This research was initiated by Dr. Tuvia Horev in memory of his grand-parents, Tobiasz and Sura Rachwalski of Kleczew, and in commemoration of the Jewish community of Kleczew, Poland.

Contents

List of Photographs

List of Tables

List of Maps	xviii
Acknowledgments	xix
Preface	xxiii
Introduction	1
part ${\it One}$	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF KLECZE	W
Chapter 1. The Old Polish Period (Fifteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)	9
Introduction	10
1. Demographic Structure	13
The Jews in Poland	13
The Jews of Kleczew	15
2. Economic Activity	23
3. Organization and Functioning of the Jewish Community (Kehilla)	28
Chapter 2. The Partition and Foreign Occupation Period in Poland	
(Late Eighteenth–Early Twentieth Centuries)	37
Introduction	39
1. Demographic Structure	42
2. Economic Activity	45
3. Organization and Functioning of the Jewish Community	51
Chapter 3. Interwar Kleczew (1918–1939)	73
Introduction	74
Demographic Structure	78
Economic Activity	88

xii

xvi

3. Social and Political Life	92
4. Organization and Functioning of the Jewish Community	104
PART $\widetilde{\jmath_{wo}}$	
	TW AND
"IN THE EYE OF THE STORM": JEWS IN OCCUPIED KLECZ	EW AND
REICHSGAU WARTHELAND	
Chapter 4. The First Occupation Years: "Resettlement" and Deport	ation 133
1. The Situation in Kleczew before September 1939	133
2. The September 1939 Campaign in the Kleczew Vicinity	135
The Occupation of Kleczew	141
Abuse of Jews in Kleczew	141
3. The First Few Months: Consolidating the German	
Infrastructure and Administration	143
A "Model District"	143
Arthur Greiser, Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter)	
of the Warthegau	144
Policy of deportations from the Warthegau	148
Expulsion of Jews and Poles	148
Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German	
Nationhood (RKFDV)	149
The November 8, 1939, Conference	150
Building Capacity and Infrastructure for Successful	
Implementation of the Deportation Policy	156
Organizing the Warthegau Administration	160
Police organization in the Warthegau	161
Nazi Legislation Concerning Jews in the Warthegau	163
4. Expulsions of Jews and Poles from Reichsgau Wartheland	164
First Displacements, September 1939	164
Displacements in Lublin	165
The January 4, 1940, Conference	169
The First Short-Term Plan (<i>Der erste Nahplan</i>):	4=0
Discussion in January 1940	170
Difficulties and Challenges in Implementing the Deportation	
Mulling Madagascar, July 1940	175
Challenges and Arguments Presented by Governor General	
Dr. Hans Frank	178
5. Attitude toward Jews during the Deportation Period	180

The Beginning of Nazi Policy toward the Jews in Poland	180
Persecution of Jews in Towns and Settlements of Inowrocław	
Regierungsbezirk	186
The Eviction Method	192
Economic Exploitation of the Jews	196
"Contributions" and Head Tax	196
6. The Jewish Community in Kleczew in 1939–1940	197
The Establishment of Ghettoes in Reichsgau Wartheland	199
Deportation to Zagórów	200
Zagórów (Hinterberg) Ghetto, 1940-1941	203
The Jewish Relief Committee from Lehmstädt (Kleczew)	
in Zagórów	206
Operation Barbarossa Disrupts the Deportation Process	210
Chapter 5. Forced Labor	224
1. Jewish Forced Labor in the Warthegau	224
Labor Camps	228
Mobilization for Service in Labor Camps	230
Deportation of Young Men to Labor Camps:	
The Case of Zagórów	231
Siting and Organization of the Camps	234
Living Conditions in the Camps	235
Examples of Forced Labor Camps in the Warthegau	237
Forced Labor in Kleczew	238
The Labor Camp in Inowrocław	238
The Żegotki labor camp	240
2. The Fate of the Forced Labor	242
The Forced Labor Camp in Czarków and its Liquidation	243
3. Estimates of the Number of Poles and Jews Deported	249
PART Three	
FIRST TO BE DESTROYED: THE BEGINNING OF ORGANIZED M	1ASS
EXTERMINATION	
Chapter 6. "Piloting" the Organized Mass Extermination of Jews	257
1. Decision-Making in the Extermination of Jews in the Warthegau	257
Inowrocław Regierungsbezirk	257
The Decision to Exterminate the Jews in the Warthegau	258

