⁷ David Engel’s entry for “Holocaust” in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), vol. 1, 739.

⁸⁸ *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* (Oxford: Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies), vol. 2 (1987), 341.

⁸⁹ Norman Davies, *God’s Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), vol. 2, 264–65.

Problematic Approach to Testimonies

As was noted earlier, there are significant problems with Grabowski's methodology. Two of these concerns are particularly egregious. A pattern of omissions, misreading of sources and even misrepresentation emerges when we examine closely Grabowski's treatment of testimonies. Another problematic feature of Grabowski's scholarship is his tendency to "affirm" testimony without any verification. The pitfalls associated with the affirmative approach have been highlighted by leading Holocaust historians for decades.⁹⁰ It is unfortunate that Grabowski does not take their cautions into account. The following examples are illustrative of this problematic approach to testimonies.

Helena Ausenberg (Aussenberg) and several members of her family (her infant child, her parents, and her sister) were sheltered by various farmers in Dulcza Mała for about two months around the time of the German *Aktion* of July 19, 1942 in Radomyśl Wielki described earlier. They were not the only ones. Helena states that other Jews were hiding with farmers in that village.⁹¹ Other Jewish accounts confirm that a number of Jews found refuge in Dulcza Mała, some for short periods, others for longer periods.⁹² Most of the Poles who took Jews in are not named. This help is not acknowledged by Grabowski, who insists that the "peasants were hostile" and that Polish helpers "broke a certain consensus in their own community ... there was no place for helping Jews." (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 89, 166.) However, a careful reading of these testimonies shows that farmers were, above all, fearful of the consequences of hiding Jews, and that this fear spiked dramatically after the *Aktion* in Radomyśl Wielki. According to Helena, the villagers were in a state of "terrible panic" when they heard volleys of bullets being shot and learned that the Germans had killed 150 Jews. While farmers turned Jews away or turned them out, as a rule they did not denounce them or hand them over to the Germans.

Helena Ausenberg and her family decided to relocate to Połaniec (located in Kielce voivodship to the north), where the Jewish community was still intact and conditions appeared relatively tranquil. She states that no Jew wanted to take them into their home so they stayed with a Polish family. Having run out of money, Helena found employment with Polish farmers who treated her well and gave her some food for her family. Grabowski covers up the true state of affairs and suggests—misleadingly—that Helena was helped by Jews: "Aussenberg was able to find help in one of the still existing Jewish communities." (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 89.) Rumors of an impending deportation caused Helena and her family to leave Połaniec in October 1942.

⁹⁰ Samuel Gringauz, "Some Methodological Problems in the Study of the Ghetto," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January, 1950): 65–72, here at 65; Lucy C. Dawidowicz, *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 176–77; Raul Hilberg, *Sources of Holocaust Research: An Analysis* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2001), passim; Christopher R. Browning, *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 42–43.

⁹¹ Helena Ausenberg (Aussenberg) left two testimonies recorded in 1945 and 1947, respectively. Since they vary somewhat, both must be read in tandem: Testimony of Helena Ausenberg (Aussenberg), dated October 15, 1945, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1145; Testimony of Helena Aussenberg, dated June 1, 1947, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 3215, reproduced in part in Janusz Roszkowski, ed., *Żydzi w walce 1939–1945: Opór i walka z faszyzmem w latach 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. E. Ringelbluma; Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej, 2011), vol. 3, 13–19.

⁹² Testimony of Cyla Braw in Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 219; Testimony of Chaja Rosenblatt, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 302, number 318. These accounts do not support the sweeping claim found in Chaja Rosenblatt's 1946 *Der Tog* article that Polish farmers were hunting down, robbing, murdering or turning Jews over to the police in large numbers at the time of the *Aktion* in Radomyśl Wielki. Since her lengthy account provides no such examples, this claim may well have been an embellishment for which her ghost writer was responsible.

In her 1945 testimony, Helena Ausenberg described an event that Grabowski does not deem worthy of mention. When the Jews were driven from Połaniec by foot to Szczucin, Poles were forbidden to approach the procession. A Polish woman who spotted a Jewish child she had helped raise wanted to hand the child some water. It did not take much to incur the wrath of the Germans. They shot this unidentified Polish woman on the spot. Something like this was unheard of in Western Europe. One could only imagine the impact this would have made on the Poles who witnessed this gruesome scene, as well as the Polish population in the surrounding area who soon got word of it. Grabowski does not go out of his way to acknowledge the many Poles, like this unidentified woman, who were put to death in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county for helping Jews. (An incomplete list of such victims is set out later on.) Moreover, he does not appreciate the dynamics of events like the bloody *Aktions* and executions of individual Polish helpers. Fear, rather than alleged anti-Semitism, propelled the behaviour of the rural population. The Poles' fear was not exaggerated. It only intensified as German executions multiplied and entire families were killed and their farmsteads burned to the ground. Fewer and fewer people were prepared to put their lives on the line and endanger their families for hiding Jews. The most common reaction was to turn Jewish fugitives away or to turn Jewish charges out. In some cases, however, nearby pacifications resulted in some villagers' apprehending Jews and turning them over to the authorities or, worse still, taking matters into their own hands.⁹³

On returning to Dulcza Mała, no one wanted to take Helena and her family in because the Germans were conducting raids for Jewish fugitives at that time. They then moved to the village of Przeryty Bór, where they remained for about two months. They moved from place to place, staying with a number of Poles for a few days at a time, before finding shelter with a farmer who kept them for a longer period, practically free of charge. Fearing a German raid, they decided to return to Dulcza Mała. On the way there, in Zdziarzec, tragedy struck. Helena's mother entered a cottage with Helena's child, when suddenly a German car pulled up and Gestapomen apprehended them. (These were probably Sicherheitsdienst rather than Gestapo, which was a political police.) They were never to be seen again. The villagers were ordered to conduct a search for Jews but they did not capture anyone. Helena, her sister and her father then stayed in Dulcza Mała for about two months, briefly with one farmer, and then with another farmer, Pawełczak, for a longer period (at least a month). According to her 1945 testimony, Helena retrieved a coat she had left for safekeeping with a Polish acquaintance in Radomyśl Wielki, which she gave to her host in exchange for their upkeep. Hardly an exorbitant remuneration. Grabowski suggests, without any evidence, that she may have retrieved some valuables like silverware. Misreading Helena's 1947 testimony, Grabowski states that Helena stayed in Radomyśl Wielki for a month. In fact, Helena left the town immediately after she obtained what she came for. Although her appearance was unkempt and attracted attention, no one accosted her.

During this time, until they joined Jews living in the forest, Helena and her family were given temporary shelter and food by a number of Polish families, even though they were not in a position to offer much by way of compensation. Most of the Poles who provided occasional assistance are not identified by name in Helena's testimony. The fugitives continued to receive help from various villagers even after they had exhausted all their resources. Yet, Grabowski claims, spuriously, that "the help, if offered at all, was very expensive." (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 89.) Only much later (at p. 147) does he offer a somewhat more favourable portrayal of the villagers based on Helena's 1947 testimony. Since he does not connect the two descriptions, how many readers would detect the discrepancies in the portrayal of these Polish farmers? Maybe they weren't all that callous and greedy after all. Yet, despite all this help, it took just one denunciation to wreak havoc. After a significant period of hiding, someone appears to have betrayed Helena's mother. Thus, helpers far outnumbered denouncers.

⁹³ The dynamics of the impact of pacification actions are described in Tomasz Frydel, "The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear," Bajohr and Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European Societies*, 147–66. See also Tomasz Frydel, "Judenjagd: Reassessing the Role of Ordinary Poles as Perpetrators in the Holocaust," in Timothy Williams and Susanne Buckley-Zistel, eds., *Perpetrators and Perpetration of Mass Violence: Actions, Motivations and Dynamics* (London and New York: Routledge 2018), 187–203.

Helena, her sister and her father (Naftali Bernknopf, whom Grabowski does not mention) then took refuge in the forests that were located partly in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. They were turned away by several Jewish groups before being allowed into a bunker belonging to the Amsterdam family of Małec. One of the groups that turned them away was that of Shye Singer, who hailed from Helena's village; these Jews were armed and reportedly lived in favourable conditions. Grabowski fails to mention this serial rejection by fellow Jews. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 90.) The forests became crowded with scores of Jewish fugitives. Helena acknowledges that armed Jewish partisans would go out at night looking for food. They would call on farmers and stage frequent attacks on estates confiscated by the Germans. (The foraging activities of Jewish fugitives will be described in greater detail later on.) Helena describes an attack by bandits that killed two Jews, a raid by Polish farmers in which no one was caught, and a raid by the Polish police (according to her 1945 testimony) in which about a dozen Jews, including her father, were killed.⁹⁴ The largest of the raids conducted by German forces occurred in November 1944, shortly before the arrival of the Soviet army. A large number of Jews as well as some Poles who had taken refuge in the forest were captured at that time.

Another example of how Grabowski skews survivors' testimony is his description of the farmer in who sheltered Cyla Braw and her family after they fled first from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, and then from Połaniec, in August 1942. Essentially, Grabowski paints him as a heartless mercenary, who took them in for a few months "in exchange for payment," and then "threw them out" when, for no apparent reason, he became "terrified of the risks." (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 90.) Cyla Braw's testimony is more nuanced than that:

... we went to our village to Mała Dulcza, to farmer Zawada. He was nice to us, we gave him some of our things and we stayed in his barn for half a year. We sometimes went to the apartment [actually, the farmer's cottage] at night and lay in the deck chair [probably a foldout] but mommy was afraid and we usually slept on the hay in the barn. ... By that time the hunts for Jews began in the village and people were saying that those who sheltered the Jews would be executed, so the farmer got scared and told us to leave.⁹⁵

In fact, as we shall see, there were a number of executions of Polish rescuers in the vicinity of the Dulcza forest starting in the fall of 1942, so the farmers' fears were fully justified. Raids were becoming more frequent. The Braws' host was under no obligation to continue to shelter them indefinitely when he asked them to leave his home. Would Grabowski have risked his life for others under such circumstances? We don't know. (Only someone who has not personally taken in a homeless person, and in all likelihood never would, is capable of writing in such a callous manner.)

A telling example of the pitfalls of reporting events that allegedly occurred without verifying their veracity is Grabowski's reliance on the testimony of Yehuda Erlich. (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 152–53.) Like many other examples on which Grabowski builds his case, the alleged incident occurred outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. Yehuda Erlich claims that, after the brutal murder by German gendarmes of the eight-member Ulma family and their Jewish charges in Markowa near Łańcut on March 23, 1944, twenty-four Jewish bodies were found in nearby fields the next day, allegedly murdered by Polish peasants. Since Erlich was hiding in Sietesz, another village, he had no firsthand knowledge of these alleged murders so surely some verification was called for of his hearsay account. Historian Mateusz Szpytma, who has conducted a thorough investigation of the

⁹⁴ Grabowski refers to only one of two of Helena Ausenberg's testimonies, which are conflicting on this point, and has the shooting of about a dozen Jews carried out by peasants. It appears more likely that this was the deed of the Blue police, since an earlier raid by farmers – also undoubtedly ordered by the Germans – was totally ineffective. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 90, and compare with the testimony of Helena Ausenberg (Aussenberg), dated October 15, 1945, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1145. The number of victims is also in doubt. On p. 243, Grabowski refers to the murder of 6, rather than 12, members of the Spatz family.

⁹⁵ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 220–21.

events in Markowa, has established that no such murders occurred.⁹⁶ This is yet another example of how simply “affirming” testimonies of random survivors, as Jan Gross urges historians to do,⁹⁷ is fraught with peril. To borrow a phrase Grabowski’s likes to hurl at historians he disparages: Grabowski is wrong on this account. And on many accounts, it seems.

An example of how failing to verify the actual unfolding of events can skew one’s perspective is Grabowski’s reliance on Fela Grün’s “judeocentric” account – as historian Samuel Gringauz puts it⁹⁸ – of what transpired in Szczucin in September 1939, without any comment. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 215.) According to that account,

The persecutions of the Jews started after the Germans’ arrival and there were many victims right from the beginning. All the refugees from the west living in the school building were burned alive because one German had been killed. But there’s more. All the Jews present at that time on the market square were captured, transported outside the city, and buried alive in a prepared ditch.

In actual fact, after their entry into Szczucin on September 8, 1939, the Germans rounded up Polish POWs and refugees from Western Poland and held them in the school building. Doubtless there were some Jews among the captives. After a Polish POW shot a German officer on September 12, German soldiers surrounded the school, fired shots and threw grenades through the windows, and set the building on fire. Some 40 POWs and 30 refugees were killed. Another smaller group of sick POWs held in a neighbouring building may also have been killed. The Germans then seized some 25 Jews and forced them to dig two trenches to bury the massacred bodies. After the burial, these Jews were also shot and their bodies thrown into the second trench.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Mateusz Szpytma, *Sprawiedliwi i ich świat: Markowa w fotografii Józefa Ulmy*, 2nd revised and expanded edition (Kraków: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej and Instytut Studiów Strategicznych, 2015); Mateusz Szpytma, “Czyje te bezdroża – odpowiedź wiceprezesa IPN na tekst Gazety Wyborczej,” Internet: <<http://ipn.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/38249,Czyje-te-bezdroza-odpowiedz-wiceprezesa-IPN-na-tekst-Gazety-Wyborczej.html>>.

⁹⁷ Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 139–40.

⁹⁸ Samuel Gringauz, “Some Methodological Problems in the Study of the Ghetto,” *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January, 1950): 65–72.

⁹⁹ Szymon Datner, *Zbrodnie Wehrmacht na jeńcach wojennych w II wojnie światowej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1961), 52; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 339; Jochen Böhrer, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu w Polsce: Wrzesień 1939: Wojna totalna* (Kraków: Znak, 2009), 186–87; Bogdan Musiał, “Judenjagd – «umiejętne działanie» czy zbrodnicza perfidia?” *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2011): 159–70, here at 166. Bogdan Musiał cites a German military report dated September 9, 1939, which confirms the Polish narrative.

The Extent of Rescue

As the subtitle of Grabowski's book aptly suggests, the focus of *Hunt for the Jews* is "betrayal and murder," not rescue. However, the treatment of rescue is clearly a critical issue because it is used by Grabowski to prop up his thesis that betrayal and murder were far more common and, thus, more representative of Polish society. However, Grabowski's track record in identifying other rescuers is not much better than his treatment of the Catholic Church. He certainly does not go out of his way to search them out, in other words, to canvass, in a competent fashion, sources that are readily available to researchers. Nonetheless, this does not prevent Grabowski from proffering "authoritative" statements about the number of rescuers and survivors. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Grabowski's research is being given undeserved and unreserved credence, and his figures are being cited by Holocaust historians as carefully and accurately established facts.

Let us begin with a key resource: Yad Vashem's *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*¹⁰⁰ and Yad Vashem's online Database of the Righteous Among Nations.¹⁰¹ Tellingly, Grabowski's success rate in identifying rescuers who were *readily ascertainable* from these sources at the time of publication of his book is only *a little more than half*. Of the 26 Polish rescuers from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Gentiles as of mid-2013, Grabowski – incredibly – fails to mention twelve of them altogether. Nine decorated rescuers are mentioned either in the main text of *Hunt for the Jews* or in the accounts found in the Appendix: Józef and Józefa Gibes (1998), Stanisław and Zofia Pagos (1979), Franciszek Sołtys (2013), Bolesław Sroka (2013), Feliks Świerczek (1989), and Wiktor Wójcik and Emilia Wójcik-Kułaga (1992). Five awarded rescuers – Piotr Heleniak and Anna Heleniak Kaczmarczyk (misspelled as Kaczmarek) (1993); Stanisław and Maria Kaczówka; and Ewa Zając (1965) – are only mentioned in the list of survivors (Table 7), with no narrative describing their rescue activities. The following twelve Righteous Gentiles, as well as their rescue activities, were overlooked entirely by Grabowski: Zofia Bernat Śliska (1994), Anna Błoch (1998), Franciszek and Bronisława Bochenek (2005), Stanisław and Anna Jaje (2010), Józef and Genowefa Kiwior (1998), Ignacy and Józefa Kostka (1995), and Wojciech Kowalski and Lucylla Chmura-Kowalska (1992). In Grabowski's view, the rescue stories of seventeen out of 26 Polish rescuers do not merit telling. Either that, or yet another example of shoddy scholarship. Eight additional rescuers were recognized by Yad Vashem after the publication of *Hunt for the Jews*, *raising the count to 34*: Tomasz and Maria Lech were recognized as Righteous in July 2017, and Antonina Czerwińska and her brother, Józef Wójcik were recognized in March 2018. Four members of the Tomal family – Wiktoria Tomal and her children, Jan, Józefa and Stanisława – were recognized in March 2019. Grabowski makes no mention of these eight rescuers either, whose stories were known at the time his book was published. So, in total, Grabowski *failed to identify 20 out of 34 rescuers from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, which is almost 60% of those recognized by Yad Vashem*.

The 34 Poles recognized by Yad Vashem do not by any means represent the totality of the rescue effort. Hundreds of Poles were involved in providing various forms of assistance to Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. In many cases, Yad Vashem does not bestow the Righteous Among Nations award on all of the rescuers whom Jewish survivors identify. For example, in addition to Bolesław Sroka and Franciszek Sołtys, Fela Grün mentioned a number of other Poles who helped her and her family survive (set out in bold below). Why they were not recognized by Yad Vashem is baffling in view of her testimony:

He [i.e., Bolesław Sroka] sent two of my sisters to his distant relative **Michał Sroka**, who provided them with hiding for a couple of weeks. Me and my brother and mommy went to the village of "Czarkówka," where we had a property. I went to Franciszek Sołtys ... he made a sacrifice for us when he hid us risking his and his family's life. It lasted 2-and-a-half years. In the meantime he also provided hiding to my two sisters and my brother. ...

¹⁰⁰ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volumes 4 and 5 (Poland – Parts 1 and 2), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Internet: <<https://righteous.yadvashem.org/index.html>>.

My brother and sister were hiding in Zabrze at Pole **[Stanisław] Forgiel's**. He was also a very righteous, noble man and they owe their lives to him. ... Prof. Sroka placed my other sister at his friends' in Świebodzin at **Czupryna's**, where she stayed until the liberation. She too had good conditions there.

During the deportation of the Poles from the front-line zone my brother was in Oleśno [Olesno] at [the] Pole **Leś's**. He, and especially **his mother**, were very noble, and they took care of my brother until the liberation as if he had been their son.

Moreover, Prof. Sroka rescued other Jews as well.¹⁰² (emphasis added)

Other helpers of the Grün family who were not recognized by Yad Vashem include Franciszek Sołtys's wife, Honorata, and their adopted son, Władysław Piłat, as well as Jan and Kazimierz Dorosz.¹⁰³ Nor do we have a complete list of the names of the Jews who were helped by Bolesław Sroka. Thus, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct a comprehensive picture of the Polish rescue effort. It was certainly far greater than just those Poles recognized by Yad Vashem.

Grabowski downplays the amount of assistance – usually in the form of food or short-term shelter – that Jews received from Poles. The relationship between Jews and Polish farmers was not innately hostile. Shtetls in the countryside did not generally experience starvation until the summer of 1942, despite the meagre rations they were officially allotted. This was due mainly to the massive amount of illegal trade conducted with Poles. No Jewish account from Dąbrowa Tarnowska mentions starvation until shortly before the first *Aktion* in July 1942, when Jews from surrounding towns and villages were packed into the crowded ghetto. Most Jews who fled during German operations returned to Dąbrowa Tarnowska or made their way to another ghetto like Tarnów or to a work camp. Those Jewish fugitives who decided to remain outside the ghetto usually relied on multiple helpers, sometimes for payment. They would frequently change their hiding places, and, even if they found long-term shelters, they often left them at night to beg for or acquire food from other Poles. Since most of the help was occasional and since many Jewish

¹⁰² Testimony of Fela Grün, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1571, set out in Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 215–16. For further details about Stanisław Forgiel see Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 352–3 (testimony of Henryk Forgiel, Stanisław Forgiel's son). The fate of Fela Grün's mother, whom she mentions in her testimony, is unclear. Yad Vashem lists Mrs. Grün among those rescued by Bolesław Sroka and Franciszek Sołtys.

¹⁰³ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 304–6 (testimony of Władysław Piłat), 316. Both Władysław Piłat and Fela Grün (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 165) mention Fela Grün's 18-year-old cousin who stayed at the Sołtys' home, but his fate is unclear.

fugitives did not survive, the details of that assistance were never recorded.¹⁰⁴ It is apparent that no Jew who was caught in 1943 or 1944 could have survived that long without some Polish assistance. Moreover, Jews who were harmed by Poles, often also received help from Poles. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Grabowski ignores much of what has been preserved. So the balance sheet of those who helped, as opposed to those who harmed Jews, is severely skewed in *Hunt for the Jews*.

How many Jews survived the war in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county? In the 2011 Polish-language version of his book, Grabowski claims that only 38 of the 277 Jews who attempted to hide in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county survived.¹⁰⁵ In the 2013 English language version, Grabowski bumped this figure up to 51, while increasing the number of Jews who attempted to hide to 337. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 15.) These 51 Jewish survivors are listed in Table 7 (“Jews Who Survived the War Hidden on the Territory of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County”). In fact, there are only 50, since two of the entries are duplicates.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, it appears that Berta Millet and Rosa Weit may have actually survived in camps and, therefore, should not be counted.¹⁰⁷ So effectively we have 48 Jews who are said to have survived the war in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.

Only 29 of those 48 survivors listed in Table 7 are explicitly said to have been rescued by Poles: four members of the Grün family [4 – 7] (helped by a number of Poles); Abram and Avigdor Weit [10, 11]; Fiszel Drelich [12] and Salomon Goldberg [13] (sheltered by Jan Augustyński and others); Herman Weizer [14] (sheltered by Franciszek and Cecylia Łachut); Salo Lederbeger [20], Izak Ferderber [21], Jakub Kalb [22], Eleonora Wolf [23], Dorota Wolf [24], Genia Wolf [25], and Tobcia Wolf [26]; Izaak Scherman [27], Etki Scherman [29], and the sister of Etki Scherman [28], who is one and the same as Sara Ziss [30]; Fajga (Franiszka) Kryształ [31]; Michał Pinkas [33]

¹⁰⁴ Grabowski mentions Estera Metzger and her two children, who managed to survive a whole year in a forest bunker near Szarwark. In order to do, they must have received assistance from some local Poles. Grabowski pays scant attention to that fact. Instead, instead he goes on at great length to describe their capture after someone informed on them to the Gestapo. They were shot by German gendarmes, first Estera and her daughter, and then her son, who unexpectedly arrived at the murder scene and stated that he wanted to be buried with his sister. Grabowski doubts that this is how the boy perished. However, other testimonies in the relevant court file that Grabowski does not refer to support this version, and state that some villagers tried to persuade the boy to run and hide, but he refused all efforts. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 156–60. Another recorded case was that of Ala Mingal (formerly Amalia Kuperberg). She had left her hometown of Kraków with her parents and sister and took up residence in Szczucin for one and a half years, with the paid assistance of her father's former Polish employee. During an *Aktion* in mid-1942, she was loaded on a train headed for Treblinka but luckily managed to jump off the train without sustaining an injury. She made her way to another ghetto which was also soon liquidated and had to flee again. A Polish woman whom she met by chance when she boarded a train covered her with a blanket when the Germans came around to check the passengers. On arrival in Warsaw, she happened to meet a former teacher from her school who did not remember her, but agreed to let her stay in his home overnight. He helped her to buy a ticket for her return to Kraków. Her father's former tenant took her into her apartment overnight. She then managed to sneak into a work camp for Jews. Thus, in a short span of time, Ala Mingal came across three persons – whose identities will never be known – who helped her without expecting anything in return. The only reason their stories are known is because Ala Mingal happened to survive. Their efforts were no less heroic than those of the Danish boatmen who transported Jews for payment to Sweden. The former are forgotten, the latter are extolled. There were probably thousands of such cases. Testimony of Ala Mingal, October 25, 1998, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 46441.

¹⁰⁵ Grabowski, *Judenjagd*, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 230–33 (Table 7). Entries 28 (sister of Etki Scherman) and 30 (Sara Ziss) refer to the same person.

¹⁰⁷ Berta Millet is listed in Table 9, as having survived in a camp. Rosa Weit, Avigdor Weit's wife, is also said to have survived in a camp. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 238, 277 n. 54.

(an unidentified farmer kept him on even after learning the boy was Jewish); Manek Kehl [39], Sara Kehl [40], Samuel Weiser [41]; Izrael Isaac [45]; Melania Weissenberg [46] and Helena Aschheim [47]; Majer Künstlich [48], and Weronika Künstlich [49].

What do the extant sources say? In all likelihood, almost all of the 48 Jewish survivors listed in Table 7 were sheltered or received some form of assistance from Poles. In addition to those whom Grabowski identifies as being rescued by Poles, the following persons in Table 7 also received help from Poles: Samuel Metzger (Metzkier/Meckier) [1] and Chaim Metzger (Metzkier/Meckier) [3] were sheltered by Tomasz Wieczorek; Alter (Adler) Rand [2] was sheltered by Franciszek Borsa, as was Chaskiel Gruszow's mother (Rachela?) [36]; Dawid Wasserstrum [8] and his sister [9] were sheltered by several unidentified Polish farmers (Dawid's mother, who also survived, is not mentioned in *Hunt for the Jews*); Cyla Braw [16] mentions the help of Poles in her testimony; Moser (Mosze, Moses) Wolfowicz [18] was helped by Ewa Zając, as were Aron Werker [32] and Chaskiel Gruszow [35]; Hersz Buch [37] and Cesia Holzer [38] (in the text Grabowski misstates Holzer's surname as Heller) were rescued by the Kiwior family; Cyla Goldman [44] and her two daughters, Rachela (Rae Weitz) [42] and Hania (Ann Shore) [43], were sheltered by an unidentified Polish woman; all four members of the Künstlich family [48 – 51] were rescued by Poles.

According to Yad Vashem's records, the 34 Poles from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county recognized as Righteous are credited with rescuing 62 Jews who are identified by name. Two of them (the Weit brothers) are listed twice as having been helped by two different rescuers, and five of the Jews initially sheltered in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county survived outside the county. In addition, two or possibly three Jews died while in hiding. Based on Yad Vashem's records, 21 Jews, whose names are bolded below, are not mentioned among the 48 survivors listed by Grabowski in Table 7 (as adjusted) as having survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, nor – in most cases – at all in *Hunt for the Jews*.

- Rescued by Anna Błoch: Sabina Szajndel Salomon (fell ill and died in October 1943); **Rose Roize Shoshana Lesser Hoellander**; **Zvi Henryk (Herman) Amsterdam**; **Chava Amsterdam Amir**; **Regina Haber**; **Mojżesz Muniek Haber** (none are mentioned by Grabowski)
- Rescued by Franciszek and Bronisława Bochenek: **Genia Śpiewak (Śpiwak) Wechter**; **Mordechai Śpiewak (Śpiwak)** (not mentioned by Grabowski)
- Rescued by Józef and Józefa Gibes: **Szymon Goldberg** (not mentioned by Grabowski); Jakub Künstlich; Dora Künstlich; Majer (Adolf) Künstlich (Adam Merc); Wiktoria Künstlich (Szatan, Merc) (possibly listed in Table 10)
- Rescued by Piotr Heleniak and Anna Heleniak-Kaczmarczyk: **Dawid (David) Polonecki Rottenstein** (not mentioned by Grabowski); Eleonora Wolf (Lea Kalb); Genia Gena Wolf Dombek; Dorothea (Dorota) Wolf Aranowitz; Tobcia Tonka Kalb Forst; Jakub Kalb (Yanek Biegon); Leon Kalb (died while in hiding – not mentioned by Grabowski); Salo (Salomon) Lederberger; Izaak (Izak) Ferderber
- Rescued by Stanisław and Anna Jaje: **Shiyer Mutzenmacher (Charles Manson)** (not mentioned by Grabowski)
- Rescued by Stanisław and Maria Kaczówka: Yitzchak (Izaak) Scherman (Ignac or Igancy Szerman or Sekerman); Etki Sekerman (Scherman) Roth (Ethla, née Ziss or Süss); Sara Goldman (Sala, née Ziss or Süss)
- Rescued by Józef and Genowefa Kiwior: Celina (Cesia) Holzer Morley; Hesiek (Hersz, Leib) Buch
- Rescued by Stanisław and Zofia Pagos: Abraham (Abram) Weit (Weith, Wajt); Avigdor (Awigdor) Weit (Weith, Wajt)
- Rescued by Franciszek Sołtys and Bolesław Sroka: Mrs. Grün (Gruen) (not mentioned by Grabowski; although mentioned by Yad Vashem, her ultimate fate is not clear so she is not counted here as a survivor); Fela (Felicja) Grün; Bieniek (Benedykt) Grün, Karolina (Haja) Grün; Regina Grün
- Rescued by Feliks Świerczek: Feige Birken (Franciszka Kryształ); **Josef (Józef) Birken** (the latter is not mentioned by Grabowski; Grabowski also misspells the place of rescue as Gorczyce instead of Gorzyce)

- Rescued by Jan Wójcik and Antonina Czerwińska: **Majer Kamm; Leon Kamm, Czesława Kamm** (all three are listed in Table 9)
- Rescued by Wiktor Wójcik and Emilia Wójcik-Kułaga: Melania Weisenberg (Weissenberg, later Molly Applebaum); Helena Ascheim (Aschheim, later Littman)
- Rescued by Ewa Zajac: Mosze Keh (Manek Kehl); Sara Keh (Kehl) Nudel; Samuel Weiser (Wajzer); Aron Werker; **Abraham Salomon** and **Sara Abracham Salomon** (listed in Table 9); Moser (Moses, Mosze) Wolfowicz; **Basia (Batia, Berta) Wolfowicz (Falek)** (listed in Table 9); **Jochanan Amsterdam** (not mentioned by Grabowski); **Estera Gelc (Ester Gelz)** (listed in Table 9); Chaskiel Gruszow. The brothers Abram (Abracham) and Avigdor (Wiktor) Weit (Weith, Wajt), who were also helped by Ewa Zajac, are listed in Table 7 as having been hidden by the Pagos family. Grabowski credits Ewa Zajac with rescuing three Jews, whereas Yad Vashem lists 13 Jews
- Rescued by the Tomal family: **Rachela Kohane; Elias Kohane**

Therefore, based on Yad Vashem's records, the number of Jews who survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county should be increased by 21 – from Grabowski's adjusted tally of 48 – to 69. This figure does not include Jews mentioned by Yad Vashem who died while in hiding (Sabina Salomon, Leon Kalb, and possibly Mrs. Grün), or those who initially received assistance from Poles inside the county but survived outside the county or for whom no later data is provided. The following nine Jews (five of whom were identified by Yad Vashem) fall into the latter category. (The references to Tables are those in *Hunt to the Jews*.)

- Rescued by Zofia Bernat Śliska: Zofia Bloch (later Nowik) of Wola Mędrzechowska, who left to work in Bohemia under an assumed name. Grabowski lists Zofia Nowik in Table 8, but provides no information about the assistance she received from the rescuer's family in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county
- Rescued by Ignacy and Józefa Kostka: Miriam Pikholec (later Mainer) of Bielsko-Biała, who later left to work in Germany under an assumed name (not mentioned by Grabowski)
- Rescued by Wojciech Kowalski and Lucylla Chmura-Kowalski: Ida Margulies and her son, Henryk Margulies (Juliusz Jankowski), who later moved to Czechów near Pińczów, and then to Kraków. Grabowski mentions the Margulieses in Table 9 as having returned from a hideout, but provides no information about their rescuers
- Lucylla Chmura-Kowalski and her mother, Janina Chmura, also provided food to the Schindel family in the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto. The two surviving brothers, Leon and Juda Schindel, are listed in Table 8 as having survived the war outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, but no details are provided¹⁰⁸
- Leon Silber and Sabine Silber are listed in Table 8, but Grabowski provides no information about the help they received inside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county (this assistance is described later); Yad Vashem credits Lech with the rescue of Sabine Silber.
- Ludwik Kędziński gave shelter to Paweł Szacher of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who may be one and the same as Saul Schochar listed in Table 8 as having survived the war outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, but no details are provided

How successful is Grabowski in identifying rescuers who have not been recognized by Yad Vashem? Not surprisingly, Grabowski's track record in this regard is considerably worse. It is clear that he fails to mention the vast majority of such rescuers. While *Hunt for the Jews*, especially Tables 7, 9 and 10, refers to many Jews who survived in hiding, Grabowski often provides little or no information about how they survived. Surviving for several years without any assistance from Poles was extremely rare, if not impossible. As we shall see, there were many more Jews who survived inside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county with the help of Poles.

¹⁰⁸ In fact, Leon Schindel recorded his testimony, in which he describes how he and his brother, Yehudah (Juda), lived in the Kraków ghetto and were subsequently interned in various concentration camps. Testimony of Le'on Shindel, October 21, 1996, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 21575.

Returning to Jewish survivors, Table 9 of *Hunt for the Jews* – “Jews Who Reported to the Dąbrowa County Office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews (1945–1946)” – contains the names of 63 Jews who emerged from “hideouts” in unspecified places after the war. Only sixteen of these Jews are listed in Table 7 as having survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county: Markus (Marcin) Adler, Roman Braw, Haskiel Gruszów/Chaskel Gruszow, Manek Kehl, Sara Kehl, Chaim Meckier/Metzkier/Metzger, Samuel Meckier/Metzkier/Metzger, Alter/Adler Rand, Etlä Suess/Etka Scherman, Sara Suess/Ziss, Samuel Weiser/Weizer, Herman Weiser/Weizer, Wigdor/Avigdor Weith/Weit, Abraham/Abram Weith/Weit, Aron Werker, Mozes/Moser Wolfowicz. However, the majority are unaccounted for.

An astute reader – even if they are not a professional historian – would immediately recognize that there is something amiss here. Why would so many local Jews have survived in hideouts outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county? In fact, at least 31 of the Jews listed in Table 9 (whose names are not found in Table 7) and in Table 10 (Wietrzychowice Commune) – not counting the seven persons identified by Yad Vashem as having been rescued by Poles (Basia Wolfowicz, Estera Gelz, Majer Kamm, Leon Kamm, Czesława Kamm, Elias Kohane, Rachela Kohane) – actually survived inside Dąbrowa Tarnowska country, with the help of Poles. Those Jews include:

- Five members of the Adler family – Hirsch, Estera, Chajka, Abraham, and Reisla (a sixth member, Markus Adler, is also listed in Table 7)
- Markus (Maksymilian) Arymowicz (rescued by Franciszek and Cecylia Łachut)
- Ewa Blaugrund (sheltered by Franciszek Borsa)
- Samuel Celnik (rescued by Władysław Jurczak)
- Three members of the Cizer family – Pinkas, Rozalia, and Józef (sheltered by Anna Gruchała and Michał Surowiec)
- Liba Ehrenberg (Liebe Ehruberg) (sheltered by Stanisław Golonka and others)
- Helena (Hajka) Goldberg (sheltered by the Szado family)
- Mozes and Rachela Grinzweig (Grincwajg) (rescued by Tomasz Wieczorek and other villagers)
- Of the four members of the Gruszów family who survived inside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county – Rachela, Haskiel, Maria, Isak – “Chaskel Gruszow” and his mother are also listed in Table 7 (rescued by Franciszek Borsa and Ignacy and Józefa Kostka)
- Four members of the Jachimowicz family – Tema, Sisel, Samuel, Leon (sheltered by Stanisław Bania and other villagers)
- Abraham (Mojżesz?) Lampel (sheltered by Ewa Bartula and other villagers)
- Regina Metzkier (Metzger/Mecger) (sheltered by Wojciech Grabka)
- Mozes Rand (sheltered by Franciszek Borsa; Mozes’ brother Alter (Adler) Rand, who was also sheltered by Borsa, is listed in Table 7 and Table 9)
- Maria Samuel (sheltered by Tadeusz Kot and other villagers)
- Of the four Stieglitz (Szyglic) siblings who survived inside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county – Regina, Jakub Naftali (later Michał), Izak (Ignacy or Ignaz), Zofia – only two of them are mentioned in Table 9 (Regina and Ignac) (sheltered by Weronika Kozik and her sisters, Genowefa and Helena)
- Naftali and Rachela Unger (sheltered by Franciszek Borsa)
- Jakub and Estera Werker and her child (sheltered by Franciszek Borsa and other villagers; Estera’s infant child is not mentioned by Grabowski)

The addition of these 34 persons (including all four members of the Stieglitz family) brings the count of Jews who survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county from 69 to 103, which is more than double the number of persons identified by Grabowski in Table 7. However, this figure still does not represent the total number of those rescued. The following are 20 additional Jewish survivors – not mentioned by Grabowski – whose rescue by Poles is described in this study:

- Lea Anmuth: Yad Vashem mentions, in relation to her awarded rescuers, that she was also sheltered by Rev. Franciszek Okoński in Luszowice, but that priest was not awarded by Yad Vashem
- Irena Mosiek: rescued by Aniela Podkówka in Maniów

- Dawid Wasserstrum's mother: Grabowski ignores her survival, as well as the assistance Dawid and his sister received from Poles
- Franciszka Gruszów and her husband: sheltered by Eugenia Chwalibińska in Dąbrowa Tarnowska and several other Polish families
- Mozes (Mojżesz) Lind: sheltered by Ewa Stefańczyk
- Aron Minder: helped by various farmers
- Silber from Bolesław: helped by various farmers
- Chaim Fertig and four other teenagers from Żabno
- Mozes Chmielnicki: rescued by Pieczonka (Żabno list of survivors)
- Estera Gruber: helped by Stefan Ząbek of Kanna (Żabno list of survivors)
- Izaak (Icek) Jakub and Naftali Jakub: rescued by Józef Knapik (Żabno list of survivors)
- Mała Schwarzman (Szwarcman): helped by Józef Knapik and others (Żabno list of survivors)
- Leib Taffel (Lejb Tafel): helped by various farmers (Żabno list of survivors)
- Mozes Wurzel (Meniek Wurcel): helped by various farmers (Żabno list of survivors)

The names of some of these Jews appear on the list of Jews who registered with the Żabno office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. That list, which is set out in Table III of this publication, counts 50 names, twelve of whom are included in the Wietrzychowice list and one duplicate entry.¹⁰⁹ Grabowski makes no mention of the Żabno list. Although some of these cases of rescue are lacking in particulars, they are not nearly as vague as many of the cases Grabowski sets out in Table 11.

