

SZYMON DATNER

GERMAN NAZI CRIMES AGAINST JEWS WHO ESCAPED FROM THE  
GHETTOES

“LEGAL” THREATS AND ORDINANCES REGARDING JEWS AND THE  
POLES WHO HELPED THEM

Among other things, the “final solution of the Jewish question” required that Jews be prohibited from leaving the ghettos they were living in—which typically were fenced off and under guard. The occupation authorities issued inhumane ordinances to that effect.

In his ordinance of October 15, 1941, Hans Frank imposed draconian penalties on Jews who escaped from the ghettos and on Poles who would help them escape or give them shelter:

“§ 4b

(1) Jews who leave their designated quarter without authorisation shall be punished by death. The same penalty shall apply to persons who knowingly shelter such Jews.

(2) Those who instigate and aid and abet shall be punished with the same penalty as the perpetrator; acts attempted shall be punished as acts committed. A penalty of severe prison sentence or prison sentence may be imposed for minor offences.

(3) Sentences shall be passed by special courts.”<sup>1</sup>

In the reality of the General Government (GG), § 4b (3) was never applied to runaway Jews. They would be killed on capture or escorted to the nearest police, gendarmerie, Gestapo or Kripo station and, after being identified as Jews and tortured to give away those who helped or sheltered them, summarily executed.

Many times the same fate befell Poles, too, particularly those living in remote settlements and woodlands. The cases of Poles who helped Jews, which were examined by special courts, raised doubts even among the judges of this infamous institution because the only penalty stipulated by law (death) was so draconian. It seems that Wille, the head of the “Main Justice Department” of the GG government, even felt compelled to issue a circular on June 18, 1943 for

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<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Main Commission to Investigate Nazi Crimes in Poland (later “AGKBZH”), J. Buehler file, v. LXII, p. 205, Third Ordinance of 15 September 1941 on Stay Restrictions in the General Government, “Journal of Ordinances for the General Government” (VBIGG) 1941, No. 99, 25 October 1941.

“District Justice Sections” (Distrikts-Abteilung Justiz) instructing them that when “it is not possible to ascertain whether a Jew has left his or her designated quarter illegally and when what is ascertained is only that he or she is outside his or her designated quarter illegally, no ordinance exists that can be directly applied to punish those who gave such Jew shelter.”<sup>2</sup> Wille recommends, however, that also in such cases the “underlying idea of § 4b, point 1, sentence 2 should be implemented, which involves combating political, criminal and health risks posed by the Jews.” Specifically, he recommends the death penalty for individuals sheltering Jews who did not relocate to Jewish residential quarters (ghettoes) and had lived in hiding from the start. The head of the GG’s “Justice Department” does not give any explanation as to why he considers this category of Jews and this category of crimes to be particularly dangerous to the Third Reich’s interests. He only writes that such punishment (death for individuals sheltering this category of Jews) is dictated by “common sense.”<sup>3</sup>

It must be noted that Frank’s ordinance of October 15, 1941 was proclaimed in the run-up to the total annihilation of Jews, the so-called “final solution of the Jewish question” (Endlösung der Judenfrage). The draconian fiat was meant to discourage Jews from seeking help outside the ghetto and to deter the Polish population from helping them. Run centrally by the RSHA (Adolf Eichmann’s Jewish section) and with full involvement of the senior and local party, administration, and police leadership of the German occupier, this murderous campaign was carried out throughout 1942 across the GG. Except for the few still remaining pockets, this campaign was essentially over by late 1942. Nonetheless, a number of Jews avoided “relocations” by running away into the woods and the countryside, and finding shelter with Poles whom they knew. They had to be terrorised and rounded up for the “relocation” campaign. On October 28, 1942, the senior SS and police commandant Krueger issued an ordinance that established in the districts of Warsaw and Lublin ghettoes-traps<sup>4</sup> to which all Jews still living at liberty were to move on pain of death starting from December 1, 1942. “The same penalty shall apply to those who knowingly give such a Jew shelter, i.e. specifically those who accommodate a Jew outside the Jewish residential quarter, feed him or keep him in hiding,” while “police security measures shall apply to those who learn about a Jew remaining illegally outside the Jewish residential quarter and fail to report that to the police.”<sup>5</sup> These central ordinances were followed by local ones, no less ruthless and cruel.

Ordinances issued by the Grojec Kreishauptmann in late 1941 on “loitering” Jews underwent a characteristic evolution. On the pretext of fighting the spread of typhus fever, purportedly transmitted by Jews, the Kreishauptmann issued three subsequent announcements calling on the

<sup>2</sup> AGKBZH, J. Buehler file, v. LXII, p. 204. Regierung des Generalgouvernements Hauptabteilung Justiz. Ju 472—7/40. Krakau, den 18. Juli 1943. An das Amt des Distrikts-Abteilung Justiz — in Krakau, Lemberg, Lublin, Radom, Warschau. Betrifft: „Gewährung von Unterschlupf an Juden“.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., “Es kann ferner nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass diejenigen Personen, die solchen Juden Unterschlupf gewähren nach gesundem Volksempfinden Bestrafung verdienen”. Wille ordered that his circular be conveyed to “German court authorities” through “district justice sections”.

<sup>4</sup> Within Warsaw district: Warsaw-city (ghetto), Kaluszyn, Sobolew, Kossow, Rembertow. Within Lublin district: Lukow, Parczew, Miedzyrzecz, Włodawa, Konksowola, Piaski, Zaklikow, Izbica.

<sup>5</sup> AGKBZH, J. Buehler file, v. LXII, p. 208, “Police ordinance establishing a Jewish residential quarter in Warschau and Lublin Districts”. “Journal of Ordinances for the GG” (VBI GG) 1942, No. 94, p. 605.

village population not to let such Jews into their homes, nor to sell or provide food to them, and to report to the authorities any sightings of Jews.

The first announcement of October 30, 1941 only prohibited any assistance to Jews and threatened repression if that ban was not complied with, in the form of arrest and deportation “for a long term to a forced labour camp.”<sup>6</sup>

The announcement of December 15, 1941 stops short of threats. This time, the Kreishauptmann offers only “a reward of 1 metre of grain at the official rate to anyone who gives away an illegal Jew to the police in such a manner as to secure his immediate capture.”<sup>7</sup>

Just four days later, the Grojec commandant seemed compelled to proclaim yet another announcement (December 19, 1941). The Kreishauptmann’s generosity had grown, as this time he offered 1 metre of grain free of charge to would-be informers. But the category of victims grew, too. One metre of grain was offered not only for informing on a Jew, but “the same reward is set also where instead of the names of loitering Jews the names are reported of those who shelter or feed Jews.”<sup>8</sup>

In parallel with the campaign to exterminate Poland’s Jews, which reached its peak in the second half of 1942, German terror also escalated against Poles who assisted or harboured those condemned to perish.

On September 26, 1942, Driessen, the Kreishauptmann of the city of Radomsko, issued a circular to mayors in both German and Polish. The Polish version is quoted below in extenso (original spelling)<sup>9</sup>:

Der Kreishauptmann Amt fuer Polizeiverwaltung

Radomsko, den 26.Sept.1942

Ko/Dr.

Attention:

All district mayors, together with the town of Radomsko

Re: Hiding fugitive jews by poles

The events of the past weeks have shown that many jews have been escaping from the jewish residential quarters to avoid evacuation.

These jews must most likely have been given shelter by poles (Diese Juden muessen durch Polen aufgenommen werden sein).

Sir, please make it as clear as possible to each and every resident of your commune that each pole who lets in a jew violates the third ordinance of October 15, 1941 on stay restrictions in the General Government, Journal of GG Ordinances, p. 595.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> AGKBZH, Announcement posters, 14/t/1/inv. No. 114.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 14/t/2/inv. No. 115.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 14/t/31inv. No. 116.