x | Contents

Sonderkommando Lange	259
Rolf Heinz Höppner's Role and his Ideas on Extermination	266
2. Executions in Kazimierz Biskupi	273
Transports to the Place of Execution	275
The Execution Site	276
The German Detachment	277
The Polish Detail	279
Preparations for the Crime	282
When Did the Executions in Kazimierz Biskupi Forest	
Take Place?	284
Method of Execution: Ready-Made Graves and Lime Pits	286
Burial of Victims	291
Escape from Execution Sites	294
Reports about the Mass Murder in the Kazimierz Biskupi Forests	295
The Sole Surviving Family	299
3. Executions in Długa Łąka	301
Methods of Execution	304
Number of Victims	311
Mass Graves after the Execution	312
Masking the Mass Graves	314
Chapter 7. Establishment and Operation of the	
First Extermination Camp	321
1. The Mass Extermination Camp in Chełmno on the Nerem	321
The Camp at Chełmno on the Nerem—General Characteristics	322
'Aktionen' and Transports	324
Reception at the Rzuchowski Forest Camp	326
The Extermination Method	329
Sonderkommando Kulmhof	334
The Jewish Detail	338
Information and Disinformation about the Deportation	
and Mass Murder	341
Who were the Victims of Chełmno?	346
First Liquidation of the Chełmno Death Camp	351
The Second Wave of Extermination in Chełmno on the Nerem	
and Rzuchów Forest	352

Contents	xi

The Second Liquidation of Chełmno: The Jewish Detail Rebels Number of Victims in Chełmno 2. Activities of Kommando 1005 3. The Tally of Extermination in Inowrocław Regierungsbezirk 4. What about the Perpetrators?	354 357 358 366 368
4. What about the respectators:	300
PART ${\mathcal Four}$	
EPILOGUE: THE POSTWAR PERIOD	
Chapter 8. Kleczew after the War	379
1. Postwar Kleczew	383
2. Survivors and Descendants of Kleczew's Jews	385
3. A Final Remark	397
ANNEXES	
Annex 1: Documents, Letters, and Testimonies	403
Annex 2: Stories of Descendants and Survivors of the Jewish	
Community of Kleczew	462
Annex 3: Tables	498
List of Abbreviations	562
Archival Sources	564
Bibliography	567
Index	599

List of Photographs

1.	Tobiasz Rachwalski from Kleczew and his son	79
2.	The Bagno family in Kleczew	84
3.	A family in front of their store in Kleczew	90
4.	Young women with two girls in front of a footwear shop	90
5.	Members of Mizrachi youth movement in Kleczew (1)	93
6.	Tze'irei Mizrachi in Kleczew	93
7.	Members of Hashomer Hadati in Kleczew at the beginning of their organization	94
8.	Members of Hashomer Hadati at training commune in Kalisz, 1932-1933 (1)	95
9.	Members of Hashomer Hadati at training commune in Kalisz, 1932-1933 (2)	95
0.	Hashomer Hadati conference in Bartów, 1933-34	96
1.	Hashomer Hadati—the Dvora group, November 25, 1934	96
2.	Hashomer Hadati, Dvora group—names' list	97
3.	Hashomer Hadati, Hashmonaim group, summer 1934	97
4.	Shlomo Rachwalski in Hashomer Hadati uniform, Kleczew, 1934	97
5.	Hashomer Hadati summer camp, Golina and Kleczew branches	98
6.	Torah va-Avoda Movement in Kleczew	98
7	Krzywanowski family Kleczew	100