Counting these 20 additional persons, *we have now identified 123 Jews who survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county with the help of Poles, rather than Grabowski's original count of 38 and his revised count of 48 (as adjusted)*. However, even this number cannot be treated as exhaustive. Aniela Kaczmarek, a convert, survived in Wielopole.¹¹⁰ Paweł Szacher of Dąbrowa Tarnowska likely survived in the county as well. In her memoir, Rivka Shenker (Rywka Schenker) identifies a young Jewish man by the name of Haskiel, who was hidden by a Pole after leaving the hideout they shared in Dulcza forest. She also mentions the daughter of a rabbi who was rescued by a Polish policeman named Janisław or Stanisław from Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Although Grabowski was in possession of this memoir, he neglects to mention the former case altogether and does not list the rabbi's daughter in Table 7. Rivka Shenker herself was one of seventeen Jews who had taken shelter in the Dulcza forest for two years before being captured by the Germans in November 1944.¹¹¹ Regional historians believe the number of Jews who survived the Holocaust in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county to be around 150. That number is certainly far closer to the true count than Grabowski's. Had Grabowski done his homework and paid attention to Polish sources, his study would not have been so deficient, even leaving aside the impossibility of accurately reconstructing the extent of rescue more than six decades after the fact.

¹⁰⁹ "Wykaz osób zarejestrowanych w Żabnie," Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of Polish Jews), 1946 – Selected Records of the World Jewish Congress, Accession Number 1997.A.0235, Record Group Number RG-67.035M, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Twelve of the names on the Żabno list also appear on the Wietrzychowice list – see Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 240, Table 10.

¹¹⁰ Musiał, *Łata w ukryciu*, 521.

¹¹¹ Grabowski, *Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...*, compare with *Hunt for the Jews*, 107–8. According to Rivka Shenker, while hiding in bunkers in the Dulcza forest with other Jews, they purchased food from Polish farmers. For the most part, these farmers were dependable and sometimes gave food free of charge. In addition to periodic German raids, they also had to contend with a marauding gang of Polish criminals, who killed one or two Jews but occasionally also helped them. The Polish policeman who rescued the rabbi's daughter also offered to shelter Rywka when she encountered him in Dąbrowa Tarnowska after her capture by the Germans, but she refused because his offer she did not trust him.

Rather than an advancement in the state of Holocaust research, *Hunt for the Jews* marks a regression. And a particularly detrimental one at that, as Grabowski's book is being relied on widely as authoritative. Historian Peter Hayes, for example, relies on it as a balance sheet for his sweeping conclusions:

The evidence that is accumulating suggests that, *at a conservative estimate*, at least as many non-Jewish Poles turned Jews in as hid them from the Nazis. ... One study of what happened in Dabrowa Tarnowska County, traced ... the destinies of some 337 Jews who tried to hide there after the liquidation of the ghettos. Fifty-one succeeded and emerged alive after the Soviet armies arrived, but 286 perished between 1942 and 1945. Among those killed, people who died at the hands of Polish civilians and police outnumbered those murdered by the Germans 122 to 105. ... Most people who hid Jews there did so in return for money or other payments, yet very few of the Jews hidden on that basis – only 9 percent – actually managed to survive the war. This suggests that they were turned in when they ran out of valuables to exchange for protection.¹¹² (emphasis added)

Hayes' extrapolations are unwarranted. There is no persuasive evidence that as many – if not more – Poles denounced Jews as helped them. Grabowski made no real effort to count Polish rescuers, so *Hunt for the Jews* cannot serve as proof of this claim. The preponderance of evidence suggests that there were hundreds of helpers in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. The number of Jewish survivors was at least 120, not 51. Most rescue efforts, even failed ones, required a number of helpers at various times. But it took just one person to betray a Jew. Moreover, there is no persuasive evidence that 91 percent of paid rescuers turned in – as opposed to turned away – Jews who could no longer pay for their upkeep. Testimonies like those of Helena Ausenberg (Aussenberg) contradict that charge.

In his important study on the fate of Warsaw's Jews, Gunnar Paulsson estimates that 70,000–90,000 Poles were involved in the rescue effort in that city. Hayes acknowledges Paulsson's research,¹¹³ but he fails to take into account that Paulsson estimated the number of blackmailers, police agents, and actively anti-Jewish elements at 2,000–3,000. "In other words," Paulsson

¹¹² Peter Hayes, *Why?: Explaining the Holocaust* (New York and London: Norton, 2017), 252.

¹¹³ Hayes, *Why?*, 248.

concludes, “helpers outnumbered hunters by about 20 or 30 to one.”¹¹⁴ This is not at all surprising, since it was far easier to harm a Jew than to shelter and feed him or her day after day for up to three long years. Szymon Datner, a Holocaust survivor and former director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, also offers a far more balanced assessment of the harsh conditions that impacted rescue. Datner judiciously explains why most Poles remained passive under these circumstances and stresses the asymmetry between denouncers and denounced.

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. On the other hand, aside from passivity, which I regard as entirely justified by a situation in which every action was heroic, there also existed an indifference that I regard as negative—although even here one could look for a psychological explanation. Next, as if on parallel lines, come the two active groups. Those who betrayed, attacked, or murdered either from a desire for gain or out of pure hatred, and those who sheltered Jews and aided them in various ways. The second group was more numerous and more representative both of Poles and of the leadership of the Polish underground. Yet the first group was more effective in its actions.

We sometimes forget that saving one Jew often took several or even a dozen or more people, with actions that generally lasted for long years. On the other hand, one person and one moment were enough to betray a Jew. Second, many attempts at aid ended in failure.

¹¹⁴ Gunnar S. Paulsson, “The Rescue of Jews by Non-Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland,” *The Journal of Holocaust Education*, volume 7, nos. 1 & 2 (summer/autumn 1998): pp.19–44. Paulsson goes on to state: “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.” In rejecting the “black legend” of Polish conduct towards Jews, Raul Hilberg appears to concur with this point of view:

For some right-wing Poles, who had always wanted the Jews to depart, the deportations came virtually as a wish fulfillment. The broader center, however, had more complex thoughts. Poles knew that they were not a favored group in German eyes, and the realization that the end had come for the Jews inevitably raised questions whether the Poles would be next.

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 Bialystok [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.

See Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York: Aaron Asher Books/HarperCollins, 1992), 97–98; Interview with Professor Raul Hilberg, June 20, 2005, Internet: <http://www.maxveritas.com/pb/wp_1add70b0.html?0.611384753320024>.

*Both the Jew and the Pole sheltering him died, and this is not counted in the positive statistics.*¹¹⁵ (emphasis added)

A case in point is Bronisław Przędział of Bagienica, a hamlet located about a kilometre outside the city of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who struck terror into the hearts of Jewish fugitives. According to Izaak Stieglitz, Przędział turned over to the Germans, for two kilos of sugar per victim, two families and two young women who were hiding in the forest. In the Polish version of the book, this large group of victims is attributed to Przędział (*Judenjagd*, p. 63), however, in the English version, there is no such linkage (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 57). It is only through the entries in Table 11 that we can arrive at a count of 14 victims for this one malfeasant.¹¹⁶

Grabowski repeats the charge – found rather commonly in Holocaust literature – that the greatest fear and danger for Jews in hiding were not the Germans, but rather the rescuers' own

¹¹⁵ Interview with Szymon Datner in Małgorzata Niezabitowska, *Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland* (New York: Friendly Press, 1986), 249–50. Grabowski cites only part of this passage in *Hunt for the Jews*, at pp. 172–73, omitting the parts that are highlighted here. Grabowski cites Datner's interview in support of the claim that 250,000 Jews escaped from the ghettos, claiming that most of these Jews were captured or killed by Poles. (*Hunt for the Jews*, 173.) Elsewhere in that interview, however, Datner stated that "approximately" 200,000 to 250,000 Jews fled from the ghettos, but he did not provide any statistical data to back up this claim. Nor did he specify the geographical area he was referring to. See Niezabitowska, *Remnants*, 248–49. In all likelihood, he had in mind areas outside the *Generalgouvernement* as well, such as the district of Białystok. Datner estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 of these Jews survived, but Grabowski arbitrarily reduces that number by half. (*Hunt for the Jews*, 2–3.) Moreover, Datner did not attribute the losses among the Jewish fugitives solely to the actions of Poles. The scholarly foundation for Datner's comments, which is somewhat meagre, is found in an article published in 1970, where he wrote: "In one of my studies [*Las sprawiedliwych*], I estimated the number of surviving Jews, saved primarily thanks to the help of the Polish population, at around 100,000 people. We equally tentatively estimate that at least the same number of victims were captured by the occupying authorities [*organa okupacyjne*] and fell victim to the atrocities." See Szymon Datner, "Zbrodnie hitlerowskie na Żydach zbiegłych z gett: Groźby i zarządzenia "prawne" w stosunku do Żydów oraz udzielających im pomocy Polaków," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 75 (1970), 7–29, here at 29. The article deals with murders perpetrated by German functionaries and their auxiliaries, and Datner counted among the would-be escapees those who were killed while trying to escape from ghettos (which would have included hideouts uncovered by Jewish policemen) and death transports. Grabowski's inaccurate rendering of the latter part of this passage reads: "According to him [Datner], another 100,000 Jews fell prey to the Germans or their local helpers, or were murdered in various unexplained circumstances." (*Hunt for the Jews*, 2.) On the abuse of Datner's writings by Jan Grabowski, see the statement of Poland's Institute of National Remembrance in the Appendix.

Contrary to what Grabowski states, there is no scholarly consensus that "close to 10 percent of the 2.5 million Polish Jews who survived until the summer of 1942 tried to escape extermination, and that "one can assume that the number of victims of the *Judenjagd* could reach 200,000." (*Hunt for the Jews*, 2). See, for example, Grzegorz Berendt, "Jewish Escapers from Ghettos or Death Camps," in Martyna Gładka-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), 15–52. Thus, the figures that are being thrown around by Grabowski are nothing but a rather crude guesstimate premised on an escape rate of ten percent. While escapes were more common in rural counties like Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where several thousand Jews lived, they were rare—probably no more than one to two percent—from large ghettos like the one in Tarnów, which held as many as 40,000 Jews. It is estimated that in the Radom district alone, in late 1942 almost 18,000 Jewish fugitives turned themselves in when the German authorities created "remnant ghettos" and promised to legalize their existence. See Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Organizacja i realizacja "akcji Reinhardt" w dystrykcie radomskim," in Dariusz Libionka, ed., *Akcja Reinhardt: Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej—Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2004), 195. So, overall, the number of Jews who escaped and did not subsequently return to ghettos or work camps was considerably less than 200,000 to 250,000, perhaps half that amount. Many of the Jews who did not turn themselves in were apprehended or killed in raids carried out by German forces.

¹¹⁶ Table 11, at pp. 242–43, lists the victims as (83) Schacher, a young woman; (84–89) Spatz, a family of 6; (90) Metzger, a young woman; (95–100) Fischer, a family of 6, for a total of 14. However, according to Izaak Stieglitz, the Fischer family consisted of three persons. See the testimony of Izaak Stieglitz, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 3419.

neighbours. This charge should not be bandied about, as it most often is, without careful consideration of its implications. First and foremost, the fear that gripped everyone was the death penalty that the Germans imposed and carried out mercilessly against those who helped Jews. Jewish fugitives could come to the attention of the Germans because of searches and raids conducted by the Germans themselves for various reasons, and not only due to denunciations by Poles. Moreover, a fear of one's neighbours does not mean that every person in a village – except possibly the rescuer – would betray the fact that someone was hiding a Jew, should it become known, but rather that *someone* might do so. There could be various reasons for someone behaving like this, even a legitimate one like the fear of German repercussions against other villagers. In a village setting, it was difficult to keep the fact of sheltering a Jew, or repeatedly providing food to a Jew, a secret. Often, this resulted in a warning or even a threat to the rescuer by a disgruntled villager, rather than a denunciation to the authorities. Moreover, although fear of the unknown was pervasive, very often it was misplaced. Marek Edelman, one of the leaders of the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, attempted to put this charge into its proper perspective. He offers a compelling explanation that is based on his own personal experience:

Near the ghetto one always found a crowd of Poles looking at the Jews who were going to work. After leaving the ghetto gate one of the Jews might leave the work column, remove his armband, and steal away. Among the crowd of several hundred Poles there would always be one, two, perhaps three betrayers who would apprehend the Jew ... The entire crowd, however, did not act that way. I didn't know who among the crowd was a betrayer ... One has to remember that there were not a thousand or five hundred betrayers; there were maybe five of them. It was the same way with neighbours; one didn't know if the neighbour was upright. We lived on Leszno Street and across from us there was a suspicious dwelling. Ours was also suspect. After the uprising [of August 1944] broke out, it turned out that that dwelling was an AK [*Armia Krajowa* – Home Army] station. The mistress of the house had been afraid of us and we of her.¹¹⁷

Tellingly, members of the Jewish underground felt more secure on the “Aryan” side than in the Warsaw ghetto. Fearing betrayal and capture by Gestapo agents and the Jewish police, many of them left the ghetto for that reason.

Considering that Grabowski spent several years researching such a small area and benefited from the assistance of cohorts from the Polish Holocaust Research Centre (Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów), the calibre of his research is somewhat less than stellar, to put it mildly. Grabowski also had the benefit of an important critical review of the Polish-language version of his book, *Judenjagd*, by Krystyna Samsonowska, who identified many Jewish survivors whom Grabowski had overlooked.¹¹⁸ Among the serious reservations she expressed about his research, Prof. Samsonowska faulted Grabowski for dismissing important Polish sources and ignoring the perspective of rescuers. Prof. Samsonowska's criticism is right on the mark. Grabowski virtually ignores Polish testimonies, including those of rescuers. (The only exception he makes is for testimonies given at postwar trials, many of which were coerced by the Communist secret police.) As this study shows, Polish testimonies are not inherently less reliable than Jewish ones, often contain important additional information not found in Jewish testimonies and offer a different perspective. They should not be used selectively simply to “affirm” the Jewish narrative. However, Grabowski failed to make use of the new data provided by Prof. Samsonowska and her valuable guidance in the subsequent English language version of his book. Given his own poor track record in carrying out research, Grabowski's jibes at the expense of non-professional historians like Adam Kazimierz Musiał and Józef Kozaczka, who had no access to archival sources and had to rely solely on oral testimony that they painstakingly gathered, are out of place. The success rate of these “amateur” historians in identifying rescuers – even long before they were recognized by Yad Vashem – is in fact better than Grabowski's. Upon careful scrutiny, one must conclude

¹¹⁷ Witold Bereś, Krzysztof Brunetko, Anna Guzik and Tomasz Fiałkowski in conversation with Marek Edelman, “To się dzieje dzisiaj: O powstaniu w getcie, Polakach, Żydach i współczesnym świecie,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Kraków), April 18, 1993.

¹¹⁸ Krystyna Samsonowska, “Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej,” *Więź*, no. 7 (2011): 75–84.

that Grabowski's data are also full of errors and hearsay, and as a historian Grabowski is certainly no more reliable than Adam Kazimierz Musiał. Grabowski would have better spent his time utilizing these two sources rather than maligning the authors.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Grabowski dismisses outright Józef Kozaczka's overview article "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 341–46, and cites selectively from Adam Kazimierz Musiał's book *Krwawe upiory: Dzieje powiatu Dąbrowa Tarnowska w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej* (Tarnów: Karat, 1993). Ironically, the main "charge" Grabowski levels against Kozaczka's writings are that they are "full of factual errors and often based on hearsay." See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 49. Remarkably, when *Judenjagd* was published in 2011, Grabowski was unaware of Musiał's valuable compilation of accounts, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice, 2002), and to his detriment refers to it only very sparingly in *Hunt for the Jews*. Compromised by his own failure to detect Musiał's important two-volume work, Grabowski lashes out at that author and his book with unwarranted derision. See Jan Grabowski, "Rznięcie nożem po omacku, czyli polemika historyczna à la Bogdan Musiał," *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. 43, no. 4 (2011): 163–70, here at 164.

Rescue Overlooked, Rescue Covered Up

Upon closer examination, Grabowski's book becomes even more problematic. Let us consider some of the many cases of rescue that were overlooked by Grabowski. These summaries also illustrate the fact that many Jews received help from other Poles before they found long-term shelter, and even afterwards continued to rely on other benefactors.

Stanisław and Maria Kaczówka, the parents of two young children, sheltered three Jews for twenty-eight months in the village of Kanna: Yitzhak (Izaak) Scherman (Ignacy Szerman), his wife Etki (Ethla, née Ziss or Süß), and Etki's sister, Sara (Sala) Ziss, all from Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Grabowski mentions these two rescuers and the three Jews only in the list of survivors (Table 7, at pp. 231–32). According to Etki Ziss Szerman's testimony, which is found in Adam Kazimierz Musiał's *Lata w ukryciu*,¹²⁰ they were also helped by Maria Kaczówka's father, who brought them food. Before the Kaczówkas took them in, they had received assistance from a number of Poles in several other places: Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Dulcza Wielka, Radgoszcz, and Olesno. Adolf Filipiak, Franciszek Trędota and Lupa are identified as having transported Jews from place to place, albeit for payment, which was a hazardous undertaking. Etki mentions a group of escaped Polish prisoners they encountered while hiding in the forest near Dulcza Wielka, who showed sympathy towards the Jewish fugitives and even helped them. Etki also mentions a notorious gang led by Stanisław Kosieniak, who robbed and murdered Jews, and notes, quite accurately, that this same gang robbed and murdered Christian Poles as well. The criminal activities of Kosieniak's gang, which targeted mainly non-Jews, are described in great detail in Adam Kazimierz Musiał's book *Krwawe Upiory*, from which Grabowski cribbs. One of the gang's earlier robberies targeted a Polish estate in Siedliszowice near Otwinów. On October 28, 1941, Kosieniak personally shot dead Justyna Wysocka, the owner of the estate.¹²¹ At one point, Grabowski has Kosieniak being killed by the police, and then by a peasant, but provides no source for this information. (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 258n38, 263n12.) In fact, only the latter version is true according to Musiał's book *Krwawe Upiory*, which Grabowski appears to have misread. When Kosieniak fell to an axe-bearing Pole in December 1943, the Poles rejoiced.¹²²

The following example, like others that follow, has to do with a vanishing Polish rescuer. For the latter part of the German occupation, Michał Pinkas (born in 1931) worked as a cowherd for an unidentified farmer in Gruszów Wielki. Even after learning that Michał was Jewish, the farmer let him stay on and treated him well.¹²³ Grabowski sets out Pinkas' testimony (at p. 187), but omits the part about his stay in Gruszów Wielki, without any indication that the reproduced testimony was cut in any way. In the list of Jews who survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, Grabowski simply lists Michał Pinkas (Table 7, at p. 232) as having "worked for peasants tending the cattle," without mentioning where or the fact that they were aware of the boy's Jewish identity.

Even Jews rescued by Poles who were recognized by Yad Vashem and whose stories are found in that institution's publications – such as the following three stories of rescue involving nine Jews – are nowhere to be found in *Hunt for the Jews*. Obviously, Grabowski did not research the Yad Vashem records in a competent fashion.

¹²⁰ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 27–36.

¹²¹ Testimony of Antoni Wysocki, November 24, 2012, Internet: <<http://gazostrada.com/Justyna-Zofja-z-Rostworowskich-Wysocka.pdf>>.

¹²² Musiał, *Krwawe Upiory*, 70–145, especially 131ff.

¹²³ Testimony of Michał Pinkas, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 767, reproduced in full in 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), 214–6.

After the July 1942 *Aktion* in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Sabina Szajndel Salomon managed to escape and made her way to Radwan, where she had Polish friends. Initially, she stayed with Anna Bloch for six months. Family members of hers who escaped from Dąbrowa Tarnowska – Rose Roize Shoshana Lesser Hoellander, Zvi Henryk (Herman) Amsterdam, Chava Amsterdam Amir, Regina Haber and Mojżesz Muniek (Mendel) Haber – also arrived in Radwan and hid in nearby forests. Sabina later joined them, but in the autumn of 1943, fell ill and died. Her relatives maintained contact with Anna Bloch and several other villagers, among them Władysław Cur, who provided them with food and saw to their needs until the arrival of the Red Army in January 1945.¹²⁴

Franciszek and Bronisława Bochenek, a married couple with three young children, were on good terms with their Jewish neighbours, the Śpiewaks, in Lubiczko near Gręboszów. Josef Śpiewak was a tailor who lived on a small farm with his wife, Sara, and their six children: Genia, Mordechai, Dora, Yafa, Rivka and Shoshana. After the Śpiewaks were ordered to move to the ghetto in Nowy Korczyn, Franciszek Bochenek visited them there from time to time and offered to help them should they escape. Genia and Mordechai managed to leave the ghetto in 1942 and returned to Lubiczko. The Bocheneks sheltered them for two and a half years. At one point, someone informed on the Bocheneks to the village head. The house was searched but Mordechai and Genia were not found. Even after the arrival of the Soviet army, the siblings remained with the Bocheneks until Mordechai recovered from an illness. In April 1945, they moved to Tarnów, where Genia married Moshe Wechter. They transferred their parents' property to the Bocheneks out of gratitude for their selfless deeds.¹²⁵

The rescue of Shiyer Mutzenmacher (later Manson), a tailor from Szczucin, involved a number of persons, foremost Stanisław and Anna Jaje, a married couple who were recognized by Yad Vashem in 2010.¹²⁶ In addition to the Jaje family, Mutzenmacher also stayed for shorter periods with Franciszek and Maria Foder and with the siblings Łucja and Wojciech Niedźwiadek, sewing clothes for them and other villagers. Mutzenmacher also stayed briefly with Jan Maliga in Delastowice. None of these persons – rescued or rescuers – are mentioned in *Hunt for the Jews*. Three corroborating Polish testimonies published by Adam Kazimierz Musiał in 2002 were either ignored or dismissed as worthless.¹²⁷ According to those testimonies, Mutzenmacher's presence in Lubasz was an open secret and local Poles protected him during German searches in the village. The entry in the Yad Vashem Database of Righteous Among the Nations confirms the Polish narrative: "Everyone in the village knew that a young man of Jewish descent was hiding in the Jajes' house, but nobody denounced him. After Shiyer's initial funds ran out, the Jajes agreed to keep him on. He did tailoring jobs for the neighbors and other villagers, which contributed to

¹²⁴ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 4 (Poland, Part 1), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 96; Anna Bloch, *The Righteous Database*, Yad Vashem, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4013977>>. Władysław Cur mentions the following Jews who survived with his help: Regina and Mendel Haber, Rozalia Resler (Lesser), and Bronisława Hirs. See Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 342; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 307.

¹²⁵ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust: Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, vol. II ed. by Israel Gutman (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010), 535–36. Leokadia Dymańska, the Bocheneks' daughter, states that, as an eight-year-old child, she would bring food to the family's charges. See Zbigniew Wielgosz, "Żydzi wiele zawdzięczają Polakom," *Gość Tarnowski*, January 17, 2016.

¹²⁶ Yad Vashem Righteous Database (Jaje Family), Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4411153>>.

¹²⁷ The testimonies of Stanisław Jaje, Maria Foder, and Łucja Niedźwiadek are found in Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 344–50.

the household expenses.” The Jaje family also assisted other Jews who came to the village begging for food. The Niedźwiadeks fed a Jew from Szczucin named Kern, who visited their home from time to time. Thus, one must ask, what societal norm was being broken in this case? Within that alleged consensus, Grabowski assures his readers, “there was no place for helping Jews.” Yet, there are scores of documented cases throughout Poland where entire villages were aware of Jews hidden in their midst, yet no one betrayed them.¹²⁸

A similar case, but with an unhappy ending, is that of a Jew by the name of Fisiek who escaped from the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska and returned to his native village of Grądy, where he was sheltered and fed by many villagers. Polish policemen from Mędrzechów found Fisiek in Jan Starsiak’s barn and arrested him. Fisiek did not take the opportunity to escape when he was left unattended on the way to the ghetto. His death saddened the villagers, who were fond of Fisiek. When Grądy was evacuated by the Germans at the end of 1944 as the Soviet army approached, another Jew who remained in the village in hiding died during the winter.¹²⁹ Again, one must ask, what societal norm was being broken in this case?

Majer Künstlich (later Adam Merc) was sheltered together with his parents, Jakub and Dora Künstlich, by Józef and Józefa Gibes in the village of Jadowniki Mokre, in the parish of Wietrzychowice. The Gibes family also sheltered Szymon (Shimon) Goldberg, a prewar resident of Jadowniki Mokre. Even though *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* entry for the Gibes family clearly sets out his name,¹³⁰ as does Adam Merc’s testimony in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive,¹³¹ which Grabowski cites, Goldberg is not listed in Table 7. He may be one and the same as Markus Goldberg listed in Table 10, as having surfaced in Wietrzychowice after the war, but there is no indication that he survived with the assistance of Poles in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. As we shall see, the presence of these Jews was probably an open secret in the village.

Dawid Wasserstrum left the Dulcza forest with his mother and his sister towards the end of 1944, when German forces started to carry out large-scale raids to capture Jewish and Polish fugitives hiding in the forest. Moving from place to place, the Wasserstrums found shelter with three Polish farmers successively. They continued to receive help even after their limited funds were depleted. In one village, the village head became aware of their presence but did not report them to the German authorities, as he was required to do. Like many Polish helpers mentioned in Jewish accounts, the Poles who helped the Wasserstrums are not identified by name. We don’t even know the names of the villages in question.¹³² Grabowski simply states that David Wasserstrum and his sister hid in the forest (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 243), but says nothing about the assistance they received from Poles. He also fails to mention their mother altogether.

¹²⁸ Ryszard Tyndorf, “Collective Rescue Efforts by Poles on Behalf of Jews in the German-Occupied Polish Countryside,” in Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński and Paweł Styrna, eds., *Golden Harvest of Hearts of Gold?: Studies on the Fate of Wartime Poles and Jews* (Washington, DC: Leopold Press, 2012), 153–200.

¹²⁹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 34, 253–57.

¹³⁰ *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 4 (Poland, Part 1), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 234–35; Yad Vashem Archive, File M.31.2/6331.

¹³¹ Testimony of Adam Merc, August 15, 1995, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 66249.

¹³² Testimony of Dawid Wasserstrum, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 3866.

After leaving their home in Żabno, Cyla Goldman and her two teenage daughters, Rachela (later Rae Weitz) and Hania (later Ann Shore), sought refuge in the village of Sieradza. Initially, they stayed with a farmer named Pudelko for several weeks, for payment. Subsequently, they moved to a wooden, one-room, thatched-roofed cottage belonging to an unidentified widow with four children. They hid in the attic of the cottage for two years. At first, they paid the widow, who was dirt poor and in no position to feed her three charges. When their money ran out, they refused to leave, in disregard of the arrangement they had entered into with their host. (As we have seen, the contract analogy was introduced by Grabowski as a way of striking at Polish helpers who received some form of compensation but did not fulfill their promise to help, but in fact it works both ways.) According to a Polish source, the widow's son may have been Józef Wójcik.¹³³ The Goldmans eventually left the widow's home in fall of 1944, only at the insistence of the widow's brother. They then stayed in a nearby barn with Chaim Fertig, a young man from Żabno in his late teens, who was being sheltered by a farmer without any compensation. Although the Goldmans are listed among the Jewish survivors (Table 7, at pp. 232–33), no particulars are provided other than they were in hiding. More importantly, although Grabowski cites the testimonies of the Goldman sisters found in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive,¹³⁴ he fails to disclose rather important information. While in hiding with the Polish widow, the Goldmans were frequently visited by four Jews, described as being in their mid to late teens, consisting of three males identified only by their first names – Itzek (Icek), Tevye (Tewie), and Yankel (Jankiel) – and an unidentified female. The Jewish girl would sometimes stay overnight at the widow's cottage. It is difficult to imagine that these gatherings would have escaped the notice of other villagers. The boys, who hid with various farmers in the area, bartered sweaters knitted by the Goldmans in exchange for food. According to the Goldman sisters, Chaim Fertig and the four teenagers were among 18 survivors who returned to Żabno after the Germans' departure. In fact, the list of Jews who registered with the Żabno office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews counts 50 names and includes Cyla Goldman and her daughters Rachela and Hania, as well as Chaim Fertig.¹³⁵ Grabowski makes no mention of this list. Nor does Grabowski list Chaim Fertig and the other four teenagers mentioned by the Goldman sisters among the survivors from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. The rescue of the Goldmans raises another delicate matter that should not be glossed over. Their behaviour in refusing to leave their host's home indicates that they valued their own

¹³³ Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 343.

¹³⁴ Testimony of Rae Weitz, April 22, 1998, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 40783; Testimony of Ann Shore, March 24, 1998, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39906.

¹³⁵ "Wykaz osób zarejestrowanych w Żabnie," Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of Polish Jews), 1946 – Selected Records of the World Jewish Congress, Accesssion Number 1997.A.0235, Record Group Number RG-67.035M, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Chaim Fertig (born in 1925) appears as number 8. There is a survivor record for Haim Fertig, born in "Shabna" (Żabno) in 1929, in the collections of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, which may refer to the Chaim Fertig in question: <https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_view.php?PersonId=5680339>. In *Hunt for the Jews*, Grabowski lists Chaim Fertig (born in 1924) in Table 9 (as number 82), but that person reportedly came from a camp. The identity of the four teenagers who visited the Goldmans has not been established. Perhaps some of them were in fact slightly older. The names Izak Forst (born in 1921) and Tobiasz Wolf (born in 1919), which appear on the Żabno list, are possible matches for Itzek (Icek) and Tevye (Tewie), respectively. Grabowski mentions (at p. 134) that, in her Shoah Foundation testimony, Ann Shore states that Jankiel (last name unknown) was killed shortly after liberation, so he must have been aware of the existence of these five Jews from Żabno if he listened to the Goldman sisters' testimonies attentively. Why did he neglect to mention them among the survivors on Table 7?

lives above those of their host and her young children. Moreover, neither of the Goldman sisters expresses one iota of gratitude towards the family whose lives they endangered for two years.¹³⁶

It was not uncommon for Jews to receive assistance from several Polish families. Several members of the Weizer family, who owned a farm in Brzezówka, were sheltered by Michał Siutaj in Dąbrowica. Their hideout was betrayed but Herman Weizer managed to escape. Herman Weizer then stayed briefly with Stanisław Forgiel, but had to leave because of the opposition of the other Jews sheltered there. He was then taken in by Franciszek and Cecylia Łachut of Brzezówka, where he was joined by Markus (Maksymilian) Arymowicz, a tailor from Szczucin. The two men were sheltered by the Łachuts for about two years. At night they would call on friendly villagers begging for food. Toward the end of the occupation, they received help from Józef Kupiec, Szymon Dziekan, and other farmers.¹³⁷ Thus, an entire loose network was involved in this rescue effort. Grabowski simply lists Herman Weizer in Table 7 as having been hidden initially by “Mr. Siutaj”, but later living in bunkers in the forest. Markus “Arimowicz” is listed in Table 9 as having hidden in some unknown hideout.

The Szado family of Olesno, consisting of Tomasz, his wife, Julia, and their children, took in a Jewish girl named Hajka Goldberg from Grądy, who was known as Helena. After escaping from the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Hajka had wandered around from place to place begging for food and sleeping in barns and fields. Although she lived openly in the village, ostensibly as a Polish child, and villagers were aware she was Jewish, no one betrayed her. After the war she was taken by representatives from the Jewish Committee. She left Poland for the United Kingdom, and eventually settled in the United States. She visited her benefactors in 1989, a story that was featured in the New Jersey press.¹³⁸ The rescue was described in Adam Kazimierz Musiał’s book *Lata w ukryciu*,¹³⁹ but ignored by Grabowski. Helena Goldberg is simply listed in Table 10 as having emerged from an unspecified hideout.

Wiktoria Tomal, a widow who lived at the edge of the village of Nieciecza with her three children, Jan, Stanisława, and Józefa, sheltered Rachela Kohane (Małka Kochane) and her 18-year-old son, Elias. Rachela happened to be outside the Tarnów ghetto during the deportation in 1942 looking for food. Her son and daughter were seized and put on a train destined for a death camp, but her son Elias managed to jump from the train and fortunately met up with his mother. After hiding in a variety of places, the Kohanes turned to the Tomal family for help. Wiktoria Tomal had previously provided Rachela with food when she would approach villagers begging for food. When the rains came in the late summer of 1943, Rachela asked Wiktoria Tomal to take them in. Her son, Jan (born in 1926), prepared a dugout for the Kohanes under their cottage. The hideout was entered through the adjoining stable. At times, when it was warm, the Kohanes stayed in a hideout near the river and Wiktoria Tomal’s daughter, Stanisława, would bring them food. Rachela would often go out at night to beg for food from other villagers. After someone spotted her, the

¹³⁶ The same attitude was displayed by some other Jews hidden by Poles who later came around to realize that risking one’s life was no simple act of kindness. For example, in her wartime diary, Melania Weissenberg referred to her rescuers (Wiktor Wójcik and his sister, Emilia Kułaga-Wójcik), who were later recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous based on her own submission, as hateful “bastards.” See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 132–33.

¹³⁷ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 309–12, 352.

¹³⁸ Janet DeStafano, “A Journey of the Heart: Couple Finds WWII Saviors,” *The Record* (Bergen, N.J.), October 4, 1989. See also Nathan Offen, *A Story of Survival* ([Philadelphia:] Xlibris, 2009), chapters 10 and 13; Ken Brack, “Before Liberation, a Tormented Flight: Marking 70 Years of Freedom, a Holocaust Survivor Recalls His Wife’s Odyssey,” *Psychology Today*, May 5, 2015, Internet: <<https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/unspeakable-gifts/201505/liberation-tormented-flight>>.

¹³⁹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 140, 258–61.

Germans conducted a search of the cottages in the village. The Polish police were required to help them search. Village men, including Jan Tomal, also had to join the search party. The village head, Jędraszak, who was Jan's cousin, was aware that the Tomals were sheltering Jews, but protected them by diverting the search away from their cottage. The Tomals also provided food to other Jews, as did other villagers. Before leaving Poland, Rachela Kohane sold her property and moved to Tarnów. She married a Jew by the name of Silber from Bolesław, who had also been sheltered by Poles in the area. Eliaasz Kohane eventually settled in the United States. As a result of concerted efforts, the rescuers' family re-established contact with his children, Bela Chopp Kohane and Joseph Kohane. They travelled to Poland to attend a ceremony in honour of the Tomal family held in Nieciecza on September 12, 2013. Grabowski lists Eliaasz and Rachela Kohane in Table 10 as having reported to the local office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews in Wietrzychowice, but provides no information about their rescue. Although Jan Tomal's testimony was published by Adam Kazimierz Musiał, it was ignored by Grabowski.¹⁴⁰

The seven-member Adler family – consisting of Hirszt (Hirsch) or Herman Adler (known as Hesiek or Heśko), his wife, Estera, their three sons, Abraham (Henryk, born in 1932), Markus (Marcin, born in 1928), and Roman (born in 1932), and their two daughters, Chajka (Helena, born in 1930) and Reisl (Rozalia, born in 1936) – spent the war moving from place to place. They were helped by a number of farmers in and around the village of Ćwików. Jan Kozaczka, Paweł Zachara, Tadeusz Zachara, and Tomasz Zych, among other villagers, provided the Adlers with food and shelter at various times. Paweł Zachara housed Herman Adler and his wife in his stable. Markus (Marcin) and Roman Adler found shelter in the stable of Tomasz Zych. One of the Adler daughters was sheltered by Wojciech Kędzielawa. As mentioned earlier, after the war, Abraham (Henryk) Adler thanked Rev. Jan Jakubowski, the pastor of Olesno, for his assistance, the nature of which is unclear. A Polish policeman allowed Herman Adler to escape when he found him in Tadeusz Zachara's home. Markus Adler, who was employed as a farmhand in by Jan Dojka, was apprehended in Świebodzin by a farmer named Kaczówka. Kaczówka turned him over to the police in Bolesław, but somehow Markus managed to extricate himself. Roman Adler was apprehended in Pilcza Żelichowska or Dąbrowa Gorzycka and perished. The informer, Genowefa Forgiel, and the village head, Rodak, were put on trial after the war and sentenced to prison terms.¹⁴¹ (This information comes from Polish sources, which belies the claim that such matters are covered up by Poles.) Estera Adler died in Dąbrowa Tarnowska in 1959.¹⁴² Afterwards, the remaining family members left Poland for various destinations. Grabowski lists Marcin (Markus) Adler in Table 7 (at p. 231), as having "hidden in Dąbrowa," without any details. He lists Hirsch, Estera, Markus (again), Chajka, Abraham and Reisl in Table 9 (at p. 237), as having survived in an unspecified hideout.