<sup>9</sup> AGKBZH, J. Beuhler file, v. XX, p. 128, “Beherbergung von gefluechten Juden durch Polen”.

<sup>10</sup> Let it be recalled that the order provided for the death penalty for both fugitive Jews as well as the Poles who were hiding them.

Equally regarded as accomplices shall be those poles who do not give fugitive jews shelter, but who give them food or sell them other foodstuffs. In such cases these poles shall be punished by death.

Im Auftrage

Signature illegible

In connection with the establishment of ghettos-traps, the Kreishauptmann of Debica proclaimed the following announcement in November 1942:

Announcement<sup>11</sup>

§ 1

Starting from December 1, 1942, jews in Kreishauptmannschaft Debica are only allowed to stay within the closed jewish camps.

§ 2

According to § 3 of the police ordinance of November 10, 1942 on the establishment of jewish residential quarters in the districts of Radom, Krakau and Galicja in conjunction with § 3 of the ordinance of October 26, 1939 on security and order in the General Government, those who knowingly shelter a Jew outside the closed camps, i.e. specifically those who accommodate a Jew, feed him or harbour him, shall be punished by death.

Police security measures shall apply to those who learn about a jew remaining illegally outside the camp and fail to report that to the police.

§ 3

The police ordinance on the establishment of jewish residential quarters in the districts of Radom, Krakau and Galicja becomes effective as of November 20, 1942. Debica, November 19, 1942.

DER KREISHAUPTMANN

gez. Schlüter

As a result of decrees like these, tens of thousands of Jews died in occupied Poland alone, in trying to save themselves from deportations to extermination camps or hiding outside the ghettos destined for hunger death. Nearly every Polish hamlet, village, town, and city witnessed the tragedy of Jews who, alone or in smaller or bigger groups, were captured fleeing from the ghettos and death transports, and subsequently murdered. Murdered alongside them were hundreds of Poles who had offered them help by hiding and feeding them.

The crimes were usually perpetrated by members of the German security apparatus: Gestapo, SD, Kripo, gendarmerie, Protection Police (Schupo, etc.), Sonderdienst, Blue Policemen, and German civilians. They would often be aided by extortionists and denunciators from among the local dregs. The murders were committed at prisons, but mostly in woods, groves, by roadside

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<sup>11</sup> AGKBZH, Announcement posters, 10 t/1.

ditches near villages, etc. Victims were typically buried at the site, with the earth smoothed over and no traces left of the crime.

As long as the ghettos still existed, Jews who had fled them would often be executed in public as a warning. Some documentary references have remained from that period that mention such cases.

## A. MASSACRES OF JEWISH FUGITIVES IN GHETTOS

### Łódź Ghetto

On February 21, 1942, the Łódź Ghetto saw its first public execution, which took place in the square at Bazarna and Lutomierska Streets, where masses of Western European Jews who had been resettled in the ghetto were rounded up, numbering around 8,000. The condemned man Maks Hertz from Cologne, who was born on September 27, 1883 in Gangelt, arrived on October 28, 1941 in the first transport of German Jews displaced to the ghetto. He was accompanied by his wife and their 9-year-old daughter. Hertz slipped out of the ghetto<sup>12</sup>, and spent several days on the “Aryan side”, where he obtained the necessary documents. “He was arrested at the railway station when buying a ticket to Cologne. A patch worn by [ghetto] residents on their clothes fell out from his wallet at that very moment<sup>13</sup>. The ticket clerk noticed the mishap, and then one thing led to another. After being arrested, he was put in the local [i.e. ghetto] Central Prison, and spent about three weeks there, until his execution.”<sup>14</sup>

The execution was supervised by “representatives of the authorities”, probably Gestapo officers, who stood 2 metres from the gallows. According to the ghetto paper *Biuletyn Kroniki Codziennej*, many of those who were made to watch, including the condemned man’s wife and daughter, suffered a nervous shock. “When the body was hanging from the gallows, a number of men who had gathered at the execution site began to say a prayer for the souls of the dead [Kaddish].”<sup>15</sup>

This was not the only crime of this kind in the “Litzmannstadt Ghetto”. September 1942 saw the horrific “children campaigns” and the deportation of the ill and “unfit for work”, during which, according to official German data, 15,700 people were sent to their deaths.<sup>16</sup> Thirty-five unnamed Jews from Łódź were hanged there the same month. According to a report by the Łódź branch of the Gestapo, “some of these Jews were executed because they had escaped evacuation<sup>17</sup> and were later caught, while others were executed for sabotaging worksites and for leaving the ghetto and their place of work in breach of the law.”<sup>18</sup> The same report names three other people, two women and one man, whom the Gestapo detained for similar “offences”. The document

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<sup>12</sup> It was extremely uncommon for inmates of the Łódź Ghetto to escape. The document we rely on for information about this crime is silent on the circumstances of Hertz’s escape.

<sup>13</sup> A yellow patch shaped like the Star of David which was worn on one’s back and chest.

<sup>14</sup> *Biuletyn Kroniki Codziennej* (published in the Łódź Ghetto), no 9, February 1942. It was made available to the author by Lucjan Dobroszycki, who used it to prepare the *Kronika* for print.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> AMSW, report by the Lodz branch of Gestapo, II B 4, Litzmannstadt 1 October 1943: Lagebericht. Betrifft: Juden. The report was signed by the notorious Gestapo commissioner [Guenther] Fuchs.

<sup>17</sup> Here: a code word for being sent to death.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

offers no clue about what happened to them. They included: Symcha Zawadzki, born March 25, 1895, “for escaping from his place of work”, as well as Jenta Tomdowska, born in 1927, and Mariem Jakubowicz, born January 5, 1923, both for “escaping evacuation.”<sup>19</sup> There is little doubt that all three were executed.

### Częstochowa Ghetto

We have a surviving report from March 1942 by the Jewish police of the Częstochowa Ghetto, which reveals a crime against a fugitive. We publish the report in extenso:

Czestochowa, March 16, 1942

To the Board of the Council of Elders

Below I am quoting an account by the duty officer, who reports on the receipt and execution of a Bezirks-Wache<sup>20</sup> order concerning an escort for the body of Jesionowicz:

“Telephone message. The Bezirks-Wache ordered me to dispatch 2 orderlies, a horse and a cart. At 9:15 p.m. I dispatched two orderlies: Libgot, service no 143, and Lipszyc, service no 82, together with a horse and a cart to the Bezirks-Wache. Hauptmann<sup>21</sup> Degenhart instructed the orderlies that the body of Jesionowicz (born on June 16, 1917, resident at 9 Mostowa str.), who had been shot for illegally crossing the border of the Aryan district, be delivered to his family, and the incident be notified to the Council of Elders in Czestochowa. Under Haptmann Degenhart’s orders, the Council of Elders should also warn Jews to prevent such incidents from happening in the future.”

Jewish Law Enforcement Service

Head of District

(-) signature illegible<sup>22</sup>

### Przemyśl Ghetto

As Przemyśl Mayor Michał Wiślicki estimated after the war that from September 1941 to March 1943 the Germans on average shot between 100 and 300 people a month at the Jewish cemetery in Przemyśl. In his words, this was because the victims had been caught “at large outside the ghetto”, as well as due to their “Jewish origin and lack of German registration [i.e. documents – Sz. D.]”. The bodies of the victims were buried on the spot, in a trench 400 m

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Local German guards’ post.

<sup>21</sup> Capitan.

<sup>22</sup> AGKBZH, J. Buehler file, v. 17, p. 65.

by 3 m. In February 1944, the bodies of the victims were partly exhumed and “destroyed with caustic acid.”<sup>23</sup>

### Tarnów Ghetto

National-socialist “concepts” and the racial madness preached by the state sometimes led to baffling and surprising situations.