18.	Izaak Traube and his family, during the trip from Kleczew to	101
40	Palestine, June 1939	101
	IzaakTraube as a soldier in the Polish army	101
	Exterior view of elementary school building in Kleczew, March 1933	122
	Student ID card, Kleczew public school, 1937/1938	122
	Report and evaluation card, Kleczew public elementary school, 1938	123
23.	Jewish girls with their teacher, Beit Yaakov school in interwar Kleczew, 1938	124
24.	Polish troops on the battlefield in defensive war, September 1939	137
25.	Arthur Greiser (1897-1946)	145
26.	Arthur Greiser, Governor of the Wartheland and Friedrich Übelhör	146
27.	Arthur Greiser and higher officials welcoming the millionth German settler in the Warthegau	147
28.	Poznań. German troops march with banners on the occasion of second anniversary of the Wartheland, Oct. 1941.	147
29.	Poles being led to trains under German army escort as part of the Nazi German ethnic cleansing of western Poland (the Wartheland), annexed to the Reich, after the 1939 invasion	153
30.	Expulsion of Poles from territories annexed to the Reich (1939–1943)	154
31.	Jewish property in the street after the deportation (1)	154
32.	Jewish property in the street after the deportation (2)	154
33.	Deportation of Jews from Kutno	155
34.	Resettlement of Baltic Germans, column of trucks with displaced belongings, November 1939	159
35.	Płaszów, Kraków: resettlement of ethnic Germans (1939–1940)	159
36.	Resettlement of Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans), 1940, column of carts of the displaced with their belongings	160
37.	Resettlement of Volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans), January 1940,	
	displaced trucks loaded on railway wagons	160
38.	Jewish property in the street after deportation	195
39.	Members of the Jedwab family in Zagórów ghetto, 1940	203
40.	Jewish forced laborers deported from Sompolno and other localities to Blechhammer in 1941	227
41.	Jewish forced laborers on the way to work	228
42.	A Selbstschutz unit on parade	281
43.	The church in Chełmno, near the palace building whence gas vans drove to the woods	322

xiv | List of Photographs

44.	Herbert Lange, commander of Sonderkommando Lange	323
45.	Deportation of Jews to Chełmno by means of narrow-gauge railway	326
46.	Gas van from Chełmno being examined by a member of the Polish Commission of Inquiry	333
47.	Gas van from Chełmno—wooden construction of mobile gas chamber, originally covered with metal plates	334
48.	Canteen of the Sonderkommando and guards at the camp in Chełmno	335
49.	Hans Bothmann, second commander of Chełmno death center	336
50.	Two-storey building near the no-longer-existent palace at Chełmno, where Jewish prisoners lived and worked	356
51.	Death camp in Chełmno on the Nerem: collection of tombstones from Turek, 2009	358
52.	Death camp in Chełmno on the Nerem. One of the monuments based on ruins of the crematorium, 2009	358
53.	Death camp in Chełmno on the Nerem. One of the monuments overlooking the site where victims' mass graves are located, 2009	364
54.	Witnesses at the Chełmno trial in Bonn, Germany, in 1963	369
55.	Arthur Greiser, Governor of the Wartheland (middle, with bandaged head), during his extradition to Poland	370
56.	Thresa (Trane) Glucker (<i>née</i> Rachwalski). Born in Kleczew, died in US, 1933	380
57.	Three sons of Tobiasz Rachwalski from Kleczew, who emigrated to the U.S.A. in the early 20th century	380
58.	Farewell party at Tobiasz Rachwalski's house, July 1939	38
59.	Fojgel Traube <i>née</i> Rachwalski with her daughters, January 23, 1939, Kleczew	38′
60.	Two sisters of the Traube family with their uncle, Shlomo Rachwalski who perished in the Holocaust	38′
61.	Two sisters: Fruma (Frymet) Horev <i>née</i> Traube (right) and Hanna Grienfield (<i>née</i> Traube), Israel 2012	382
62.	Jakub Itzkovich Kroner. Soviet certificate of award for good work during the "Great Fatherland War," 1941–1945	382
63.	Jakub Kroner: membership card in the Professional Association of Miners, Wałbrzych branch, 1946	383
64.	Jakub Kroner: membership card in Po'alei Tsiyyon-Ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir in Poland	383

65.	Old monument at one of the mass graves in the forest between Kleczew and Kazimierz Biskupi	392
66.	Kleczew, Poland, after the war: group photograph at the site where Jews were murdered	393
67.	Krężel forest, near Kleczew: three Monuments commemorating the victims, 2009 (1)	394
68.	Krężel forest, near Kleczew: three Monuments commemorating the victims, 2009 (2)	394
69.	Krężel forest, near Kleczew: three Monuments commemorating the victims, 2009 (3)	394
70.	Jewish headstones, found in Krężel forest near Kleczew, 2009 (1)	394
71.	Jewish headstones, found in Krężel forest near Kleczew, 2009 (2)	394
72.	Site of the former Jewish cemetery in Kleczew, currently a football stadium: main entrance, 2009	395
73.	Site of the former Jewish cemetery in Kleczew, currently a football stadium, 2009	395
74.	Former synagogue in Kleczew (main entrance), currently a cinema, 2009	396