Pinkas (Pinkus) Cizer, his wife, Rozalia, and their son, Józef were sheltered by Anna Gruchała on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. When German gendarmes came to Gruchała's farm looking

¹⁴⁰ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 516–21; Internet: <<http://www.szkoła.nieciecza.pl>>; JoAnne Viviano, "Protectors in Holocaust Honored by Americans," *The Columbus Dispatch*, April 25, 2014; *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), 123.

¹⁴¹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 281–85, 288–89; Krystyna Samsonowska, "Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej," *Więź*, no. 7 (2011): 75–84, here at 78; Piątkowski, *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2, account 22 (Tomasz Zych). According to Tomasz Zych, Roman Adler also survived, but perhaps he meant to refer to Abraham. Rozalia (Reisl) Adler confirmed the assistance provided to her family by Tomasz Zych in a petition she submitted on his behalf to the Social Services Department of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland. See Tadeusz Epsztajn, *Inwentarz Archiwum Wydziału Opieki Społecznej Centralnego Komitetu Żydów w Polsce 1944–1950*, Sygn. 303/VIII (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 1998, 2011), entry 224.

¹⁴² Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 281–85, 288–89.

for labourers in the summer of 1944, the Cizers were able to escape. They found a new hiding place with Michał Surowiec in Czernia. Five members of another Jewish family – Szifra, her husband, and their two children, and Szifra's sister – whom Anna was also sheltering were not so lucky. All of them were executed together with Anna Gruchała, and the farmhouse was set on fire. Anna Gruchała's daughter-in-law, Julia Gruchała, a widow, was arrested and sent to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where she perished. Julia's ten-year-old daughter, Zofia, was also arrested but released.¹⁴³ Grabowski provides no information about the Cizers' rescue (merely listing them as survivors in Table 9), nor about the punishment their Polish hosts faced for helping Jews.

Two sisters (née Węgiel) – Weronika Kozik, who had three children, and Genowefa or Helena Padło, who had two children – shared their family home in Ruda Zazamcze on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. With the help of their relative, Adolf Padło, and their sister, Genowefa or Helena Bądka, who lived nearby, the two sisters sheltered four siblings from the Stieglitz (Szytglic) family: Regina, Jakub Naftali (later Michał), Izak (Ignacy or Ignac), and 12-year-old Zofia, the youngest. Jakub Naftali would often visit other farmers in the area at night begging for food. After the war, he converted to Catholicism, assumed the name Michał and married Julia, the daughter of Michał Kozik, whose tragic story is described in Table II. (A fifth sibling, Anna (Hanna), was sheltered by Katarzyna and Paweł Sipiora in Jastrząbka Nowa, just outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. She lived there openly as a farm worker under an assumed identity. After the war, she also converted to Catholicism and married her rescuer's son, Michał. Anna was also sheltered for a short period by a Polish policeman in Lisia Góra.) Aron Werker, his wife Estera, and their infant daughter also stayed on the sisters' farm for about a month before moving to Olesno. Another group of three Jews also took shelter on the farm Zazamcze for about one year. Although they came there without permission and promised to leave, they remained much longer until they found another hideout. Stefan Szantaler, a Jewish teacher at the public school in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who hid in the fields, was provided with food. Franciszek Borsa, whose exploits are described later, would warn rescuers and hidden Jews in the area of impending German raids. Grabowski simply lists Regina and Ignac Stieglitz in Table 9 (at p. 238) as survivors, but not the other three siblings. Although both Michał (Jakub Naftali) and Anna (Hanna) left testimonies, Grabowski does not bother to tell the story of the survival of the Stieglitz siblings.¹⁴⁴

It is worthwhile examining some other cases overlooked by Grabowski. In 1992, Serge-Allain Rozenblum published a book, *Les temps brisés*,¹⁴⁵ in which he describes the fate of a number of Jews from Szczucin, among them Leib (Leon) Silber, his future wife, Sabina (Sabine) Zisser (Siser or Süsser), and the siblings Hania and Wielek Mansdorf. Grabowski does not mention Rozenblum's book. He simply lists Leon Silber and Sabine Silber in Table 8 (at p. 236), as Jews who survived outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, citing their testimonies in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (5251 and 5252, respectively). The story of their rescue within Dąbrowa Tarnowska county is entirely ignored in *Hunt for the Jews*. Leib (Leon) Silber and the siblings Hania and Wielek Mansdorf were sheltered in Lubasz by Andrzej and Józefa Majka, spouses, from December 1942 to February 1943. They were not ousted from their hiding place,

¹⁴³ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 79–85; Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 344; 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), 157–58.

¹⁴⁴ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 58–59 (testimony of Anna Szytglic), 128–32, 147–51 (testimony of Michał Szytglic), 513; Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 344.

¹⁴⁵ Serge-Allain Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés: Les vies d'un itinéraire juif de Pologne en France* (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 1992).

but decided to leave of their own volition. They relocated to the remnant ghetto in Tarnów, which still held some 10,000 Jews, when conditions there appeared to have stabilized and the residents were given assurances by the Germans that they would be safe from deportation (further *Aktions*). On their way to Tarnów, they were not betrayed by the Poles who recognized them.¹⁴⁶ Sabina Zisser was sheltered in Szczucin by Tomasz and Maria Lech, spouses, during the first two months of 1943. Although invited to stay longer, she too decided to join her uncle in the Tarnów ghetto. En route to Tarnów, she was also recognized by Poles but was not betrayed by them. Maria Lech and her son brought baskets of bread to residents of the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Tomasz Lech worked with other Poles transporting Jews from Szczucin across the Vistula River to the Radom district, where conditions for Jews were more favourable at that time.¹⁴⁷ Rozenblum's book also mentions other helpers. Information about the sheltering of Sabina Zisser by the Lech family can also be found in the Polish sources that Grabowski summarily dismissed,¹⁴⁸ as well as in another independent Polish testimony.¹⁴⁹ Tomasz and Maria Lech were recognized as Righteous by Yad Vashem in 2017.¹⁵⁰

Sabina Zisser's account is particularly noteworthy for two other reasons. Before turning to the Lechs, Sabina approached a Polish policeman, who had once hidden her father and uncle, but he turned her away, as did another Pole who was acquainted with her parents and had promised to help. Yet neither of these persons turned her in. While not willing to help, they were not anxious to harm her.¹⁵¹ Earlier that month, when Sabina was deported to Treblinka with her parents, as the train slowed down, she jumped out onto snow, narrowly avoiding German bullets. As part of a group of three women and five men and then a smaller of three escapees, she approached Polish farmers who gave them food and even allowed them to stay overnight in their barns. On her way to Warsaw, Sabina met a Polish woman who guessed she was Jewish yet invited her to stay in her home. After she made her way to Warsaw, Sabina happened to run across a Polish acquaintance from her hometown of Szczucin who also invited her to stay with her.¹⁵² What societal norm were these Poles breaking, other than the *universal* norm of not endangering oneself? Were Poles more likely to help Poles than Jews? Yes, if they were so disposed, just as Jews were more likely to help fellow Jews, if they were disposed to help anyone.

Secondly, Sabina's story illustrates the rare phenomenon of "righteous" survivors, that is, Jews who would rather sacrifice their own lives than endanger the lives of their benefactors. When invited into the Lechs' home, 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 go to the Tarnów ghetto was that she did not want

¹⁴⁶ Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés*, 73, 97–105, 181.

¹⁴⁷ Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés*, 90–94, 181.

¹⁴⁸ Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 343; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 341–44.

¹⁴⁹ Testimony of Michalina Mudryk in Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudoł, eds., *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 274.

¹⁵⁰ Yad Vashem Righteous Database, Internet: <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4693989>> and <<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=12788611>>.

¹⁵¹ Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés*, 88–89.

¹⁵² Rozenblum, *Les temps brisés*, 83–88.

to jeopardize the Lech 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. This phenomenon should be considered in conjunction with the previously noted postwar statements by Jews, rescued by Poles, who pondered whether they would have done the same for a Pole, and sometimes even admitted that they would not have risked their lives to rescue a Pole in those circumstances.

The following case – also overlooked in *Hunt for the Jews* – is yet another illustration of the point made by Marek Edelman that not every neighbour was a potential betrayer. A Pole by the name of Bolek rented a room from a villager near Szczucin for a group of Jews from outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, consisting of Berta Weissberger, her mother, Ilona Weissberger, her aunt, Regina Vogelhut, and her nephew, Dollek. Bolek also arranged a job for Berta at the magistrate's office in Szczucin. When the mayor learned that someone had denounced Berta, an expellee from Germany who spoke Polish poorly, he warned her to leave the area. He did not facilitate the betrayal, but rather thwarted it, possibly risking his own life.¹⁵³

Many other Jews – whose rescue is described in the synopses found in Table II of this publication – also survived in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. The Jachimowicz family, consisting of Tema and her three sons, Sisel, Samuel and Leon, who are simply listed in Table 9 as having survived in a hideout, were sheltered by Polish farmers in the village of Oleśnica. Liba Ehrenberg, who is listed as Liebe Ehruberg in Table 9 as having survived in a hideout, was sheltered by Polish farmers in Niwki. A number of Jews were sheltered in the village of Brnik: Chaim Metzger and Samuel Metzger, who are listed in Table 9 as Metzkier, along with Regina Metzkier (Chaim Metzger is also listed in Table 7, with no indication how he survived) and Mozes Grincwajg (Grinzweig) and his wife, Rachela, who are listed in Table 9, were rescued by Tomasz Wieczorek and other villagers; Mozes (Mojżesz) Lind (not mentioned by Grabowski at all) was rescued by Ewa Stefańczyk.

¹⁵³ 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), 135–54, 173, 188.

Poles Put to Death for Helping Jews

The most egregious omission regarding rescuers is Grabowski's failure to acknowledge the stories of the many Poles from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county who lost their lives or were sent to concentration camps for helping Jews. The only exception is the Mędała family of Szarwark, consisting of Franciszek and Teresa, their sons, Józef and Stanisław, and Teresa's mother, Wiktoria Wężowicz. On July 5, 1943, German gendarmes shot the victims, set the farm buildings on fire, and threw the bodies inside. Their neighbour, Władysław Starzec, was burned alive. (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 155–57.)

Other Poles from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county who were put to death or sent to concentration camps by the Germans for helping Jews include:

- An unidentified Polish woman who wanted to give a Jewish child some water when the Jews were being marched to Szczucin in October 1942. Poles were forbidden to approach the procession, and this woman was shot on the spot by the Germans.¹⁵⁴
- Karolina Orszulak of Gruszów Mały was executed by the SS in October 1942 for helping Jews in the Tarnów ghetto.¹⁵⁵

There was a series of executions and arrests by German gendarmes in the vicinity of Radgoszcz – set out below – of Poles who had provided shelter and food to Jews in the fall of 1942. These measures doubtless inhibited rescue efforts for the many Jewish fugitives who took refuge in the nearby Dulcza forest.

- Bronisława Bartyzel of Małec was arrested on November 7, 1942 for the crime of helping Jews. She survived incarceration in the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen concentration camps.¹⁵⁶
- Wojciech Puła, his wife, Zofia, and their teenage children, Janina, Izabela and Władysław, all from Małec, were arrested on November 8, 1942 for the crime of helping Jews and sent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The parents and two daughters perished in Auschwitz. Władysław was transferred to Buchenwald and survived the war.¹⁵⁷
- After forcing three Jews—Szyja Grintzman, a baker from Radgoszcz, and his two children—from their hiding place on September 13, 1942, German gendarmes shot their protector, Zofia Kmiec-Wójcik of Radgoszcz-Poręba, her son, Bronisław Kmiec, and her young granddaughters, Janina and Bronisława Sołtys. (The children's mother, Helena,

¹⁵⁴ Testimony of Helena Aussenberg (Aussenberg), Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1145.

¹⁵⁵ Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości–Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, *Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939–1945: Województwo tarnowskie* (Warsaw, 1984), 81; Janina Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Słownik* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 343.

¹⁵⁶ 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), 209.

¹⁵⁷ Namysło and Berendt, *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej*, 264–65; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 96–97.

managed to escape.) One of the Jews (Szyja's son) was killed on the spot; the other two (Szyja and his daughter) were taken away.¹⁵⁸

- The Germans then went to the home of Wojciech (Bronisław) Łachut of Radgoszcz-Podlesie. They lined up the entire family up for a brutal interrogation to extract information about hidden Jews. The Łachut family was shot together with their Jewish charges and their bodies were thrown into their house, which had been set on fire.¹⁵⁹
- The Germans also executed four other villagers – Stanisław (or Ludwik) Łach, Stanisław Stopa, and Władysław Nadolski and his wife – who assisted the Szacher brothers and other Jewish fugitives living in the Dulcza forest. The reason for their execution appears to have been illegal possession of arms.¹⁶⁰
- Tomasz Juzba of Narożniki and his wife, Bronisława (in the eighth month of her pregnancy), were shot by the Germans on December 3, 1942 for helping Jewish fugitives living in the forest.¹⁶¹
- The Germans raided the rectory of Rev. Franciszek Okoński in Luszowice on December 5, 1942, who was hiding a Jewish lawyer from Kraków. Rev. Okoński and his Jewish charge managed to escape out of a window. In retaliation, two church employees – Julia Żurawska, the housekeeper, and Jan Wiśniewski, a farmhand – were seized and executed on the spot. As a further consequence, two junior priests were arrested but were later released because proof of complicity in the rescue was lacking.¹⁶²
- Wojciech Cieślak of Łęka Szczucińska was executed on March 21, 1943, together with Jan Stępień from Pacanów and Jadwiga Noyman, a Jewish woman posing as the latter's wife, to whom Cieślak had provided lodging.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 154; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 245–46, 308, 315; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 35, 38, 71, 82, 83; Maria Pilarska, ed., *Those Who Helped: Polish Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust*, Part III (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 the Nations, 1997), 76, 78, 117–18, 130; Bartoszewski and Lewinówna, *Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej*, 832, 836; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 185–86. (A later date of November 28 is also given for this execution.) According to other sources, Maria Sołtys and Maria Wójcik also perished around that time. See Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 71, 82; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 118, 130.

¹⁵⁹ Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 154; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 112, 308.

¹⁶⁰ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 246, 315; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 47 (Stanisław Łach), 53 (Jan Nadolski and his wife), 73 (Stanisław Stopa).

¹⁶¹ Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 154; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 246, 308, 316; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 35; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 76.

¹⁶² Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 344–45; Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 151, 171; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 107–8, 175, 246; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 80, 86 (Entries 800 and 872).

¹⁶³ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 353–55; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 20; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 60; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 296–97.

- Franciszek Woźniak and Michał Wójcik of Pawłów near Bolesław were executed by German gendarmes in the spring of 1943 for sheltering and helping Jews to escape by ferrying them across the Vistula River.¹⁶⁴
- The brothers Paweł and Franciszek Kostecki and their neighbour, Aleksander Grajdura, of Jadowniki were killed by German gendarmes in 1943 for helping Jews.¹⁶⁵
- After finding four Jews, among them Izaak Szacher, in the home of Józef and Teresa Szkotak in Kaczówka/Żdżary, German gendarmes shot all six of them in the fall of 1943.¹⁶⁶
- Franciszek Puła of Dąbrowa Tarnowska gave shelter to a large number of Jews (one of whom posed as a priest), with the help of workers from an agricultural enterprise who supplied him with grain. He was executed by German gendarmes in March 1944, after an unidentified Jew was found hiding on his property.¹⁶⁷
- Tomasz Wieczorek and Józef Jachym of Brnik were arrested by the Gestapo in May 1944 for sheltering Jews. The former was executed summarily, whereas the latter was deported to Auschwitz, where it is believed he perished. The two Jews hidden in the attic of the house searched at the time were not found and survived the war.¹⁶⁸
- Anna Gruchała of Dąbrowa Tarnowska was shot by German gendarmes on August 24, 1944, along with five Jewish charges: Szifra, her husband, their two young children, and Szifra's sister. Another Jewish family who was sheltered there – Pinkas Cizer, his wife, Rozalia, and their son, Józef – managed to flee and survived the war. Anna Gruchała's daughter-in-law, Julia Gruchała, was arrested and sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, where she perished; Julia's 10-year-old daughter, Zofia, was also arrested but released.¹⁶⁹
- Anna Józefa Kogut of Ruda-Zazamcze on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska was executed by German gendarmes in September 1944, together with three members of the Metzger (Mecker) family who were found in her home during a raid.¹⁷⁰

Given these numerous executions of Poles, it is remarkable that anyone would have had the courage and determination to continue to help Jews for any price.

¹⁶⁴ Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 82; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 129, 130.

¹⁶⁵ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 487; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 30, 41.

¹⁶⁶ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 246, 315; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 75; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 121; Piątkowski, *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2, account 200.

¹⁶⁷ Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 171; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 107–9, 143–44; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 64; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 108.

¹⁶⁸ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 123–25.

¹⁶⁹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 79–85; Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwołakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 344; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 30; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 70; Grądzka-Rejak and Namysło, *Represje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, 157–58.

¹⁷⁰ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 117, 131, 151; Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom*, 38; Pilarska, *Those Who Helped*, 78.

Paid Rescue

Grabowski has little use for paid rescuers. For him, such people generally acted solely out of greed. Without offering much by way of evidence, Grabowski claims that Jews “paid a lot” for shelter and that the help they received in return was “low-grade and low-quality.” “As soon as Jews ran out of money,” Grabowski maintains, “they were faced with the threat of denunciation, expulsion, or outright murder.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 146.) Elsewhere, Grabowski states that accepting payment for rescue was “a very profitable profession” and reiterates that such assistance was “usually of very low quality.” (P. 138.) In other words, paid Polish rescuers were gold diggers who struck it rich, and then abused or turned on their charges with cruelty.

By the time Jews started to go into hiding at the time of the *Aktions* in mid-1942, the vast majority of them had depleted all or almost all of their money and possessions as a result of three years of rapacious German occupation (including ghettoization, confiscation of goods and forced contributions).¹⁷¹ Most Jewish fugitives, therefore, were not in any position to pay large sums of money or to offer many valuables for the long-term shelter and upkeep they needed to survive the war. Besides, why shouldn't Jews have been expected to contribute towards their upkeep, if they could afford to do so? The line between such contributions and more substantial rewards for offering shelter is often blurred. Even if the payment amounted to several hundred zloty per month, given the average unofficial exchange rate of 100 zloty per U.S. dollar in 1943–1944, that would have amounted to only a few dollars.¹⁷² Compared to what Jews were charged by Danish boatmen for a short voyage to Sweden, as detailed later on, such sums constituted a pittance.

Using the contract analysis advocated by Grabowski, once the Jewish charges' money ran out there was no obligation to keep them any longer. In many cases, they were turned out. However, turning Jews out at that point presented a risk: if they fell into the hands of the German authorities, there was a good chance they would betray their former hosts. Hence, desperate acts of murder like that by Michał Kozik, who killed the three Jews whom he had sheltered, under pain of death, for two years. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 61.) A fairly common survival strategy on the part of Jews seeking shelter was to misrepresent their true intentions or financial situation. They would say they just wanted to stay for a short while in order to gain a foothold, and failed to disclose

¹⁷¹ Two months before the second *Aktion* in Dąbrowa Tarnowska the Germans had demanded a large contribution of one million zloty, which the Jews collected and paid, to stay their deportation. See the testimony of Samuel Feiner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1209.

¹⁷² 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), 225.

their inability to pay for their upkeep for a longer duration.¹⁷³ In such circumstances, the contract analogy would work against them. Sometimes the Jews themselves would set the price for shelter by offering to transfer their real property to a rescuer, who was otherwise reluctant to take on the risk.

Another example Grabowski cites is the case of Ajzyk Josek, a tailor who was taken in by Wojciech Puła of Dulcza in exchange for repairing clothes for local villagers. When the police ordered a hunt for the Jews in the area, Puła was designated as one of the hostages for the village guard system. Afraid of possible consequences, Puła killed Josek with a pitchfork and “terminated his [lucrative] arrangement with the Jewish tailor.” So much for Grabowski. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 148.) Apart from the fact that this incident occurred outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, Grabowski’s recounting of the account he relies on is replete with errors and omissions. Nor does he take into account the evidence presented at the postwar investigation. Also missing is the context in which these events unfolded, which is necessary for an appreciation of the dynamics. The events actually occurred in the village of Ruda, approximately ten kilometres east of Dulcza. Three Jews were hiding in Puła’s stable, one of whom was Mendel Josiek. By sheltering Jews while in the position of hostage, Puła had put himself and his family in considerable danger. After the pacification of the village of Podborze, where German police had come looking for hidden Jews and set ablaze 23 homes on April 23, 1943, panic spread in the area. Someone notified the police about the presence of Jews in Ruda, and the guard system was activated to capture them. Puła was away from the village at the time. When he returned he learned that the Jews he had been hiding had been apprehended. One of those Jews, Eisig Brodt, openly declared that Puła was sheltering him. Fearing that he would face a death sentence for hiding Jews, Puła hit Brodt on the head with the handle of a pitchfork and killed him. Antoni Balaryn, whose testimony Grabowski cites, stated: “Nothing would have happened, but when they asked who he was and where he lived, he said that he lived at Wojciech Puła’s and told them his name.”¹⁷⁴ Grabowski does not bother to mention any of this. It was not until Brodt was captured and fingered Puła that he reacted to protect himself and his family. It is also worth noting that, had it not been for the escalation of German terror, the arrangement in question – one that could not have escaped the notice of the entire village and had gone on for some time without betrayal – would likely have continued.

There is nothing unusual or inappropriate in expecting compensation for the extended upkeep of another person. On the contrary, it would reflect poorly on someone who could afford to pay not to offer payment for such services. Wartime deprivations – something that impacted *everyone* – only heightened the need for compensation. Contrary to what Grabowski suggests, Antek

¹⁷³ The following example, from the nearby Miechów county, illustrates this phenomenon. Although it took place outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, the case is significant because both a survivor and rescuer left testimonies. Without both testimonies, a true picture would not have come to light. After escaping from the ghetto in Żarnowiec, Helena Lederman, her two sisters and a brother-in-law wandered about for four weeks from village to village. Farmers gave them food and sometimes let them stay overnight, but they were afraid to give them shelter for an extended duration. After being joined by seven other fugitives, they turned to Marianna and Aleksander Kisiel, whom some of the Jews knew. The Kisiels agreed to shelter the entire group. That is all we know about the arrangement from Helena Lederman’s testimony. According to Aleksander Kisiel, when the Jews arrived at his farm in November 1942, they assured him that they would leave within two or three weeks. They stayed on longer and, for several months, they paid for their food. Afterwards, when their funds ran out, they were totally dependent on the Kisiels. They remained hidden in a hayloft until the arrival of the Soviet Army in January 1945. See the testimony of Helena Lederman, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 2856, and the testimony of Aleksander Kisiel (authenticated by two of the rescued Jews) Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 2646, reproduced in Ireneusz Cieślík, Olgerd Dziechciarz, and Krzysztof Kocjan, eds., *Olkusz: Zagłada i pamięć. Dyskusja o ofiarach wojny I świadectwa ocalałych Żydów* (Olkusz: n.p., 2007), 316–20.

¹⁷⁴ Tomasz Frydel, “The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear,” in Bajohr and Löw, *The Holocaust and European Societies*, 147–66, here at 153.

Cukierman's opinion of paid rescuers was not dismissive. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 139.) It is worth quoting more from Antek Cukierman (Yitzhak Zuckerman), because his assessment contains both balance and a warning not to succumb to the jaundiced views advocated by Grabowski:

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.¹⁷⁵

Grabowski cited only the last few sentences of the above passage from Cukierman's memoir in the Polish version of his book (*Judenjagd*, p. 136), but omitted it entirely in *Hunt for the Jews*.

What Cukierman is essentially arguing is that Polish rescuers who received some form of compensation should be treated with understanding. While motivated by profit, many of the paid rescuers acted honourably and carried out the tasks they were compensated for. Moreover, like other rescuers, they ran the same risk of death if they were detected. But they did not agree to having death sentences hanging over their heads indefinitely. Circumstances could change dramatically over the course of the war, and that too should be taken into account. None of this, of course, excuses deplorable conduct like taking money under false pretenses (for shelter that was not provided) or handing over one's charges to the authorities, let alone murdering them.

Traditionally, almost all relations between Jews and Poles were based on the exchange of goods, money and services, and this remained the case during the early years of the war. But even part from this economic legacy, offering a reward or compensation for services rendered is a universal phenomenon – one that is generally expected. More insight into this phenomenon, even in the harsh wartime conditions, can be gleaned from the following example. As a young teenager, Jurek Kestenberg was taken from the Warsaw ghetto and put on a Treblinka-bound train. About eighteen kilometres outside Warsaw he decided to jump off the train. As he jumped, he was shot in the leg by a Ukrainian guard and fell on the ground unconscious. He was found by a Polish farmer, a complete stranger, who took him into his home and, with the help of his wife, treated and bandaged the boy's wound, washed him, and fed him. After a number of days, the farmer drove him by horse-drawn cart close to Warsaw. They refused to accept any money from him, which he offered to do. Interviewed in July 1946 by David Boder, an American Jewish psychologist, Kestenberg recalled, "I still had on me a few zlotys [złoty]. I wanted to pay. They wouldn't take it." In a study on Boder's interviews, Alan Rosen remarks insightfully:

Even after having been told that the Polish peasants who cared for Kestenberg so diligently wouldn't take the zlotys he offered, Boder, at a loss, asks, rather indelicately, "Did you pay him anything?" Such a refusal of money in a time of scarcity does not add up; paying something would at least allow for the usual way of understanding devotion of this kind to kick in.¹⁷⁶

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Jews who turned to Poles for assistance would themselves – from the very outset – offer to provide some payment or other compensation.

¹⁷⁵ Yitzhak Zuckerman ("Antek"), *A Surplus of Memory: Chronicle of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising* (Berkeley, London and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), 461.

¹⁷⁶ Alan Rose, *The Wonder of Their Voices: The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5–6.

Reciprocity is, after all, the basis of society. This was not simply extortion imposed by “greedy” helpers. In fact, it was more often the bait on the hook to snare someone who did not fully appreciate or could not foresee the ramifications of their actions, especially if the rescue turned into a long-term arrangement. Deception was also utilized by those who ostensibly sought overnight or short-term shelter but were actually seeking a long-term arrangement.

Grabowski’s scornful attitude towards paid rescuers is troubling for other reasons. It perpetuates a double standard. In affluent Denmark, boatmen were rewarded handsomely for transporting Jews to Sweden in a risk-free operation of very short duration that was orchestrated by the German authorities.¹⁷⁷ Yet they are considered to be among the Righteous, we are repeatedly told, for putting their lives on the line for purely altruistic motives. By contrast, 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 efforts, but gets no such recognition. Payment for rescue – monetary and significant (not used clothes or some merchandise, as was often the case in Poland) – was also widespread in other Western European countries like Belgium, France and the Netherlands.¹⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier, in none of these countries was there a death penalty in place for helping Jews. In occupied Poland, the threat of death was very real. No amount of payment could adequately compensate for this heightened risk.

When dealing with the topic of paid rescuers, Grabowski skirts over important examples that undermine his one-sided treatment of this topic. Franciszek Bursa, who helped rescue 18 to 21 Jews on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, is mentioned by name just once, in Table 7 (at p. 233), as having hidden Izrael Isaac in his house. There is also an obtuse discussion of Bursa’s activities at pp. 143–44, without too many specifics. Franciszek Bursa was a village head (*sołtys*) and local Home Army commander. As the owner of a 10-hectare farm (almost 25 acres), he was

¹⁷⁷ 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). Afterwards, 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. Although the fact of payment for rescue is well documented, this is one of the most suppressed topics in both popular and scholarly Holocaust literature. Peter Hayes, for example, neglects to mention that fact, as well as the fact that the Danes faced no punishment for helping Jews, yet he busies himself with accusations directed against impoverished Poles for demanding large sums of money (which were far smaller than what the Danes exacted) for risking their very lives to help Jews. See Hayes, *Why?*, 237–38.

¹⁷⁸ The rescue of Jews in Belgium was in large measure paid for by the Jews themselves. Most often individual Jews financed their own attempts to evade deportation (e.g., buying false identity documents, renting rooms, buying food on the black market, paying people to help them escape across the border to France and beyond). 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 was 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. The Comité 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 Comité was able to secure 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 Comité’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, here at 196–97.

considered well-to-do. Borsa enlisted a large network of people who assisted in the rescue operation he undertook, including his wife, Genowefa (Maria); two farmhands, Franciszek Kot and Niklas; Błażej Opiola, another village head; Opiola's son, Stanisław, also a Home Army member; Franciszek Kot of Oleśnica; his sister-in-law, Janina (later Zawadzka), and niece; and Nalepa, a bricklayer from Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The Jews he sheltered or found shelters for included Naftali (Natan) Unger and his fiancée, Učka (Rachel?), Nina Ziskina (Zikind?), Alter (Adler) Rand, Mojżesz (Mozes) Rand, Roman Szermer and his wife Rachel, Ewa Blaugrund (who transferred her house in Dąbrowa Tarnowska to Borsa after the war), Aron Werker and his wife, Estera, Aron Werker's mother-in-law, Aron Werker's brother, Jakub Werker, Izaak Izrael (Israel), Maria Gruszów, and Maria (Miriam) Pikholec. One of the Jewish charges, Werker, even threatened to denounce Borsa if he was evicted. Borsa found hiding places for seven Jews with his neighbours, among them Błażej Opiola. Borsa directed Aron and Estera Werker to Ignacy and Józefa Kostka, who were recognized by Yad Vashem for rescuing Miriam Pikholec. The Werkers were brought to the Kostkas by Borsa's farmhands and remained there for several months. Since the Kostkas were poor, Borsa provided them with some money to feed their charges. Ewa Gruszów also stayed with the Kostkas for short periods of time when conditions became critical at Borsa's farm. Borsa warned Poles who were sheltering Jews in the vicinity of impending German-ordered raids, which he learned of in his capacity as village head and was also required to take part in.¹⁷⁹

This was doubtless the largest single rescue operation in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, yet we learn next to nothing about it in *Hunt for the Jews*. Grabowski mentions Chaskiel (Chaskel) Gruszow and his mother (Rachel?), as well as Berker's (sic, Werker) sister (?) and Aron Berker (sic), as hiding together in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, without providing any details. (Pp. 61, 232.) In Table 7, Grabowski lists Adler (Alter) Rand as having hidden in Dąbrowa Tarnowska; Aron Werker as "hiding in the forests"; and Chaskel Gruszow and his mother as having hidden in Dąbrowa, without providing any additional details. In Table 9, he lists Ewa Blaugrund, Rachel Gruszów, Haskiel Gruszów, Maria Gruszów, Alter (Adler) Rand (again), Mozes Rand, Naftali Unger, Jakub Werker, Estera Werker, and Aron Werker (again), as having survived in unspecified hideouts. It appears that all of these persons survived the war with the assistance of Franciszek Borsa.

It is worthwhile noting, again, that the rescue was undertaken by a local Home Army commander. Grabowski has nothing favourable to say about the Home Army in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. He alleges that a local Home Army commander participated in violence against Jews (*Hunt for the Jews*, p.275 n22), but concedes that "[t]here is little [sic] evidence that the Home Army was involved in murdering Jews in this particular area." (P. 158.) In fact, Grabowski presents no evidence that any partisan formation was involved in murdering Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.¹⁸⁰ But he says nothing about assistance from Home Army members, although there are a number of such cases. Nor does he mention that, among the collaborators executed by the Home Army, were those who denounced, robbed and killed Jews, such as Leopold Wendland, the village head (*wójt*) of Mędrzechów, and Kazimierz Ł., a Polish policeman.¹⁸¹ Citing Adam

¹⁷⁹ On the activities of Franciszek Borsa see Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 114–17 (testimony of Genowefa Borsa), 144–47 (testimony of Maria Pagos), 149–51 (testimony of Michał Szyglic), 505–7 (testimony of Maria Bomba née Kostka). Some of these Jews had multiple helpers. For example, Ewa Zając, who was recognized by Yad Vashem, is credited with helping Aron Werker and Chaskiel Gruszów, among many other Jews. After the war, Borsa, together with other underground members, was falsely charged and put on trial as a German collaborator. Michał Szyglic testified on his behalf, pointing out that, as a village head (*sołtys*) Borsa had to organize raids under German orders, but forewarned Poles who were hiding Jews and hidden Jews to avert the danger. The accused were acquitted.

¹⁸⁰ Grabowski confirms that he was unable to find any such evidence in his exchange with Bogdan Musiał. See *Dzieje Najnowsze*, vol. 43, no. 4 (2011): 163–70, here at 165.

¹⁸¹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 249–50 (allegedly Wendland was responsible for the death of some 40 persons); Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 38. Other examples can be found in Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 279 and Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 43.

Kazimierz Musiał's *Krwawe upiory*, Grabowski mentions the latter malfeasant (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 103), but somehow managed to overlook the not-so-insignificant detail that he was executed by the Home Army. In fact, denouncing and murdering of Jews often overlapped with similar misdeeds against Poles, and the underground justice targeted such criminals.¹⁸² Grabowski then peppers his book with alleged misdeeds of the Home Army outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county (for example, at pp. 51, 275) – a tactic he engages in with abandon when there is a dearth of local evidence.

The rescue of the Kamm family is another example of a collective rescue effort involving the cooperation of a number of persons that was overlooked by Grabowski. Although payment was involved at some point, it is important to bear in mind that the dividing line between paid and unpaid rescue is often blurred. Given the impecunious state of most inhabitants, it was not unusual for Jews who had money or disposable property to pay for their own food, even when they did not compensate their benefactors for actually sheltering them. This story also features help from Polish policemen, one of whom was also a Home Army member. The Kamm family consisted of Majer Kamm (after the war he changed his name to Marian Kamiński), his wife Rozalia, and their three children, Maria (Mania), Czesława (Cesia), and Leon (Leib Elias). The Kamms fled from their hometown of Dąbrowa Tarnowska before the first *Aktion*, after receiving an early warning from a Polish policeman. They stayed with various Polish farmers in neighbouring villages before returning to their home. This temporary assistance appears to have been provided without compensation. When the ghetto was enclosed in July 1942, the Kamms again received an early warning and went to stay with Józef Wójcik and his sister, Antonina Czerwińska (née Wójcik), who lived in Czernia, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. They were directed to the Wójciks by a former employee of theirs. Majer Kamm paid for the upkeep of his family while staying at the Wójciks. The Kamm family then decided to move to the Tarnów ghetto where conditions had stabilized. During the liquidation of the Tarnów ghetto in September 1943, Majer Kamm and two of his children, Cesia and Leon, managed to escape and headed back to the Wójciks. They remained there, in an underground bunker, until the arrival of the Soviet army in January 1945. Occasionally, they stayed with the Wójciks' neighbours, Józefa and Stanisław Surowiec and Franciszek Surowiec. They were also helped by Józef Niewiadomski, whose livestock they tended. The Wójciks also took in Franciszka Gruszów and her husband, who was Majer Kamm's brother-in-law, for a brief period. At one point, Franciszek Kwarta, a Home Army plant in the Polish police, warned the Wójciks of an impending German raid. The Wójciks and other Polish villagers provided food to Jews hiding in Beleryt forest. The story of the rescue of the Kamm family is entirely absent from Grabowski's book. In Table 9 (at p. 237), Grabowski simply lists Majer, Leon, and Czesława Kamm as having survived in an unspecified hideout, with no mention of Polish assistance. There is no excuse for this shoddy treatment. The testimonies of Franciszka Gruszów and Antonina Wójcik-Czerwińska were published by Adam Kazimierz Musiał in 2002.¹⁸³ An extensive interview with Leon Kamm can be found on the Virtual Shtetl website of the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, as well as in the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive.¹⁸⁴ These sources were readily available at the time of the publication of *Hunt for the Jews*, but were ignored by the author.

Franciszka Gruszów's story sheds more light on the checkered fate of the Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. During the first *Aktion* in Tarnów, she fled to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where her husband and their daughter, Czesława, then one-and-a half years old, were residing with her in-laws. In anticipation of a round-up of Jews, her in-laws would not allow Franciszka to enter the

¹⁸² Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 37, 38–39, 43–44, 53, 55–56, 61, 77.

¹⁸³ Musiał, *Łata w ukryciu*, 86–104, 104–11.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Leon Kamm, Internet: <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/dabrowa-tarnowska/16,accounts-memories/26266,interview-with-leon-kamm/>>, reproduced in the Appendix; Testimony of Li'on Kam (Leon Kamm), February 2, 1998, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38623.

hideout they had prepared because they were afraid her child might cry and give them away. During the *Aktion* in July 1942, Franciszka fled from Dąbrowa Tarnowska with her child and was taken in by an unidentified elderly couple in Gruszów, where she remained for several days. When the Germans arrived in the village to conduct a door-to-door search for Jewish fugitives, they were asked to leave by their fearful hosts. She then found shelter in the barn of Józef Bator in Gruszów Mały. When her child started to cry, the other Jews who were staying in the barn told her to leave. Bator, who showed more compassion for Franciszka than her fellow Jews, took her into his house. She was soon joined by her husband. They remained there for several days until the *Aktion* in Dąbrowa Tarnowska was over, and returned to the town. They left Dąbrowa Tarnowska again in December 1942, this time with Franciszka's mother-in-law. Initially, they stayed with Jan Wajda in Szawark. After a month, when German paramilitary forces arrived in the village, they were told to leave by Wajda's wife. They then stayed with the above-mentioned Wójcik siblings in Czernia for a very brief time before returning to the Wajdas. The Gruszóws decided to place their daughter with friends in the village of Tarnowiec near Tarnów (outside the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska), whom they remunerated. The child remained until the end of the German occupation. Franciszka's mother-in-law went to stay with relatives in the Tarnów ghetto and perished. Franciszka and her husband were taken in by Eugenia Chwalibińska, a retired school teacher in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Chwalibińska sold off their valuables, which enabled them to support themselves and their daughter. The rate of inflation is evident from the sale of their last twenty dollar bill, which reportedly fetched 20,000 złoty. When Franciszka fell ill, Dr. Dębicki, an expellee from the Poznań area, came to Chwalibińska's house to treat her. The Gruszóws remained there for about five months, until the arrival of the Soviet army in January 1945. After the war, out of gratitude, the Gruszów transferred over to Chwalibińska a house in Tarnów. The source of this story is Franciszka Gruszów's own testimony.¹⁸⁵ In all three cases described above, the quality of assistance provided by the various helpers was no worse – and in some cases better – than that received by Jews who did not remunerate their Polish protectors.