It is well known that several hundred Jewish officers survived in the Oflags where Polish officers were interned as POWs. Why they survived remains completely obscure. They were not “released” to ghettos like the Jewish privates who perished in the crematoria along with the whole nation, nor were they turned in to the Gestapo. Instead, they benefitted from the protection of international law (Geneva Convention of 1929), albeit they were not spared the humiliation of “ghettos” set up by the Wehrmacht in most of these Oflags. These POWs survived.

Back home their families did not. Corralled in ghettos, they set off to meet their death at Treblinka, Auschwitz, etc., or died of hunger that ravished the closed-off Jewish communities of Warsaw, Łódź, and other cities.

Some of these families would hide on the “Aryan” side, some would survive, others would die, turned in to the butchers by some wretched men.

Among other families struck by death were those of 2 officers, General Bernard Mond, who was Jewish by origin<sup>24</sup>, and Major Jan Witowski, whose “racial provenance” is obscure to us. The victims were 6 women, including a 12-year-old girl.

During the night of November 30/December 1, 1943, in Zakliczyn on the Dunajec River (Brzesko county), Gestapo (or gendarmerie) and Blue Police<sup>25</sup> officers arrested the families of General Bernard Stanisław Mond and Major Jan Witowski. They detained the General’s wife, Helena Mondowa [uxorial form of ‘Mond’], her two sisters, Zofia Korczyńska and Zofia Czajkowska, the Major’s wife, Emilia Witowska, and her two daughters, 19-year-old Jadwiga and 12-year-old Zofia. The arrested women were taken to the police station in Zakliczyn, and from there transported by sledge to the police station in Czchów. The next day, military police officer Jan Materna and three Blue Police officers (Sokół, Grabek, and Dziura) took them in a lorry to Brzesko, and from there on a train to Tarnów. The arrested women walked along Wałowa Street to the ghetto<sup>26</sup>, with two Gestapo officers Jeck and Grunow moving ahead of them. Blue Police officers who joined the march as it was crossing the ghetto brought up the rear.

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<sup>23</sup> AGKKBZH, GK Survey (“Camps and Ghettos 1939-1945”), province of Rzeszow, v. I, p. 146, evidence by M. Wiślicki given on 8 October 1945 before a magistrates’ court judge Dr Stanisław Adamiak.

<sup>24</sup> During the September Campaign, Major General B. Mond was commander of the 6th Infantry Division (Kraków Army).

<sup>25</sup> The following henchmen were identified as having taken part in arresting or escorting the victims from Zakliczyn to the place of their death in Tarnów: Finder (first name unknown), commander of the so-called Czchow Stützpunkt; Józef Koczwara, district Blue Police commander in Czchów and Zakliczyn, headquartered in Czchow; Bornisław Jedliczko, commander of the Blue Police station in Zakliczyn; Jan Materna, military police officer and Volksdeutscher from the “Czchów bridgehead”; and three Blue Police officers from Czchów: Józef (or Władysław) Sokół, Władysław Grabek, and Władysław Dziura.

<sup>26</sup> They were probably first taken to the Gestapo HQ in Tarnow at Urszulańska Street, where the escort changed.

“After the convoy stopped near the building on Widok Street, the victims were beaten and kicked to make them undress and lie down prostrate. Amid weeping, cries of anguish, and appeals for help, the women, by then stripped naked, were forced to lie down in a row. Then, they were killed with a shot to their head, aimed at the area behind the ear.”<sup>27</sup>

After the massacre carried out by Grunow and Jeck, the latter called Jewish gravediggers, who loaded up the bodies, took them to the Jewish cemetery, and buried them in a common grave.<sup>28</sup>

Three or four days later, the Tarnów branch of the Gestapo ordered the commander of the Czchów police station Finder to clear out all possessions from the flats of the arrested families. Their belongings were moved to Tarnów on 6 carts, and deposited at various Gestapo storehouses. In the meantime, several military police officers and Blue Police officers stole different things from the flats<sup>29</sup> acting on their own, while the arrested were robbed by the Volksdeutscher Jan Materna during their wait at the Czchów police station.

It was established that the Gestapo branch in Kraków via the Gestapo in Tarnów had ordered the arrests and confiscation of property on a tip-off.<sup>30</sup>

## B. MASSACRES OF FUGITIVE AND HIDING JEWS IN GHETTOES DURING LIQUIDATION CAMPAIGNS AND THEREAFTER

We have mentioned elsewhere the large role that storm drains played as a peculiar route of escape for the fleeing POWs, inmates, and insurgent units fighting in Warsaw.

This means of escape was also used on a massive scale by the Jews of Warsaw during the final liquidation of the ghetto in April and May 1943.

The Germans were aware of this, and tried to thwart such efforts by resorting to countermeasures that showed their typical lack of humanity.

According to SS officer Karl Kaleske, who was an adjutant to the Warsaw Ghetto’s liquidator Juergen Strop, his superior ordered parts of the sewers to be blocked with dams. The intention was to raise the water (sewage) level so the fugitives would drown. As Kaleske admitted, the stratagem misfired “because some trapdoors were damaged by explosions and wouldn’t hold water”. Seeing that, Strop ordered the use of smoke pots “to drive the Jews out of the sewers.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> AGKBZH, Rzeszow-Tarnow District, 4 February 1946 (985 z/OT inv. 1041, p. 150), findings by the Regional Commission to Investigate Nazi Crimes in Poland.

<sup>28</sup> There are doubts surrounding Helena Mondowa. According to Dr Ludwik Christiansen, chairman of the Polish Red Cross organization in Lublin, in early 1944 a person signed by this name sent him a note from Majdanek, asking for help and for passing the news on to her husband in Oflag. She is said to have been in Majdanek until April 1944, whereupon she was evacuated to Ravensbrück and was never heard of ever since (ibid. pp. 151 and 154).

<sup>29</sup> The “individual” robbery was carried out by Blue Police officers from Zakliczyn (deputy commander Müller, Sroka and Cieślík), as well as gendarmes from Czchów (commander Finder and Materna) (ibid., p. 151).

<sup>30</sup> For tracking down and establishing the whereabouts of the arrested (Zakliczyn, Koci Zamek and Zofiówka villas) the Gestapo paid out cash rewards to Malcher, a painter from Kraków (liquidated by the Home Army in June 1944), and Massar, a Volksdeutscher from Zakliczyn (managed to escape) (ibid. pp. 152 and 155).

<sup>31</sup> AGKBZH, file of Karl Brandt, BD - 379, pp. 189-190, affidavit by Karl Kaleske, report on documents inspection drawn up in Warsaw on 2 June 1948 by judge Józef Skorzyński.

After the SS and police commander of the Warsaw District Juergen Stroop finished his job of annihilating Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto in mid-May 1943, having murdered or sent to death in Treblinka an estimated 56,000 people, a significant number of individual Jews managed to survive in the demolished ghetto, hiding in various nooks and shelters. Some of them made it to the Aryan side and went into hiding.

One of Stroop's reactions was to put up a reward for each Jew that would be caught. "Everyone who turned in a Jew could keep half of their possessions, such as gold, money, or other valuables,"<sup>32</sup> said Stroop's adjutant Karl Kaleske.

Kaleske did not know the exact number of Jews who had been caught this way. "Could have been a thousand or more."<sup>33</sup> After being caught, they were put "at the disposal" of Warsaw security police and its chief, SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr Hahn.<sup>34</sup> Kaleske maintains that he does not know exactly what happened to those caught, but he does venture to say that "they are believed to have been shot in the back of the head."<sup>35</sup>

Let us make a passing reference to the mass murder of Jews from across Lithuania who were in hiding following the "operation."