List of Tables

١.	Nulliber of soldiers for Maibork expedition, 1456,	
	by chosen towns in Greater Poland	12
2.	Jews in towns of Kalisz Province who paid poll tax, 1674 and 1676	17
3.	Kleczew residents liable to poll tax and hearth tax, 1703	18
4.	Jewish population of selected towns in Greater Poland, 1765, by per-capita tariff	19
5.	Census of Jewish heads in Kleczew, 1778 (six months)	20
6.	Number of craftsmen, taxes, and property taxes paid by towns of Konin County, 1579/1580 and 1618/1619	24
7.	Occupational structure of residents of Kleczew, 1807–1809	27
8.	Population of Kleczew, 1793–1909	43
9.	Demographic structure of the population of Kleczew, 1807/1808 and 1808/1809	44
10.	Demographic structure of Kleczew Jewish population, 1807/1808 and 1808/1809	44
11.	Natural movement of Kleczew Jewish population, 1809–1864	45
12.	Social and occupational structure of occupationally active Jews in Kleczew, 1836–1867	48
13.	Structure of Jewish crafts in Kleczew, 1836 and 1867	49
14.	Social and occupational structure of inhabitants of Kleczew Municipality, 1895	50

15.	Workshops and employment in Kleczew, 1895	51
16.	Kleczew kehilla budget, 1845–1850	54
17.	Kleczew synagogue administration, selected years	56
18.	People who pledged donations for construction of synagogue in Kleczew, December 31, 1862–January 12, 1863	61
19.	Information about work of "shysters" in Kleczew, 1840s	68
20.	Population of Kleczew, 1909–1939, selected years	78
21.	Occupational structure of economically active Jews in Kleczew, 1919–1935	82
22.	Distribution of Jewish trade companies, based on data for 1919	83
23.	Structure of municipal and school tax in Kleczew, 1919. Category: real-estate owners	86
24.	Structure of municipal and school tax in Kleczew, 1919. Category: tenants	87
25.	Jews and Jewish organizations registered as "chimney owners" in Kleczew	91
26.	Members of Jewish communities in Eastern Greater Poland, 1921–1939	108
27.	Structure of political influences in Kleczew kehilla managing board, 1924–1939	114
28.	Structure of political influences in managing boards of Jewish communities in Słupca (Konin) County, 1924–1939 (data collected before terms of office elapsed)	115
29.	Structure of political influence in managing boards of Jewish communities in Słupca County, 1924–1939	116
30.	Results of 20th Zionist Congress elections, July 10, 1937, in selected localities of Eastern Greater Poland	117
31.	Structure of Kleczew kehilla budget, 1919–33 (income)	118
32.	Structure of Kleczew kehilla budget, 1919–33 (expenses)	119

List of Maps

1.	Greater Poland in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century	11
2.	Location of Jewish Communities in the Lodz Province in 1923	37
3.	Interwar Poland 1919-1939	75
4.	Administrative Division of the Reichsgau Wartheland	144
5.	Reichsgau Wartheland, General Government and District of Galicia in 1941	166
6.	General Government (GG)	169
7.	Location of Collective Ghettos, Extermination sites, and Labor Camps in the Neighborhood of Kleczew	371

Acknowledgements

This study was carried out with the assistance and cooperation of I many individuals and institutions. It was initiated, funded, and coordinated by Dr. Tuvia Horey, a descendant of the Rachwalski family of Kleczew. Drs. Tomasz Kawski and Anetta Głowacka-Penczyńska performed extensive research on archival material, mainly in Polish archives, and wrote the first version of this study. Their knowledge of and experience in medieval and early modern history enabled them to research the history of the Jewish community in Kleczew and its surroundings from the time it was founded until 1939. Dr. Witold Medykowski conducted extensive research mainly in Israeli archives, primarily the Yad Vashem Archive collections, diaries, testimonies, memoirs, and rich research literature, as well as archives and sources aboard; on this foundation he composed the section of this volume relating to the Holocaust period and completed the section on the postwar period. Dr. Mędykowski collaborated with Dr. Tuvia Horev in the second stage of the research: Dr. Horev edited and finalized the work.

The late Ezra Mendelsohn who was Professor Emeritus of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem assisted in various stages of this project. His advice and critical comments led to many

significant improvements in the manuscript. We also thank Dr. David Silberklang of Yad Vashem for his very important advice in the final stages of the project. We are grateful to Ms. Nechama Golan for the initial copyediting of the English version of the manuscript, to Mr. Naftali Greenwood who contributed tremendously in copy-editing a later draft of this manuscript, to Mr. Yochanan Amichai for translating letters from Kleczew and Zagórów written in German, and to Mr. Jarosław Suproniuk for preparing the map graphics.