¹⁸⁵ Musiał, *Łata w ukryciu*, 86–104.

Polish Police, Jewish Police – Shifting the Blame

Jan Grabowski's approach to the Polish Police (known as the "navy blue" police because of the colour of their uniforms) and the Jewish Ghetto Police (*Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst*, literally Jewish Order Service) demonstrates a marked bias in favour of the latter – one that is becoming increasingly evident in his writings. While endeavouring to turn the Polish police into central players in the Holocaust, which they were not, Grabowski largely ignores the role of the Jewish police.

On the whole, the involvement of the Jewish police in facilitating the Holocaust was far greater than that of the Polish police. Unlike the Jewish police, the Polish police was not directly involved in the liquidation of most of the larger ghettos in occupied Poland such as Warsaw, Łódź, Lwów, Wilno, Lublin, Kraków (Cracow), Sosnowiec, Będzin, Tarnów, Piotrków Trybunalski, and Grodno. There are scores of Jewish testimonies describing, in horrific detail, the activities of thousands of Jewish policemen in the liquidation of those ghettos. The authors of those testimonies do not shy away from condemning the policemen who carried out those vile deeds. Together with German and other forces (e.g., Ukrainian, Lithuanian), the Polish police was utilized in *Aktions* in smaller ghettos, as was the Jewish police.

The whitewash and corresponding blame-shifting came to the fore in the March 18, 2017 issue of the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, where Grabowski wrote:

Emanuel Ringelblum, the founder of the Oneg Shabbat, the underground archive of the Warsaw Ghetto – estimated the number of Jewish victims of Polish policemen alone in the "hundreds of thousands."¹⁸⁶

This is a blatant manipulation. Ringelblum made no such allegation. In his study on Polish-Jewish relations penned while in hiding, Ringelblum refers to the activities of the "uniformed police", which included the Jewish police. Moreover, Ringelblum makes it clear that it was the Jewish police that – first and foremost – played a key role in the "resettlement operations." However, he exaggerates the role of the Polish police. (Their role in the mop-up operations in the larger ghettos mentioned above was peripheral.) What Ringelblum actually wrote is as follows:

The uniformed police has had a deplorable role in the "resettlement actions". The blood of hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews, caught and driven to the "death vans" will be on their heads. The Germans' tactics were usually as follows: in the first "resettlement action" they utilized the Jewish Order Service, which behaved no better from the ethical point of view than their Polish opposite numbers [i.e., counterparts]. In the subsequent "actions," when the Jewish Order Service was liquidated as well, the Polish Police force was utilized.¹⁸⁷

Moreover, the reference to "death vans" is puzzling. It seems to refer to the mode of death – gas vans – employed at the Chełmno (Kulmhof) death camp in the Wartheland, but not at other camps such as Treblinka, where some 250,000 Jews were deported from the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942. The Polish police, unlike the Jewish police, was not involved in the latter operation, the largest of its kind undertaken in occupied Poland. The Wartheland, or western Poland, was incorporated directly into the German Reich. There was no Polish police force in existence there. Most of the victims of Chełmno were Jews from Łódź or foreign Jews brought to the Łódź ghetto, the second largest in occupied Poland. The Germans employed the Jewish police to assist in rounding up these Jews and deporting them to Chełmno.

¹⁸⁶ Jan Grabowski, "No, Poland's Elites Didn't Try To Save the Jews During the Holocaust," *Haaretz*, March 18, 2017.

¹⁸⁷ Emanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations During the Second World War* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992), 135.

Elsewhere Ringelblum wrote even more scathingly about the role of the Jewish police in the deportation of 260,000 Jews from the Warsaw ghetto to the Treblinka death camp in the summer of 1942.

The Jewish Police had a bad reputation even before the mass deportations began. Unlike the Polish police, which did not participate in the round-ups for the work camps, the Jewish Police did engage in this repugnant act. They were also notorious for their shocking corruption and demoralization. But it wasn't until the mass deportations that they sank to their lowest point of baseness. Not one word of protest was uttered against their despicable function, which entailed leading their own brothers to the slaughter. The police were spiritually prepared for this dirty work and, therefore, performed it ardently.¹⁸⁸

Yitzhak Zuckerman is even more graphic and blunt:

When there were hundreds of thousands of Jews in Warsaw, the Germans couldn't have taken the transports to Treblinka without the help of the Jews themselves. It was the Jewish policemen who caught and took out the masses of Jews. They were armed with sticks; we could have used sticks and knives against them; we could have strangled and hanged them. ... Of course, the Germans also came – it was enough for one German to show up, ten Germans. But the majority were Jewish police and they did their work faithfully. By that time, we realized that the Jews were being taken to their death.¹⁸⁹

Grabowski conveniently overlooks such “unimportant” details.

A similar pattern emerges in the narrative of wartime Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. Grabowski largely ignores the role of the Jewish police in policing the ghettos and providing Jews for forced labour – activities that lent themselves to frequent charges of exploitation of the weak and corruption. Nor does he mention the participation of the Jewish police in rounding up and hunting for hidden Jews during the deportation operations. Kalmen Fenichel is simply described as “the much hated chief of Jewish police” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 34), without explaining why. In his account, found in the Appendix, Alter Millet (misspelled as Milet) states that the Jews most likely to survive the liquidation of the ghetto were Jewish policemen and their families. (They too were eventually executed by the Germans in December 1942.) Without specifying their misdeeds, he alleges that Kalman Fenichel, Hersz Majer Flaum (Pflaum), and Uscher Ofen were “the meanest among them.” (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 212.) So what exactly did the Jewish police do to earn that reputation? The main text is silent on that matter.

Only snippets can be found here and there, in the testimonies in the Appendix, regarding that important information. For example, the account of Adela Gold states that, during the *Aktion* in July 1942, the Jewish police had to escort “thugs”—presumably Germans—to dwellings to search for hidden Jews. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 183.) Grabowski sets out a somewhat different translation of a passage from that testimony in the main text, but the information about the Jewish police is missing without any indication that something has been removed. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 37.) Grabowski even purged from *Hunt for the Jews* (at p. 186) a large part of the testimony of Izaak Stieglitz, from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, found in the earlier Polish edition, *Judenjagd* (at pp. 189–92), that describes the activities of Jewish policemen in the Mielec labour camp (where Stieglitz was sent). Among them was Hersz (Hirsch) Rosenblum from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who apprehended

¹⁸⁸ Emanuel Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego: wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1988), 426.

¹⁸⁹ Zuckerman, *A Surplus of Memory*, 208. Zuckerman adds: “Of course they had no choice – from the moment *they decided* to be policemen. There were different kinds of policemen, more brutal ones and less brutal ones. There were those who took bribes and those who thought they had to excel. ... There were a lot of them—thousands. ... They served the German occupier, willy-nilly, and thought they could save their lives and their families like that.” *Ibid.*, 207.

Jews attempting to escape from the camp.¹⁹⁰ According to a Jewish prisoner, Jacob (Jakub) Kleinman of Wielopole, another policeman from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county at the Mielec labour camp, “surpassed the Germans in his cruelty against the prisoners.”¹⁹¹

Yet we know from both Jewish and Polish sources that some of the Jewish policemen were a scourge of the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The police force also played a significant role in the liquidation of the ghetto. Rabbi Samuel Feiner described how Jewish policemen pulled Jews out of their homes and hideouts during the second *Aktion* on July 17, 1942.¹⁹² In a memoir penned during the war, Molly Applebaum (then Melania Weissenberg) described the participation of the Jewish police in the third *Aktion* on September 18, 1942 as follows:

The Jewish police were under orders from the Germans to make sure that no Jewish family remained living in the forbidden part of town. When they did find someone and delivered them to the SS, they received an award of extra rations for their own families. Occasionally, we heard that they turned in members of their own families. ...

I still have a picture in my mind's eye of a couple of those Jewish policemen. People were envious of their position, believing that they had a better chance of staying alive. They strutted around in their special uniforms, armed with rubber batons that they were urged to use, whether necessary or not. They were ordinary men from our midst, but the situation lifted them up and I recall people saying that any of them could be bribed with valuables so as not to reveal if they found someone in the wrong part of town. One of the grownups said, “Even at this horrible time, a diamond still has some value even if nothing else does.”¹⁹³

Grabowski had in his possession Molly Applebaum's testimony when he published *Hunt for the Jews* and cites from it extensively,¹⁹⁴ but he does not refer to this passage. Neither of these two testimonies (Feiner's and Applebaum's) mentions the participation of the Polish police in these *Aktions*. The role of the Polish police was restricted to apprehending Jews who fled from the ghetto, but, as we have seen, they were not too diligent about it. Polish testimonies are consistent with Jewish reports about the activities of the Jewish police. Jewish policemen were known to inform on Jews who hid goods from the Germans; they were used to round up Jews and to search for hideouts, from which Jews were removed with brutality and their valuables seized.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Hersz (Hirsch) Rosenblum survived the war and was investigated for abusing fellow prisoners, but the outcome of that matter is unclear. See Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich*, Second revised edition (Mielec: Muzeum Regionalne w Mielcu, 2013), 57, 104, 149, 122–23.

¹⁹¹ Rochelle G. Saidel, *Mielec, Poland: The Shtetl That Became a Nazi Concentration Camp* (Jerusalem: Gefen, 2012), 121.

¹⁹² Testimony of Samuel Feiner, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 1209.

¹⁹³ Molly Applebaum, *Buried Words: The Diary of Molly Applebaum* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017), 62.

¹⁹⁴ Grabowski states that Sabina Goldman, a close friend of Molly Applebaum's, was arrested by the Polish police during the September 18, 1942 *Aktion*, and that she was later delivered into the hands of the Germans. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 42. However, that information does not come from Applebaum's memoir, but rather is found in an endnote in Grabowski, *Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...*, which states that Sabina Goldman was caught at the railway station while trying to leave Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Similarly, Abraham Braw's testimony and another report likely refer to the activities of Polish policemen outside the ghetto. See Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 41.

¹⁹⁵ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 111–12, 161–65. Franciszka Gruszów, a Jewish woman, describes how Jewish policemen took part in the liquidation of the Tarnów and Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghettos, how they informed to the Germans on Jews who hid valuables, how a Jewish policeman named Zimmerman was tried after the war for seizing Jewish children. See Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 87, 101, 103.

Liba Ehrenberg, who survived with the help of Poles and remained in Dąbrowa Tarnowska until her death, was particularly harsh on the Jewish police:

The fact that I am alive today and walk on God's earth I owe only to Poles who did not deny me help wherever I found myself during the occupation. The worst dogs were the Jewish policemen. They found my husband and daughter in a hideout and handed them over to the Germans, who shot them. The worst scoundrel among them was the commander Hersz Majer, whom the Jews called "Majer Kat" (Majer the executioner) for his overzealousness towards the Germans.

Why is Grabowski silent about such matters? Similarly, when describing the manhunts for fugitive Jews in the countryside of Miechów county (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 86, 99), Grabowski neglects to mention that the Jewish police also took part in those operations.¹⁹⁶

In his introduction to Molly Applebaum's memoir, Grabowski describes the Polish police as "an especially ruthless and deadly force that would become an essential partner [sic] of the Germans in the upcoming execution of the 'Final Solution to the Jewish question' in the Dąbrowa Tarnowska area and elsewhere in occupied Poland."¹⁹⁷ That claim is an unwarranted exaggeration. First of all, after Poland's defeat in September 1939, the Polish policemen of central Poland (the so-called *Generalgouvernement*) were ordered to report for duty or face the "severest punishment."¹⁹⁸ Secondly, as leading historians have noted, the involvement of the Polish police was peripheral to the extermination of Polish Jewry. Thirdly, the Polish police were not partners or associates of the Germans in any sense of that word. Like the Jewish police, they acted under orders from the Germans, but unlike the Jewish police, many – if not most – of their members had not voluntarily enlisted for service. If Polish policemen are now being "upgraded" to partnership status in some joint enterprise, the case for doing so for the approximately 10,000 Jews who had *volunteered* for service in the Jewish police is no less compelling. The reality is that whoever joined the German-controlled police forces had to do their bidding, and the list of German demands grew. To be fair, most Jewish recruits, like their Polish counterparts, had no idea what they were getting into or that their duties as policemen would turn lethal.

The views of Szymon Datner, former director of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute, and of Raul Hilberg on these very matters are clearly at odds with Grabowski's.

the Holocaust ... 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.¹⁹⁹

Of all the native police forces in occupied Eastern Europe, those of Poland were least involved in anti-Jewish actions. ... The Germans could not view them as collaborators, for in German eyes they were not even worthy of that role. They in turn could not join the Germans in major operations against Jews or Polish resistors, lest they be considered

¹⁹⁶ Dean, *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. II, Part A, 541.

¹⁹⁷ Applebaum, *Buried Words*, xix.

¹⁹⁸ On October 30, 1939, Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger, Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*) of the *Generalgouvernement*, ordered all former Polish policemen to report for duty by November 10, 1939 under threat of the "severest punishment." Thus, participation was compulsory from the outset, and deserters and their family members were punished for desertion.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Szymon Datner in Niezabitowska, *Remnants*, 247. In countries like France and Norway, the proportions were reversed: 90% of the work was carried out by native officials and police.

traitors by virtually every Polish onlooker. Their task in the destruction of the Jews was therefore limited.²⁰⁰

Moreover, scores of Jewish testimonies refer to Polish policemen who provided them with various forms of help.²⁰¹ While they may not have been representative of the Polish police, that police force, which counted fewer than 15,000 men who acted under German orders, cannot be considered to be representative of a nation of 23 million people.

While describing the involvement of Polish policemen in the hunt for Jews at great length, Grabowski pays little attention to favourable reports about the conduct of individual policemen. Grabowski mentions a policeman who turned a blind eye to Jews who escaped during the liquidation of the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto.²⁰² Since quite a few Jews managed to escape, the Polish police must not have performed this assigned task diligently. Grabowski also mentions that a policeman, who sheltered a Jewish woman, also offered to help Rivka Shenker (Rywka Schenker, later Regina Goldfinger).²⁰³ And that's about the extent of it.

Adam Kazimierz Musiał offers a more balanced treatment. In addition to citing many examples of Polish policemen taking part in measures against Jews (as well as against Poles)²⁰⁴ – something that is not covered up in Polish sources, the testimonies gathered by Musiał, as well as others, describe a number of cases of helpfulness on the part of Polish policemen that are not mentioned by Grabowski.

Józef Knapik of Nieciecza sheltered the brothers Izaak (Icek) and Naftali Jakub, with whom he had apprenticed as a tailor in Żabno. The local Polish police commander, Kowalik from Sieradza, spotted the brothers when he came to Knapik's farm and confronted Knapik, but did not betray them.²⁰⁵ After being brought to the police station in Mędrzechów, a policeman allowed Hajka (Helena) Goldberg to leave over the protest of the person who had brought her in as a Jewish girl.²⁰⁶

The Kamm family fled from Dąbrowa Tarnowska after receiving a warning from a Polish policeman about an impending *Aktion*. They hid with various Polish farmers in neighbouring villages before returning to the town. Later on, when they were hiding with the Wójcik family, Franciszek Kwarta, a Home Army plant in the Polish police, warned the Wójciks of an impending

²⁰⁰ Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe, 1933–1945* (New York: Aaron Asher Books/Harper Collins, 1992), 92–93.

²⁰¹ 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/>>. At least 17 Blue policemen were awarded by Yad Vashem.

²⁰² Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 38, 220.

²⁰³ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 107–8.

²⁰⁴ Musiał, *Krwawe upiory*, 35, 38, 45, 53, 56; Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 286 (mixed record), 477, 512–15.

²⁰⁵ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 507–8.

²⁰⁶ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 260.

German raid.²⁰⁷ Leib Taffel (Lejb Tafel) of Borusowa was encircled during a raid, but was allowed to escape by a Polish policeman who was a Home Army member.²⁰⁸

Some cases are problematic, in that they contain information about helpfulness on the part of policemen, as well as carrying out duties that harmed Jews. The seven-member Adler family from Pilcza Żelichowska were helped by various farmers in and around the village of Ćwików. A Polish policeman named Szwed from Bolesław allowed Herman (Hirsch) Adler to escape when he found him in Tadeusz Zachara's home.²⁰⁹ Another witness confirms that the policemen Szwed and Chrzanówek warned farmers of impending raids, but they also took part in capturing Jews.²¹⁰

Another problematic case is that of the policeman Karol Olecki from Wietrzychowice, who also had a mixed record. Olecki assisted in the rescue of Zechak (Samuel) Celnik, who was sheltered by Jan Jurczak in Jadowniki Mokre. He brought Celnik to Jurczak's farm after Celnik escaped from the ghetto in Szczucin.²¹¹ According to another account, Olecki shot Lifa Süss of Niechowice after he was apprehended and brought to the police station in Wietrzychowice. Olecki was afraid Süss might betray his benefactors.²¹²

Grabowski alludes to this problem in *Hunt for the Jews*. If a captured Jew were turned over to the German police by the Polish police, as they were required to do, he could talk and reveal the name(s) of his Polish benefactor(s) before being executed. (P. 110.) Grabowski refers to the justification for shooting Jews to prevent this from happening, which was sometimes advanced by Polish policemen in postwar trials, dismissively as a "patriotic argument." (Pp. 115–17.) He cites Polish underground reports that refer to the problem of betrayal by captured Jews of their Polish benefactors only in a general way. (Pp. 117–18.) What he does not do is to provide any example of the many denunciations that turned lethal for Polish helpers, so one is left to wonder whether this was a real source of danger or merely a self-serving ruse.

The problem of betrayal by Jews of their benefactors in Dąbrowa Tarnowska has not been studied closely. However, there are studies for neighbouring counties and numerous examples from other parts of occupied Poland to draw on. In fact, there are scores of such cases and that they led to the execution of several hundred Poles.²¹³ Poles who could no longer bear to keep

²⁰⁷ Interview with Leon Kamm, Internet: <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/article/dabrowa-tarnowska/16,accounts-memories/26266,interview-with-leon-kamm/>>.

²⁰⁸ Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Wroński and Zwolakowa, *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945*, 343.

²⁰⁹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 283.

²¹⁰ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 286.

²¹¹ Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 481.

²¹² Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 477.

²¹³ 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/>>. For studies from neighbouring counties that explore the issue of Jewish denouncers and informers see Tomasz Frydel, "The *Pazifizierungsaktion* as a Catalyst of Anti-Jewish Violence: A Study in the Social Dynamics of Fear," in Bajohr and Löw, eds., *The Holocaust and European Societies*, 147–66; Tomasz Frydel, "The Devil in Microhistory: The 'Hunt for Jews' as a Social Process, 1942–1945," in Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttman, eds., *Microhistories of the Holocaust* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 171–89.

their Jewish charges were faced with the same predicament as Polish policemen. Grabowski has no problem finding all sorts of examples, very often from outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, to reinforce his negative assessment of the behaviour of Poles. Why does he make no effort to provide evidence that might exculpate or put matters in a different light?

As it turns out, there is a rather analogous dilemma that Jews faced. Jews in hiding often suffocated or poisoned newborn babies, infants and even small children out of fear that their crying or chattering might give the adults away, or that these children might otherwise imperil their chances of survival. Hundreds, if not thousands, of children were killed for that reason. Mentally unstable (deranged) Jews also suffered a similar fate.²¹⁴ Why should Poles be held up to a higher standard? Those Polish policemen who committed wrongdoings must be condemned in the same manner as their Jewish counterparts. Indeed, that is how many Jews who lived through those dark times saw it.

A closer examination of one of Grabowski's accounts of crimes committed by Polish policemen reveals the same pattern of shoddy treatment of sources that is typical of *Hunt for the Jews*. In the text, Grabowski cites from the testimony of Aleksander Kampf, who survived the war in the Soviet interior, regarding the murder of his wife and children by Piotr Bińczycki and two other policemen. Grabowski states that Bińczycki served in the Ujście Jezuickie detachment and that he seems to have been an "average" representative of his profession, who were "rather well liked by the locals and, in many cases fine-tuned to the needs of their community." (P. 108.) Grabowski sets out Kampf's testimony in full in the Appendix (at p. 217), in this case faithfully. What we learn there, however, is rather different from what Grabowski holds out. Bińczycki worked at the police station in Opatowiec, which was in Miechów county, in the Radom district.²¹⁵ The events in question also occurred in that county, where Kampf's wife and three children were hiding in a barn belonging to Stanisław Deszcz, and not in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. We also learn that Bińczycki "killed a certain Rogosz (a Pole) from the village of Pietrowice [actually Piotrkowice] and other Poles as well." So much for his being "fine-tuned" to the needs of his community. But was he, nonetheless, "well liked" by the locals as Grabowski claims? Kampf's testimony doesn't seem to support that notion:

I have recently found out that [Bińczycki] now works for the [State] Security in Kraków. ... The inhabitants of Łopatów [Opatowiec, not Opatów], the eyewitnesses of the crimes he committed, told me about it. The names of the witnesses: Stanisław Deszcz, who provided shelter to my wife, domiciled in Kraśniów; Eugnusz Miniur, domiciled in Kraków; and the Łopatów intelligentsia, who did not want to disclose their names, but if need arises I will give their surnames upon the court's request.

Not only did the locals inform Kampf about the fate of his family, but they were also willing to testify against one of their own who had joined the dreaded Security Office. To reiterate, can we take anything Grabowski writes at face value?

²¹⁴ 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/>>.

²¹⁵ The police station in Opatowiec had four policemen in 1941, and the number increased to six in 1944. See Magdalena Komorowska, *Gmina Opatowiec—wczoraj i dziś* (Opatowiec: Gmina Opatowiec, 2014), 50.

Robbery and Banditry – The Cover-Up

A source of conflict that Grabowski largely overlooks and dismisses out of hand is that of Jewish fugitives resorting to theft and robbery. Grabowski reduces this to stealing some potatoes from farmers' fields and an occasional hen. (*Hunt for the Jews*, pp. 91, 144.) Characteristically, Grabowski is dismissive of underground reports that refer to this problem. (Pp. 117–18.) Who – except for the most spiteful anti-Semite – would be upset about such matters?

However, the testimonies that Grabowski had access to say something quite different from his take. They speak of *armed* excursions of forest Jews who set off to take food from farmers by force, if necessary. For example, the testimony of Cyla Braw who hid in the Dulcza forest states:

There were forty-eight Jews not far away from us, with whom we were in touch, and the boys who were there had machine guns. When there was nothing to eat, some people went out and stole, because they no longer had money to buy anything and they had nothing left [to eat].²¹⁶

Herman (Henryk, Zvi) Amsterdam, who also hid in the Dulcza forest, is more forthcoming. Stealing took place on a large scale and, likely due to complaints by farmers, the Germans organized manhunts in the forests. Jewish raids on farms sometimes ended in altercations with villagers.

At night [my father] would go with some others to the village to buy food, and when the money ran out he went stealing. For as long as it was possible, we stole potatoes, beetroot, cabbage and so on from the fields, and when that stopped father stole from the farms. ...

My father and his friends started to go stealing again in the local villages, and one day they even brought a pig back. In July of the same year the Germans organised another round-up, but they did not find anybody. ...

A few days later another of my uncles set off to the village for supplies. The trip was a disaster because at the moment when my uncle had gone into a farmer's house, leaving another man on guard outside with a rifle, someone attacked the guard unexpectedly and took his rifle, and when uncle heard a shout from the yard and ran out of the cottage, he was hit by a bullet from the rifle. He managed to make it back to the woods, however.²¹⁷

Israel Klein's description of the Jewish forest group's forays into the countryside – there is no reason to question it – is even more revealing.

In the summer we usually set out for the fields, however in the winter we attacked the neighbouring farms. We always chose those that were at least ten kilometres from the forest and stood out of the way. Selected members of the group, bearing arms, knocked on the door and started to speak German so that the residents would think they were dealing with German soldiers. As soon as the door was opened they immediately switched to Polish and everyone was ordered to lie down under the beds. A few members of the group always watched the residents so they would not move, and meanwhile the rest took everything that could be eaten, and sometimes also clothing. From time to time we also attacked barns where we killed lambs, cut them into pieces and took them into the forest. Each time we

²¹⁶ Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews*, 221.

²¹⁷ Maria Hochberg-Mariańska and Noe Grüss, eds., *The Children Accuse* (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1996), 147–49. In his testimony, Jochanan Amsterdam claims that Jewish fugitives in the Dulcza forest did not steal near the forest or use weapons to threaten farmers. "We'd go through the potato fields of a ranch, 8–10 km away, and carry back about 20 kg. each." See Jochanan Amsterdam, "Life in the Forests," in H. Harshoshanim et al., eds. *Radomysl Rabati ve-ha-seviva: Sefer yizkor* [Radomyśl Wielki and Neighborhood: Memorial Book] (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Radomysl and Surroundings in Israel, 1965).

would choose a farm in a different area, because we were afraid that if we harassed the locals too much this would result in raids by German soldiers.²¹⁸

Jakub Künstlich and Szymon Goldberg, who were sheltered by the Gibes family in the village of Jadowniki Mokre, obtained a rifle and used it to rob and threaten farmers in distant villages, seizing their food, chickens, rabbits, and the occasional pig. Their Polish host, Józef Gibes, accompanied them on these nighttime forays so that it wouldn't appear to be a Jewish enterprise. One of the persons they robbed learned of their whereabouts and summoned the local police. Jakub Künstlich and Szymon Goldberg subsequently threatened this person, warning him not to do so again.²¹⁹ This story is based on the testimony of Jakub Künstlich's son Adam Merc (formerly Majer Künstlich), who was also sheltered on the Gibeses' farm. Grabowski cites this testimony very selectively, and omits any reference to the robberies. (*Hunt for the Jews*, p. 134.) However, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the compromising information about the robberies. In his testimony, Józef Gibes states that he, as well as other villagers, received threats from a violent local gang that robbed and extorted money. In his case, they used against him the fact that he was hiding Jews, but Gibes makes no mention of the robberies. It would appear, therefore, that the presence of Jews at the Gibeses' was an open secret.

Conditions were similar in the vicinity of Dębica, adjoining Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. Morris (Moishe) Goldner and his father raided Polish farmers' fields "carrying a heavy iron bar in case we needed to defend ourselves, for on several occasions we had spotted Poles patrolling their fields at night." They were once confronted by Poles with scythes who were "simply trying to protect what was theirs." As Goldner explains, "because the farmers now had an immense quota to fill for the Germans, with harsh penalties if they fell short, they did not react kindly to having their fields raided." On that occasion, Goldner managed to shatter one of the farmer's kneecaps with his metal bar and escaped with father.²²⁰ After teaming up with a professional Polish bandit with connections to the Communist underground in 1942, Goldner then describes at length the brazen exploits they engaged in and the fate of those farmers who resisted, some of whom were even killed.²²¹

As we can see from these Jewish testimonies, there was quite a bit of stealing and robbing going on, and the booty often included livestock and clothing. Moreover, the robberies often involved violence or a threat of violence. It is not surprising, therefore, that this angered the farmers who were victimized, most of whom were themselves poor and struggling to feed their families. Polish testimonies from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, like that below, can no longer be ignored as, allegedly, unreliable or biased.

Armed Jews forced their way into homes and farm buildings demanding or stealing large quantities of food and threatening the residents. Tadeusz Kot, who was hiding Jews on his farm in Brnik, was threatened at gunpoint by a Jew who came to his home and demanded a large

²¹⁸ Memoirs of Israel Klein, Yad Vashem Digital Collections, Item 4421352.

²¹⁹ Testimony of Adam Merc, August 15, 1995, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Interview code 36349.

²²⁰ Larry Stillman, *A Match Made in Hell: The Jewish Boy and the Polish Outlaw Who Defied the Nazis: From the Testimony of Morris Goldner* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 86–87.

²²¹ Stillman, *A Match Made in Hell*, 28–30, 96–97. Goldner recalled: "At the time I convinced myself it didn't matter that I took the lives of three Poles, including a woman—even though these might have been innocent people just trying to defend their home." He continued to steal after the war: "I began the familiar walk into Dębica. Along the way I stole a cow. The opportunity presented itself as I walked past a small farm just across the Wisioka River, outside the city. ... while I would not accept money as a gift, stealing in order to get money was another matter entirely." *Ibid.*, 189.

quantity of food. This intruder also abused Kot's grandmother. Kot had to defend himself and his family by chasing the intruder out of his home with an axe. The armed Jew who had invaded Kot's home was later apprehended in Luszowice when he broke into a chicken coop to steal some poultry. The farmer locked him up in the coop, as he would any common thief regardless of nationality, and summoned the German authorities.²²²

How did Jews who were sheltered by Poles view such home invasions by fellow Jews? Not surprisingly, much like the victimized Poles themselves. Few such testimonies have been recorded, so in this case looking to an example from outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county is warranted. A Jewish woman who resided in the countryside near Łuków with a Polish family passing as a Pole was appalled by the brutal raids Polish farmers were subjected to by a Jewish gang.

... a bunch of Jews, still young ones, remnants and they were running from farm to farm ... and doing terrible things. ... they – all the people went around there – every night he came to another farm. If he didn't like them, he went out ... took a torch, burned the farm. How long could those Goyim take something like that? So ... then the Germans were looking for him ...²²³

Historians Teresa Prekerowa, who was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem, and Barbara Engelking, director of the Polish Center for Holocaust Research, have both commented on this phenomenon. Prekerowa observes – in a deliberately understated fashion – that these thefts and robberies, in which force was often used, were something that no farmer would have appreciated.²²⁴ Engelking appears to go further, at least in theory: "It is understandable that ... [peasants] defended themselves against thefts and pillaging."²²⁵ (Since Engelking does not provide any examples of what defence measures would have been acceptable, her statement appears to be strictly *pro forma* so as to give her writing an air of much needed objectivity.)

Polish underground reports were not exaggerated. Robbery took on massive proportions throughout most of the countryside.²²⁶ The extent of robbery depended on a number of factors such as how forested the area was, how many fugitives were hiding in forests, and who those fugitives were. Jewish fugitives were not the only ones robbing. Escaped Soviet POWs and Polish criminal gangs could be just as brutal. Victimized Poles had little time to make fine

²²² Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu*, 136.

²²³ Testimony of Lily Fenster (née Lubaskurka), November 8 and 10, 1994, Voice/Vision Holocaust Survivor Oral History Archive, University of Michigan at Dearborn, Internet: <<http://holocaust.umd.umich.edu/fenster/section024.html>>.

²²⁴ 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): 100–14, 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.

²²⁵ Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień...: Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011) 128; translated as *Such a Beautiful Sunny Day...: Jews Seeking Refuge in the Polish Countryside, 1942–1945* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2016).

²²⁶ Mark Paul, *A Tangled Web: Polish-Jewish Relations in Wartime Northeastern Poland and the Aftermath*, Parts Two and Three, Internet: <<http://www.kpk-toronto.org/obrona-dobrego-imienia/>>.

distinctions as to who was holding the rifle that was threatening them. Retaliations targeted not just Jews, but also Soviet POWs and Polish criminals.

Conclusion

While a comprehensive review of Grabowski's Table 11 ("Jews Who Were Killed while Hiding on the Territory of Dąbrowa Tarnowska County, 1942–1945") was not undertaken in this study, it is apparent that that list also contains quite a bit of inaccurate information. For example, "Pinkas and his family of 5," who hailed from Wola Wadowska, just outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. In fact, Yochan Pinkas's daughter, Mina, survived, as did her brother, Aron, and recorded her testimony for the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive in 1995.²²⁷ So rather than five victims from the Pinkas family, there were only three. Mozes Grinzweig is rightly listed in Table 9 among the survivors, yet he is also listed in Table 11, as Mozes Grincwang, among those killed while in hiding. Not too promising. Moreover, since the Dulcza forest straddled Dąbrowa Tarnowska and Dębica counties, some of the murders listed in Table 11 as having taken place in that forest may have occurred outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.

Will Grabowski's reputation suffer as a result of these revelations? Most unlikely. His colleagues have invested too much of themselves into the defence of his "exemplary" scholarship. Will this new research have an impact on the assessment of Polish-Jewish relations in Dąbrowa Tarnowska? Rather unlikely. And that is the sad part. Jan Gross supporters have declared the writings of "nationalist" historians, that is, ones they don't agree with, to be beyond the pale and thus justify disregarding them out of hand. Unfortunately, many like-minded historians have fallen into line.²²⁸ The present exposé is doubtless such an offensive narrative.

Jan Grabowski's *Hunt for the Jews* is deeply flawed, demonstrably so, and cannot be regarded as definitive study of wartime Polish-Jewish relations in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county. One thing is certain. It does not behove a serious scholar to say, "Even though I did a terribly sloppy job, what difference does it make? I still got it right." Although they regard themselves as "heralds of truths" whose mission it is to combat the "nationalist" wartime narrative, historians from the Polish Center for Holocaust Research (Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów) cannot be relied on to present a fulsome and objective picture of those events. Despite all the attention and accolades they garner, they are not quite yet infallible. It has also become abundantly clear that continuing to heap praise on Grabowski's *Hunt for the Jews* is not only be superfluous, but also compromises the credibility of its advocates.

²²⁷ Testimony of Mina Fried, January 12, 1995, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Interview code 531. Grabowski does not mention this testimony.

²²⁸ Following the lead of Joanna Michlic, see Joshua D. Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 7 n31.

TABLES

This canvassing of rescue of Jews in Dąbrowa Tarnowska county is by no means comprehensive. Much more information about the rescue efforts can be found in the accompanying tables. They, too, however, are far from being exhaustive.

Sources Frequently Referred To

- *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volumes 4 and 5 (Poland, Parts I and II), edited by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004); volume 10: *Supplementary Volumes (2000–2005)*, volume II (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010) [Encyclopedia]
- Yad Vashem website: The Righteous Among The Nations, The Righteous Database, Internet: <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/> [Yad Vashem Righteous Database]
- Wacław Bielawski, *Zbrodnie na Polakach dokonane przez hitlerowców za pomoc udzielaną Żydom* (Warsaw: Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 1987) [Bielawski]
- Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013) [Grabowski]
- 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) [Represje]
- Janina Hera, *Polacy ratujący Żydów: Słownik* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014) [Hera]
- Józef Kozaczka, "Pomoc Żydom w powiecie Dąbrowa Tarnowska," in Stanisław Wroński and Maria Zwolakowa, eds., *Polacy Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), 341–46 [Kozaczka]
- Adam Kazimierz Musiał, *Lata w ukryciu* (Gliwice: n.p., 2002), 2 volumes [Musiał]
- 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) [Rejestr]
- Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945. Volume 2: Dystrykt krakowski Generalnego Gubernatorstwa* (Lublin and Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2020) [Piątkowski]
- Maria Pilarska, ed., *Those Who Helped: Polish Rescuers of Jews During the Holocaust*, Part III (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 the Nations, 1997) [Pilarska]
- Muzem Historii Żydów Polskich website: Polscy Sprawiedliwy – Przywracanie Pamięci, Internet: <http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/cms/polscy-sprawiedliwi/> [Polscy Sprawiedliwi]
- Krystyna Samsonowska, "Dąbrowa Tarnowska – nieco inaczej," *Więź*, no. 7 (2011): 75–84 [Samsonowska]

TABLE I

Poles from Dąbrowa Tarnowska County Recognized as Righteous Among the Nations

As of mid-2013, the following 26 rescuers from Dąbrowa Tarnowska county were awarded by the Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust Remembrance Center. Two names were added in 2017, two more in 2018, and four in 2019, for a total of 34. Those that are shaded are not mentioned in *Hunt for the Jews*. Cross-references are provided to various publications where these rescue activities are mentioned.

Righteous Poles and Year of Recognition	Locality	Rescued Jews	Sources	Comments
Zofia Bernat-Śliska [1994]	Wola Mędrzechowska	Zofia Bloch (later Nowik) lived in her native village of Wola Mędrzechowska with her parents, younger brother, and grandparents. Except for Zofia and her mother, the rest of the family was taken to the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska in June 1942. Zofia and her mother hid with the help of Polish neighbours for several months. Zofia's schoolmate, Zofia Bernat, who had gone to work on a German farm in Bohemia in 1941, arranged employment with her employer for Zofia Bloch. With the help of another schoolmate, Zofia Bloch was able to obtain false documents under the name of Zofia Badył and arrived in Bohemia in November 1942. Zofia Bernat shared everything she had with her friend while they remained on the farm. Zofia Bloch's mother was killed in 1943.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 84–85	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski. Grabowski lists Zofia Nowik as having been in Skrzynka until 1942, with no other details, and then surviving as a labourer in Germany (Table 8). Grabowski records the murder of Zofia Bloch's mother (Table 11, p. 243).