Retreating from Kaunas before a Soviet Army offensive in the summer of 1944, the Germans decided they would not leave alive any of the survivors of previous massacres that had targeted Jews. On July 13, they ordered the ghetto to be "evacuated" westwards. But even so many of the ghetto inmates decided to take a chance and avoid deportation by hiding in shelters ("dens") they had built in advance in the basements of the buildings they lived in.

This did not escape the attention of the Germans. At a moment that could hardly be more turbulent to them, they still spared the time for a barbaric counteraction. Ghetto buildings were set alight or blown up along with the people hiding in them. Many victims tried to escape the fire by running in to the street, but SS officers toting machine guns were already waiting for them.<sup>36</sup>

By August 1, 1944, the city was free.

After the final liquidation of the Białystok Ghetto (August 16, 1943), a significant number of Jews remained in hiding in underground shelters. The Germans gradually picked them up and killed them at an execution site in Grabówka near the city. Only a small portion survived – namely, those who left the ghetto in time and found refuge with local Poles.<sup>37</sup>

Scenarios similar to the one in Białystok played out in practically all larger Jewish population centres that were liquidated (Lwów, Drohobycz, Wilno, Minsk in Belarus, Kraków, Tarnów, and others).

Warsaw saw such scenes three times: during the major liquidation campaign which was carried out from July to September 1942 and claimed

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp. 180-181.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p 181.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 192.

<sup>36</sup> A. Górska, "Dziś – XX rocznica wyzwolenia Kaunasu", *Czerwony Sztandar* (Vilnius), 1 August 1964, no 177 (3996).

<sup>37</sup> Author's handwritten note.

over 300,000 human lives; after the suppression of the ghetto uprising in May 1943; and after the fall of the 1944 uprising.

The last of these is especially telling. About 20,000 Jews were hiding in Warsaw on the “Aryan” side, relying on their own resourcefulness but above all on the aid of the Polish population. After the uprising began, they were free to leave their shelters and hideouts. Following the fall of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, some left Warsaw via Pruszków along with the whole civilian population; others remained in bunkers hidden in ruined houses, thereby surviving in an otherwise abandoned city that was being systematically demolished. Apart from Jews, there was also a number of Poles who were hiding this way in the destroyed capital. Many bunkers were uncovered and their dwellers executed<sup>38</sup>. Others managed to survive, well-provisioned and camouflaged or located in less accessible places such as high floors of huge residential blocks gutted by fire and without stairs. After close on 4 months in hiding, their inhabitants lived to see the capital liberated by Polish and Soviet forces in January 1945.

### C. INDIVIDUAL CASES OF MURDER COMMITTED ON JEWISH FUGITIVES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, OUTSIDE GHETTO AREAS

(Fact findings)

In late September or early October 1941, Gestapo officers executed 10 Jews by firing squad in the town of Czyżew, Wysokie Mazowieckie county, Białystok province. The victims had attempted to escape a column marching to an execution site in the village of Szulborze-Koty (Ostrów Mazowiecka county, Warsaw province). Neither the personal details of the victims nor names of perpetrators have ever been confirmed. The victims’ remains were buried near a road leading to the village of Zaręby Kościelne, approximately 1 km from Czyżew, the grave being levelled and eventually covered with grass.<sup>39</sup>

In 1942-1944, German gendarmes and police officers executed 7 people – 2 Soviet prisoners, 3 Jewish women, and 2 Jewish men – by firing squad in the village of Januszówka, Zbuczyn municipality, Siedlce county, Warsaw province. The Jews were murdered for fleeing a transport; the Russians – for escaping a prisoners’ camp. The victims’ remains were buried next to the Januszówka railway track.<sup>40</sup>

In 1942, gendarmes executed 3 Jews (names unknown) by firing squad in the woods of the village of Chotyłów, Piszczac municipality, Biała Podlaska

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<sup>38</sup> The chances of survival were better if a bunker was discovered by Polish rescue teams that operated with permission of German military authorities for some time after the insurgents surrendered (October 1944). It is a glorious if little researched episode in those tragic days of the capital.

<sup>39</sup> Questionnaire of the Main Commission to Investigate Nazi Crimes in Poland (hereinafter referred to as “MC”), Białystok province, vol. II, p. 254, statement by Czyżew municipality head Bronisław Sieńko given on 26 September 1945 at the Magistrate Court in Wysokie Mazowieckie, before Deputy Chief Justice of the Circuit Court in Łomża E. Świder, Ph.D.

<sup>40</sup> MC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. VI, p. 1042, statement by Zbuczyn municipality head Stanisław Sieczkiewicz given on 25 September 1945 before Justice Leon Jastrzębski of the Magistrate Court (hereinafter referred to as “MC”) in Siedlce.

county, Lublin province. The motive for the slaughter: “escaping a camp.” Corpses were interred in a collective grave in a forest near Zaleska (road).<sup>41</sup>

In 1942, constable Benz from Sławków, Olkusz county, Kraków province, shot and killed a local Jew, Jakub Erenrajch (born 1916, tailor), for “avoiding displacement.” The body was interred at the Jewish cemetery in Sławków.<sup>42</sup>

In 1942, Jews (residents of Sławków) hiding to avoid displacement were executed by firing squad on two different dates in the town of Sławków, Olkusz county, Kraków province.

The earlier incident involved the death of Jicchak Monszajn, the other one – two elderly people, in all probability a married couple: Henoch Glaitman (born 1876) and Rebeka Glaitman (born 1878), both tradespeople. In both cases, the crime was committed by a local German constable, Walter Nitze.

The victims were interred at the Jewish cemetery in Sławków, Monszajn separately, the Glaitmans together in a collective grave.<sup>43</sup>

On August 8, 1942, German gendarmes from Przemyśl executed 13 Jews (including 6 women and 2 children) by firing squad in the town of Dubiecko, Przemyśl county, Rzeszów province. The victims were hiding and were seized in the woods of the Kosztowa commune, Dubiecko municipality. Those murdered were:

1. Adler, Lea, 17, farmer, Słonne (Dubiecko municipality)
2. Doenitz, Jakub, 22, “arrived from Paris”
3. Harfenist, Markus, 48, farmer, Przedmieście Dubieckie
4. Harfenist, Sara, 45, farmer
5. Harfenist, Pesia, 20, farmer, Przedmieście Dubieckie
6. Harfenist, Samuel, 20, farmer
7. Harfenist, Kelman, 16, farmer
8. Hofner, Dwora, 54, merchant’s wife, Dubiecko
9. Jawornikier, Freida, 30, merchant’s wife, Dubiecko
10. Schimmel, Jehuda, 35, merchant, Dubiecko
11. Schimmel, Tonka, 25, farmer, Dubiecko
12. Schimmel, Nechla, 5, in mother’s custody, Dubiecko
13. Schimmel, Abraham, 3, in mother’s custody, Dubiecko

As claimed by the municipality head of Dubiecko, “the victims were shot for their affiliation to the Jewish nation.”

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<sup>41</sup> MC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. 1, p. 37, statement by Piszczac municipality head Florian Wawryczuk given on 29 September 1945 before Justice H. Kempisty of the MC in Biała Podlaska.

<sup>42</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. IV, p. 695, statement by Sławków municipality head Jan Bednarski given on 4 October 1945 before Justice S. Wereszczyński of the MC in Olkusz.

<sup>43</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. IV, pp. 692 and 694, statement by Sławków municipality head Jan Bednarski given on 4 October 1945 before Justice S. Wereszczyński of the MC in Olkusz.