It is our pleasant duty to thank the Polish Cultural Attaché and Polish Ambassador in Israel at the time, who supported us in the search for researchers in Poland and connected us with the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw. The Museum assisted in establishing the research team and created a professional and administrative framework that allowed this work to be produced. We owe special thanks to Mr. Albert Stankowski and Mr. Grzegorz Kołacz, of the Museum, for their strenuous efforts to promote the research in Poland.

Much of this project was based on personal collections of documents and photographs. Among the contributors, we wish to thank the Horev and Traube families in Israel as well as Mr. Merton E. Marks, Dr. Richard Marks, and Ms. Diane Plotkin of the U.S.A., all of them descendants of the Rachwalskis of Kleczew, for making their personal collections available. Ms. Sarah (Sarit) Kav and the Bagno family of Israel contributed a priceless collection of prewar photographs that illustrated our understandings of schoolchildren, youth movement activities, and many other aspects of life in Kleczew. Mr. Yitzhak Kroner of Israel contributed many personal documents that made it possible to reconstruct the fate of the Kroner family of Kleczew during the war and postwar years in Poland and the Soviet Union. Ms. Ada Holtzman and Ms. Edna Dan of Israel, descendants of Lea (Lotka) Holzmann (née Krzywanoska) of Kleczew, contributed several important photographs that supplement the other collections.

Our research in Poland benefited from the assistance of many archivists in institutions as diverse as the State Archives in Poznań and the branch in Konin, the State Archives in Łódź, the Jewish Historical Institute Archives, and the Main Archive of Old Records in Warsaw (AGAD). The research was greatly facilitated by consulting the rich materials available in the libraries of the University of Bydgoszcz.

We owe much gratitude to Ms. Anna Dybała, who assisted in the researching important archival material from the State Archive in Poznań, Konin Branch, regarding the postwar period. Dr. Rafał Leśkiewicz of the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland (IPN) helped us obtain documents relating to the postwar period. Dr. Anna Ziółkowska and her colleagues at the Martyrs' Museum in Żabikowo, near Poznań, contributed priceless photographs concerning the "euthanasia" program in the Reichsgau Wartheland and the concentration camp in Poznań. Dr. Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski and Ms. Renata Jankowska of the National Digital Archive in Warsaw assisted us in obtaining photographs illustrating the war period in the Reichsgau Wartheland. We thank the staff of the Federal Archives in Germany with whose assistance we illustrated our account of the population transfer. We also thank Ms. Naama Shilo of the Yad Vashem Photo Archives, who was instrumental in helping us research deportations and the Chełmno extermination center.

The Holocaust period was researched using the archival collections at Yad Vashem Archives. Especially important were collections of testimonies that articulated several survivors' personal views and resolved some as-yet-unanswered questions. Priceless information was obtained from the collection of the Spielberg Foundation Video Testimonies via copies available at the Yad Vashem Archives. This project would not have been possible without access to the rich research literature in the Yad Vashem Library, the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, and the Bloomfield Library for the Humanities and Social Sciences at the Hebrew University.

We are very grateful to Ms. Madeleine Okladek of the U.S.A., who performed extensive genealogical research on the Rachwalski family of Kleczew. Some of her findings are presented in Annex 2. We would also like to thank the following people who responded to our call for personal information and materials for this book: Shirley Ann Mendelson (U.S.A.), Elizabeth Grainger (UK), Annie Elizabeth Lindo (UK), Linda Geffon, Jim Bennett (Israel), David Conway (UK), Kenneth L. Rattner (U.S.A.), and

Jay Norwalk (U.S.A.). Some of the information they supplied is included in Annex 2. We also express our gratitude to other descendants of Jews from Kleczew, in the United States, UK and Australia, with who we were in contact as this book was being written, for the interest and encouragement they expressed and the information they provided. We apologize for being unable to include all materials we received due to size constraints or the specialized nature of this volume. Last but not least, we wish to express our gratitude to the excellent staff of Academic Studies Press, with special thanks to Ms. Sharona Vedol and, Ms. Kira Nemirovsky for their highly professional assistance which made the publishing of this book such an enjoyable experience.

The authors and the editor express their special gratitude to the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw for its assistance in establishing the professional and administrative framework of the project and the research team in Poland, without which this work could not have been produced.

Конец ознакомительного фрагмента. Приобрести книгу можно в интернет-магазине «Электронный универс» e-Univers.ru