Anna Bloch [1998]	Radwan	Sheltered Sabina Szajndel Solomon (who fell ill and died in autumn 1943). Also assisted her relatives hiding in a nearby forest: Rose Roize Shoshana Lesser Hoellander; Zvi Henryk (Herman) Amsterdam; Chava Amsterdam Amir; Regina Haber; Mojżesz Muniek Haber	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 96; Yad Vashem Righteous Database, File M.31.2/8068	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski
Franciszek and Bronisława Bochenek (husband and wife with 3 small children) [2005]	Lubiczko near Gręboszów	Genia and Mordechai Śpiewak (siblings from Lubiczko)	Encyclopedia, vol. 10, 535–36; Yad Vashem Righteous Database, File M.21.2/10431	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski

Józef and Józefa Gibes (husband and wife with 4 children) [1998]	Jadowniki Mokre	Sheltered Jakub and Dora (Dobka) Künstlich and their 7-year-old son Majer (later Adam Merc), and Shimon (Szymon) Goldberg While in hiding Dora Künstlich gave birth to a daughter, who was left with Gibes' neighbours, a childless couple named Szatan (later Szatkowski). Mrs. Maria Szatan's spinster sister and father also resided with them. The child was christened as Weronika (later Weronika Merc-Kozakiewicz) and the Szatans became aware of her true identity. Józef Gibes, as well as other villagers, received threats from a violent local gang who robbed and extorted money. They used against Gibes the fact that he was hiding Jews. Other Jews also came around begging for food. After the war, the Künstlich couple were killed in unclear circumstances. Their children were adopted by Emil Merz, a high-ranking Stalinist Security Office functionary and later a judge who presided over show trials of Home Army members. Szymon Goldberg settled in France.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 234–35; Grabowski, 134, 163–64, 233, 240; Kozaczka, 343 (misspells rescued as Kinclik); Musiał, 484–88	Grabowski makes no mention of Shimon (Szymon) Goldberg, but lists Markus Goldberg of Jadowniki (Table 10)
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Piotr Heleniak and his sister, Anna Heleniak-Kaczmarczyk, who lived in neighbouring houses (their mother also lived with them, as did Anna's two children, Stanisława and Roman) [1993]	Ujście Jezuickie	Sheltered nine Jews: Dawid (David) Rottenstein, Leon Kalb (who died in agony during the war causing a commotion that had to be muffled), Jakub Kalb, Eleonora Wolf and her daughters Dorota, Genia and Tobcia, Salo Lederberger, Izaak Ferderber. Their presence became known to at least one neighbour. The Jews lived in a dugout in the barn. In the winter, they stayed in a small hut with a stove.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 270–71; Grabowski, 231; Musiał, 198-202; Piątkowski, account 174	Grabowski mentions the rescuers and some of the rescued Jews only in the list of survivors. He does not mention Dawid Rottenstein and Leon Kalb. Anna Heleniak-Kaczmarczyk is erroneously identified as Helena Heleniak-Kaczmarek.
Stanisław and Anna Jaje (husband and wife) [2010]	Lubasz near Szczucin	Shiyer Mutzenmacher (later Manson), a tailor from Szczucin, who supported himself by sewing clothes for villagers. He also stayed for shorter periods with other villagers, including Franciszek and Maria Foder and the siblings Łucja and Wojciech Niedźwiadek, as well as with Jan Maliga in Delastowice. His presence in the village was an open secret and villagers protected him during German searches. After the war, he settled in England. The Jaje family also assisted other Jews. The Niedźwiadeks fed a Jew from Szczucin named Kern, who visited their home.	Yad Vashem Righteous Database, File M.31.2/11802; Kozaczka, 342 (Mutzenmacher is misidentified as Wicmacher; also mentions additional rescuers, Franciszek Foder and Wojciech Niedźwiadek); Musiał, 344–50 (Mutzenmacher is misidentified as Myczyn or Miczyn Macker, also as Hejk Micynmacher; also mentions additional rescuers, Maria Foder, Józef Niedźwiadek). See also the testimony of Michalina Mudryk in Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudoł, eds., <i>Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle</i> (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 275–76.	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski

Stanisław and Maria Kaczówka (husband and wife, with two young children) [1992]	Kanna	Yitzchak (Izaak) Scherman (Ignacy Szerman), his wife Etkā (Ethla, née Ziss or Süß), and Etkā's sister Sara (later Sala Goldman), all from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, were sheltered by the Kaczówkas for 28 months, with the assistance of Maria Kaczówka's father. According to Etkā/Ethla, they received assistance from several other Poles earlier on: Franciszek Trędota of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, villagers in Dulcza Wielka and Radgoszcz, Adolf Filipiak of Olesno, and Lupa, who transported Jews from place to place for payment. Yitzchak Scherman died of illness shortly after the Germans left. The sisters remained in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 325; Testimony of Sala Goldman (Suss), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 34883; Grabowski, 231, 232, 238; Kozaczka, 343; Musiał 27–37 (testimony of Ethla Süß), 77–79; Hera, <i>Polacy ratujący Żydów</i> , 234.	Grabowski mentions these rescuers and Jews only in the list of survivors (Table 7, pp. 238–39); the Ziss (Suess) sisters are also listed in Table 9
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Józef Kiwior and his sister-in-law (later wife), Genowefa (née Cholewa) [1998]	Adamierz	Genowefa Cholewa (born 1926, later Kiwior) and her two younger brothers, Józef and Tadeusz, lived as orphans in their family home. Her older sister, Zofia, lived in Olesno with her husband, Józef Kiwior. They provided temporary shelter to Hanna Erlich of Tarnów, who was later shot in the Breń forest. They then sheltered Hesiek (Hersz) Buch of Kraków and Celina Holzer of Tarnów. Celina escaped from the ghetto in February 1944 and arrived in Adamierz with the help of some Poles. When Zofia was killed during a bombing raid in September 1944, her husband, Józef (Genowefa's future husband), told her about the Jews, and she agreed to hide them in her home. Genowefa and her brothers also helped other Jews, among them Szymek from Olesno, who came around to farmers begging for food.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 348; Musiał, 290–95 Samsonowka, 78, listed as Cesia “Beller”, hiding in Olesno and Adamierz	Grabowski states that, after fleeing the Tarnów ghetto, Cesia Holzer and Hersz Buch survived in Oleśno (sic) and Adamierz, close to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, under assumed identities passing as Poles, without any information about their rescuers; in the text, he misstates Holzer's surname as Heller. Grabowski, 54–55, 232, 272
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Ignacy and Józefa Kostka (husband and wife with a teenage daughter, Maria (later Bomba)) [1995]	Żabno Morzychna	Miriam Pikholec of Bielsko-Biała lived with the Kostkas posing as a Catholic. She later left for Germany as a labourer under an assumed name, which was arranged by Mieczysław Banach, a trusted Pole who worked at the Arbeitsamt in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Pikholec survived the war and settled in Israel. Franciszek Borsa, who was very active in sheltering Jews, directed to the Kostkas a Jewish couple named Werker, who were brought there by his farmhands, Franciszek Kot and Niklas. They remained with the Kostkas for several months. Since the Kostkas were poor, Borsa provided them with some money for food for their charges. Ewa Gruszów also stayed with the Kostkas for short periods of time when conditions became critical at Borsa's premises. Ewa Gruszów settled in Canada after the war.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 381; Musiał, 115, 145, 505–7	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski
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Wojciech Kowalski and his fiancée, Lucylla Chmura (later Kowalska) [1992]	Dąbrowa Tarnowska and vicinity	Lucylla Chmura sheltered Ida Margulies and her son, Henryk Margulies of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. She obtained from a priest a false identity document for Henryk in name Marian Jackowski. The rescuers later moved with their charges to Czechów near Pińczów, where they continued to assist them. Lucylla Chmura and her mother, Janina Chmura, also provided food to the Schindel family in the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto.	Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 391; Grabowski, 234, 238; "The Kowalski Family," Polish Righteous, Internet: < https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-kowalski-family-1 >	Grabowski mentions the Margulieses in the list of survivors, but nothing about their rescuers (Table 9, p. 238). Jehuda and Leon Schindel are listed in Table 8 (p. 234), as having survived the war outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.
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Tomasz and Maria Lech (husband and wife, with the help of their son) [2017]	Szczucin	Sheltered Sabina Silber (née Zisser or Siser or Süsser) during January and February 1943. Sabina decided to join her uncle in the Tarnów ghetto. Although recognized on the way, she was not betrayed. After the war she settled in France. Tomasz Lech also worked with other Poles transporting Jews from Szczucin across the Vistula River to the Radom district, where conditions were more favourable for Jews at that time. When transporting a Jewish woman named Izraelowicz to Pacanów, they were stopped by a German guard but managed to bribe him. Izraelowicz went to the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, where she was shot by the Germans. Maria Lech and her son also brought baskets of bread to the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.	Righteous Database, Yad Vashem, File M.31.2/13466; Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 341–44; Serge-Allain Rozenblum, <i>Les temps brisés: Les vies d'un itinéraire juif de Pologne en France</i> (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 1992), 90–94, 181; Testimony of Michalina Mudryk in Jan Żaryn and Tomasz Sudół, eds., <i>Polacy ratujący Żydów: Historie niezwykle</i> (Warsaw: Neriton, 2014), 274	Rescue not mentioned by Grabowski. Sabine Silber and Leon Silber are listed in Table 8 (p. 236), as having survived outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.
Stanisław Pagos and his sister, Zofia Pagos [1979]	Gruszów Wielki	Sheltered the teenage brothers Abraham (Abram) and Avigdor (Awigdor) Weit (Weith), also known as Roman and Wiktor. After the war, they gave their rescuers part of their parents' property. For a time, they had been sheltered in the school house in Sutków.	Encyclopedia, vol. 5, 574; Grabowski, 130–31, 167–70, 230, 238; Kozaczka, 342 (according to Kozaczka, Pagos also sheltered the Fałek family, who reportedly settled in Israel; however, Grabowski lists them in Table 11 as killed); Musiał, 142–43	Grabowski does not mention that the Germans found some Jews hiding with other villagers and killed both the Jews and their rescuers, yet this did not cause the Pagoses to expel their charges.

Franciszek Sołtys of Czarkówka Bolesław Sroka of Breń [2013]	Czarkówka near Radgoszcz	Fela (Felicja) Grün, her mother (whose ultimate fate is unclear), and her siblings, Beniek (Benedykt), Karolina (Haja) and Regina. Additional helpers included Franciszek Sołtys's wife, Honorata, and their adopted son, Władysław Piłat, Michał Sroka, Jan and Kazimierz Dorosz, Stanisław Forgiel of Zabrze, Czapryna of Świebodzin, and Leś of Olesno. In her testimony, Fela Grün states that Sroka also saved other Jews. Fela Grün also mentions an unidentified cousin of hers who was staying with her at the Sołtys house (his fate is unclear). The Sołtys family also sheltered three other Jews (perhaps the Fałeks?) who were caught or killed by two local people who were put on trial after the war and sentenced.	Yad Vashem Righteous Database, File M.31.2/12625; Grabowski, 164–66, 215–16, 230; Musiał, 304–6, 316, 352	
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Feliks Świerczek (lived with his parents) [1989]	Gorzyce	Franciszka Krysztal (previously Fajga/Feiga Birken) left the Tarnów ghetto and came to stay with her brother's friend, Janina Tarnowska, who was Feliks Świerczek's parents' tenant. Franciszka lived there openly, with Felik's father's permission. Feliks arranged false identity documents for Franciszka under the name of Anna Borkowska, with the help of Janina's brother, Stanisław. Franciszka helped Janina at the local school, where Janina was a teacher. After the war, Franciszka remained in Poland and lived with Feliks. She died in 1962. Świerczek also sheltered Franciszka's brother Josef (Józef) Birken, passing as Kowalik. Josef was previously sheltered at Janina Tarnowska's parents' house in Zbylitowska Góra. Unlike Franciszka, Josef was hidden. After the war, Janina married Josef and they settled in Israel. Świerczek also helped other Jews including the two Goldberg brothers, Salomon and Izaak, who wandered in the vicinity and obtained food from farmers and temporary lodging in homes.	Encyclopedia, vol. 5, 769–70; Grabowski, 54, 232; Kozaczka, 343 (Birken is misspelled as Birkam); Musiał, 509–16; Hera, 269; Piątkowski, account 38	Grabowski mentions Fajga (Franciszka) Krysztal and Feliks Świerczek in Table 7 and very briefly in the text (the rescuer is not identified by name in the text). He misspells the hiding place as Gorczyce. Grabowski does not mention Janina Tarnowska and Josef Birken, or the help extended by Świerczek to other Jews.
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Wiktor Tomal, a widow, and her three children, Jan, Stanisława, and Józefa [2019]	Nieciecza	Sheltered Rachela (Małka) Kohane and her 18-year-old son, Eliaz, both of whom survived. Before leaving Poland, Rachela Kohane sold her property and moved to Tarnów, where she married a Jew by the name of Silber from Bolesław, who was also sheltered by Poles. The Tomals also provided food to other Jews. Jędraszak, the village head (<i>sołtys</i>), was aware of that Jews were living with the Tomals, but protected them. Eliaz Kohane settled in the USA.	Musiał, 516–21; Grabowski, 240; <i>Polacy ratujący Żydów w czasie Zagłady: Przywracanie pamięci / Poles Who Rescued Jews During the Holocaust: Recalling Forgotten History</i> (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), 123; JoAnne Viviano, “Protectors in Holocaust Honored by Americans,” <i>The Columbus Dispatch</i> , April 25, 2014; Internet: < http://www.szkola.nieciecza.pl >	Grabowski simply lists Eliaz Kohane and Rachela Kohane in Table 10 as having survived, with no mention of where or Polish assistance.
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Józef Wójcik and his sister, Antonina Czerwińska (née Wójcik) [2018]	Czernia, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	The Kamm family consisted of Majer (Meir) Kamm (after the war he changed his name to Marian Kamiński), his wife, Rozalia, and their three children, Maria (Mania), Czesława (Cesia), Leon (Leib Elias). They fled from Dąbrowa Tarnowska before the first <i>Aktion</i>, after receiving an early warning from a Polish policeman, and stayed with various Polish farmers in neighbouring villages for several days. When the ghetto was formed in July 1942, they again received an early warning and went to stay with the Wójcik siblings in Czernia, where they were directed by a former employee. Majer Kamm paid for the upkeep of his family. They decided to enter the Tarnów ghetto, as it appeared to be stable. During the liquidation of that ghetto in September 1943, Majer and two children, Cesia and Leon, managed to escape and returned to the Wójciks, where they stayed in an underground bunker until the arrival of the Soviet army. Occasionally, they were sheltered by neighbours, Józefa and Stanisław Surowiec and Franciszek	Kozaczka, 344; Musiał, 90, 91 (testimony of Franciszka Gruszów), 104–11 (testimony of Antonina Wójcik-Czerwińska); Samsonowska, 79; Interview with Leon Kamm, Virtual Shtetl, Internet: <http://www.sztetl.org.pl/article/dabrowa-tarnowska/16,relacje-wspomnienia/26266,interview-with-leon-kamm/>; Testimony of Li'on Kam (Leon Kamm), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38623; Piątkowski, account 23	Grabowski simply lists Majer, Leon, and Czesława Kamm in Table 9 (p. 237), as having survived in an unspecified hideout, with no mention of Polish assistance.
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Wiktor Wójcik and his sister, Emilia (Eugenia) Wójcik-Kułaga (a widow with three young children) [1992]	near Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Melania Weissenberg (born 1930, later Molly Applebaum) and her older cousin Helena Ascheim (Aschheim, later Littman) were sheltered on the Wójcik farm from the fall of 1942 until the arrival of the Soviet army in January 1945. Melania's mother, Salomea Weissenberg, and her brother Zygmunt, were also sheltered there temporarily in the latter part of 1942. (They went to the Tarnów ghetto because their hosts were unwilling to keep four charges.) Neighbours suspected that Jews were being sheltered but no one betrayed them.	Encyclopedia, vol. 5, 883–84; Grabowski, 42, 155, 233, 274; Molly Applebaum, <i>Buried Words: The Diary of Molly Applebaum</i> (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2017)	
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Ewa Zajęc [1965]	Skrzynka	Moshe Keh (Manek Keh) and his sister, Sara Keh (Kehl, later Nudel), Abraham Salomon and his 3-year-old daughter Sara (at one point, bandits seized Sara Keh and Salomon's daughter and demanded a ransom for their lives). Ewa Zajęc also assisted Moshe (Moser, Mozes, Mosze) and Batia (Barbara, Basia, Berta) Wolfowicz (née Falek), Yochanan Amsterdam, Ester Galce (Estera Gelc), the brothers Viktor (Wiktor) and Abraham Wajt (Weit), Samuel Wajzer (Weiser), Aron Werker, and Chaskiel Gruszow (Haskiel Gruszów)	Encyclopedia, vol. 5, 995; Vashem Righteous Database, File M.21.2/139; Grabowski, 232, 237–39; Kozaczka, 342 (misidentified as Józefa Zajęc); Yad Vashem Righteous Database (for Władysław Szafraniec of Rataje, Busko-Zdrój county, who also rescued Mosze and Barbara Wolfowicz). Some of these Jews were also helped by other Poles (e.g., Aron Werker).	Grabowski mentions the rescuer only in Table 8, where he refers to assistance provided to three of the rescued Jews (Manek Keh, Sara Keh, Samuel Weiser). The other survivors are listed without any indication of having received help from Poles.
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TABLE II

Other Polish Rescuers from Dąbrowa Tarnowska County

NOTE: Not all of the information in this table has been or can be verified and, in addition to obvious gaps, it may contain inaccuracies. It is still very much a work in progress.

Polish Rescuers	Locality	Rescue Activity	Sources
Jan and Zofia Augustyński, and their son, Kazimierz; Jan and Stanisław Bednarz (brothers, farmhands)	Gorzyce	Sheltered Fiszel Drelich, and Drelich's brothers-in-law Salomon (Samuel) Goldberg and Izaak Goldberg. The Goldberg brothers also stayed with the Salaterski family in Bóbrek. The fate of Izaak Goldberg is unclear. Jan and Kazimierz Augustyński were members of the Peasant Battalions. See also the entries for Józef Salaterski, Zygmunt Tęczar, and Antoni Waś.	Musiał, 272 (also mentions Izaak Goldberg), 521–22, 526 (Władysław Augustyński); Samsonowska, 78; Bogdan Musiał, <i>Kto допоможе Żydowi...</i> (Poznań: Zysk, 2019), 168, 174 ----- Grabowski, 26, 230, 240 (Fiszel Drelich was hidden in "Augustyniak's" house)
Julia Bakalarek Józef Wołowiec	Tonia and Grądy	Hil Lejb from Świebodzin was sheltered by Józef Wołowiec, and later by Julia Bakalarek sheltered. Shortly before the arrival of the Soviets, he turned himself over to German soldiers who promptly shot him. Bakalarek also provided food to other Jews.	Musiał, 242–47
Stanisław Bania, Kurtyka, and other villagers	Oleśnica	Sheltered the Jachimowicz family, who settled in Germany after the war. Also helped other Jews.	Kozaczka, 344; Musiał, 132, 141 ----- Grabowski, 237 (lists Tema, Sisel, Samuel, and Leon Jachimowicz as having survived in an unspecified hideout)

Ewa Bartula Rev. Stanisław Rychlec Józef Rzepka	Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Szarwark, Brnik	Sheltered Mojżesz Lampel. Lampel later moved to the forest where he hid with other Jews, including the Metzgers (Metzkiers/ Meckers) from Brnik. The Jews also obtained food from Rev. Stanisław Rychlec, the pastor of Szarwark, Józef Rzepka and other farmers.	Musiał, 122 ----- Grabowski, 238
Bronisława Bartyzel	Małec	Arrested on November 7, 1942 for the crime of helping unidentified Jews. She survived incarceration in the Auschwitz and Sachsenhausen concentration camps.	Rejestr, 209; Represje, vol. 1, 96–97
Jan Bednarz	Niwki near Olesno	Sheltered Izaak Fiszer. His fate is not clear.	Kozaczka, 342
Rozalia Biedak	Olesno-Bugaj	Sheltered a Jewish family. Fate unknown.	Musiał, 140
Stefania Bogusz	Lubasz	Aministered the Bogusz family estate during her husband's absence in Western Europe. Sheltered refugees, including two Jewish siblings from Kraków and their guardian, engineer Słomczyński. Until the ghetto in Szczucin was liquidated, she employed about 30 Jewish day labourers and held items for Jews, which they sold as needed. From 1942, she sheltered the son of a Jewish lawyer from Kraków who worked on the estate passing as a Christian Pole. He left the estate with his protector in November 1944, and survived the remainder of the war in Kraków.	Bartosz Sieroń, "Stefania Bogusz z Zięmbic," Publikacje Historyczne, Internet: https://sites.google.com/site/klubak32/publikacje-historyczne

Bolek	Szczucin	Bolek arranged with a villager named Jowańczyk to rent a room to Berta Weissberger, her mother, Ilona Weissberger, her aunt, Regina Vogelhut, and her nephew, Dollek. Bolek also arranged for a job for Berta at the magistrate's office. When someone denounced Berta, the mayor warned the family to leave.	Betty Lauer, <i>Hiding in Plain Sight: The Incredible True Story of a German-Jewish Teenager's Struggle to Survive in Nazi-Occupied Poland</i> (Hanover, New Hampshire: Smith and Kraus, 2004), 135–54, 173, 188
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Franciszek Borsa, his wife Genowefa/ Maria, and many others including Błażej Opiola (a village head) and his son, Stanisław (a Home Army member); two farmhands, Niklas and Franciszek Kot of Oleśnica; Nalepa, a bricklayer; Borsa's niece; Mrs. Borsa's sister-in-law, Janina (later Zawadzka)	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Borsa sheltered or found hiding places for 18 to 21 Jews, among them: Naftali (Natan) Unger and his fiancée, Učka; Nina Ziskina (Zifkind?); Alter (Adler) Rand and Mojżesz (Mozes) Rand; Roman Szermer and his wife, Rachela; Ewa Blaugrund (she left Borsa a house in Dąbrowa); Aron Werker, his wife, Estera (and mother-in-law); Jakub Werker (Aron's brother); Izaak Izrael; Maria Gruszów; Maria Pikholec. In addition to these 14 Jews, Borsa found hiding places for 7 Jews with his neighbours, most of them with Błażej Opiola. All of these Jews survived. One of the Jews, Werker, threatened to denounce them if he was evicted. The Home Army executed Wincenty Jakus, the <i>sołtyś</i> of Żelazówka, for collaboration. After the war, Borsa, together with other underground members, was falsely charged and put on trial as a German collaborator. Michał Szttyglic testified on his behalf, pointing out that, as a village head, Borsa had to organize raids under German orders, but forewarned Poles who were hiding Jews and hidden Jews to avert the danger. The accused were acquitted. See also the entry for Ignacy and Józefa Kostka (Yad Vashem Righteous).	Kozaczka, 343–44; Musiał, 114–17, 144–47, 149–51; Samsonowska, 77, 78, 80 (lists Aron Werker, Estera Werker, and Jakub Werker as having hidden with Borsa, and some of the others are simply listed without particulars) ----- Grabowski, 61, 143–44, 230, 232, 233, 237 (Grabowski mentions Franciszek Borsa by name just once, as a paid rescuer who sheltered one Jew, Izrael Isaac. In the text, Grabowski mentions Chaskiel Gruszow and his mother, and “Berker’s” sister and Aron “Berker” as hiding in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, without any details. Grabowski lists Alter (Adler) Rand as having hidden in Dąbrowa Tarnowska; Aron Werker as having hidden in the forests; and Ewa Blaugrund, Alter (sic) Rand, Mozes Rand, Jakub Werker, Estera Werker, and Aron Werker as having survived in unspecified hideouts, outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county.)
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Jan Chłopek Adam Starzyk	Szarwark	Sheltered four or five Jews who owned a tannery in Radom. They all survived. Some of them settled in the USA. Among them was Bernard Hendler, who settled in Canada. Afterwards, they helped Starzyk financially.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 120–21, 135, 475
Eugenia Chwalibińska (née Wójcik); Józef Bator of Gruszów Mały; Jan Wajda of Szarwark; Józef Wójcik of Czernia (Bagienica Mała)	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Franciszka Gruszów (née Bleifer) and her husband were sheltered in the home of Eugenia Chwalibińska for 5 months, until the arrival of the Soviet army in January 1945. When Franciszka fell ill, she was treated by a Polish doctor named Dębicki. Prior to that she was denied entry into a Jewish bunker because she had a young child, and was asked to leave the home of an elderly Polish couple in Gruszów after the Germans conducted a house-to-house search in the area. Together with her husband and his mother, she was temporarily sheltered by Józef Bator in Gruszów Mały, Jan Wajda in Szarwark, and Józef Wójcik in Czernia (Bagienica Mała), where Mejer Kamm, her husband's brother-in-law, and his children were staying. Franciszka's young daughter, Czesława, was sheltered for payment by friends in Tarnowiec near Tarnów (outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county).	Musiał, 86–104 (testimony of Franciszka Gruszów)

Wojciech and Katarzyna Cieślak, and their children Tadeusz and Antonina	Łęka Szczucińska	Wojciech Cieślak, a Home Army member, provided lodging to his friend, Jan Stępień from Pacanów, a Pole, and Jadwiga Noyman, a Jewish woman posing as Stępień's wife. They lived there openly and were registered with the village head and local police. The Gestapo arrived on March 21, 1943 and executed the charges, who may have been betrayed by Stępień's jilted wife, as well as Wojciech Cieślak. Cieślak's entire family was lined up, but their execution was stopped by a German officer because Stępień and the Jewish woman had been officially registered as residents of the home.	Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 353–55; Bielawski, 20; Pilarska, 60; Hera, 177, 427; Represje, vol. 1, 296–97
Władysław Cur and several other villagers	Radwan	Helped Regina and Mendel Haber, Bronisława Hirs, and Rozalia Resler (Hesler). They settled in Israel after the war, but maintained contact with Władysław Cur.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 307
Wiktoria Curyło	Grądy	A Jewish woman named Lipka and her three daughters were sheltered for two weeks by Wiktoria Curyło. They would go out begging for food. They were denounced by another villager and arrested by the Blue police. Since this occurred sometime in 1943, they must have received food and shelter earlier from other Poles as well.	Grabowski, 144–45, 244
Władysław Dobrowolski	Radwan	Sheltered a family of 3 Jews (parents and a young son). They were caught by the Germans and killed.	Musiał, 312–13

Maria Drabik	Wielopole	As an employee on an estate, she gave temporary shelter to two Jewish men. They left on their own accord because Germans soldiers were stationed there. Drabik mentions that some wealthy Jews from Tarnów stayed in Wielopole for a short time, having been sent there by Ludwika van Marcke de Lumen Musiał.	Musiał, 274–79
Rev. Wojciech Dybiec	Bolesław	Issued false birth and baptismal certificates to the brothers Dolek and Roman Kegl of Bolesław, as Władysław Bernat and Aleksander Ciepiela, respectively. Both brothers survived and settled in the USA.	Kozaczka, 345
Florek (two unmarried sisters), and other villagers	Gorzyce	Sheltered in the sisters Hela and Sala Süß (Zis) in their barn. The sisters had moved from place to place, staying with various villagers. They were captured by Blue policemen in January 1944 and shot to death.	Musiał, 511–12 ----- Grabowski, 244
Stanisław Forgiel and family (son Henryk)	Zabrze	Sheltered Bededykt Grün and his sister, Cecylia. See also the entry for Franciszek Sołtys and Bolesław Sroka (Yad Vashem Righteous). For a brief period, against the wishes of the Grüns, Forgiel also sheltered Herman Weizer (called Duwet), who had previously been sheltered by Michał Siutaj in Dąbrowica (until that hideout was discovered). Herman Weizer survived and settled in the USA. See also the entries for Michał Siutaj and Stanisław Forgiel.	Musiał, 352–53 ----- Grabowski, 164, 216 (Forgiel is mentioned briefly in Regina Grün's testimony)

Stanisław Golonka and other villagers	Niwki near Olesno	Sheltered Liba Ehrenberg, who remained in Dąbrowa Tarnowska after the war.	Kozaczka, 342 Samsonowska, 78 ----- Grabowski, 237 (listed as Liebe Ehruberg), 243 (Lejba Ehrenberg is listed as having been delivered by the locals and shot by the Polish police, as was Aron Ehrenberg)
Jan Gorla's parents and grandmother	Wietrzychowice	Fed and sheltered unidentified Jews.	Musiał, 476
Wojciech Grabka	Brnik	Sheltered Ryfka Metzger (Regina Metzkier, née Samuel). Her husband, Jankiel, was shot by the Germans during a forest raid. After the war, Ryfka married her rescuer. They settled in Szczecin.	Musiał, 125 ----- Grabowski, 238 (Regina Metzkier survived in an unspecified hideout)
Aleksander Grajdura, Paweł and Franciszek Kostecki (brothers)	Jadowniki Mokre	Aleksander Grajdura, the father of five young children, was executed by German gendarmes in 1943 for helping Jews, together with the brothers, Paweł and Franciszek Kostecki.	Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 487; Bielawski, 30, 41; Hera, 208, 267

Anna Gruchała and her daughter-in-law, Julia Gruchała (a widow with a son, Jan, and daughter, Zofia)	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Sheltered two Jewish families: (1) Szifra (Szifa, Szyfer), her husband, and their two young children, and Szifra's sister. They had to leave their previous hideout because of a lack of funds. Since they were unable to pay for their upkeep at the Gurchałas', they often left at night to beg for food from other villagers. (2) Pinkus (Pinkas) Cizer, his wife, Rozalia, and their son, Józef. When German gendarmes searched the house for Jews in September 1944, the Cizer family was able to escape and was taken in by Michał Surowiec of Czernia, but the other five Jews were executed along Anna Gruchała, their protector, and the farmhouse was set on fire. Anna's daughter-in-law, Julia Gruchała, was arrested and sent to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp where she perished. Her 10-year-old daughter, Zofia, was arrested but released. See also the entry for Michał Surowiec.	Kozaczka, 344; Musiał, 79-85; Samsonowska, 78, lists only Pinkas Cizer and Rozalia Cizer, without any details; Bielawski, 30; Pilarska, 70 (gives the date of execution as summer 1944 and the surname of the executed Jewish family, consisting of 7 Jews, as Szyfer); Hera, 210 (gives the date of execution as June 25, 1944); Represje, vol. 1, 157-58 ----- Grabowski, 237 (lists Pinkas, Rozalia and Józef Cizer as having survived in an unspecified hideout, outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county)
Zofia Gruchała, her husband and son	Dąbrowica	Sheltered Josef Kech (Keh), after his hideout with Bociek in Zabrze or Dąbrowica was accidentally discovered by the Germans, and his children were taken to the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. According to Kozaczka, Josef moved to Radwan when Dąbrowica was evacuated as the Soviet army approached. After the war he settled in Israel, possibly with his son and two daughters, Barbara and Estera.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 351

Jan Jurczak, his wife, Zofia (née Surowiec), his parents, Paweł and Maria Jurczak, his wife's sister, Czesława Surowiec, and his brother, Władysław	Jadowniki Mokre	Sheltered Zechak Celnik and his son, Samuel, from Wietrzychowice, whom Jan Jurczak's brother, Władysław, got out of the ghetto in Szczucin. The Blue policeman Karol Olecki from Wietrzychowice assisted in the rescue operation by bringing Celnik from Wietrzychowice to Jadowniki Mokre. Celnik would stay with both Jan Jurczak and his father, and Czesława Surowiec acted as a liaison. It is not clear whether Zechak survived. After the war, Samuel Celnik left property (land) to Maria Jurczak and Władysław Jurczak, and a watch and ring to the policeman Olecki. Celnik left Poland and died in Italy after he learned about his brother's tragic death in Chicago.	Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 480–84 ----- Grabowski, 240 (lists Samuel Celnik)
Jan Kalec	near Ćwików?	Rescued a young Jewish girl.	Musiał, 287

Ludwik Kędzierski, his wife, and son Mieczysław (born 1925)	Szarwark	Sheltered Jankiel Metzkier (Mecker) from Brnik, who was directed there by Władysław Mikuła, Mojżesz Lind, Etki Ziss and her daughter Haftka. Jankiel would often leave the house to look for food. After the execution of the Mędala family and a warning that their presence was known, the charges left the house for the forest. Kędzierski continued to provide them with food. Jankiel Metzkier was shot in the Beleryt forest during a German raid in which more than 20 Jews were killed. Later, Kędzierski sheltered Saul (Paul) Szacher from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who left after the Germans raided the home of another Kędzierski. Szacher survived the war and wrote to Kędzierski from Israel. According to Kozaczka, Kędzierski also sheltered Fiszer from Dąbrowa.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 132–35, 306–8; Hera, 243 ----- Grabowski, 234 (Saul Schochar survived and reported in Tarnów)
Kielbasa	Maniów	Sheltered an unidentified Jew, who survived.	Musiał, 347

Józef Knapik, who lived with his two sisters and niece, Zofia (later Gaclon or Goclón)	Nieciecza	Sheltered two brothers, Izaak (Icek) and Naftali Jakub, with whom he had apprenticed as a tailor in Żabno. Knapik also provided food to Mala Schwarzman (Szwarcman), who relocated and survived near Morzychna, and other Jews. When one of the Jews required dental care, Dr. Stanisław Król came to the barn and extracted a tooth. The local Polish police commander, Kowalik from Sieradza, became aware of the presence of Jews on Knapik's farm but did not betray them. Knapik's sisters and niece helped to feed the Jewish charges. The Jakub brothers were poor and were not asked to contribute for their own upkeep. After the war, they resided in Tarnów.	Musiał, 505, 507–8; Żabno list
Anna and Józef Kogut	Ruda-Zazamcze, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Three members of the Metzger (Metzkier or Mecker) family were found by German gendarmes during a raid and shot along with their Polish protector, Anna Kogut, in September 1944. Michał Szyglic states that he did not warn the Koguts of the impending raid because Metzger had told him that he was hiding in Jastrząbka.	Kozaczka, 344 (rescuer given as Józefa Kogut); Musiał, 117, 131, 151; Bielawski, 38; Pilarska, 78

Mrs. Kogut, a widow, and her son, Edward Kogut	on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Sheltered three Jewish women from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, one of whom was named Roth. With the help of a relative, she obtained baptismal and birth certificates for the women in the names of relatives, one as Rozalia Owsiany, and then procured Kennkartes for them, which they used to get jobs locally, and then to register for work in Germany as Polish labourers. After the war, the rescued Jews sent her parcels from the USA.	Musiał, 166–68
Kołodziej	Radwan	Sheltered a Jewish family consisting of 5 people (parents and 3 children) for several months. Later they lived in the forest and continued to come for food. One daughter survived.	Musiał, 312

Ignacy Kopeć, and his wife, Katarzyna	Oleśnica	Sheltered Adela Rosenberg, a high school teacher from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, and her husband, Samuel (Saul) Files, who brought his sister and two young women from Kraków. News of this leaked out to the other villagers. The two young women reported to the Arbeitsamt as Poles and survived the war in Germany as Polish labourers. Saul was killed in Dąbrowa Tarnowska when he returned to the ghetto for some belongings. Adela was killed by the Germans during a raid. Both Ignacy and Katarzyna Kopeć were arrested, as well as their son Eugeniusz, but were released on the intervention of a lawyer from Lwów named Gogotek, who had the status of a German, but whose sons belonged to the Home Army. The Kopeć family sheltered another Jewish woman, Koszkrau, who managed to hide successfully during the raid, but then left in fear and survived elsewhere. The Kopeć family also provided food to other Jews.	Musiał, 137–39
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Tadeusz Kot	Brnik	Provided food and temporary shelter to several Jews, including Jankiel Mecker (Metzkier). After taking in Maria Samuel, Adam Kmiec robbed her and threw her out. Tadeusz Kot provided her with clothes and sheltered her for several days. She survived the war and settled in Israel. Adam Kmiec had a bad reputation and was responsible for denouncing two Jewish women whom the Germans excuted. The village head (<i>sołtys</i>) refused to hold on to them. Kot was threatened at gunpoint by a Jew who demanded a large quantity of food and abused Kot's grandmother. After accusing Kot of chasing away his friends, Kot chased him away with an axe. A farmer in Luszowice caught this same Jew stealing chickens from his hen house, locked him up, and summoned a German gendarme.	Musiak, 125–226, 135–36 ----- Grabowski, 238 (lists Maria Samuel as surviving in an unspecified hideout)
Karol Kotniewicz	Wielopole	Provided food to Keimer and his wife from Żabno, who hid in forests for about two years before being caught.	Musiak, 527