The victims' remains were interred at the Jewish cemetery in Dubiecko in a collective grave, 4 x 2 m.<sup>44</sup>

In August 1942, SS and police officers executed 6 Jews (including a family of five – 2 men, 2 women and 2 children in total) by firing squad “for hiding to avoid the ghetto” in the village of Jawornik Polski, Hyżne municipality, Rzeszów county and province. Those murdered were:

1. Springer, Moses, 54, horse dealer
2. Springer, Frajda, 45, wife
3. Springer, Jerema, 22, son
4. Springer, Ida, 10, daughter
5. Springer, first name and age unknown (child)
6. Jewess, name and age unknown, Jerema's fiancée

All victims were buried at the site of the crime in a collective grave, then levelled.<sup>45</sup>

From August through December 1942, gendarme Józef (Josef — *Sz. D.*) Hinz shot and killed a total of 13 Jews, including 4 women, in the village and municipality of Korzenna, Nowy Sącz county, Kraków province. The following were identified: Gutwirth, Abraham, of Librantowa; Popiel, Uszer, Popiel, Jakub, and Popiel, Maria (from the same family) and Popiel, Fejga, of Lipnica Wielka. The victims were aged 20 to 60, “young people, mostly,” captured on the road for failing to report to the ghetto. The murdered victims' bodies were buried in Korzenna near a brook, usually in single graves. “Today, the graves are all obscured and levelled.”<sup>46</sup>

In August 1942, German gendarmes executed a family of three by firing squad in the village of Porąbka Uszewska, Dębno municipality, Brzesko county, Kraków province, “for absconding from the ghetto” in Brzesko. Those murdered were: Glassner, Hafte, 42, and her two children – Bronka, 11, and Jan, 7. Their remains were interred in the Porąbka Uszewska forest in a collective grave, 1.80 x 0.70 m. One of the perpetrators was identified as Gestapo officer Paul Stosch from Brzesko.<sup>47</sup>

Around November 10, 1942, in the town of Lipnica Murowana, Bochnia county, Kraków province, German gendarmes shot and killed 3 Jews sheltered by local residents in the village of Rajbrot. Doctor Fragner, an attorney from Wiśnicz, was murdered with his wife and his wife's sister. Their remains were interred at the Catholic cemetery in Lipnica Murowana, in a collective grave.

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<sup>44</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. IV, p. 489, statement by Dubiecko municipality head Józef Mitrega (Mitrego) given on 21 September 1945 before Justice Zbigniew Klementowski of the MC in Dubiecko.

<sup>45</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. IV, p. 593, statement by Hyżne municipality head Wawrzyniec Słupek given on 11 October 1945 before Justice Kuśnierz, Ph.D., of the MC in Tyczyn.

<sup>46</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. III, p. 433, statement by Korzenna municipality head Franciszek Dziedziak given on 29 September 1945 before Justice Wojciech Żywczak of the MC in Nowy Sącz.

<sup>47</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 57, statement by Dębno municipality head Andrzej Kubala given on 18 September 1945 before Justice M. Sajkiewicz of the MC in Brzesko.

The gendarme in command of the murder was identified as Wilhelm Schindler.<sup>48</sup>

In September 1942, Gestapo officer Beck assisted by Blue Police commissioner Malinowski shot and killed a Jewish woman by the name of Löwi, her son, 9, and her daughter, 7, all of whom were sheltered in their own barn in the village of Żegocina, Trzciana municipality, Bochnia county, Kraków province. Their remains were buried in Żegocina.<sup>49</sup>

In October 1942, German gendarmes shot and killed the Grosses, a family of six captured in the field, in the village of Rakszawa, Żołyńa municipality, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province. All the bodies were buried in a field owned by Władysław Marcinek, in a collective grave 2 x 2 m, with all traces of interment obscured. Two of the perpetrators' names were identified as Wile and Krezinger.<sup>50</sup>

The number of Jewish fugitives was particularly high in the town of Ciechanowiec, Siemiatycze county, Białystok province. Practically the whole town absconded on November 1, 1942, on the eve of the local Jewish community's "liquidation." For a long time thereafter, fugitives were captured individually and in groups. Approximately 700 detained fugitives were executed by firing squad in the Schutzpolizei station courtyard, assistance provided by the town mayor, German Herbert Romanus. The victims' bodies were interred in the Polki suburban district of Ciechanowiec in a collective grave which was later levelled.<sup>51</sup>

In autumn 1942, SS officers and gendarmes executed 22 local Jews (including women and children) by firing squad in the town of Kosina, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province, "for hiding to avoid transportation" for extermination purposes. Three families were identified among the victims: the Zellers (Hersz, Dawid, et al.), the Augenbrauens (Ita, Chaim, Klara, et al.), and the Kutschers (Sara, Ita, et al.). All the bodies were buried at a site used for animal interment at the Kosina farm in a collective grave, 5 x 6 x 1.70 m. Gendarme Weber was identified as one of the murder perpetrators.<sup>52</sup>

On December 26, 1942, Schutzpolizei officers from the village of Kolbuszowa shot and killed 3 Jews (Głogów Małopolski residents) in the town of Głogów Małopolski, Rzeszów county and province, "for fleeing their place of work in Biesiadka." Those murdered were: Gertschenbaum, 27, Rahowicz, Izaak, 20, and Wahrenberg, Motek, 26. All murder victims were interred at the Jewish cemetery in Głogów, Sienkiewicz street.<sup>53</sup>

During the period from January 14, 1943 through the end of March 1943, German gendarmes and Ukrainian police officers captured and executed 172

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<sup>48</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 28, statement by Lipnica Murowana municipality head Ludwik Beret given on 8 October 1945 before Justice Walerian Hans, Ph.D., of the MC in Wiśnicz.

<sup>49</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 42, statement by Trzciana municipality head Jan Mróz given on 8 October 1945 before Justice Walerian Hans, Ph.D., of the MC in Wiśnicz.

<sup>50</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 388, statement by Żołyńa municipality head Andrzej Mach given on 4 October 1945 before Justice J. Dąbrowski, M.A., of the MC in Łańcut.

<sup>51</sup> MC questionnaire, Białystok province, vol. I, p. 125, statement by mayor of Ciechanowiec Wojciech Woźniacki given on 29 September 1945 before Justice L. Kuchciński of the MC in Bielsk Podlaski.

<sup>52</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 330, statement by Kosina municipality head Walenty Niżnik given on 2 October 1945 before Justice J. Dąbrowski, M.A., of the MC in Łańcut.

<sup>53</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. IV, p. 555, statement by deputy mayor of Głogów Józef Zajac given on 27 September 1945 before Justice Z. Teleśnicki of the MC in Głogów.

Jews of both genders (including children) by firing squad, all fugitives from the Lubaczów ghetto, in the town of Oleszyce, Lubaczów county, Rzeszów province. Originally from Oleszyce and neighbouring villages, all the victims were interred at the Jewish cemetery at Kolejowa No. 3 in collective graves. Only 53 of these victims were identified.