Jan Kozaczka, Tadeusz Zachara, Paweł Zachara, Jan Dojka, Wojciech Kędziaława, Tomasz Zych, and other villagers; Rev. Jan Jakubowski, pastor of Olesno	Ćwików	The 7-member Adler family (popularly known as Heśko) from Pilcza Żelichowska – consisting of Hirsza Adler and his wife, Estera, their 3 sons, Abraham (Henryk), Markus (Marcin), and Roman, and two daughters, Chajka and Rejsla – were helped by various farmers, including Jan Kozaczka, Paweł Zachara, Tadeusz Zachara, and Tomasz Zych, who provided them with food and shelter. They all survived, moving from place to place, except for one son. One daughter was sheltered by Wojciech Kędziaława in Ćwików. Roman was apprehended in Pilcza or Dąbrowa Gorzycka; Rodak, the village head (<i>sołtys</i>), and Genowefa Forgiel, the informer, were put on trial after the war and received prison terms. Another son, Marcin, who worked as a farmhand for Jan Dojka in Ćwików, was apprehended in Świebodzin by a farmer named Kaczówka, who turned him over to the police in Bolesław, but somehow survived. A Polish policeman allowed Herman (Heśko) to escape when he was found in the home of Tadeusz Zachara. After the war, Henryk thanked Rev. Jan Jakubowski, the pastor of Olesno, for his help. See also the entry for Antoni Waś.	Musiał, 140, 281–85, 288–89; Kozaczka, 342 (also mentions the Węgiel, Sarat and Ziemian families); Samsonowska, 78; Piątkowski, account 22 ----- Grabowski, 231, 237 (Grabowski does not mention any Polish rescuers; he lists Marcin (Markus) Adler in Table 7 as having hidden in Dąbrowa, and then lists all six surviving Adlers in Table 9 as having hidden in an unidentified hideout)
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Józef Kozaczka Franciszek Fijał Karol Minor	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Józef Kozaczka was an employee of the Arbeitsamt in Tarnów. With the help of his Home Army colleagues, Franciszek Fijał and Karol Minor, Kozaczka obtained false documents for the sisters Hinda and Fejga Windheil of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, and sent them to Germany as Polish labourers. A priest provided their false baptismal certificates. (Hinda became Janina Bąk, and Fejga became Ludwika Kowal.) The sisters survived posing as Poles and settled in the USA.	Kozaczka, 345 (surname misspelled as Windheit); Marian Turski, ed., <i>Polish Eyewitnesses to the Shoah</i> (London and Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 2010), 127; Testimony of Florence Feige Birnbaum, Yad Vashem Testimonies; Piątkowski, account 23 ----- Grabowski, 49
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Weronika Kozik (née Węgiel), and her three children; her sister Padło, and her two children; their relative Adolf Padło	Ruda Zazamcze, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Three sisters née Węgiel, Weronika Kozik, Genowefa and Helena, lived in the family home. With the assistance of Adolf Padło, a relative, they sheltered four Stieglitz (Szyglic) siblings: Regina, Jakub Naftali (Michał), Izak (Ignacy), and 12-year-old Zofia, the youngest. Jakub Naftali would often visit farmers in the area at night begging for food. After the war, he converted to Catholicism, assuming the name Michał, and married Julia, the daughter of Michał Kozik (see the entry below). (A fifth sibling, Anna (Hanna) Szyglic, was sheltered by Katarzyna and Paweł Sipiara in Jastrząbka Nowa, just outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, where she lived openly as a farm worker under an assumed identity. After the war, she converted and married the rescuer's son, Michał. Anna was also sheltered briefly by a Polish policeman in Lisia Góra.) Aron Werker, his wife Estera and their infant daughter were sheltered in the Węgiel home for about a month before moving to Olesno. Another group of three Jews also took shelter on the farm for about one year. Although they were there without permission and promised to leave, they never did. Stefan Szantaler, a teacher from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, who hid in the fields, was provided with food.	Kozaczka 342; Musiał, 58–59, 128–32, 147–51, 513; Samsonowska, 77 ----- Grabowski, 238 (lists Regina and Ignac Stieglitz as having hidden in an unidentified hideout)
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Michał Kozik	Ruda Zazamcze, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Rywka Glückman and her two sons found shelter with Michał Kozik from 1942 to 1944 (3 months before the entry of the Soviets. Kozik killed them with an axe once their money ran out.	Kozaczka, 344 ----- Grabowski, 61
Maria Kuglarz	Szczucin	Took in a Jewish infant, the daughter of a neighbour (a lawyer), who remained in Poland and settled in Tarnów.	Kozaczka, 343
Józef Łabuz and his father, Julian Frącz, Stanisław (or Ludwik) Łach, Jan (or Władysław) Nadolski and his wife, Stanisław Stopa, and others	Radgoszcz vicinity	Members of the Gwardia Ludowa provided Jews in the Dulcza forest with food and other supplies. Arms and ammunition were provided to the Szacher brothers, Paweł, Lejb and Izaak. The brothers obtained food and occasional shelter from other Poles, including the Warias and Szkotak families. German gendarmes found Izaak Szacher and three other Jews in the home of Józef and Teresa Szkotak in Kaczówka/Żdźary, and shot all six of them in the fall of 1943. Stanisław (or Ludwik) Łach, Stanisław Stopa, and Jan Nadolski (or Władysław) and his wife were also executed, possibly for possession of arms. Józef Łabuz's father provided temporary shelter to a Jewish family of bakers from Radgoszcz; later they stayed with Anna Zofia Kmiec Wójcik. Łabuz's father also provided food to Szmul Fas. He was arrested and deported to Auschwitz. See also the entries for Bronisław Kmiec and Józef Szkotak.	Kozaczka, 341, 344; Musiał, <i>Krwawe upiory</i> , 139, 274; Musiał, <i>Lata w ukryciu</i> , 246, 314–16; Bielawski, 47 (Stanisław Łach), 53 (Jan Nadolski and his wife), 73 (Stanisław Stopa); Piątkowski, account 200

Wojciech (Bronisław) Łachut	Radgoszcz-Podlesie	The Germans shot the the Łachut family together with their Jewish charges and then threw their bodies into their house, which had been set on fire.	Musiał, <i>Łata w ukryciu</i> , 112, 308 Musiał, <i>Krwawe upiory</i> , 154
Franciszek Łachut and his wife, Cecylia; Józef Kupiec, Szymon Dziekan, and other villagers	Brzezówka	Sheltered Herman Weizer (Herszko Wajzer) from Brzezówka, who settled in the USA after the war; and Markus (Maksymilian) Arymowicz from Szczucin, who settled in Canada. They were sheltered there for about two years. Previously, Herman Weizer had stayed with Michał Siutaj and with Stanisław Forgiel. At night they would call on friendly villagers asking for food. Near the end of the occupation they were also helped by Józef Kupiec, Szymon Dziekan, and other farmers. See also the entries for Michał Siutaj and Stanisław Forgiel.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 309–11, 352; Samsonowska, 78 ----- Grabowski, 237 (Grabowski lists Markus Arimowicz (sic) as having survived in an unspecified hideout outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county)
Jan Łoś Władysław Zachara	Ćwików	Jan Łoś allowed a group of seven Jews, among them the Salpeter family from Żelichów, to construct a bunker on his property, near a river. Władysław Zachara was also involved in this rescue. The Jews traded with other farmers. After a denunciation, German gendarmes and Blue policemen from Bolesław satged a raid. Salpeter, one of the Jews who had a rifle, was killed in a shoot-out and an elderly woman was apprehended. The other Jews managed to flee.	Musiał, 285–87 ----- Grabowski, 244 (Salpeter and an old woman was “delivered by the locals” in spring 1943)

Andrzej Majka and his wife, Józefa	Lubasz	Sheltered Leib Silber and the siblings Hania and Wielek Mansdorf from Szczucin from December 1942 to February 1943. They decided to go to the ghetto in Tarnów. Although recognized on the way there, they were not betrayed.	Serge-Allain Rozenblum, <i>Les temps brisés: Les vies d'un itinéraire juif de Pologne en France</i> (Paris: Éditions du Félin, 1992), 73, 97–105, 181
Stanisław Makuch	Szczucin	Transported Jews.	Musiał, 341
Franciszek Mędała (Mendala), his wife Teresa, their 12-year-old son, Stanisław, and their 10-year-old daughter, Józefa, Franciszek's 70-year-old mother-in-law, Wiktoria Wężowicz, and their neighbour, Władysław Starzec	Szarwark	Providing food and occasional shelter to a group of Jews hiding in the Beleryt forest. They were shot by the Germans (military policemen and Gestapo) on July 5, 1943 during a raid to capture Jews hiding in the Beleryt forest. Their cottage and farm buildings were burned to the ground. Their neighbour, Władysław Starzec, was beaten unconscious and thrown into the burning buildings together with the Mędałas.	Kozaczka, 341–42; Bielawski, 52, 72, 78; Pilarska, 95, 118, 642; Musiał, 105–6, 133; Hera, 212 ----- Grabowski, 155–63
Ignacy Miś	Wielopole	Provided food to a group of Jews who wandered about.	Musiał, 288
Rev. Franciszek Okoński, pastor and Home Army chaplain Julia Żurawska Jan Wiśniewski	Luszwice	Sheltered a Jewish lawyer from Kraków, who successfully escaped with Rev. Okoński during a German police raid on the rectory. The Germans executed two parish workers – Julia Żurawska, the housekeeper, and Jan Wiśniewski, a farmhand – and arrested two priest who were later released. The Polish underground executed the informer, Tomasz Madura. Towards the end of the occupation, Rev. Okoński sheltered Lea Anmuth (Amnuth), who worked as a maid in his home.	Kozaczka, 344–45; Musiał, <i>Krwawe upiory</i> , 151, 171; Musiał, <i>Łata w ukryciu</i> , 107–8, 175, 246; Bielawski, 80, 86 (the village is misidentified); <i>The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust</i> , vol. 5 (Poland, Part 2), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 885–86; Yad Vashem Archive, ID 10667623; Piątkowski, account 66

Błażej Opiola	on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	As village head (<i>sołtys</i>), with the support of other Poles, Opiola released Jews who were turned in. He helped transport Jews across the Vistula to Pacanów, a safer area in the Radom district. Working with Franciszek Borsa, he he helped rescue a number of Jews. See also the entry for Franciszek Borsa.	Kozaczka, 344; Musiał, 75–78
Karolina Orszulak	Gruszów Mały	Executed by the SS in October 1942 for helping Jews in the Tarnów ghetto.	Hera, 343
Józef Osak and other villagers	Brnik, Lipiny	Various farmers, among them Józef Osak, helped a large group of Jews who moved around in the vicinity. After a German raid decimated the group, Aron Minder, a young Jewish woman, and Mojżesz Lind formed a small armed group that retaliated against hostile persons. They stayed with various farmers in the winter months. All three of them survived. Aron Minder sold his father's farm in Lipiny and settled in the USA. See also the entry for Ewa Stefańczyk.	Musiał, 119–20; Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database, Poland: Register of Jewish Survivors II, Internet: https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_view.php?PersonId=4264472 (Mozes Lind) ----- Grabowski, 244 (Minder family killed in a manhunt)
Pieczonka?	Wietrzychowice? Pasieka Otwinowska?	Sheltered Mozes Chmielnicki (Chmielewski), a shoemaker. After the war, he married the widow of a Polish police commander.	Musiał, 477 ----- Grabowski, 240 (lists Mozes Chmielnicki)

Józef Piekieniak	Skrzynka	Sheltered a Jewish family consisting of 5 members, who were discovered with the assistance of Wendland, the village head of Mędrzechów, a Volksdeutsche. The Jews were executed by German gendarmes in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Józef Piekieniak and his wife were beaten to unconsciousness, and the wife died soon after.	Kozaczka, 342
Aniela Podkówka	Maniów	Sheltered a Jewish girl named Irena (Ika) Mosiek, whose identity was an open secret. A priest from Szczucin taught her the catechism. After the war, she settled in Israel but maintained contact with her rescuer.	Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 350–51
Franciszek Puła	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Puła sheltered a large number of Jews (one of whom dressed as a priest) with the help of workers from an agricultural enterprise who supplied him with grain. He was executed by Bilert, a German gendarme, in March 1944 after an unidentified Jew was found hiding on his property.	Kozaczka, 344; Bielawski, 64; Pilarska, 108; Musiał, <i>Łata w ukryciu</i> , 107–9, 143–44; Musiał, <i>Krwawe upiory</i> , 171; Hera, 390
Wojciech Puła, his wife Zofia, and their teenage children, Janina, Izabela and Władysław	Małec	Wojciech Puła, his wife Zofia, and their teenage children, Janina, Izabela and Władysław, all from Małec, were arrested on November 8, 1942 for the crime of helping Jews and sent to Auschwitz. The parents and two daughters perished in Auschwitz. Władysław was transferred to Buchenwald and survived the war.	Rejestr, 264–65

Józef Salaterski and his wife	Bóbrek near Wielopole	Sheltered the brothers Salomon and Izaak Goldberg from Olesno, their sister Balka (Niuśka) and her daughter, and their sister-in-law Hana (Lejka) Drelich. While the Goldberg brothers were away searching for food, the hideout in the Salaterskis' barn was accidentally discovered by a villager, who reported it to the village head (<i>sołtys</i>). Since the news had spread widely, the village head informed the German authorities. A German gendarme arrived and shot the two Jewish women and child. The Salaterski couple, who fled from their home, were spared because the village head assured the German gendarme that the fugitives were hiding in the fields. After the war, the village head, Wawrzyniec Szelağ, and several other men were put on trial for apprehending the fugitives. Szelağ, who was acquitted, had helped to shelter three fugitive Soviet prisoners of war and that Stefan Tatarczuk, another villager, was sheltering a Jewish woman. See also the entry for Jan Augustyński.	Musiał, 273–74, 278, 523; Bogdan Musiał, <i>Kto dopomoże Żydowi...</i> (Poznań: Zysk, 2019), 168–73 ----- Grabowski, 244 (two unidentified Jewish women and a child shot)
Rev. Maciej Sieniatycki, a retired professor of theology and former rector of the Jagiellonian University (1918–1919)	Miechowice Małe	Sheltered Dr. Süß for a period of time. Dr. Süß relocated the NowySącz area, where he passed as a Polish doctor. He he was caught by the SS after treating a partisan and committed suicide in jail.	Musiał, 478 (name misspelled as Siemiatycki)

Michał Siutaj	Dąbrowica	Sheltered several members of the Weizer family (known as Duwet). Their hideout was discovered; Herman Weizer escaped, but the others were killed. See also the entries for Franciszek Łachut and Stanisław Forgiel.	Musiał, 309 (Szulap), 352; ----- Grabowski, 230 (Weizer), 238 (Weiser)
Maria Sołtys and Maria Wójcik	Radgoszcz	The Polish protectors were shot by German gendarmes on September 13, 1942 along with their Jewish charge, Szija Grinstam (Grinstman), a local farmer.	Bielawski, 71, 82; Pilarska, 118, 130
Jan Sowa and other villagers	Otfinów	Local Jews who hid in the vicinity, among them Fisiek (Fiszel) Drelich and his brother-in-law, would call on neighbours and friends for food.	Musiał, 523, 524–25
Ewa Stefańczyk	Brnik	Sheltered Mojżesz Lind (Lint), her neighbour. His two sons and daughter perished. Lind settled in the USA after the war. See also the entry for Józef Osak.	Kozaczka, 342; Musiał, 124–25; Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database, Poland: Register of Jewish Survivors II, Internet: https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_view.php?PersonId=4264472 (Mozes Lind)
Michał Surowiec	Czernia, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Sheltered Pinkus (Pinkas) Cizer, his wife, Rozalia, and their son, Józef, after they left the home of Anna Gruchała. See also the entry for Anna Gruchała.	Kozaczka, 344 ----- Grabowski, 237 (Grabowski lists Pinkas, Rozalia and Józef Cizer as having survived in an unspecified hideout outside of Dąbrowa Tarnowska county)

Stanisław Surowiec, his wife, Józefa Surowiec, and Franciszek Surowiec Józef Niewiadomski	Czernia, on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska	The Surowiec family provided temporary shelter and other forms of assistance to Majer Kamm, known as Marian Kamiński after the war, his wife Rozalia, their two daughters, Maria (Mania) and Czesława (Cesia), and their son, Leon (Leib Eliaz), when they were sheltered by their neighbours, Józef Wójcik and Antonina Czerwińska. Surowiec also helped other Jews. The Kamms were also helped by Józef Niewiadomski, whose livestock they tended. See also the entry for Józef Wójcik (Table I).	Kozaczka, 344; Musiał, 90, 91 (testimony of Franciszka Gruszów), 104–11 (testimony of Antonina Wójcik-Czerwińska); Samsonowska, 79 Interview with Leon Kamm, Virtual Shtetl, Internet: < http://www.sztetl.org.pl/article/dabrowa-tarnowska/16,relacje-wspomnienia/26266,interview-with-leon-kamm/ >; Testimony of Li'on Kam (Leon Kamm), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38623 ----- Grabowski, 237 (lists Majer, Leon, and Czesława Kamm as having survived in an unspecified hideout)
Świąder	near Radwan	Sheltered Jews. After the war he was beaten and shot, possibly in revenge for steering the Germans away from his home to Radwan, where they chanced on some Jews hiding in a barn.	Musiał, 313
Tomasz Szado and his wife, Julia	Olesno	Took in a Jewish girl named Hajka Goldberg from Grądy, who was known as Helena. Previously, she had wandered around from place to place begging for food and sleeping in barns and fields. Although Hajka lived there openly, ostensibly as a Polish child, and villagers were aware she was Jewish, no one betrayed her. After the war she was taken by Jews to the UK, and later settled in the USA. She visited her benefactors in 1989.	Kozaczka, 343; Musiał, 140, 258–61; Janet DeStafano, "A Journey of the Heart: Couple Finds WWII Saviors," <i>The Record</i> (Bergen, N.J.), October 4, 1989; Nathan Offen, <i>A Story of Survival</i> ([Philadelphia:] Xlibris, 2009), chapters 10 and 13; Ken Brack, "Before Liberation, a Tormented Flight: Marking 70 Years of Freedom, a Holocaust Survivor Recalls His Wife's Odyssey," <i>Psychology Today</i> , May 5, 2015, Internet: < https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/unspeakable-gifts/201505/liberation-tormented-flight >

Szatan family (later Szatkowski) – wife Maria	Jadowniki Mokre	Dora Künstlich, who was sheltered by the Gibes family, gave birth to a daughter, Weronika, who was taken in by the Gibeses's neighbours, the Szatan (Szatkowski) family.	Kozaczka, 343; Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 234–35 ----- Grabowski, 134, 163–64, 233, 240
Józef Szkotak and his wife, Teresa	Kaczówka/Żdżary	German gendarmes found Izaak Szacher and three other Jews in the home of Józef and Teresa Szkotak and shot all six of them in the fall of 1943.	Bielawski, 75; Pilarska, 121; Rejestr, 209, 264–65; Piątkowski, account 200 ----- Grabowski mentions the Szkotaks only in the dedication of <i>Hunt for the Jews</i>
Janina Tarnowska, a school teacher (rented a room from Feliks Świerczek, who was recognized by Yad Vashem), her parents, and her brother Stanisław	Gorzyce	Franciszka (Fajga) Kryształ (Krystal) was taken in by Janina Tarnowska, who was a teacher at the local school and rented a room in the home of Feliks Świerczek's parents. Feliks arranged false identity documents for Franciszka under the name of Anna Borkowska, with the help of Janina's brother, Stanisław. Franciszka lived there openly, and the fact that she was Jewish was widely known in the village. Her brother, Josef (Józef) Birken, who also came to stay there, lived in hiding. Josef was previously sheltered at Janina Tarnowska's parents' house in Zbylitowska Góra. After the war, Janina and Josef married and settled in Israel.	Kozaczka, 343; Piątkowski, account 38 ----- Grabowski, 54, 232 (does not mention Janina Tarnowska or Josef Birken)
Stefan Tatarczuk	Wielopole	Sheltered an unidentified Jewish woman with the knowledge of the village head.	Bogdan Musiał, <i>Kto dopomoże Żydowi...</i> (Poznań: Zysk, 2019), 173

Zygmunt Tęczar	Olesno	Provided food and occasional shelter to the brothers Salomon and Izaak Goldberg, who wandered around the area. They were also helped by Jan Augustyński and Józef Salaterski, as well as by Tęczar's neighbours, who provided food. The fate of Izaak Goldberg is not clear. See also the entries for Jan Augustyński and Józef Salaterski.	Musiał, 271–73
Franciszek Trędota of Dąbrowa Tarnowska; Adolf Filipiak of Olesno; Lupa		Transported Jews for payment.	Musiał, 31–32, 77–79
Jan Trela	Morzychna	A Jewish acquaintance from Dąbrowa Tarnowska asked Trela to shelter his 12-year-old daughter, in exchange for his house. Trela, who had young children of his own, was too fearful to do so, but offered them food.	Bogdan Musiał, “«Judenjagd», czyli naukowy regres,” <i>Rzeczpospolita</i> , March 5–6, 2011
Józef Waloch, who lived with his parents and brother	Jadowniki Mokre	Provided food to Jews.	Musiał, 479–80

Antoni Waś	Dąbrówka Gorzycka	Sheltered the family of Lejb (Adler?) (parents, 2 daughters and 3 sons) from Świebodzin for about two months. When their presence there became widely known in the village, they decided to leave. They survived the war in Ćwików, except for two sons (one son?) who perished. After the war they settled in Israel and the USA. They accused some Poles of taking part in a raid and denouncing Jews, among them Bronisław Łata; some of them were convicted and sentenced to prison terms. The Waś family also helped helped Fisiek Zelman (Fiszel Drelich?) from Otfinów (who carried a pistol) and Szymek (Salomon Goldberg?) from Olesno, both of whom survived and settled in the USA. See also the entries for Jan Augustyński and Jan Kozaczka.	Musiał, 269–70, 285
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Tomasz Wieczorek Józef Jachym Franciszek Kozaczko his wife, Katarzyna, and their son Julian	Brnik (Dabrowa Tarnowska county) Wola Brnik (just outside Dąbrowa Tarnowska county)	Sheltered Samuel (Szymon) and Chaim Metzger (Mecker, Metzkier), who settled in the USA. He also assisted Mozes Grinzweig (Grincwajg, Grincwang) and his wife, Rachela (Paszka), who were sheltered by the Kozaczko family. The Grinzweigs returned to their own farm in the village of Brnik after the war; they sold the farm when they left Poland, rather than leaving it to the Kozaczkos, as they had promised to do. They settled in the USA. Wieczorek also helped Herszek (Heśko) Piszek, and his wife Haftka, who were killed by the Germans when their forest bunker was found, as well as Mojżesz Samuel, a mill owner. Tomasz Wieczorek and Józef Jachym were arrested by the Gestapo in May 1944. The former was executed; the latter was sent to Auschwitz and managed to survive. The two Jews hidden in the attic of Jachym's house at the time (Samuel and Chaim Metzger) were not found and survived. After the war, they gave some land to Stefania Wieczorek (Tomasz's wife). The suspected denouncer was beaten by the Home Army.	Kozaczka, 342 (Tomasz Wierzbówka); Musiał, 123–28; Encyclopedia, vol. 4, 392 (Kozaczko family); Yad Vashem Database of the Righteous Among the Nations http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4039705 ----- Grabowski, 237, 238 (lists Mozes and Rachela Grinzweig and Samuel and Chaim Metzkier in Table 9 as having survived in unspecified hideouts), 243 (lists Moses Grincwang, his daughter and two grandchildren as having been killed in 1943)
Władysław Wierzbówka	Wola Żelichowska	Rescue of a Jewish family consisting of 4 members, who survived and left Poland after the war.	Kozaczka, 343
Władysław Wierzbówka and other villagers	Gręboszów	Several farmers sheltered Mozes Wurzel (Meniek Wurcel), who survived and settled in Israel.	Musiał, 38 (testimony of Samuel Roth)

Jan Wilczyński	Otfinów	Allowed Jews to stay in his barn, among them Chaim Drelich from Otfinów, and provided them with food.	Musiał, 523–24
Anna Zofia Kmieć Wójcik (Kmieć was her surname from her first marriage; her second husband, Wojciech Wójcik, perished in Auschwitz), her son Bronisław Kmieć, her granddaughters, Bronisława and Janina Sołtys (1 and 4 years old, respectively) Tomasz Juzba and his wife, Bronisława (in her 8th month of pregnancy)	Radgoszcz-Poręba	These Polish protectors, who provided a number of Jews with food and temporary shelter, were executed by German gendarmes on September 13, 1942 (a later date of November 28, 1942 has also been given). Three Jews who were found in the home—Szyja Grinztman and his two children—were also killed. According to one source, Juzba's mother-in-law denounced her son-in-law after a quarrel.	Musiał, <i>Lata w ukryciu</i>, 245–46, 308, 316; Musiał, <i>Krwawe upiory</i>, 154; Bielawski, 35, 38, 71, 83; Pilarska, 76, 78, 117–18, 130; Hera, 233, 252 (September 13, 1942); Represje, vol. 1, 185–86 ----- Grabowski mentions Zofia Wójcik and Bronisław Kmieć only in the dedication of his book, <i>Hunt for the Jews</i> NOTE: There is some confusion regarding this rescue effort, including the names of the victims and the date of their execution. Anna Kmieć and Zofia Wójcik appear to be one and the same person. Various dates between September and December have been given for the execution.
Michał Wójcik and Franciszek Woźniak	Pawłów near Bolesław	Two Poles were executed by German gendarmes in the spring of 1943 for sheltering Jews and helping them to escape by organizing, among other things, river crossings.	Bielawski, 82; Pilarska, 129, 130
Mrs. Wróbel	Smyków	Sheltered 7 Jews, whose fate is unclear, for a period of time. During her interrogation by the Germans, her teeth were knocked out.	Musiał, 109–10
Stefan Ząbek, a Home Army member	Kanna	Assisted Józef and Zygmunt Gruber (brothers), and their niece, Estera Gruber.	Kozaczka, 343; Żabno list (Estera Gruber)

Tadeusz Zimowski	Kupienin near Mędrzechów	Provided shelter and food to a group of four Jews who built a pit on Zimowski's farm property. They stayed there for several months in 1944. When their hideout was detected, they moved elsewhere but were apprehended in a German raid.	Piątkowski, account 83
An unidentified widow Pudelko	Sieradza	A poor widow with 4 children (including a 16-year-old daughter named Zosia), sheltered Cyla Goldman and her two daughters, Rae Weitz (born in 1925 as Rachela Goldman), and Ann Shore (born in 1929 as Hania Goldman), from Żabno. They stayed at this home for more than two years – at first for payment, but soon their money ran out and they refused to leave. The widow's son may have been Józef Wójcik. Previously, they had stayed with a farmer named Pudelko for 4 weeks for payment. After leaving the widow's home, they stayed in a barn in a nearby village for 5 weeks with Chaim Fertig from Żabno, who was being sheltered by a farmer for no compensation.	Testimony of Ann Shore, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, interview code 39906; Testimony of Rae Weitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, interview code 4073; USHMM Photo Archives; Żabno list; Kozaczka, 343 ----- Grabowski, 232–33

An unidentified doctor	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	Cyla Braw (born in 1935) was shot by a German policeman while she and her mother fled during the July 1942 <i>Aktion</i> . A Blue policeman allowed them to complete their escape. On returning to Dąbrowa Tarnowska, an unidentified Polish doctor treated Cyla Braw's wounds. Afterwards, she and her mother stayed with a Polish farmer by the name of Zawada in Dulcza Mała for half a year before moving to the forest.	Testimony of Cyla Braw, Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 2342; Samsonowska, 78 ----- Grabowski, 37–38, 90, 131–32, 218–22, 230, 231
Unidentified villagers, among them Ewa Zając (Yad Vashem Righteous)	Suchy Grunt	Helped Barbara (Basia) Wolfowicz (née Falek) and her brother, Mozes. They settled in Israel after the war.	Kozaczka, 342 ----- Grabowski, 231 (Mozes Wolfowicz), 239 (Mozes and Basia Wolfowicz)
Unidentified villagers, among them Ewa Zając (Yad Vashem Righteous)	Tonia-Brzeźnica	Helped several Jewish families hiding in the vicinity.	Kozaczka, 342–43; Musiał, 245
An unidentified woman	Gruszów	An unidentified woman was executed by the Germans for helping Jews. See also the entry for Karolina Orszulak.	Musiał, 31 (testimony of Ethla Süß/Etka Ziss)

Unidentified villagers, among them Jan Starsiak	Grądy	A local Jew by the name of Fisieć escaped from the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska and returned to his village. He was fed and sheltered by many villagers. Blue policemen from Mędrzechów found Fisieć in Starsiak's barn and arrested him. He did not take the opportunity to escape when he was left unattended on the way to the ghetto. His death saddened the villagers, who were fond of Fisieć. When the village was evacuated by the Germans at the end of 1944, a Jew who remained hidden in the village died during the winter.	Musiał, 34 testimony of Ethla Süß/Etka Ziss (testimony of Ethla Süß/Etka Ziss), 253–57
Three unidentified villagers and village head	villages near Dulcza forest	Provided temporary shelter to Dawid Wasserstrum, his mother and his sister.	Testimony of Dawid Wasserstrum, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 3866
An unidentified Blue policeman and Home Army member		Leib Taffel (Lejb Tafel) of Borusowa was encircled during a raid, but allowed to escape by a Polish policeman, who was a Home Army member.	Kozaczka, 343; Żabno list
An unidentified farmer	Bolesław	A Polish farmer had to take on extra jobs to support his family and Jewish charge.	Musiał, 150
Unidentified villagers	Bolesław	A Jew from Bolesław by the name of Silber was sheltered by Poles. After the war, he signed his farm over to his benefactors.	Musiał, 520–21
Unidentified villagers	Bolesław	A 10-year-old Jewish girl known as Wiesia Kosiak was rescued by villagers after her parents were seized during a German raid.	Musiał, 307–8

A Blue policeman named Janisław or Stanisław	Dąbrowa Tarnowska	A Polish policeman named Janisław or Stanisław sheltered the daughter of a rabbi.	Grabowski, 107–8; Jan Grabowski, ed., <i>Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...: Losy kobiet ocalałych w okolicach Dąbrowy Tarnowskiej</i> (Waraw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2016) (testimony of Rivka Shenker/Rywka Schenker, later Regina Goldfinger)
Unidentified farmer		An unidentified farmer sheltered a Jew by the name of Haskiel.	Jan Grabowski, ed., <i>Szczęście posiadać dom pod ziemią...: Losy kobiet ocalałych w okolicach Dąbrowy Tarnowskiej</i> (Waraw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2016) (testimony of Rivka Shenker/Rywka Schenker, later Regina Goldfinger)
Unidentified villagers	Gorzyce	Farmers brought food to two Jewish women hiding in the cemetery. They later left and their fate is unknown.	Musiał, 526
Unidentified villagers	Nieciecza	Villagers fed Jews hiding in the vicinity.	Musiał, 517
Unidentified villagers	Wielopole	Aniela Kaczmarska, a convert from Marcinkowice, took shelter there.	Musiał, 521
Unidentified villagers	Wielopole	A farm worker hid a Jew in a barn. He was accidentally discovered during a robbery.	Musiał, 167
Unidentified villagers		Aultek (Markus Mołdek?), a cattle trader from Wietrzychowice, survived in hiding.	Musiał, 476, 477
An unidentified farmer or farmers	near Dąbrowa Tarnowska	After being attacked with an axe when he came to reclaim property left with a farmer, Leo (Leibish) Drellich, another farmer bandaged the wound to Drellich's head and cared for him. Drellich spent several months hiding with Polish farmers near Dąbrowa Tarnowska before moving to the Tarnów ghetto, when conditions had settled down there.	Testimony of Leo Drellich, August 6, 2000, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 51138

Unidentified villagers	Bagienica, Beleryt	Various farmers, among them Antoni Witek, provided food to the three-member Pink family. However, their bunker was eventually betrayed and the Pinks were killed by German gendarmes.	Musiak, 112
An unidentified farmer	Gruszów Wielki	Michał Pinkas (born 1931) worked as a cowherd for an unidentified farmer. The farmer let him stay on and treated him well even after he learned the boy was Jewish.	Testimony of Michał Pinkas, Jewish Historical Institute, Record group 301, number 767; Olga Orzeł, ed., <i>Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady: Wczesne świadectwa 1944–1948: Relacje dziecięce ze zbiorów Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej</i> (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2014), 214–16 ----- Grabowski, 187 (partial testimony with rescue omitted), 232 (place of rescue omitted)
Unidentified villagers		Berl (Berek) Fischman from Dąbrowa Tarnowska was sheltered for some time by a Christian together together with the Chabina Tav. Both were apprehended and deported to Auschwitz, yet survived the war.	<i>In Living Memory: A Tribute to the Victims of the Holocaust</i> (Woodmere, New York: Davis Renov Stahler Yeshiva High School for Boys, April 2017), 16 ----- Grabowski, 109 (rescue efforts not mentioned)
Unidentified villagers	outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska Ryglice (outside county)	After escaping from the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto, Adela (Adele) Gold and her sister were given temporary shelter by a woman farmer on the outskirts of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Subsequently, they went to their village of Ryglice near Tarnów, where they were given temporary shelter by a former employee.	Testimony of Adela (Adele) Gold, Jewish Historical Institute Archive (Warsaw), Record group 301, number 772 ----- Grabowski, 184, 234 (misidentified as a Dąbrowa Tarnowska Jew who survived outside the county)

TABLE III**Jews Who Reported to the Żabno Office of the Central Committee of Polish Jews****Wykaz osób zarejestrowanych w Żabnie**

Lp.	Nazwisko i imię	Rok ur.
1.	Brandstatter Tauba	1900
2.	Chmielnicki Mozes	1895
3.	Celnik Samuel	1909
4.	Drelich Fischel	1908
5.	Forst Estera	1910
6.	Ferderber Iser	1915
7.	Forst Izak	1921
8.	Fertig Chaim	1925
9.	Finder Mendel	1911
10.	Finder Chana	1875
11.	Goldman Cyla	1889
12.	Goldman Rachela	1925
13.	Goldman Hania	1929
14.	Gruber Estera	1925
15.	Goldberg Markus	1907
16.	Ickowicz Alter	1913
17.	Klein Jakub*	1914
18.	Jakub Izaak	1916
19.	Jakub Naftali	1919
20.	Kalb Elias	1909
21.	Korn Mozes	1906
22.	Korn Leib	1913
23.	Kochane Rachela	1900
24.	Kochane Elias	1923
25.	Klein Jakub*	1914 (duplicate entry)
26.	Kinstlich Jakub	1909
27.	Kinstlich Dora	1909
28.	Kinstlich Majer	1932
29.	Kinstlich Gusta	1943
30.	Lederberger Salomon	1922
31.	Mann Rózia	1913
32.	Mann Leib	1919
33.	Mann Michael	1929
34.	Mann Rachela	1911
35.	Polonecki Dawid	1920
36.	Schwarzman Mala	1925
37.	Spiewak Markus	1924
38.	Spiewak Genia	1925
39.	Spangelet Mindla	1907
40.	Spangelet Rachela	1909
41.	Spangelet Mozes	1935
42.	Süss Samuel	1917
43.	Taffel Leib	1918
44.	Unterberger Abraham	1911
45.	Wolf Tobiasz	1919
46.	Wolf Lea	1899
47.	Wolf Nona	1925
48.	Wolf Doba	1935
49.	Wurzel Mozes	1922
50.	Mann Perisch	1912

TABLE IV

Jews Who Survived the War in Dąbrowa Tarnowska County with the Help of Poles – Incomplete Listing

NOTE: This table contains 123 Jews (four are not identified by name). The names of 75 Jews not listed by Grabowski in Table 7 of *Hunt for the Jews* (which contains 48 names, as adjusted) appear are bolded.

Abraham (Henryk) Adler	
Chajka Adler	
Estera Adler	
Hirsch Adler	
Marcin (Markus) Adler	
Reisla Adler	
Chava Amsterdam Amir	Yad Vashem
Jochanan Amsterdam	Yad Vashem
Zvi Henryk (Herman) Amsterdam	Yad Vashem
Lea Anmuth	
Markus (Maksymilian) Arymowicz	
Helena Ascheim (Aschheim, later Littman)	Yad Vashem
Josef (Józef) Birken	Yad Vashem
Ewa Blaugrund	
Cyla Braw	
Roman Braw	
Hesiek (Hersz, Leib) Buch	Yad Vashem
Samuel Celnik	Żabno list
Mozes Chmielnicki	Żabno list
Józef Cizer	
Pinkas Cizer	
Rozalia Cizer	
Fiszel Drelich	
Liba Ehrenberg (Liebe Ehruberg)	
Izaak (Izak) Ferderber	Yad Vashem
Chaim Fertig	Żabno list
Four (4) teenagers from Żabno	
Estera Gelc (Ester Gelz)	Yad Vashem
Helena (Hajka) Goldberg	
Salomon (Samuel) Goldberg	
Szymon Goldberg	Yad Vashem
Cyla Goldman	Żabno list
Hania Goldman (Ann Shore)	Żabno list
Rachela Goldman (Rae Weitz)	Żabno list
Sara Goldman (Sala, née Ziss or Süß)	Yad Vashem
Mozes Grinzweig (Grincwajg)	
Rachela Grinzweig (Grincwajg)	
Estera Gruber	Żabno list
Bieniek (Benedykt) Grün	Yad Vashem
Fela (Felicja) Grün	Yad Vashem
Karolina (Haja) Grün	Yad Vashem
Regina Grün	Yad Vashem
Chaskiel Gruszow (Gruszów)	Yad Vashem
Chaskiel Gruszow's mother (Rachela?)	
Franciszka Gruszów	
Franciszka Gruszów's husband	
Isak Gruszow	
Maria Gruszow	
Mojżesz Muniek Haber	Yad Vashem

Regina Haber	Yad Vashem
Rose Roize Shoshana Lesser Hoellander	Yad Vashem
Celina (Cesia) Holzer Morley	Yad Vashem
Izaak Izrael (Israel)	
Leon Jachimowicz	Żabno list
Samuel Jachimowicz	Żabno list
Sisel Jachimowicz	Yad Vashem
Tema Jachimowicz	Yad Vashem
Izaak (Icek) Jakub	Yad Vashem
Naftali Jakub	Yad Vashem
Jakub Kalb (Yanek Biegon)	Yad Vashem
Czesława Kamm	Yad Vashem
Leon Kamm	Yad Vashem
Majer Kamm	Yad Vashem
Mosze Keh (Manek Kehl)	Yad Vashem
Sara Keh (Kehl) Nudel	Yad Vashem
Elias Kohane (Kochane)	Żabno list
Rachela Kohane (Kohane)	Żabno list
Franciszka (Fajga) Kryształ (Feige Birken)	Yad Vashem
Dora Künstlich	Yad Vashem
Jakub Künstlich	Yad Vashem
Majer Künstlich (Adam Merc)	Yad Vashem
Wiktoria Künstlich (Szatan, Merc, Kozakiewicz)	Yad Vashem
Abraham (Mojżesz?) Lampel	
Salo (Salomon) Lederberger	Yad Vashem
Mozes (Mojżesz) Lind	
Aron Minder	
Shiyer Mutzenmacher (Charles Manson)	Yad Vashem
Chaim Metzger (Metzkier/Meckier)	
Regina Metzger (Metzkier/Mecger)	
Samuel Metzger (Metzkier/Meckier)	
Irena Mosiek	
Michał Pinkas	
Adler Rand	
Mozes Rand	
Dawid (David) Polonecki Rottenstein	Yad Vashem
Abraham Salomon	Yad Vashem
Sara Abracham Salomon	Yad Vashem
Maria Samuel	
Etka (Ethla) Scherman (Sekerman) Roth (née Ziss or Süss)	Yad Vashem
Yitzchak (Izaak) Scherman (Ignac or Igancy Szerman or Sekerman)	Yad Vashem
Mala Schwarzman (Szwarcman)	Żabno list
Silber (from Bolesław)	
Genia Śpiewak (Śpiwak) Wechter	Yad Vashem
Mordechai Śpiewak (Śpiwak)	Yad Vashem
Izak (Ignacy or Ignaz) Stieglitz (Szytyglic)	
Jakub Naftali (later Michał) Stieglitz (Szytyglic)	
Regina Stieglitz (Szytyglic)	
Zofia Stieglitz (Szytyglic)	
Leib Taffel (Lejb Tafel)	Żabno list
Naftali Unger	
Rachela Unger	
Dawid Wasserstrum	
Dawid Wasserstrum's sister	
Dawid Wasserstrum's mother	
Melania Weisenberg (Weissenberg, later Molly Applebaum)	Yad Vashem
Samuel Weiser (Wajzer)	Yad Vashem
Abraham (Abram) Weit (Weith)	Yad Vashem

Avigdor (Awigdor) Weit (Weith)	Yad Vashem
Herman Weizer	
Aron Werker	Yad Vashem
Estera Werker	
Estera Werker's child	
Jakub Werker	
Eleonora Wolf (Lea Kalb)	Yad Vashem
Dorothea (Dorota) Wolf Aranowitz	Yad Vashem
Genia Gena Wolf Dombek	Yad Vashem
Tobcia Wolf – Tobcia Tonka Kalb Forst(?)	Yad Vashem
Basia (Batia, Berta) Wolfowicz (Falek)	Yad Vashem
Moser (Moses, Mosze) Wolfowicz	Yad Vashem
Mozes Wurzel (Meniek Wurcel)	Żabno list

APPENDIX

Rescue by Poles Recognized by Yad Vashem As Righteous Among the Nations

(Note: Diacritical marks have been added for consistent usage.)