Grave No. 1

1. Ber, Leiser, 49, horse-drawn carriage driver
  2. Bleiberg, Meir, 45, horse dealer
  3. Fleischer, Józef, 22, merchant
  4. Gotlib, Jehoszua, 48, timber merchant
  5. Gotlib, Józef, 32, horse dealer
  6. Gotlib, Salomon, 41, horse dealer
  7. Grün[d]wald, Izak, 38, timber merchant
  8. Grüner, Jakub, 50, tailor
  9. Lach, Jakub, 50, grain merchant
  10. Melamed, Józef, 44, --
  11. Temer, Zelik, 40, tawyer
  12. Graf, Józef, 20, cobbler
- and 43 unidentified victims

Grave No. 2

1. Adler, Józef, 44, merchant
2. Adler, Nena, 60, merchant's wife
3. Adler, Zofia, 19, daughter
4. Anhalt, Ezriel, 49, barber
5. Bakanowski, Mendel, 59, tanner
6. Bakanowska, Minia, 53, tanner's wife
7. Bakanowska, Nena, 14, daughter
8. Bakanowski, Józef, 20, son
9. Bakanowski, Leib, 18, son
10. Ber Mindla, 27, seamstress

Grave No. 3

1. Ber, Leib, 36, horse-drawn carriage driver
2. Deitler, Hersz, 45, tailor
3. Grüner, Anka, 47, seamstress

— and 55 unidentified victims.<sup>54</sup>

On February 13, 1943, German gendarmes from Oleszyce shot and killed 3 Jews hiding in the forest in the village of Oleszyce Stare, Lubaczów county, Rzeszów province, near the Lubież farm. Aba (first name – Sz.D.) Engiel, 49, from Oleszyce (resident at Cerkiewna street), an unidentified woman, and a young child were murdered. All three bodies were buried at the crime scene in a collective grave.<sup>55</sup>

On February 13, 1943, Blue Police officers shot and killed 2 captured Jewish women, formerly in hiding, in the village of Rudno Dolne, Wawrzeńczyce municipality, Proszowice county, Kraków province. The two women were Hilfstein, Hanna, née Klippel, merchant's widow, 20, and Klippel, Leokadia, merchant's widow, over 40. The remains of both murdered victims were buried in Rudno Dolne, "at a site used for the interment of animal carcasses," in a single ditch. Of all the perpetrators, two constables were identified: Łyskawa and Tłuczek.<sup>56</sup>

On April 15, 1943, Schutzpolizei officers executed Izak Strenger and his entire family of 5 by firing squad, upon capturing them in the woods of Zarszyn, where the family had been hiding (Zarszyn commune and municipality, Sanok county, Rzeszów province). All 6 victims were buried at the execution site in a collective grave.<sup>57</sup>

In spring 1943, Blue Police officer Józef Tomczak shot and killed 9 local Jews hiding to avoid transportation and displacement, including women and children, in the town of Kosina, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province. Those murdered were: Kutscher, Chana, her 2 daughters and son, 4 members of the Muehlbrad family, and Zeller, Chana. They were all buried together at the crime scene, in the ditch they had been hiding in, in the fields of the Kosina farm. "All traces were obscured, the field was ploughed." Ditch size: 4 x 6 x 2 m.<sup>58</sup>

On June 21, 1943, unidentified police officers shot and killed a captured Jewish family of 4 in hiding, in the town of Złotniki, Proszowice county, Kraków province. Those murdered were:

1. Friszter, first name unknown, 40, milkman
2. Friszter, Anna, 28, wife of Friszter, née Weinrueb
3. Weinrueb, 60, tradeswoman
4. Weinrueb, Lola, 24, daughter

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<sup>54</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. II, pp. 298, 299 and 300, three statements (questionnaires) given (submitted) by mayor of Oleszyce Piotr Fiutowski on 8 November 1945 before Justice R. Argasiński of the MC in Lubaczów.

<sup>55</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. II, p. 301, statement by Oleszyce Stare municipality head Józef Dudek given on 5 November 1945 before Justice R. Argasiński of the MC in Lubaczów.

<sup>56</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. II, p. 371, statement by Wawrzeńczyce municipality head Franciszek Nowak given on 29 September 1945 before Justice Władysław Zięba of the MC in Proszowice.

<sup>57</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. V, p. 700, statement by Zarszyn municipality head Władysław Kurpiel given on 25 September 1946 before Justice Ludwik Tuganowski, Ph.D., of the MC in Sanok.

<sup>58</sup> MC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 331, statement by Kosina municipality head Walenty Niżnik given on 2 October 1945 before Justice J. Dąbrowski, M.A., of the MC in Łańcut.

Their bodies were interred in a collective grave in Emilia Wojnarowicz's garden in Złotniki.<sup>59</sup>

On July 10, 1943, Schutzpolizei officers shot and killed 2 Jewish women captured in the woods of the Jaćmierz commune, in the village of Bażanówka, Zarszyn municipality, Sanok county, Rzeszów province. Diler, Henia, 21, and Diler, Gizela, 16, were the victims, both buried in a collective grave at the crime scene in the woods of Bażanówka.<sup>60</sup>

On July 19, 1943, gendarmes Bulowski and Herling shot and killed a family of 3 "suspected of Jewish affiliation" in the town of Kroczyce, Zawiercie county, Katowice province. Those murdered were:

1. Czasowszczyk, Edmund, 42, dentist, from the village of Pradła
2. Czasowszczyk, Rozalia, 40, wife, from the village of Pradła
3. Czasowszczyk, Henryk, 14, in parents' custody

The bodies of all victims were buried in a collective grave, 3 x 2 m, in a field near the village of Kroczyce.<sup>61</sup>

In July 1943, German gendarme Ulrich with 3 Blue Police officer accomplices shot 2 Jewish women from Nowy Sącz in hiding, in the village of Librantowa, Korzenna municipality, Nowy Sącz county, Kraków province. Żupnik, a physician, approximately 50, and her daughter, approximately 20, were the murder victims; both bodies were buried at the crime scene in a collective grave.<sup>62</sup>

In August 1943, Gestapo officers shot and killed two Jewish mothers and their children hiding in the Łasina woods, village of Jelna, Ruda Łańcucka municipality, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province. Feiga Reisenfeld and her two children and Feiga Schwanefeld and her three children were the victims. No detailed personal data available. The bodies of all victims were buried in the Łasina forest in a collective grave "in the shape and size of a grass-covered mound."<sup>63</sup>

On September 1, 1943, police officer Pałka shot and killed two Jewish children in hiding in the village of Zagórzany, Gdów municipality, Myślenice county, Kraków province. Stanisław Maks, 2, and Zofia Imerlich, 7, both from Kraków, were the victims. The children's bodies were buried near the house of one Łosiowski who had been sheltering them, near the woods of Zagórzany. The grave "is marked with a shapeless stone".<sup>64</sup>

In September 1943, Gestapo officers shot and killed a Jewish family hiding in the attic of their own home in the town of Komańcza, Sanok county, Rzeszów

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<sup>59</sup> MC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. II, p. 373, statement by Wawrzeńczyce municipality head Franciszek Nowak given on 29 September 1945 before Justice Władysław Zięba of the MC in Proszowice.

<sup>60</sup> CC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. V, p. 692, statement by Zarszyn municipality head Władysław Kurpiel given on 25 September 1946 before Justice L. Tuganowski, Ph.D., of the MC in Sanok.

<sup>61</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. IV, p. 634, statement by Kroczyce municipality head Karol Bednarz given on 1 October 1945 before Justice Bijakowski of the MC in Pilica.

<sup>62</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. III, p. 434, statement by Korzenna municipality head Franciszek Dziędział given on 29 September 1945 before Justice Wojciech Żywczak of the MC in Nowy Sącz.

<sup>63</sup> CC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 370, statement by Ruda Łańcucka municipality head Franciszek Sajdłowski given on 3 October 1945 before Justice Stanisław Poliwka of the MC in Leżajsk.

<sup>64</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. III, p. 392, statement by Gdów municipality head Piotr Natanek given on 2 October 1945.

province. Hersz Brand, 50, his wife Feiga, 4, and their daughter, 7, were the victims.