Zofia Bernat-Śliska

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4013902>

Rescue Story

Bernat-Śliska, Zofia

Zofia Bernat (later Bernat-Śliska), a Polish woman, and Zofia Bloch were former schoolmates. During the war, their ways parted. In 1941, Zofia Bernat moved to Bohemia, where she found work at a farm owned by a German in the village of Laubendorf, near Svatavy [Svitavy] (the German name Zwittau). Zofia Bloch, along with her entire family (her parents, younger brother, and grandparents) remained in their home village of Wola Mędrzechowska, in the county of Tarnów, Kraków district.

On June 22, 1942, the entire Bloch family, except for Zofia and her mother, were taken to the nearest ghetto and then to an extermination camp. Zofia and her mother stayed in the village. For a few months, they hid with the help of some neighbors, but following her mother's suggestion, Zofia Bloch wrote a letter to Zofia Bernat asking her to arrange a job for her with her employer. The employer agreed and, at the same time, with the help of another friend from school, Zofia Bloch was able to obtain false documents under the name of Zofia Badył. (Zofia Bloch's mother was murdered in 1943 by local collaborators in her home village.)

During November 1942, Zofia Bloch arrived in Bohemia tired and hungry, without so much as a change of clothes. Zofia Bernat shared everything she had with her; they even shared the same bed.

After the war, the women parted ways once again. Zofia Bernat immigrated to the United States; Zofia Bloch left for Sweden. Both of them started families and they were reunited with each other in late 1994.

On July 27, 1994, Yad Vashem recognized Zofia Bernat-Śliska as Righteous Among the Nations. File 6740

Rescued Person

Nowik, Bloch, Zofia

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), pp. 85–86.

Anna Błoch

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4013977>

Rescue Story

Błoch, Anna

In July 1942, during the German *Aktion* against the Dąbrowa-Tarnowska ghetto in the Kraków district, Sabina Solomon managed to escape. On her way to Radwan, a nearby village where she had Polish friends, Sabina was attacked by a gang of robbers, who stole her money and valuables, hit her, broke her hand, and left her bruised and injured in the field. With her remaining strength, Sabina managed to drag herself to her friend, Anna Błoch's, house. Despite the danger, Błoch took Sabina in, dressed her wounds, arranged a hiding place for her in the pantry, and kept her fed, and hidden from the prying eyes of the local police. Sabina stayed with Błoch for six months, until she managed to inform her family, who had also escaped from the ghetto and were hiding in the nearby forest, of her whereabouts. Sabina joined her family in the forest, but in the autumn of 1943, fell ill and died. Her relatives kept in touch with Anna Błoch, who sent them food, and saw to their needs until the area was liberated by the Red Army in January 1945. On May 5, 1998, Yad Vashem recognized Anna Błoch as Righteous Among the Nations. File 8068

Rescued Persons

Salomon, Sabina, Szajndel
Hoellander, Lesser, Rose, Roize, Shoshana
Amsterdam, Zvi, Henryk (Herman)
Amir, Amsterdam, Chawa
Haber, Regina
Haber, Mojżesz, Muniek

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), p. 96.

Franciszek Bochenek & Bronisława Bochenek

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4693543>

Rescue Story

Bochenek, Franciszek

Bochenek, Bronisława

Franciszek and Bronisława (née Misiaszek) Bochenek lived in the village of Lubiczko (Kraków District). The couple, in their forties, had three small children, Leokadia, Jan and Adolf, and owned a middle-sized farm. They were good neighbors with the Śpiewaks, a Jewish family. Josef Śpiewak was a tailor and also had a small farm with his wife, Sara. The Śpiewak children, Genia, Mordechai, Dora, Yafa, Rivka and Shoshana helped out on Bocheneks' farm. Franciszek Bochenek helped plough the Śpiewaks' field with his horse and did chores for them on the Sabbath. The close relations between the families continued into the war and even after the Nazis ordered the Jews of Lubiczko, including the Śpiewaks, to move into a ghetto in Nowy Korczyn (Kielce District). Franciszek visited them periodically and offered to provide help should they manage to escape. The children Genia and Mordechai were indeed able to escape in 1942 and came on their own to the Bochenek house. The Bocheneks sheltered Genia and Mordechai for two and a half years, driven by compassion for their neighbors' children. They supplied them with food and shelter on their farm, whether in the house, barn, attic, cellar or stable. When there was no evident danger, they invited the children to join them at their table. At one point, someone informed on the Bocheneks to the village administrator. The house was searched by the Nazis but they did not find Mordechai nor Genia who was hidden in the closet. Following the liberation, the siblings stayed with the Bocheneks until Mordechai recovered from an illness. In April 1945, they moved to Tarnów, where Genia married Moshe Wechter. They promised the Bocheneks not to reveal that they were their rescuers fearing negative responses from their neighbors. Therefore, Genia rejected her family's suggestions to apply to Yad Vashem for recognition of the Bocheneks. The siblings transferred the land that belonged to their parents and grandparents to the Bocheneks in recognition of their selfless act. Genia Wechter stayed in touch with her rescuers and their daughter Leokadia Dymańska. Franciszek Bochenek died in 1980 and Bronisława in 1990.

On January 31, 2005, Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek and Bronisława Bochenek as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 10431

Rescued Persons

Wechter, Śpiwak [Śpiewak], Genia

Śpiwak [Śpiewak], Mordechai

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 10, pp. 535–36.

Józef Gibes & Józefa Gibes

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034573>

Rescue Story

Gibes, Józef

Gibes, Józefa

Jakub and Dora Jakub and Dora Künstlich, their seven-year-old son, Adolf [Majer], and their friend, Szymon Goldberg, who lived in the village of Jadowniki Mokre, were interned in the ghetto in the nearby town of Brzesko, in the Kraków district. When they managed to escape in 1942, the four returned to their village and knocked on the door of Józef and Józefa Gibes, old acquaintances of theirs, who, without a moment's hesitation, agreed to shelter their former neighbors. Despite the danger to themselves and their four children, the Gibes hid the four refugees in a bunker they dug under the feeding trough in the pigsty, which they covered with straw. In April 1943, Dora Künstlich gave birth to a girl who was left at night on the Szatkowskis' doorstep. The Szatkowskis, a childless couple, looked after her and brought her up under the name Weronika. The Gibeses, guided by humanitarian considerations, looked after the Künstlichs and Goldberg and saw to all their needs, despite their straitened circumstances, until January 1945, when the area was liberated. Immediately after the liberation, Goldberg left Poland, while Jakub and Dora Künstlich were murdered by a gang of Polish thugs in late 1945. When it became known that the Gibeses had helped Jews during the occupation, they became the targets of threats and blackmail. In 1946, after Józefa died, a number of thugs turned up at her funeral, riddled her coffin with bullets, and began cursing and insulting her for her work in saving Jews during the occupation. Adolf [Majer] Künstlich, the Künstlichs' son, immigrated to Denmark while his sister, Weronika, stayed in Poland.

On October 25, 1994, Yad Vashem recognized Józefa and Józef Gibes as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 6331

Rescued Persons

Merc, Künstlich, Adam, Adolf [Majer]

Künstlich, Jakub

Künstlich, Dora

Goldberg, Szymon

Kozakiewicz, Merc, Szatan, Künstlich, Wiktoria

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), pp. 234–35.

Piotr Heleniak & Anna Heleniak-Kaczmarczyk

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4015239>

Rescue Story

Heleniak, Piotr

Heleniak-Kaczmarczyk, Anna

After the massacre perpetrated by the Germans on March 10, 1942, against the Jews of the town of Żabno, in the Tarnów district, a number of Jews – including David Rottenstein and Leon Kalb – decided to escape and seek shelter in the area. Rottenstein and Kalb arrived at the nearby village of Ujście Jezuickie, where they met Piotr Heleniak, a bachelor who lived with his mother and sister, Anna Kaczmarczyk, and her two adolescent children. Heleniak agreed to hide the refugees on his farm, then drove into Żabno in his wagon, and at great personal risk, smuggled out seven other Jews: Salo Lederberger, Izak Federber, Yanek Kalb (Biegon), Tonka Forst, her sister Eleonora Wolf, and her daughters Dorothea and Gena. The Jewish refugees hid in ditches dug for them in the farmyard, and during raids, left the house to take cover in the nearby fields. Anna Kaczmarczyk looked after all the Jewish refugees, purchased food for them, cooked for them, and saw to all their needs. Leon Kalb, who died while in hiding, was buried at night behind the hayloft. The remaining refugees stayed with Piotr and Anna for thirty-two months, until the area was liberated in January 1945 by the Red Army. In saving the refugees' lives, Heleniak and Kaczmarczyk were prompted by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship. After the war, the survivors left Poland and helped Heleniak immigrate to the United States where they looked after him and helped him find a job. On November 3, 1993, Yad Vashem recognized Piotr Heleniak and his sister, Anna (Hanka) Kaczmarczyk, as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 5872

Rescued Persons

Dombek, Wolf, Gena

Aranowitz, Wolf, Dorothea

Wolf, Kalb, Lea, Eleonora

Rottenstein, Polonecki, David

Kalb, Leon

Lederberger, Salo

Federber, Izak

Kalb, Biegon, Yanek

Forst, Kalb, Tonka

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), pp. 270–71.

Stanisław Jaje & Anna Jaje

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4411153>

Rescue Story

Jaje, Stanisław

Jaje, Anna

Zofia Ginter was born in Kazimierz, the Jewish quarter of Kraków, in 1920. Her parents owned a bakery that was closed following the occupation. Gradually it became very difficult to be Jewish in Kraków; Jews were stopped in the street and deported or killed on the spot unless they could prove they were working for Germans or in factories.

The Ginters decided it would be safer for them to move to the small village of Szczucin, where Zofia's father was born. Zofia did not "look too Jewish" and she spoke good Polish, so she removed her Star of David armband and took a boat to Szczucin with the family's possessions. There she procured lodgings and stored their belongings. She also met Shiyer Mutzenmacher (b. 1912), who would later become her husband.

Three months later, the entire family made their way to Szczucin. Unfortunately, the occupation followed. About a year after the Ginters' move, random searches, confiscations and killings began in the village. Shiyer, who was courting Zofia, was sent to the Pustków camp. He was released on payment of a bribe that was enormous in proportion to his family's very restricted means. After his return, Shiyer proposed, and Zofia moved in with his family.

In 1943, the Germans decided to rid Szczucin of its Jewish population. They sent them en masse to Dąbrowa [Dąbrowa], a larger village nearby. There, most of Zofia and Shiyer's families were shot or deported to death camps. Zofia and her sister returned to Kraków, where they ended up in the ghetto south of the river. Life in the ghetto was an insufferable daily struggle. When the Płaszów camp was established nearby, Zofia was one of the first to be sent there. Later, she was transported to Auschwitz, and from there to Czechoslovakia to work at a cotton mill in the town of Liechtenwerden.

Meanwhile, Shiyer Mutzenmacher had fled the Szczucin ghetto during its liquidation. He ran to the nearby farm of Anna and Stanisław Jaje, and begged them for shelter in return for all the valuables he had. The Jajes acquiesced. At the time, they had one young son (two more children were born to them after the war). Shiyer stayed with them for several years, until liberation. When German soldiers came to the farm, he would hide in haystacks, and once even in the fireplace. Despite his constant hunger, he refused to consume non-kosher meat.

Everyone in the village knew that a young man of Jewish descent was hiding in the Jajes' house, but nobody denounced him. After Shiyer's initial funds ran out, the Jajes agreed to keep him on. He did tailoring jobs for the neighbors and other villagers, which contributed to the household expenses.

After liberation, Shiyer found no surviving Jews in Szczucin, and decided to go to Kraków. There he was helped by the Jewish Committee, which gave him a room to live in next door their headquarters. He worked as a tailor. Six months later, Zofia was liberated too. She came to Kraków and benefitted from the Jewish Committee's aid too, frequenting its headquarters. One day, she ran into Shiyer in the street. The two were married the same year.

The couple soon moved to Paris and from there to London, where they became naturalized citizens and changed their names to Charles and Zofia Manson. They established a family, and eventually restored contact with the Jajes, to whom they sent regular letters and gift parcels.

In 1997, the Mansons' sons decided it was time to visit their roots in Poland. Their now-widowed mother traveled with them to Kraków, where they met someone who had known Shiyer and took them to see the farm where he had been hidden during the war. Stanisław and Anna Jaje were no longer alive, but, their oldest son remembered Shiyer and recalled the events of the war.

On April 27, 2010, Yad Vashem recognized Stanisław and Anna Jaje as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 11802

Rescued Persons

Manson, Mutzenmacher, Charles, Shiyer

Stanisław Kaczówka & Maria Kaczówka

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034662>

Rescue Story

Kaczówka, Stanisław

Kaczówka, Maria

Maria Kaczówka lived with her husband, Stanisław, in the village of Kanna, in the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, in the Kraków district. In October 1942, Izaak Sekerman [Scherman], his wife Etkā, and Etkā's sister, Sara Ziss, fled from the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto, in a bid to reach the Nowy Korczyn ghetto in the neighboring town. On their way, they passed through the village of Kanna, where they discovered that the Germans had begun liquidating the Jews in the Nowy Korczyn ghetto, too. Not knowing what to do, the three decided to return to the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto. When Stanisław Kaczówka, whom they hired to drive them back in his wagon, heard their story, he offered them shelter in his house. With his wife's consent, Kaczówka brought the three refugees to his home, and hid them in the cellar, and later in a bunker which he dug for them at night. The three Jewish refugees stayed with the Kaczówkas from October 1942 until the area was liberated in January 1945. Later, Etkā testified that Maria Kaczówka looked after them like a mother. Sekerman died shortly after the liberation. Etkā, his wife, remarried and stayed in Poland, while her sister, Sara Ziss, immigrated to the United States.

On July 6, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Maria and Stanisław Kaczówka as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 5205

Rescued Persons

Roth, Sekerman [Scherman], Ziss, Süß, Etkā

Sekerman [Scherman], Izaak, Ignac

Goldman, Süß, Ziss, Sala, Sara

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), p. 325.

Józef Kiwior & Genowefa Kiwior

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034916>

Rescue Story

Kiwior, Józef

Kiwior, Genowefa

Celina Holzer belonged to a group of Jews who had been left in the Tarnów ghetto, in the Kraków district, after its liquidation in September 1943, in order to clear out the Jewish property left in the empty ghetto. In February 1944, as the day of their deportation to the Płaszów concentration camp approached, Holzer escaped, and made her way to the home of Józef and Genowefa Kiwior, acquaintances of hers who lived with their three children in the village of Adamierz near Tarnów. Despite the danger, the Kiwiors arranged a hiding place for her in the attic, where they looked after her devotedly and saw to all her needs without expecting anything in return. Later, the Kiwiors also sheltered Hesiek Buch, a refugee from Kraków. Despite their straitened circumstances, the Kiwiors looked after Holzer and Buch until the liberation in January 1945. After the war, Holzer immigrated to England and Buch to Israel.

On January 29, 1998, Yad Vashem recognized Genowefa and Józef Kiwior as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 7900

Rescued Persons

Morley, Holzer, Celina, Lesia

Buch, Leib, Hersz, Hesiek

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), p. 348.

POLIN – Polish Righteous

<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/228,the-kiwior-family/article=978,more-about-the-kiwior-family>

The Kiwior Family

Józef Kiwior Husband

born 14 November 1914 – died 19 July 1983

Genowefa Kiwior née Cholewa Wife

born 16 April 1926

Recognized as the Righteous Among the Nations:

29 January 1998

Help Was Extended to:

Celina Morley née Holzer

born 1914

Hesiek Buch

born 1912 – died 1979

More about the Kiwior Family

Genowefa Kiwior was born in the village of Adamierz (currently the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, the Tarnów powiat), to a farmer's family. She had two sisters and two brothers. She lost her parents early (her mother passed away before the war, her father – during the war); during the Nazi occupation of Poland she was running the farmstead with her two younger brothers.

In her interview for the Museum of History of Polish Jews, Genowefa recalls: "The whole of Dąbrowa [Tarnowska] was a Jewish town ... But they were good people, and I was working for Jews, they were very good people. They didn't look for ways to use people. ... I respected them and they respected me."

The Rescued

Celina Holzer was a clerk at the Tarnów City Council. Shortly after the requirement for Jews to wear armbands came into effect (in December 1939), she was forced to leave her job. After the Tarnów ghetto was formed, she and her parents were relocated there.

She was the only member of her family to survive the liquidation of the ghetto; she was made to pack the items left by the other Jews and prepare them for shipment to Germany. In February 1944, when commandant Amon Göth came to Tarnów to oversee the transport of the remaining Jews to the concentration camp in Płaszów, she managed to escape.

Hesiek Buch was a tailor from Kraków, it is believed he escaped the Tarnów ghettowith Celina Holzer.

The two probably encountered Józef Kiwior in Mościce, Tarnów's industrial district, where he was working at a factory (in all probability the State Nitrogen Compounds Works, a former name of the current Zakłady Azotowe w Tarnowie-Mościcach S.A).

The Rescue Story – February 1944 – January 1945

In February 1944, Józef Kiwior hid Celina and Hesiek in the attic of the house in Oleśno where he lived with his wife, Zofia – Genowefa's older sister.

Genowefa relates: "I didn't know there was anyone there, and [though] we were sort of helping each other – I'd graze their cow, shepherd it sometimes – [my sister] never said a thing."

Around September 1944 Zofia Kiwior died in a bombardment. It was then that Genowefa's brother-in-law and later her husband, Józef, told her about the hidden Jews: "'You now, I've got two people in the attic, maybe we could move them to you. I gotta go to work, what're they gonna do n the attic ... What are we supposed to do, we can't throw them out. Maybe it won't be long. If you'd take them here, the house is old, not too big, nobody's going to think there's [someone]...' And that's what happened, he brought them at night."

The two fugitives were placed in the stack of hay in the attic in Genowefa's house. She recalls: "They spent the days in the attic with nothing to do, just lying there and pondering their fate: what was going to happen to them?"

They came down only in the evenings, "when the lights around went out, in the houses, we'd bring them down, down the ladder to the house, and we'd sit and talk some. And then we had to take them up again."

Money

The financial situation at the house was bad. Despite the difficulties, the family did not expect any compensation from the rescued: "They were poor, all they had was what was on their backs, because they had to run from the ghetto."

In her letter to the Jewish Historical Institute, Genowefa Kiwior wrote: "whatever we had we would give to those friends of ours, we would share every slice of bread to survive."

The family would bring food for the fugitives to the attic and wash their clothes: "We had a barn, a line hung behind the barn, and I'd hang it there, where it was invisible from the road. And I don't think I even thought anyone might see that."

The rescued went out during the day a couple of times. Genowefa recounts it: "Once [Celina] even went to the church with me. But in the church, you know, when someone doesn't know [what to do] ... she didn't know when to kneel, what to do [when needed]." Fortunately no one noticed it.

Threat

Once the neighbors' son saw Celina Holzer: "He recognized [Celina], and told his aunt that she was a Jewish woman from Tarnów. When she told me, I thought I'd just fall down and never get up again. I was so scared (...) I told them: 'There were these two, they escaped and asked to let them stay the night, so we did, and they left in the morning.' " Afterwards "they didn't go out until the liberation."

Genowefa Kiwior explains in her account for the Jewish Historical Institute: "We were living in great fear – the village was small, one house right next to another, so we were always scared that someone might notice them, and then the entire village would be burned down, and we and our friends lined against the wall."

After the War

Celina Holzer and Hesiek Buch left the house in Adamierz, as recalled by Genowefa Kiwior: "Our friends left us and went back to Tarnów, I remember I walked with them for over thirty kilometers, and they moved in there."

Shortly afterwards Celina left for the UK, where she married and took on her husband's name: Morley. For the first years after the war, Hesiek Buch was living in Tarnow, running a tailor shop

specializing in preparing patterns, and helping out Genowefa with pieces of fabric for clothes for her children. He married and had two children of his own; several years later he left for Israel. Genowefa married Józef Kiwior, and the couple settled in a new house in Adamierz. They maintained contacts with the rescued until the late 1990s.
December 2010

Ignacy Kostka & Józefa Kostka

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034952>

Rescue Story

Kostka, Józefa

Kostka, Ignacy

At the outbreak of war in 1939, Miriam Pikholec, who lived with her family in the town of Bielsko-Biała in Western Galicia, was interned in the Krakow ghetto. In due course, Pikholec escaped from the ghetto and reached the city of Dąbrowa [Dąbrowa], near Tarnów, where she was taken on as a maid until her employers discovered she was Jewish. When Józefa Kostka, a friend she had made in the course of her work, found out that Pikholec had been dismissed and had nowhere to go, she offered to shelter her in her home in the village of Żabno, in the county of Tarnów, in the Kraków district, where she lived with her husband, Ignacy. Despite their straitened circumstances, the Kostkas, guided by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship, looked after Pikholec devotedly. In due course, Kostka received a letter offering her work in Germany, but instead of taking up the offer herself, she let Pikholec take her place. Pikholec was sent to Germany under an assumed identity and was liberated there by the Allied Forces in 1945. Throughout her stay in Germany, the Kostkas helped Pikholec and sent her food parcels and letters of encouragement. After the war, Pikholec immigrated to Israel where she kept up a correspondence with her saviors.

On September 27, 1995, Yad Vashem recognized Józefa and Ignacy Kostka as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 6806

Rescued Person

Mainer, Pikholec, Miriam

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), p. 381.

POLIN – Polish Righteous

<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/805,the-kostka-family/>

The Kostka Family

Józefa Kostka Wife

died 15 March 1975

Ignacy Kostka Husband

died 19 February 1964

Recognized as the Righteous Among the Nations:

27 September 1995

Help Was Extended to:

Miriam Pikholec

Story of Rescue

The Kostka family lived in the village of Mochrzyna-Żabno (Tarnów County) and ran an agricultural holding. They had a number of Jewish acquaintances among people living in the village.

In the early autumn of 1942, the Kostka family gave shelter to a young Jewish woman – Miriam Pikholec (later Rajner). Before the war, she lived in Bielsk [Bielsko-Biała]. At the end of 1941, she was transported to the Kraków Ghetto. She managed to escape and reached Dąbrowa Górnicza, where she worked as a maid. After some time, her employers discovered she was Jewish and fired her. Then, Ignacy Kostka, her former co-worker, decided to help her.

Ignacy offered Miriam a hiding spot in his house. The woman lived in the Kostka household for a couple of months, until the beginning of 1943. Maria Bąba, Ignacy and Józefa's daughter, said after the war: "My parents were poor, but they were also very religious and they did not think of

any financial benefits, but rather believed that it was their Christian and human responsibility to help and support those in need, regardless of their nationality or creed. We were all very afraid, because two of their daughters had died and all they had left was me.”

At first, Miriam covered the expenses for food. Nonetheless, the Kostka family did not stop helping her when she ran out of money. Miriam was fully dependent on them. When Józefa Kostka was called up for work in Germany, she gave her spot to Miriam. With fake documents, she went to work in the Third Reich. The Kostka family still sent her letters and food packages. After Miriam left, the Kostka family contacted their friend from Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Franciszek Borsa. He also provided aid for Jews. When he found out about a possible inspection of his house, he sent several people he had been hiding to the Kostka household. For a couple of days, they gave shelter to the Werker couple and to Ewa Arymowicz. As described by Maria Bąba: “The last Jews came to our house in the summer of 1944, but they were there for a very short time, /I don't remember their names/, because German military police organised a quarter in our courtyard, so we were unable to bring them food and one night, they ran away.”

Miriam Pikholec worked in Germany until the end of the war and later moved to Israel. She still kept in touch with the Kostka family. Maria Bąba exchanged letters with the rescued living in Israel and Canada.

September 2015

Wojciech Kowalski & Lucylla Kowalska-Chmura

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4034968>

Rescue Story

Kowalski, Wojciech

Kowalska-Chmura, Lucylla

Even before the establishment of the Dąbrowa Tarnowska ghetto in the Kraków district, Lucylla Chmura came to the help of Ida Margulies, a widowed school friend of hers, and her son, Henryk. Chmura supplied them with “Aryan” documents, and advised them to move to the village of Czechow, in the county of Pińczów, in the Kielce district. 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 Kraków, with the help of Chmura and Kowalski. In Kraków, members of Żegota (the Council for Aid to Jews) found jobs for them and watched out for their safety, until January 1945, when they were liberated by the Red Army. After completing his law studies, Henryk immigrated to Israel with his mother. Chmura and Kowalski married and immigrated to the United States. On November 18, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Lucylla and Wojciech Kowalski as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 5479

Rescued Persons

Margulies, Ida

Margulies, Jankowski, Henry, Henryk, Juliusz

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 4 (Poland, Part I), p. 381.

POLIN – Polish Righteous

<http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/family/249,the-kowalski-family/article=1003,more-about-the-kowalski-family>

The Kowalski Family

Wojciech Kowalski Husband

born 1909

Lucylla Kowalska née Chmura Wife

born 1922

Recognized as the Righteous Among the Nations:

18 October 1992

Help Was Extended to:

Henryk Margulies

born 1920 – died 1984

Ida Margulies

More about the Kowalski family

Righteous

Lucylla Kowalska's mother was a teacher, her father – a school inspector. They lived in Bydgoszcz. After father's death in 1938 mother and daughter moved to Dąbrowa Tarnowska in Małopolska (Little Poland).

Wojciech Kowalski's father was a veterinary doctor, his mother died in childbirth. His mother's sister, who had recently lost a child of her own, took care of him. The aunt soon became his stepmother. The family lived in Warsaw, but later on moved to Pińczów, where Wojciech started middle school.

This is how Wojciech Kowalski describes his father: “He regarded everyone just as a human being, regardless of race or religion – simply a man or a woman. After he died, a mohel – a kosher butcher – came to my stepmother and asked her for my father's personal data needed

for the Jewish prayer for his soul. Jews were praying for a non-Jew, that's the kind of person my father was".

Lucylla and Wojciech met in Dąbrowa Tarnowska in 1939, they got married 2.5 years later. During the war Wojciech Kowalski ran a company which did irrigation works in the Pińczów county. The couple lived there till 1942.

Before the war

Before the war, in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, there was a Jewish community of about 2,500 people. Lucylla attended school together with several Jewish boys and girls. She recalls some common adventures: "I remember – with a friend [Bella] we played hookey, it was our first time. We talked about doing it together and finally we did skip classes. Dąbrowa is surrounded by fields, groves and woods, and we lay somewhere there on the grass and were sunbathing. Only the basketball was to be played after lunch, and we needed to return for that. And we were red as a boiled lobster. So we came sun-burnt like this, especially her, because she had such white complexion, while I was darker. We looked really ghastly – so we had to confess."

She also recollects: "I often visited Rutka, for instance, on her birthday. I know I'll never forget the pastries her mother baked – with mousse and a nut inside. They were... well, simply delicious. We had a Jewish tailor – he would make anything, and also did alterations – to shorten, let out, take in. And there was a cobbler, he would always do things very well, any time of day".

The ghetto

In July 1942 the Germans created a ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Mrs. Kowalska tells us: "I often went in the evening with a loaf of bread and threw it over the wall [to help our neighbours] the Schindlers [Schindel], a Jewish family. They might have even not known who it was, one didn't show oneself, just threw over the wall, to help, because they couldn't leave to buy something, nothing was allowed. [One day] in the morning [the Nazis] knocked on their door – it was opened by Ozjasz, my friend from school – and they at once shot him, then went to the bedroom, the parents were asleep, they shot them, and Josek, my brother's friend, wanted to jump from the balcony into the garden, but he, too, was shot, and only Juda and Leo [Leon] Shindler [Schindel] survived".

Extermination of the Dąbrowa ghetto took place in September 1943. "Jewish pogrom started in our village. It was a terrifying view, because our house stood on the very border of the ghetto, we had ghetto on both sides, they let us out to the 'Aryan side' through a big garden" – says Lucylla. "Before my eyes, that was a horrible experience... Such a pretty Jewish girl, no more than 18, with long plaits, and that Gestapo man was pushing her, and she fell to her knees and embraced his boot and begged him to save her, and he just kicked her and shot her, right in front of my eyes. I saw a lot of people being shot".

Henryk Margulies

Henryk Margulies was one of Lucylla's school friends, "he was a son of a notary, they had a very nice house, a villa on a small hill, he lived with his mother, because his father had died before the war" – recalls Lucylla. "His father owned some estate in Dąbrowa Tarnowiecka [Tarnowska]. For instance, the church was build [built] on the ground which belonged to him" adds Wojciech Kowalski.

"And when the situation got really bad, they were simply shooting those Jews, chasing them like hares, it was in 1942. And then one evening Henryk dropped in on us and he says: 'Lula, save us, save us, help us'" – tells Lucylla to a researcher from the Museum of the History of the Polish Jews.

Help

Mrs. Kowalska continues her story: "As a young girl I worked in a dairy, in the office, doing accounts, so I had access to a phone. I already knew my husband – then my fiance – who lived in Pińczów. He supervised some irrigation works in Chmielnik near Pińczów. He had a permit and employed some workers. Actually, he was an engineer, but during the war he started those irrigation projects that weren't really his specialty. So I called my fiance and asked him: 'Look, couldn't you find a job for my friend, Henryk?' And my husband, being in love with me, says: 'Sure, let him come!' So then Henryk Margulies came to me. I gave him the address, explained where it was. 'You can go there, my fiance will take care of you'. And, of course, he went there with his mother".

Wojciech Kowalski employed Margulies and let him use his office, rented from a farmer, as accommodation. Henryk and his mother stayed there for 2.5 years. Ida hardly ever went out, she took care of the housework.

The office was located in Chmielnik, in Kielce district, while Wojciech and Lucylla lived at the time in Czechów near Pińczów, “so that my husband travelled 16 km [by bike] every day to and from work” – says Mrs. Kowalska.

With the help of a friendly priest, Lucylla arranged for a fake birth certificate for Henryk and “Aryan papers” under the name of Marian Jackowski. Henryk Margulies used them till the end of war.

Denunciation

Lucylla relates: “[When Henryk] worked [in Wojciech’s company], we, in Czechów, were anxious that something bad might happen, we lived in constant fear. Once some people with guns barged in, I don’t know whether they were from the resistance or what, but they ordered us to stand against the wall with our hands raised and they searched the place, but they were Polish. They took my husband’s typewriter and some other stuff, scared us and were gone”.

After 2.5 years, at the turn of 1944/1945, an informer told the Germans about Ida’s and Henryk’s hide-out. Someone in the village guessed or suspected this, in any case he came to Henryk and said: ‘Watch out, because Gestapo might have been told about you’ – relates Lucylla. The Margulieses hid at the Kowalskis’ place, and they all escaped in time. Unfortunately, Gestapo shot the farmer who rented out the office-shelter to Wojciech.

Escape

The Kowalski couple escaped to Wrocław, Henryk and his mother – to Cracow. The further story of the Margulieses is described in a book by Miriam Peleg-Mariańska and Mordechaj Peleg, entitled “Witnesses: Life in occupied Kraków”.

According to Sabina, Henryk’s widow: “He came to Cracow with little money and no address. Wandering aimlessly around, he accidentally came across an irrigation company’s office. It was already past working hours. Since the office was lit, he went inside and found three Poles sitting around the table. He introduced himself, told them he had some experience in that kind of work and asked if by any chance they needed another employee.

The answer was unexpected: ‘right now we need a fourth for bridge’. He was lucky, he was an excellent bridge player. They played late into the night and Henryk won both quite a lot of money and the players’ liking. With their help he got a job in the office and, since he spoke good German, was soon promoted to the position of estate controller. He stayed at this job till the end of war”.

As we further read in the book, Margulies became a clerk in the sub-prefecture. It was amazing that in spite of his “Jewish appearance” he wasn’t afraid to hold such a prestigious position, involving continuous contact with Germans. Taking advantage of the possibilities connected with his job, Henryk supplied all kinds of official forms, stamped and signed by Germans, that were needed by Jews with “Aryan papers” and by members of Polish resistance. Miriam Peleg-Mariańska also describes how he helped Feliks Misiótek to find a job, a place to live and fake documents while the latter was in hiding.

After the war

Henryk Margulies emigrated to Israel in the 1960s (probably in 1968). He married Sabina from Bielsko-Biała. He was a lawyer. In 1983 he invited Lucylla and Wojciech to Tel Aviv. Unfortunately, the couple were refused passports by the then authorities. Until his death in March 1984 Henryk kept in touch with the Kowalskis through correspondence.

After the war Janina Chmura – Lucylla’s mother – was visited by Leon and Juda Schindler, whom the women helped to survive the ghetto in Dąbrowa.

Family story

During the war there happened a certain incident which the Kowalskis found especially meaningful. As told by Lucylla: “There was a forceful recruitment to work in Germany. The Germans were walking around the village and grabbed young men and girls from their homes; and they came to me. I was alone at home, we were then renting out a small room in the village. The Germans ordered me to join the line of people that were meant to be taken to Germany. So I am showing them my wedding ring and saying that I am a married woman and shouldn’t be taken.

But they say ‘everybody can put on a ring and pretend’ – and they got me just as I was, wearing only a dress and slippers. And so we are walking along the road, I am feeling quite desperate – what to do, my husband will come home and I’ll be gone. And suddenly, after a hundred yards or so, I hear somebody screaming ‘Save your wife’. My husband was on his way to work, but something was telling him not to go, and he turned back. When he returned he learned that I was

already near the Hajdaszek train station – they took us there and put us on the train. My husband got there and went straight to that German and told him sharply – he was very self-assured – he said ‘What’s that? Why are you taking my wife?’ He began shouting at them ‘This is not allowed!’ – and they let me go”.

December 2010

Tomasz Lech & Maria Lech

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=tomasz%20lech&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=4693989&ind=0)

[search=tomasz%20lech&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=4693989&ind=0](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=tomasz%20lech&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=4693989&ind=0)

Yad Vashem recognized Tomasz Lech and Maria Lech in 2017

Rescue Story

Sabina Zisser (Süsser, later Silber) from Szczucin was sheltered by Tomasz and Maria Lech, spouses, in Szczucin, during the first two months of 1943. Although invited to stay longer, Sabina decided to join her uncle in Tarnów, where conditions in the remnant ghetto, which still held 10,000 Jews, appeared to have stabilized and the residents were given assurances by the Germans that they would be safe from deportation (further *Aktions*). Although recognized by Poles en route to Tarnów, Sabina was not betrayed. Maria Lech and her son brought baskets of bread to residents of the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Tomasz Lech worked with other Poles transporting Jews from Szczucin across the Vistula River to the Radom district, where conditions for Jews were more favourable at that time.