The crime was committed by Gestapo officer Humeniuk with unknown accomplices; the victims' bodies were buried in a collective grave (2 x 1.5 m) at the site of the execution.<sup>65</sup>

In September 1943, Ukrainian police officers executed 8 Jews captured in the town of Żołyńia, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province. The Rubin family were among the victims; all the bodies were buried in the woods and all traces of the grave were obscured.<sup>66</sup>

In September 1943, gendarmes from Otfinów (Dąbrowa county) shot and killed 4 Jews, including 2 women, captured on a hillock on the Vistula river in Borusowa (Dąbrowa county), in the town of Gręboszów, Dąbrowa Tarnowska county, Kraków province. Those murdered were:

1. Keiner, Hirsch, 56, butcher from Wola Gręboszewska
2. Keiner, Tauba, 60, farmer from Borusowa
3. Mann, Wolf, 60, farmer, from Karsy
4. Mann, Rebeka, 59, merchant, from Karsy

All the bodies were buried on the commune commons, the grave was levelled without a trace.<sup>67</sup>

In October 1943, German gendarmes shot and killed two Jewish women from Bochnia (mother, 40, and daughter, 7, names unknown) in the village of Iwkowa, Iwkowa municipality, Brzesko county, Kraków province. The crime was committed by Blue Police officers Grabek (first name unknown) and Sokół (first name unknown), and gendarme Schilberg, Artur.<sup>68</sup>

In November 1943, German gendarmes executed the Löw family of 4 (hiding in the forest) by firing squad in woods along railway tracks near the village of Jelna, Ruda Łańcucka municipality, Leżajsk county. Mira Löw, her two children and her son-in-law were killed, all the victims' bodies were buried in a collective grave, "in the shape and size of a grass-covered mound" near the railway tracks.<sup>69</sup>

In November 1943, another Jewish group of 4 hiding in the forest was also shot and killed in the village of Jelna, at the same location. Those murdered were: Chana and Scheindla Reisenfeld, Serla Spiegel, and a Jew from Łańcut,

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<sup>65</sup> CC questionnaire, (*Egzekucje i Groby, Executions and Graves*), Rzeszów province, vol. V, p. 609, statement by Komańcza municipality head Stanisław Kasiewicz given on 29 May 1945 before Justice L. Tuganowski, Ph.D., of the MC in Sanok.

<sup>66</sup> CC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 403, statement by Żołyńia municipality head Stanisław Mach given on 4 October 1945 before Justice J. Dąbrowski, M.A., of the MC in Łańcut.

<sup>67</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, k. 146, statement by Gręboszów municipality head Jan Bochenek given on 6 October 1945 before Justice L. Wójtowicz, Ph.D., of the MC in Żabno..

<sup>68</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 58, statement by Iwkowa municipality head Józef Chochliński 3 October 1945 before Justice M. Sajkiewicz of the MC. -

<sup>69</sup> CC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. III, pp. 372 and 373, statement by Ruda Łańcucka municipality head Franciszek Sajdłowski given on 3 October 1945 before Justice Stanisław Poliwka of the MC in Leżajsk.

name unknown. All victims were buried near the railway tracks in a collective grave.<sup>70</sup>

On November 5, 1943, German gendarmes and Ukrainian police officers shot and killed 4 Jews captured in Żołyńia, Łańcut county, Rzeszów province. Izaak Kesten's family were identified among the victims. The bodies of the murdered were interred at the Jewish cemetery, the grave levelled.<sup>71</sup>

In 1943, Sonderdienst members shot and killed 3 Jews hiding on the Jordanowa estate in the village of Łukanowice, Wojnicz municipality, Brzesko county, Kraków province. Leon Frueger, Maier (first name unknown), and one other Jew (name unknown) were the victims. The bodies were buried at the execution site in two graves (2 x 1 m). Sonderdienst member Rudel from the Wojnicz station was identified as the perpetrator.<sup>72</sup>

In 1943 (exact date unknown), Sonderdienst member Oran shot 3 Jewish women hiding after fleeing the ghetto in the village of Piaski Drużków, Czchów municipality, Brzesko county, Kraków province. Krauswirtowa from Tarnów, her daughter, 3, and one other Jewish women, name unknown, were the victims.

In 1944, a Jewish woman (name unknown) from Krynica, in hiding, was shot and killed in the same village. Sonderdienst member Materna and Blue Police officers Grabek (first name unknown) and Sokół (first name unknown) were identified as murderers.

The bodies of all 4 victims were buried at the execution site on a hillock on the River Dunajec, the grave was levelled.<sup>73</sup>

In 1943, gendarmes shot and killed 4 unidentified Jews (family – 2 adults and 2 children) in the village of Hrud, Witulin municipality, Biała Podlaska county, Lublin province. The victims were apprehended in the fields of the village of Hrud. Motive for the slaughter: "escaping a camp."

The bodies were buried at the execution site on land owned by the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Hrud.<sup>74</sup>

In January 1944, 3 cases of organised group escapes from transports dispatched to extermination camps were recorded in the municipality of Horyniec, Lubaczów county, Rzeszów province, in the immediate vicinity of railway tracks. No details concerning escape circumstances are available, the number of "jumpers" in particular. The only confirmed fact is that in all three cases, all or some of the escapees were captured by Ukrainian militia or Gestapo persecutors, and duly executed by firing squad.

Seventeen, 7, and 4 escapees were murdered in the respective cases. In the first two cases, "militia men" (i.a. Diduch from the village of Lubycza Królewska

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> CC questionnaire GK, Rzeszów province, vol. III, p. 406, statement by Żołyńia municipality head Andrzej Mach given on 4 October 1945 before Justice J. Dąbrowski, M.A., of the MC in Łańcut.

<sup>72</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 69, statement by Wojnicz municipality head Stanisław Talaczek given on 2 October 1945 before Justice Stanisław Popielak of the MC in Wojnicz.

<sup>73</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, pp. 53 and 54, statement by Czchów municipality head Jan Szpila given on 20 September 1945 before Justice Erlich, Ph.D., of the MC in Zakliczyn.

<sup>74</sup> CC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. p. 73, statement by Witulin municipality head Stanisław Jabłoński given on 29 October 1945 before Justice H. Kempisty of the MC in Biała Podlaska.

and Goj from Werchrata) were identified as perpetrators; in the third case, the Gestapo executed the victims.

The victims' bodies were interred (respectively):

After the first execution – in “the fields” of Moczary near Horyniec, in a collective grave,

After the second execution – in the woods near Świdniewo owned by an Orthodox parish,

After the third execution – near the railway tracks flanking the village of Maziarnia.

The victims of the second and third execution were also buried in collective graves.<sup>75</sup>

On February 15, 1945, Gestapo officers shot and killed 6 Jews (including 2 young women) charged with co-operating with guerrillas and attempts to escape the camp in Budzyń, in the town of Kraśnik, municipality and county Kraśnik, Lublin province. Those murdered were:

Fiterman, Szyja Jehoszua, 25

Fiterman, Fryda, 20

Hoffert, Izrael, 28

Kawa, Berek, 25

Kawa, Pejsach, 50

Kawa, Bela, 22

All the bodies were buried near the Catholic cemetery in Kraśnik.<sup>76</sup>

On June 23, 1944, Gestapo officers shot and killed 6 Jews captured in the village of Borucicha, at the same location, Kłoczew municipality, Garwolin county, Warsaw province. The victims' names are unknown. The bodies were buried near the woods of the village of Borucicha.<sup>77</sup>

In June 1944, exact date unknown, gendarmes executed 7 Jews captured in the forest by firing squad in the village of Dołholiska, Wisznice municipality, Włodawa county, Lublin province. The victims' names and other details are unknown. All the bodies were buried in a collective grave.<sup>78</sup>

On August 4, 1944, Gestapo officers from Krynica and Nowy Sącz shot and killed a family of 3 at their place of residence – Semen Szczewiński's house in the village of Powroźniki, Muszyna municipality, Nowy Sącz county, Kraków province. Those murdered were: Jakub Hilman, born on March 19, 1903, pre-

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<sup>75</sup> CC questionnaire, Rzeszów province, vol. II, p. (respectively) 261, 262, 262, three statements (questionnaires) given (submitted) by mayor of Horyniec Jan Buczko on 8 November 1945 before Justice R. Argasiński of the MC in Lubaczów.

<sup>76</sup> CC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. III, p. 383, statement by mayor of the town of Kraśnik Jan Fornal on 11 October 1945 before Justice S. Bielski of the MC in Kraśnik.

<sup>77</sup> CC questionnaire, Warsaw province, vol. II, p. 145, statement by Kłoczew municipality head Jan Jacak given on 29 September 1945 before Justice L. Wysokiński of the MC in Sobolew.

<sup>78</sup> CC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. VII, p. 1224, statement by Wisznice municipality head Józef Władyczuk given on 3 October 1945 before Justice B. Strużak of the MC in Parczew.

war director of the narrow-gauge railway in Mikuliczyn, wartime representative of the Osmolit timber company; his wife Eugenia, born on May 17, 1906, and their daughter Anna, 9. "In all probability, the victims were charged with being Jewish, or of Jewish origin."

The victims' bodies were buried in Powroźniki, at an Orthodox cemetery "non-consecrated to this day," in a collective grave, 2 x 1.5 m, next to the morgue.<sup>79</sup>

On September 17, 1944, Schutzpolizei officers shot and killed 4 Jews discovered by chance, sheltered in the home of Anna Gruchała at No. 51 Szkolna street in the town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Kraków province. Those murdered were: Jakub Derchowicz, his wife and daughter, and Hirsch Lincenber, his wife and 2 daughters. The victims' bodies were buried in the garden near the house.<sup>80</sup>

The head of counterintelligence of the 9th Army reports on October 31, 1944: "On October 24, 7 men, including 3 Jews, were executed by firing squad [in Warsaw — Sz. D.] for looting. On October 27, 10 persons, including 7 Jews (Hungarian citizens), were executed by firing squad for taking cover in ruins while partly armed."<sup>81</sup>

To be specific, the report ends with bracketed initials: SD. This potentially suggests that the head of counterintelligence gleaned information concerning the aforementioned incident from the SD (Sonderdienst) responsible for finding and killing the Poles and Jews in hiding.

This is but a supposition. Yet should it prove true, the very fact that Warsaw was at the time the operating territory of the 9th Army and that the Army exercised supreme judiciary and executive power in the area under international law, does not absolve the 9th Army of responsibility for the afore-described crime, not to mention the fact that the command of the 9th Army had been notified of the crime immediately.

Occasionally, Jews hiding in forests and woodland bunkers were joined by other categories of escapees and fugitives or by small and fragmented armed groups, such as guerrillas or paratroopers who had not yet made contact with their liaisons, or developed the activities assigned. Once united, the fate of such groups was diverse; some survived, others perished. Information concerning the deceased is usually limited; occasionally, the only knowledge available is that of a specific group having been destroyed.

On June 29, 1942, October 17, 1942, and January 5, 1943, gendarmes shot and killed 9 persons in hiding (4 Soviet prisoners and 5 Jews) captured during a sweep in the Pogorzelec forest; the execution took place in the village of Pogorzelec, Romanów municipality, Włodawa county, Lublin province.

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<sup>79</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. III, p. 452, statement by Muszyna municipality head Artur Krokowski given on 29 September 1945 before Justice Z. Syguliński, Ph.D., of the MC in Muszyna.

<sup>80</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. I, p. 126, statement by mayor of the town of Dąbrowa Tarnowska Ludwik Wszół given on 4 October 1945 before the Justice of the MC in Dąbrowa Tarnowska.

<sup>81</sup> AOK 9 Fuehrungsabteilung Kriegstagebuch 11, Anlageband VII 3(Ic) Berichtszeit: 11.7.-31.12.44. Ic/AO Abw. III den 31.10.1944. Ic/AO/Abw/ - Banden - Tagesmeldung vom 31.10.44. Warschau. Dop. NOWK - 2636. PN 12, dop. prop. vol. XXXII, s. 191. NB: Warschau: Am 24.10. wurden 7 Maenner, darunter 3 Juden, wegen Pluenderung und am 27.10 — 10 Personen, darunter 3 Juden ( 3 ungarischer Staatsangehoerigkeit) erschossen, weil sie sich zum Teil bewaffnet in Ruinen versteckt hielten (SD).

Nowożyłow, Mikołaj, 22, was one of the victims; other names are unknown. All the bodies were interred by local residents in the woods of the Pogorzelec village, in the wild grove of Zarzeczce.<sup>82</sup>

In March 1944, a group of 10 Jews and 12 Soviet paratroopers were captured and executed by firing squad under unknown circumstances in the village of Puchaczów, Brzeziny municipality, Lublin county. The only known fact is that the tragedy had resulted from joint action taken by German formations and Ukrainian fascists. All victims were buried in a collective grave at the execution site in Puchaczów.<sup>83</sup>

In 1944, exact date unknown, Schutzpolizei officers shot and killed 5 persons: 3 Jews and 2 Soviet “slaves” in the village of Wilków, Radzików municipality, Błonie county, Warsaw province. The victims were executed for “illegal stay.” Those murdered were: Glajch — mother, 30, her daughter, 10, and Lander, Ante, 45. The “slaves” names are unknown. All the bodies were buried at the execution site.<sup>84</sup>

Cases of “Aryan” Poles falling victim to grotesque racial suspicion, some with tragic finale, are known.

In June 1944, gendarmes from Kraków shot and killed three local Poles on suspicion of being Jews, in the town of Żarnowiec, Olkusz county, Kraków province. Those murdered were:

Marcisz, Stanisław Gabriel, 43, teacher from Żarnowiec

Marcisz, Zofia, 32, wife

Marcisz, Władysław Ireneusz, 15, son

Originally abandoned at the execution site, the bodies were later interred at the cemetery in Żarnowiec.<sup>85</sup>

Fact findings concerning this particular crime category as listed above are far from complete, and ought to be examined for exemplification purposes only. Nearly every village, settlement, town, and city in the General Government and neighbouring countries under Nazi occupation were witness to murders committed on Jewish escapees from ghettos and death transports. As the phenomenon was vastly more evident in small towns, it was much more easily remembered there, and much easier to reconstruct for purposes of post-war investigation and research. Against the backdrop of the nameless deaths of hundreds of thousands and millions of victims slaughtered in gas chambers and mass executions, these victims, often not identified by name, deserve our attention for one reason in particular: these were people who attempted to fight for their lives in a specific way: Jews who either refused to enter ghettos and went into hiding on the Aryan side, or had suffered ghetto conditions and

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<sup>82</sup> CC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. VII, p. 1207, statement by Komanów municipality head Stanisław Kładun given on 26 February 1946 before Justice S. Urzędowski of the MC in Włodawa.

<sup>83</sup> CC questionnaire, Lublin province, vol. IV, p. 514, statement by Brzeziny municipality head Paweł Kubacki given in 1945 (no exact date specified, context suggests 23 October 1945) before Justice Stanisław Buczek of the MC in Lublin.

<sup>84</sup> CC questionnaire, Warsaw province, vol. I, p. 74, statement by Radzików municipality head Feliks Zukaczewicz given on 29 September 1945 before Justice J. Szlęzkiewicz of the MC in Grodzisk Mazowiecki.

<sup>85</sup> CC questionnaire, Kraków province, vol. IV, p. 727, statement by Żarnowiec municipality head Piotr Siejka given on 24 October 1945 before Justice J. Bijakowski of the MC in Wolbrom.

tried to escape, or – last but not least – those who sought to flee extermination at the actual moment of slaughter sweeps or from death transports. Their total number was far from negligible. In one of my works<sup>86</sup> I estimated the number of surviving Jews – chiefly thanks to assistance provided by the Polish population – at approximately 100,000. It may be similarly estimated that another 100,000 Jewish victims were captured by the occupying authorities and murdered.

It has become imperative to continue researching this little-known category of Nazi crimes, and to determine the institutional and personal responsibility of their perpetrators in each individual case.

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<sup>86</sup> Sz. Datner, *Las sprawiedliwych* (Forest of the Righteous), Warsaw 1968.