Rescued Persons

Silber (Zisser or Süsser), Sabina (Szaindle)

Stanisław Pagos & Zofia Pagos

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4035144>

Rescue Story

Pagos, Stanisław

Pagos, Zofia

Stanisław Pagos and his sister Zofia lived in Gruszów Wielki (southern Poland) and owned a farm during the occupation. Before the war, the Pagoses had had ties with Jews in the nearby town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska (Kraków district) and were especially friendly with the Weit family. When the Weits were interned in a ghetto that the Germans established in this town, Stanisław Pagos stayed in touch with them and assured them that they could call on him for help if danger threatened. In the summer of 1942, after the Germans conducted an *Aktion* among the Jews in this locality, Pagos visited the ghetto to see in any of the Weits remained alive. After he found Abraham and Avigdor Weit hiding in the empty ghetto buildings, Pagos invited them to his village and promised to conceal them in his home. Several days later, the two fugitives reached the Pagoses' house and spent the next two years and more (until the liberation in January 1945) in a hideout prepared for them in a stable. Throughout that time, Pagos and his sister cared for them and met all their needs without recompense. Since the villagers were known for their hatred of Jews,²²⁹ the Pagoses took precautions even among friends. The Pagoses and their wards experienced several severe crises, especially when the Germans found Jews hiding with another village family and killed them and their rescuers. After this, the Weit brothers feared that their hosts would banish them from their home. However, for purely humanitarian reasons Stanisław told them that he had bound his life with theirs; thus, despite the mortal danger, he left the Jewish fugitives in his home.²³⁰ The Pagoses accepted no material reward for saving the Weits, and after the war, they returned objects and jewelry that their parents had deposited with them—a fact that the Weit brothers had not known during the occupation.

On June 28, 1979, Yad Vashem recognized Stanisław Pagos and his sister, Zofia Pagos, as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 1659

Rescued Persons

Weit, Abraham

Weit, Avigdor

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5 (Poland, Part II), p. 574.

²²⁹ There is no persuasive evidence for this bald allegation. In fact, other Jews were helped by the villagers as this entry shows.

²³⁰ Grabowski neglects to mention that the Germans killed a family of Poles found hiding Jews hiding in that same village (Gruszów Wielki), yet this did not cause the Pagoses to expel their charges. In their Yad Vashem testimony the Weit brothers stated: "In the same village the Germans burned a peasant and his family and destroyed his whole farm because they found the Jews he had been hiding. ... Stanisław broke down, but did not tell us to go. 'My life is tied with your life,' is all he said." See Barbara Engelking, "Murdering and Denouncing Jews in the Polish Countryside, 1942–1945," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 25, no. 3 (August 2011): 433–56, here at 436.

Franciszek Sołtys & Bolesław Sroka

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=10350226>

Rescue Story

Sroka, Bolesław

Sołtys, Franciszek

Fela Grun [Grün] was born in 1924 in Szuczucin, Poland, and lived there until 1939. The arrival of the Germans brought immediate distress to the town. The Jews were persecuted, and many were killed. Some refugees from the western parts of the country were living in the local school, and when a German was killed there, they were all burned alive. Conditions were worsening quickly, and eventually all the remaining Jews were deported to the Dąbrowa Ghetto or to labor camps. The Gruns soon understood what their lives would be like and rushed to find their Polish acquaintance, Professor Bolesław Sroka, who helped find them legal work on a farm. There were dozens of Jews working on the farm, and per Nazi regulations, they all had to sleep in the same barn with rotted floors. The farmers, however, were good people and did not force the Jews to sleep together. Instead the Gruns, with Sroka's help, found a nice apartment to stay in. This lasted only six weeks, however, after which the complete liquidation of all ghettos and labor camps in the area commenced. Luckily, Professor Sroka warned the Gruns in time, and they were saved. He even found a hiding place for two of Fela's sisters in his relative's house. Meanwhile, Fela and her mother and brother moved to the village of Czarkówka, where they used to own land, so they remembered Franciszek Sołtys and approached him for help. He was hesitant at first but still took them in. His hesitations were not ungrounded, as the Sołtys family was very poor, and the danger was great. The police raided the house three times, once even threatening to burn it down.

The Gruns lived relatively peacefully despite all that, going to work every morning and coming back to the house at night to stay in the hideaway. They spent the remaining part of the war in Franciszek's house; altogether they spend two and a half years there.

On May 28, 2013, Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek Sołtys and Bolesław Sroka as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 12625

Rescued Persons

Gruen (Grün), Fela

Gruen (Grün), Benedykt

Gruen (Grün), Karolina

Gruen (Grün), Regina

Gruen (Grün), First name unknown

Feliks Świerczek

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4017745>

Rescue Story

Świerczek, Feliks

During the war, Feliks Świerczek lived with his parents in Gorzyce, in the county of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Kraków district. He rented a room to the local teacher, Janina Tarnowska, who was sometimes visited by a friend of hers, Józef Birken. In late 1942 or early 1943, Józef turned to Świerczek with a request to help his sister Franciszka (Feige) Kryształ. Feliks agreed, and in early 1943, Josef smuggled his sister out of the ghetto in Tarnów and led her to Świerczek's home.

Franciszka moved into Janina's room and Świerczek explained to his parents that she was Janina's friend. Świerczek arranged documents for Franciszka under the name of Anna Borkowska. Using these documents, she was able to register as a resident and was no longer compelled to remain in hiding.

Franciszka, a graduate of the philosophy department at the University of Kraków, helped teachers at the local school and took part in underground teaching. After a while, Józef also escaped from the Tarnów ghetto. Świerczek hid him in his home too, keeping this a secret from his own family. Franciszka and Józef awaited the liberation with Świerczek. After the war, Józef married Janina Tarnowska and they immigrated to Israel. Franciszka stayed in Poland.

On May 16, 1989, Yad Vashem recognized Feliks Świerczek as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Kryształ, Birken, Franciszka, Feige

Birken, Józef

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5 (Poland, Part II), pp. 769–7, and the testimony of Feliks Świerczek in Piątkowski, *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2, account 38.

Wiktoria Tomal, Jan Tomal, Stanisława Tomal & Józefa Tomal

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=12803482&ind=40)

[search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=12803482&ind=40](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=12803482&ind=40)
(Wiktoria & Jan Tomal)

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558736&ind=39)

[search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558736&ind=39](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558736&ind=39)
(Stanisława Tomal)

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558737&ind=38)

[search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558737&ind=38](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=poland%202019&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13558737&ind=38)
(Józefa Tomal)

Rescue Story

Wiktoria Tomal, a widow who lived at the edge of the village of Nieciecza with her three children, Jan, Stanisława, and Józefa, sheltered Rachela Kohane (Małka Kochane) and her 18-year-old son, Elias. Rachela happened to be outside the Tarnów ghetto during the deportation in 1942 looking for food. Her son and daughter were seized and put on a train destined for a death camp, but her son Elias managed to jump from the train and fortunately met up with his mother. After hiding in a variety of places, the Kohanes turned to the Tomal family for help. Wiktoria Tomal had previously provided Rachela with food when she would approach villagers begging for food. When the rains came in the late summer of 1943, Rachela asked Wiktoria Tomal to take them in. Her son, Jan (born in 1926), prepared a dugout for the Kohanes under their cottage. The hideout was entered through the adjoining stable. At times, when it was warm, the Kohanes stayed in a hideout near the river and Wiktoria Tomal's daughter, Stanisława, would bring them food. Rachela would often go out at night to beg for food from other villagers. After someone spotted her, the Germans conducted a search of the cottages in the village. The Polish police were required to help them search. Village men, including Jan Tomal, also had to join the search party. The village head, Jędraszak, who was Jan's cousin, was aware that the Tomals were sheltering Jews, but protected them by diverting the search away from their cottage. The Tomals also provided food to other Jews, as did other villagers. Before leaving Poland, Rachela Kohane sold her property and moved to Tarnów. She married a Jew by the name of Silber from Bolesław, who had also been sheltered by Poles in the area. Elias Kohane eventually settled in the United States. Yad Vashem recognized four members of the Tomal family in 2019.

Rescued Persons

Kohane, Rachela

Kohane, Elias

Józef Wójcik & Antonina Wójcik Czerwińska

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=czerwinska&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=5091825&ind=0)

[search=czerwinska&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=5091825&ind=0](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=czerwinska&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=5091825&ind=0)
(Antonina Czerwińska)

[https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=wojcik&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13150699&ind=11)

[search=wojcik&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13150699&ind=11](https://righteous.yadvashem.org/?search=wojcik&searchType=righteous_only&language=en&itemId=13150699&ind=11) (Józef Wójcik)

Yad Vashem recognized Antonina Wójcik Czerwińska and her brother, Józef Wójcik in 2018

Rescue Story

Testimony of Leon (Leib Eliasz) Kamm

Virtual Shtetl – Museum of the History of Polish Jews POLIN

<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/pl/article/dabrowa-tarnowska/16,relacje-wspomnienia/26266,interview-with-leon-kamm/>

Family Story

Leon (Leib Eliasz) Kamm was born on 9.11.1930 in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, a town in southern Poland, about 20km north of Tarnów. His parents were Majer and Rozalia (nee Gruszuw [Gruszków]) Kamm.

Majer Kamm, the interviewee's father, was born in 1897 in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Majer had two brothers, Jossek and Szmil. Both of them lived in Chrzanów, a town in south Poland, west of Kraków, where they each had a textile store.

Rozalia (nee Gruszuw) Kamm, the interviewee's mother, was born in 1901 in Dąbrowa Tarnowska to her parents Zisel and Rikl Gruszuw. Zisel Gruszuw was, prior to WWII, a big cattle trader. He exported cattle abroad mostly to Germany. Rikl was a midwife, actually the only midwife in Dąbrowa Tarnowska. She served the Jewish community and also many of the non-Jewish population of Dąbrowa and the neighboring villages.

Zisel and Rikl Gruszuw had four daughters and two sons. The daughters were Rozalia (later Kamm), the interviewee's mother, Chajka (later Bachner), Frania (the name of her husband is not recollected), and another daughter whose name is not recollected. The two brothers were Chamek and Ignac (later Jacque). From the whole family, only Chamek and Ignac survived the war.

Majer Kamm and Rozalia (nee Gruszuw) got married in ~1920. Majer was a horse trader on a large scale. He used to buy horses of high quality in the surrounding villages and export them abroad, mostly to Germany. Majer employed 2–3 gentile assistants who helped him to locate the chosen horses and bring them in. About five years prior to WWII, Majer with the help of his wife Rozalia, started to run a pension in the resort town of Krynica (currently Krynica-Zdrój). They did not own the pension. They operated the pension, called Grunwald, only during summer. The whole family used to move to Krynica with the parents. At the end of the summer they used to return to their house in Dąbrowa and Majer continued to run his horse trading business.

The family lived in a brick house which was located near the Market Square ("Rynek") and the synagogue. The house consisted of three rooms, a kitchen, an entrance hall and a cellar.

Majer and Rozalia had three children:

Manja [Mania] was born in 1921. Prior to the war she attended high school. Manja was murdered by the Nazis, along with her mother Rozalia and many family relatives in Tarnów Ghetto, in 1943 (see hereafter).

Cesława (Cesia) was born in 1929. Cesia survived the war. After the war she remained in Poland with her father Majer and her brother Leon. In 1952 she immigrated to Israel. In Israel she married Shalom Avraham (later Abrams). In 1958, Cesia and Shalom emigrated from Israel to Britain, where they had three children. Shalom (of blessed memory) was an Electrical Engineer. Leon (Leib Eliasz), the interviewee, was born, as mentioned above, in 1930. In 1939, Leon completed second grade at a Polish elementary school.

1939. Leon recalls the day German soldiers entered Dąbrowa Tarnowska. A column of three-wheel motorcycles of the Wehrmacht gathered in the market square. Leon and other children were very curious to see the Germans who stayed there for a short while, did not bother the local

inhabitants and moved eastward. Then new administration that followed the Wehrmacht established a new order.

During the first period, the life of the Kamm family continued almost as usual. In 1940 the Germans held the first Aktion. Jews were rounded up, some were drafted to forced labor and some expelled from the town. Majer received an early warning from a Polish police officer, an acquaintance of his. So the night before the Aktion was held, he took his family out of town and spread them among gentile friends he had due to his business in the neighboring villages. Leon was taken to a village which was located north of Dąbrowa. They stayed there only a few days and then they returned to their house in Dąbrowa. For about a year there was a pause in the Germans' activity against the Jews in Dąbrowa. In July 1942 the Jews were forced into a ghetto. Once again the Kamm family received an early warning and managed to escape from the town, this time to a hideout which Majer had previously prepared. One of Majer's employees had connected him with Juzek [Józek] Czerwiński and his sister Antonina who lived in Gruszów Mały, a village which lies approximately 5 km north-east of Dąbrowa Tarnowska. The Czerwiński siblings agreed to hide the Kamm family. Majer dug a large hole, a kind of underground bunker, near the house of the Czerwiński family which was situated on the outskirts of the village. The five members of the Kamm family had to crowd themselves into that hole. For a year and a half they lived there. The Czerwiński siblings provided them with their basic needs and Majer paid for everything.

In late 1942, the Germans increased their searches for hidden Jews and threatened to kill them and those who were hiding them. It became very dangerous for the Kamm family to remain in that hiding place. They had to leave and they decided to go to Tarnów and sneak into the ghetto where thousands of Jews were still living. They marched a distance of more than 20 km at night and managed to sneak into the Tarnów ghetto without being caught by the guards. In the ghetto they found many of their relatives, like maternal grandparents father Zisel and Rikl and the sisters of mother Rozalia and many other relatives. They lived in the ghetto for about a year until its liquidation in September 1943. Their living conditions in the ghetto were very harsh, marked by privation, starvation combined with poor hygiene and above all, the fear of deportations to death camps. The grownups were forbidden to leave the ghetto and had no means of livelihood inside the ghetto. Leon (aged 12) and his sister Cesia (aged 13), like other children, were allowed to leave the ghetto to work. Leon worked in picking strawberries in the neighboring villages and Cesia worked as a cleaner in a nearby German military base. Leon was allowed (if he had reached his quota, which he always did) to buy a few potatoes and Cesia received some bread. The whole family had to make do on that.

In September 1943, the Germans rounded up all the ghetto's inhabitants in order to send them to extermination camps. The Kamm family knew about a hiding place which was a large garret nearby. When all the Jews were ordered to assemble in the town Market Place, the Kamm family escaped to that garret. Tens of other Jews, who also knew about that garret, gathered there (the interviewee estimates that approximately seventy people were there). The place was very crowded. Rozalia and Manja stood in the far inner part of the garret and Majer with Leon and Cesia, near the entrance. Many people separated between them. After a few hours, the Nazi soldiers discovered the place. They forced all the people out. At that crucial moment, Majer managed to push his children Leon and Cesia and also himself, into a nearby chicken coop which served them as a hiding place. All the people taken from the garret were shot by the Germans on the spot. When Majer left his hiding place some hours later, he joined a few Jews who were burying the dead. He discovered that Rozalia and Manja were among the murdered victims. At night, Majer sneaked out of the ghetto with his children and another Jew who joined them, after having bribed a Ukrainian guard, and went back to Gruszów Mały, to the Czerwiński family. The Czerwiński siblings welcomed them and enabled them to stay in the same bunker where they had previously hidden. They stayed there for more than a year until the area was liberated by the Red Army in 1944.

After liberation Majer with his children Leon and Cesia returned to Dąbrowa Tarnowska. Only a few Jews survived. Leon started to attend the local school and completed the schooling term of 1944–45. Majer returned to his horse trading business but on a very small scale.

In the spring of 1946, Leon decided to leave Dąbrowa Tarnowska, striving to reach Palestine. He did not tell his father about leaving, only his sister Cesia, who provided him with some money. In April 1946, Leon, age 15, reached Kraków where he looked for a Jewish organization. Eventually he was directed to a "kibbutz" of the Akiva youth movement (a religious Zionist pioneer-oriented

movement). Leon stayed in Kraków for only one month. In May 1946 he was transferred with his group to Austria via Czechoslovakia. In June they were moved to Wiesenhof Deported Persons camp which was located in Absam municipality (13 km east of Innsbruck). They stayed there for about three months and then were moved to Italy (September 1946). In Italy they stayed in Bogliasco (a coastal municipality located about 11 km southeast of Genoa) for about three months. In December 1946 they were moved to Metaponto (a small coastal town near Taranto in southern Italy) to wait for their immigration to Palestine (Eretz Israel).

On February 21, 1947 they boarded the Haganah immigrants ship, "Chaim Arlozorov", commanded by Aryeh "Lova" Eliav. A week later the ship reached Haifa and being "illegal", the ship was seized by the British Royal Navy. The passengers, after a struggle with the British troops, were deported to Cyprus (February 28 1947). Leon stayed in Cyprus until April 1948. He arrived in Palestine (soon to become Israel) on April 20, 1948. He was immediately drafted into the Haganah military organization, soon to become the IDF. He was attached to the Kiryati Brigade and took part in various battles during the Israeli War of Independence. Leon served in the IDF doing active duty until 1949. He continued to serve in the regular army until 1954 and reached the rank of a Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM).

In 1953 Leon married Clarissa Bakalo. Clarissa was born in 1929 in Rumania. After their marriage, Leon and Clarissa settled down in Ramla, a city in central Israel.

Leon kept up the correspondence with his father and his sister, who as mentioned above, came to Israel in 1952. Majer came to Israel for a family visit in 1953 and stayed for three months and returned to Poland. Majer passed away in 1954.

After his release from military service in 1954, Leon became a member of Egged, Israel's largest public bus cooperative (currently a company). Leon worked as a bus driver until 1973. Over the following years, Leon had various administrative jobs within the framework of Egged. He retired in 1984.

In 1986 Leon started to work as an administrative manager for a factory in Tel Aviv which manufactured various driving devices for disabled people. Leon worked there for nine years and retired in 1995.

Clarissa worked for nine years as a shift manager at a large duty free shop in the Ben Gurion International Airport, until 1987. Clarissa passed away in 2007.

Leon and Clarissa (of blessed memory) had two daughters:

Dafna Talbi (nee Berger) was born in 1949. Dafna was Clarissa's daughter from her first marriage. Leon adopted her after his marriage to Clarissa. Dafna has three children.

Vered Barak (nee Kamm), of blessed memory, was born in 1957. Vered was a medical student. Vered passed away of a serious disease in 2000. Her son Tom (born 1983) is a student at Haifa University and lives with his grandfather Leon Kamm, the interviewee.

Rescued Persons

Kamm, Leon

Abrahams, Kamm, Czeslawa

Kamm, Meir (Majer)

Wiktor Wójcik & Emilia Wójcik Kułaga

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4044212>

Rescue Story

Wójcik, Wiktor

Kułaga, Emilia

Wiktor Wójcik, a bachelor, ran a farm near Dąbrowa Tarnowska (Tarnów district) with his sister, Emilia, his sister, was a widow raising three young children. When the ghetto was established in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Wiktor and Emilia started selling dairy products and eggs to the ghettoized Jews. Thus, they came to know Melania Weissenberg (later Molly Applebaum) and her cousin Helena Aschheim (later Littman), whom they invited to come to their home if the ghetto became unsafe.

On a September night in 1942, Melania and Helena managed to get to Emilia and Wiktor's farm in order to buy some food and to smuggle it back into the ghetto. They stayed the night and when they woke, they discovered that they had nowhere to return to – the ghetto was being liquidated.

Wiktor and Emilia proposed that they stay for a few days until the situation was clear, but the situation only worsened from one day to the next. Before long, returning to the ghetto was tantamount to a death sentence. Therefore, Wiktor and Emilia hid the girls in the stable, though they didn't tell their neighbors, nor did they tell Emilia's children, who were then only five, seven, and nine years old.

The hideout was very small and Melania and Helena could only lie in it. At night, the fugitive girls would come out to stretch their limbs and wash in water that Wiktor and Emilia brought to them in buckets. Wiktor and Emilia also brought their wards food in a basket covered with hay.

Towards the end of 1944, the Germans entered the village and put their horses in the stable that was being used as a hiding place for Melania and Helena. They often entered Emilia and Wiktor's house, and their kitchen was set up nearby. Melania and Helena could no longer stay in the stable. Thus, late one night, Wiktor took the girls to the barn and put them up in the loft, where he hid them under hay. Downstairs there was a pigsty. There they had to keep absolutely quiet as children often went there, as did the Germans.

"It happened that the Germans would bring Emilia food from their kitchen, and Emilia would bring us what was left over, and so – we ate food from a German kitchen," wrote Molly Applebaum in her testimony.

One day Helena had a painful toothache. Her face had swollen and she begged Wiktor to pull out the bad tooth. Wiktor took a pair of pincers and pulled the tooth out, but it turned out that he pulled the wrong tooth. Helena promised not to scream and told him to try again.

On January 20, 1945, Dąbrowa Tarnowska was liberated. Only then, when the Germans left the village did Wiktor and Emilia tell Emilia's children about Melania and Helena and then brought the three children to the barn. After that, Wiktor went to town to see if it was safe. When he returned home, he told his wards that Jews were starting to leave their hideouts. Melania and Helena left Wiktor and Emilia's farm at night so that their neighbors would not find out that Jews had been hiding there.

"I promised Wiktor and Emilia that I would compensate them for everything they did for us and never to forget them... even during the first hard years in Canada I helped them as much as I could. I kept in contact with them for all these years and in 1977 I visited them in Poland."

On December 14, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Wiktor Wójcik and his sister, Emilia Kułaga, as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 5553

Rescued Persons

Applebaum, Weissenberg, Melania, Molly

Littman, Aschheim, Helena

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5 (Poland, Part II), pp. 883–84.

Ewa Zajac

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4018345>

Rescue Story

Zajac, Ewa

Ewa Zajac was a farm worker in France who returned to Poland and went to live in her home village of Skrzynka, near Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Krakow district, immediately prior to the outbreak of the war.

In 1942, Mosze Keh and Salomon Abraham, who were both employed in a Volksdeutsch household in Skrzynka, contacted her. When they were ordered to return to the ghetto in Dąbrowa Tarnowska, they decided to look for a hiding place instead. Salomon Abraham, who was with his three-and-a-half-year-old daughter, was the first to approach Ewa and ask for help.

Moshe was hiding with his father and two sisters, in a nearby field and barn. Mosze's younger sister was captured and killed. After some time, the father died too. When the second sister, Sara (later Nudel), contracted dysentery, Mosze decided that he too should turn to Ewa for help. She accepted them both into the refuge of her home.

One night, bandits attacked the home and took Salomon's daughter and Sara. Ewa tried to appease the bandits and convince them to free the girls, and she ended up paying a high ransom for their lives. One year later, when her family urged her to get rid of the hidden Jews, she sheltered her wards in the barn and told her family that she had already sent them away.

"Many Jews besides us found help in her home, including Mosze and Batia Wolfowicz, Jochanan Amsterdam, Ester Galc, the Wajt brothers (Wiktor and Abracham), Samuel Wajzer, Aron Werker and Chaskiel Gruszow," wrote Mosze and Sara in their testimonies.

After the war, Moshe and Sara took Ewa with them to Kielce, where she stayed with them for four months. After the Kielce pogrom in 1946, Moshe and his sister left for Israel; Salomon and his daughter left for Germany.

On May 15, 1965, Yad Vashem recognized Ewa Zajac as Righteous Among the Nations.

File 139

Rescued Persons

Keh, Mosze

Nudel, Keh, Sara

Abracham, Salomon

Abracham, Sara

Wolfowicz, Mosze, Moses

Wolfowicz, Fałek, Batia, Barbara, Berta

Amsterdam, Jochanan

Galc, Ester

Wajt, Wiktor

Wajt, Abracham

Wajzer, Samuel

Werker, Aron

Gruszow, Chaskiel

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5 (Poland, Part II), p. 995.

Rev. Franciszek Okoński (not recognized)

Yad Vashem – Righteous Database

<http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4035439>

Rescue Story

Wojewoda, Czesław

Wojewoda, Maria

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."

After the war, Maria and Czesław worked as teachers in Jodłowa, in the county of Jasło, where Helena would often visit them and even lived with them for some time. She then moved to Western Poland and later immigrated to Israel. For a while, she has been writing letters to her benefactors, but later the contacts were broken off, "... and only the memory of a person who had to run and wander around the world only because she was Jewish, remained," wrote Maria.

On August 2, 1989, Yad Vashem recognized Czesław Wojewoda and his wife, Maria Wojewoda, as Righteous Among the Nations

File 4318

Rescued Person

Anmuth, Podgórska, Rozensztrauch, Lea, Helena, Krystyna

See also *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, volume 5 (Poland, Part II), pp. 885–86, and the testimony of Maria Wojewoda in Piątkowski, *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945*, vol. 2, account 86.

Statement of Poland's Institute of National Remembrance on the Abuse of the Research and Conclusions of Szymon Datner, Former Director of Warsaw's Jewish Historical Institute

"More than 200,000 Jews were killed, directly or indirectly, by Poles in World War II, says historian Jan Grabowski, who studied the brutal persecution of the victims. His conclusion: There were no bystanders in the Holocaust."

Haaretz, February 11, 2017 (Ofer Aderet, "Orgy of Murder")

This unsubstantiated claim has been repeated over and over again as gospel in numerous mainstream publications, without allowing for rebuttals

Internet: <https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/1060,Statement-on-the-crimes-committed-by-the-German-Reich-in-occupied-Poland-and-on-.html>

February 23, 2018

Statement on the crimes committed by the German Reich in occupied Poland and on the false information appearing in public

Public dissemination of counter-factual information on the number of Jews killed by Polish people outside the ghettos between 1942–1945, alongside with false generalisations regarding the perpetrators of those crimes is an increasingly frequent phenomenon.

A large proportion of such information is supported in a dishonest way by the authority of Szymon [Simon] Datner – one of the initiators of Holocaust studies. In a manner far from scientific scrupulousness, certain numeric data on Jews murdered outside the ghettos is attributed to his works, whereas in reality he never included such data in them. Furthermore, Datner – like any responsible researcher – understood perfectly well that the territory of the Polish lands, both within the ghettos organised by the Germans and outside those ghettos, was under German occupation and was subjected to the absolute terror of the German Reich. Therefore, Datner did not treat the areas under German occupation outside the ghettos as places where the Polish population could act freely. Quite the opposite – as someone who experienced this period personally, he understood the realities of German occupation perfectly well, and described them with due sensitivity.

In the often-cited article "Nazi crimes against ghetto escapees", S. Datner wrote: "In one of the studies, I estimated the number of surviving Jews, saved primarily thanks to the help of the Polish population, at around 100,000 people. We equally tentatively estimate that at least the same number of victims were captured by the occupying authorities and fell victim to the atrocities" ("Nazi crimes against ghetto escapees," *Jewish Historical Institute Bulletin*, 1970, no. 75, p. 29).

Never, in any of his works, did Szymon [Simon] Datner mention any number of 200,000 murdered Jews, nor did he ever describe such a number of victims as the result of crimes perpetrated by Polish people in the occupied territories. Imputing these statements to Datner amounts to falsifying the scholarly record of this undisputed authority on Holocaust studies. Datner differentiated between the actions of German State officers and armed German services and the attitudes of civilian people in all occupied areas. Some of the participants of the current debate ignore such distinctions, either due to lack of knowledge or intentionally.

During the Second World War, the entire area of the occupied Polish lands was affected by the operations of the German military and police. Their officers, carrying out the orders of the German Reich, enforced German ordinances with full severity, which stipulated the death penalty not only for hiding Jews outside the ghettos, but also for any form of contact with them. Harsh penalties were applied for even being aware of Jews being hidden and failing to report this to the German police authorities. There were undoubtedly individuals who complied with such regulations.

The effective implementation of such ordinances and the crimes committed against Jews captured outside the ghettos were the responsibility of the officers of the German Reich state services. They were members of various kinds of German services, including the Gestapo, Kripo, SS, military police, Wehrmacht, as well as the new police services established by the German Reich from the citizens of the conquered countries. The officers of each and every German police formation participated in carrying out the criminal orders of the Reich. Just like in the ghettos, the Germans employed the “ghetto” police to conduct criminal activity – the Jewish Order Enforcement Service (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst) consisting of Jews and established by the German Reich. Outside the ghettos in a similar capacity they employed the so-called “blue” police (Polnische Polizei im Generalgouvernement), also established by the German Reich and consisting primarily of Poles, and to a smaller extent of Ukrainians and Volksdeutsch. This police force (contrary to certain similar formations in occupied Europe) was under the direct orders of both the civilian and military German authorities. The Reich also employed the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and other formations comprised of various nationalities for participation in various crimes. The German police services (including the “blue” police) were a tool also used by the German Reich for fighting undercover organisations and the Polish Underground State, including cells established specifically for helping Jews in hiding. The authorities of the Republic of Poland and their representatives repeatedly warned the “blue” policemen and other collaborators of the Reich that they would face criminal prosecution for participating in German atrocities against their fellow citizens – regardless of their nationality. Despite the conditions prevailing during the occupation and the very difficult situation faced by civilians, the representatives of the Polish State engaged in underground opposition unequivocally opposed all kinds of collaboration, including participation in the German Holocaust plan. In their rulings issued on behalf of the Republic of Poland, underground courts sentenced those who supported the occupiers in their anti-Semitic policy. In the ghettos, sentences on voluntary German collaborators were carried out by the Jewish resistance movement.

Officers of the “blue” police, similarly to the officers of the ghetto police, who eagerly participated in seeking out anyone hiding from the occupying forces as well as combatting any “illegal” activity in and outside the ghettos, participated in the crimes of the German Reich. Transferring the responsibility for the participation of these formations, established by the Germans and carrying out German orders, to the Polish nation or the Jewish nation as a whole, while at the same time disregarding the German Reich, would thereby undermine the responsibility of the German Reich for their crimes, including the Holocaust.

The Germans made extensive use of secret informers, denunciators and blackmailers, who denounced their fellow citizens and fellow brethren. Such groups operated both in the ghettos, where the Jews were gathered, and outside the ghettos, where the majority of citizens were Polish. The motives for such actions were varied: hatred or material gain. Sometimes, this was a cruel price to pay for saving one’s own life. Everyone who contributed to the death of a fellow citizen (denunciation, murder) participated in German crimes. The German Reich employed such people to combat any illegal activities under its rule: to destroy the Jews in hiding, underground independence organizations and anyone offering clandestine help to their persecuted fellow citizens.

At the same time, this does not change the fact that only the imposition of the inhuman legal system of the German Reich on the citizens of the Republic of Poland (of Polish, Jewish and other nationalities) could have ever resulted in making information on the place of residence of an ordinary person – whether that be a Jew, a Pole of Jewish descent or a member of an underground independence organization – synonymous with a death sentence. After all, such situations were simply unimaginable in the free Poland prior to 1939.

All the criminals who lurked among the civilians enjoyed impunity ensured by the German Reich. The Republic of Poland announced the full future criminal liability for every such person – regardless of their motivation.

Every illegal (in the light of the imposed German regulations) activity, including giving assistance to Jews in hiding (carried out at risk of the helper’s own life and the life of their families) was

heroic by the mere fact that such actions were perceived as criminal by the German Reich. In another work, Szymon [Simon] Datner recapitulated: "The rescue of Jews in Poland is among the most beautiful acts of the humanitarian and brotherly relationship between the Poles and their persecuted fellow citizens. By providing help, hiding and rescuing Jews from the Holocaust, Poles were put at risk of inhumane persecution and death at the hands of the occupier. Despite that, many Poles manifested unparalleled heroism by saving the lives of Jewish victims of Nazi racism and terror. Many Poles, including a significant number of heroes so far unknown by their first and last names, paid for their noble attitude, worthy of the highest respect, with their lives. Many were brutally murdered for their heroic and deeply humane reaction, oftentimes together with their entire families and children by the occupier who was inflicting ruthless terror" ("Materials on Poles rescuing Jews," *Jewish Historical Institute Bulletin*, 1970 no. 76, p. 86).

In every social group and every nation, both heroes and traitors manifested themselves. In every nation, the majority were just people who simply wanted to survive the years of wartime atrocities together with their families. The issue of the attitudes of both the various groups of Poles and the various groups of Jews during the German occupation is a complex one that eludes simple schemas and generalisations. It does, however, require an acceptance of the criminal role of the German Reich that wielded its authority over the day to day reality of the occupation. The Reich was the causative factor, determining the most important points of reference in the system of occupation, wielding power and using widespread terror and violence. It was the Reich that made what had been impossible in the free Poland prior to 1939 a fact under the rule of the German invaders.

The scale on which civilians were employed by the German Reich should be the subject of reliable studies free of political pressure. Equal measure should be applied to all national groups within the occupied society. The description of social events and behaviours should take into account the proportions, the background of events, the individual attitudes and motivations, as well as the conditions created by the occupier's policy. Use of the existing body of scientific studies should take into consideration respect for reliable researchers on the subject, and avoid manipulation and abuse when using their names.

Discussions on the scale of the victims' tragedy should not obscure the responsibility held by the totalitarian state that the German Reich was. It is an important and universal challenge for the memory of the victims and future safety of the world: every country in the modern world should understand that country-level decisions on genocide, even if they are successfully carried out under the protection of a national power, will be challenged by the world. They will not be forgotten and will not be subject to any policy of blurring the lines of responsibility.

Response to Jan Grabowski's Toronto Globe and Mail Article

Re: "Poland must remember the truth of the Warsaw uprising" (May 4, 2018)

Internet: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-poland-must-remember-the-truth-of-the-warsaw-uprising/>

In his memoir, *A Surplus of Memory*, Yitzhak Zuckerman, a liaison officer of the Jewish underground, offers a very different perspective from that put forward by Jan Grabowski. While no apologist for Poles, Zuckerman, an intimate observer of conditions in Warsaw, eschews crude generalizations.

Like Emanuel Ringelblum, the chronicler of the Warsaw ghetto, Zuckerman's opinion of the 2,000 Jewish policemen who, under orders, rounded up 270,000 Jews in the Warsaw ghetto in the summer of 1942 was merciless. "The Jewish police did the despicable work ... clearly the Germans wouldn't have done the job so easily or so fast ... the Jewish police knew what Treblinka was."

The Jewish underground received its first weapons, ammunition and combat training from the Home Army. Advance warning of the Germans' imminent entry into the ghetto was passed on by Home Army plants in the Polish police. "We didn't get adequate help from the Poles," according to Marek Edelman, one of the underground commanders, "but without their help we couldn't have started the uprising." The Home Army also carried out diversionary attacks and attempted to breach the ghetto wall, but its ability to stop the Germans in April 1943 was nil.

Zuckerman noted that what was happening in the ghetto "aroused extraordinary respect for the Jewish fighters. The Polish underground press was full of excitement and wonder." He goes on to state, "As the ghetto was burning, I would mix with the crowd assembled to watch the ghetto walls. At that time, there was a lot of sympathy and admiration for the Jews, because everyone understood that the struggle was against the Germans. They admired the Jews' courage and strength. But there were also some, mostly underworld characters, who looked upon us as bugs jumping out of burning houses. But you shouldn't generalize from that. With my own eyes, I saw Poles crying, just standing and crying. ... One day the ghetto was shrouded in smoke and I saw masses of Poles, without a trace of spiteful malice."

At the time, there were about 27,000 Jews hiding in Warsaw, a city with a population of one million. This was the largest concentration of Jews hiding in one place in occupied Europe. Historian Gunnar Paulsson estimates that they relied on about 50-60,000 people who provided hiding places and another 20-30,000 who provided other forms of help. Many of these Jews took part in the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, a heroic 63-day struggle that cost 150,000 lives, among them a few thousand Jews who had escaped from the ghetto.

The mandated penalty for helping Jews in occupied Poland was death. No fewer than 800 Poles were executed; many others were sent to concentration camps. How many non-Poles are aware of that fact? In several countries, including Germany, there was no punishment for helping Jews. In other countries, it could result in a fine or a short prison term. The chances of being sent to a concentration camp, however, were extremely remote.

Poland needs no lessons about the Warsaw ghetto uprising. A prominent monument, unveiled in 1948, stands in front of the much-visited Museum of the History of Polish Jews. Last November, the government announced plans to erect a museum dedicated to the Warsaw ghetto. Impressive commemoration ceremonies to mark the revolt have taken place annually since the 1980s.

Response to National Post Article by Vanessa Gera (AP)

National Post (Toronto)
December 6, 2018 (print edition)
Letters

Poland's envoy offers rebuttal

Re: Scholar sues over claims he 'slandered' Poland, Nov. 27

I would like to express my disappointment with an inaccurate statement in this article.

Let me quote just one paragraph, that appears after Jan Grabowski's citation: "Official efforts under the Law and Justice government have included promoting the memory of the Polish gentiles who sheltered Jews during the war. Scholars who research Polish violence against Jews have faced censure and prosecution."

The author of the article blamed the Polish authorities for censoring and prosecuting scholars whose research about Holocaust included villainous acts committed by Poles against Jews.

Nothing is more inaccurate. Moreover, I believe it is unacceptable for one of the most respected papers in Canada to present such unfounded conclusion. The freedom of thought and the freedom of speech are fundamental rights in Poland. There is an open space for discussion and carrying out research or publishing its outcomes. Scholarly research about the Holocaust flourished in Poland, with dozens of books and articles being published every year.

The Polish Center for Holocaust Research, established in 2003, a section of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, carries out a free, interdisciplinary research on the Holocaust. One of its members is the aforementioned Prof. Jan Grabowski of the University of Ottawa, who conducts research in Poland and publishes its results. Polish readers are also acquainted with the scholarly research about the Holocaust abroad. The Polish translation of "The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939-1945" by Joshua Zimmerman, professor at Yeshiva University in the U.S., and edited by one of the most prestigious Polish publishers, the PWN, is one of the newest examples.

Having those and many other examples in mind, I can only disagree with your statement about censure and prosecution of scholarly research about the Holocaust in Poland.

Andrzej Kurnicki, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland