

**NOTES  
FROM  
THE  
WARSAW  
GHETTO**

**THE JOURNAL OF Emmanuel Ringelblum**



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Emmanuel Ringelblum

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

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**NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO**

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12/FEBRUARY, 1941

Feb. 19

My dear friend:

In Lublin some time ago (December, 1940) a decree was published forbidding Jews to salute the Others by removing their hats. A placard to this effect was posted in the streets. But now some of those people who fail to salute the Others are being beaten. Those who do take their hats off are dragged over to the nearest poster and shown that they were not supposed to. The Jewish Councilman Dr. Alter was arrested in this connection.

What was their motive in introducing the Ghetto? One opinion has it that They wish to concentrate all the Jews of Poland in four places: Warsaw, Cracow, Kielce, and Radom. This is in case of war with the East [Russia]. They want to be secure in the rear.—The situation in Cracow is very grave. Jews are being constantly deported, particularly toward western Galicia. Every day they catch Jews lacking identification cards, who are sent to 5 Mogilsko Street. (The name is ominous.\*)—A great many houses are being torn down in Lodz, particularly office buildings, to relieve the congestion.

\* "Mogila" means "grave" in Polish.

They are taking the walls apart looking for foreign currency, gold, diamonds. There are a few Jews working in factories in Lodz. They—the remainder of the Jewish population of Lodz—may not leave their places of residence. The ragpickers are no longer there.—

In the prayer house of the Pietists from Braclaw on Nowolipie Street there is a large sign: Jews, Never Despair! The Pietists dance there with the same religious fervor as they did before the war. After prayers one day, a Jew danced there whose daughter had died the day before.—There are pessimists who are afraid that the English will finally arrive, declaring, "We have conquered!"—to our graves.—You can buy Jewish books dirt cheap these days by the basket. One-acters are particularly popular. They sell for 10 zlotys a copy, because the House Committees are putting on plays. At Krochmalna Street they're performing the war melodrama *Tzipke Fayer*.—When Frank was in Warsaw several weeks ago (January), all the pastries were removed from bakery show windows. The operation was accomplished in forty-eight hours by the Jewish police. He was at a Jewish apartment in 7 Zamenhofa Street.—There was a carnival at Melody Palace, with a beauty contest for the prettiest legs. The Ghetto is dancing. The Law and Order Service tried to break up the good time, but it turned out that one of the owners of the Melody Palace was one of Them, and she couldn't be touched. The same goes for most Jewish entertainment places. One dare not play Aryan music, and only the music of those Jews who were Aryans by adoption, i.e., Mendelssohn, Calmann, Bizet, and Meyerbeer.—A large number of packages have been arriving from Russia and Yugoslavia lately (2,000 a day). They're very good: fats, coffee, and the like. They are important in feeding the populace.—The Jewish populace sides with the Jewish policemen: "You would have minded a Polish policeman, so why don't you mind a Jewish one!"



There are intelligent policemen who dislike to order people about, so they try to prove the necessity of some action by discussion. Bitter news from Lodz: Because there's a shortage of fuel, furniture and floors are being torn up and burned.—The Jewish Council is selling hot water.—A story about Rumkowski: "We have gold currency in the Ghetto!" he declares. "How's that?" someone cries out in amazement. He raises his fists and says: "The labor of our hands is our gold!" "That's a German theory!" "We're willing to learn from everyone," replies R. . . . Polish policemen made their living this way during January: They'd throw Jews into prison even if they had passes and take 10 zlotys for letting them out.—In January a decree was published making leaving the Ghetto without a pass punishable with a fine of 1,000 zlotys.—In Lublin the Polish merchants intervened to have Jewish businesses removed.—A district officer made the notation "Not so fast" to the request of a Jewish family that their son be freed from a work camp. "And where were you when the Bydgoszcz affair happened?"\* The infamous Professor Joachim Seraphim, together with Mr. Mayer Balaban, took away the best Judaica from Samuel Adalberg's collection of Polish proverbs. Seraphim was far too zealous. There are 700 prisoners of war from the other side (Russia) working in Lublin. Recently, there was an attempt to get them to put on arm bands, but they opposed it even at the risk of being shot.—Diamonds are said to have gone up recently (February), the reason being that the Others are buying them on a large scale.—Barracks are being put up on Stawki Street. That is where the Jewish population is to be transferred to wagons to take them directly from the train.† There was a poster hanging at 17 Krochmalna Street: "The first man who pays the Jewish Council a single zloty for

\* When, according to Nazi propaganda, the Jews and Poles murdered 60,000 Germans.

† The infamous Umschlagplatz.

an antityphus inoculation gets a dagger in the belly." Most of the street beggars are from the refugee centers.

*Feb. 27*

On the other side of the Jewish graveyard, young Poles have formed bands that attack Christians as well as Jews. There have been cases of their stripping Jews naked.—Heard this story about Plonsk: In the ancient synagogue of that city there is a historic Ark of the Torah. A group of Jews were locked up in the synagogue until they hacked the holy ark to bits. Heard this explanation: The only purpose is to see to it that no vestige of the Jewish past survives in Poland. And this is necessary to prove that the Jews are a newly arrived element in Poland, with no real roots there.—The Cracow rabbis who were sent to Oswiecim are no longer alive. Their only sin was that they appealed to the Metropolitan Sapieha and Count Ronikier to intervene in the matter of deportation. The last few days the question of the deportation from Cracow has become more acute. Only 7,000 Jews have identity cards; the remaining 20,000 must leave Cracow.—One thousand Jews from Vienna arrived at Opole.—Almost all the important Polish museums have been emptied, their contents removed. At Kozla Street smuggling is through a door in a wall bordering on the Aryan side. It costs 5 zlotys to pass through. The Jewish owner of the apartment is making a fortune.—A few days back (23d–27th of February) there was a reception for the more than twenty families of converts that were on Ronikier's list.\* Passports were prepared for them in the Jewish Council offices.—The last few days a ban was published on selling merchandise to Jews. Both parties are subject to a fine of 1,000 zlotys. This is a powerful blow at commerce, particularly smuggling.—The Pietists from Lubowicz have secured visas

\* They had tried to secure permission to stay outside the Ghetto.



enabling them to emigrate to America.—There is an intense cultural activity. More than ninety-nine courtyards have conducted Mendele academies—Yiddish schools. Libraries of Jewish and Polish books are to be found in dozens of courtyards. Besides studying, 1,002 young Pietists are carrying on mutual-aid work.—A Jewish writer (Gilbert) walks into an office. His only request is twenty minutes to warm up.—A scene on Leszno Street: The head of a Jewish smuggler is thrust through a hole in the basement of the gutted post-office building. Six guards see him, call over two Jews, and order them to pull the man out. They do it, receiving a blow from the guards in the act. They order the smuggler to crawl back into his hole again, and, as he crawls, pierce his head with their bayonets. His screams ring through the quiet street. Another scene: An operation is being performed in the Jewish hospital at the former Treasury Department building on Leszno Street. Officials from the electric company come in. The hospital is 60,000 guilden behind in its payments. Dr. Borkowski asks five minutes to complete the operation. "It doesn't matter," the electric company officials say. "So there'll be one Jew less." The operation had to be completed by candlelight.

Today, the 27th of February, a young Jew was killed by the Jewish Law and Order Service. He struck a Jewish policeman and was executed in the Jewish Council building.—This is how taxes are collected from Jews in the provinces: They take away one of your garments, and give you a deadline of two weeks to buy it back. If you don't, the garment is sold.—The other week there was an incident in which three Jews *were killed by guards*. They were trying to disperse a crowd standing at the corner of Leszno and Zelazna Streets when a rifle fell to the ground and was broken. There were shots from a passing auto, and three innocent Jewish bystanders fell dead.

Feb. 28

Today, Saturday, learned about placards posted on the Other Side supposedly announcing that Aryans who are not Germans are to report for camp service to guard the Jews from the Warsaw district. The populace understood this to mean that Warsaw Jews are to be removed and sent to extermination barracks; hence there was great uneasiness. But the fact is the announcement refers to work camps.—Among the converts who have moved into the Ghetto are Professor Hirszfeld, who has a European reputation in the field of bacteriology, and Nathanson. Czerniakow showed him [Nathanson?] the picture of his grandfather, formerly the head of the Warsaw Jewish Council. The grandson acknowledged that his grandfather had acted more wisely than he.—News of a killing, that of a baptized Jew in Oswiecim. His crime, and that of two of his comrades, was that he told a Polish policeman that he was worse than a German.

Eight thousand Viennese Jews have arrived. In Opole, 2,000 [Viennese Jews arrived], in Kielce, and other cities. The price of butter has gone up to 35 zlotys. . . .—More than fifty Jewish craftsmen have returned to Grodzinsk. They have to repair houses for Germans soon to be billeted there.—To a Jew who had lost his arm band, a German police chief cried: "*Sie, Jude, Sie haben das zwanzigste Jahrhundert verloren!*" ["You, Jew, you have lost the twentieth century!"].—From one to three o'clock the Jewish police detail on Karmelicka Street is strengthened, so as to give the Others no grounds to beat Jews on their way to the Pawia Street prison. It is said that They visit the prison every day to beat the prisoners.—When negotiations were under way at the Council for deciding on a day of rest acceptable to all residents of the Ghetto, a curious situation developed. The Orthodox Aguda people were for keeping Sunday as the day of rest, because it had



been established as such by the former Polish government; but the baptized Jews were for Saturday—and that's the way it was decided!—There's a new source of livelihood associated with confectionery and caviar stores. A woman stands at the door lending a Jewish pass to those who go in. She gets 10 to 20 groschen for this.—Almost daily people are falling dead or unconscious in the middle of the street. It no longer makes so direct an impression.—The streets are forever full of newly arrived refugees. The wagons or cars loaded high with the mattresses of poor Jews make a remarkable sight.—The large conference on Jewish cultural activity. More than ninety celebrations of Mendele's\* anniversary in the courtyards. Greetings from the world outside.—A refugee woman lived a whole year in the free refugee center at 7 Dzielna Street, though she had jewelry, coins, and the like valued at 120,000 zlotys.—A tale of altruism: Epstein, a refugee from Silesia, spent a whole night in the bathhouse on the quiet, to protect Jewish refugees from being exploited by Polish policemen during the disinfection. He had learned that the Polish policemen intended to demand 5 zlotys for each bundle they allowed to escape disinfection, anticipated loot of 1,500 zlotys. Epstein woke up the Polish director of the bathhouse and appealed to his conscience, asserting that so long as he was alive, they wouldn't get the money. He succeeded in moving the anti-Semitic director to fire the people who were taking graft from the refugees. In general, community workers often were forced surreptitiously to carry the refugees' bundles at 109 Leszno Street—the disinfection bathhouse—suffering the blows of the guards, who insisted it was taking too long to carry the sick and old people out of the wagons.—There are 107 patients left in the Warsaw Hospital on the other side, who have been there since 1939. They all have papers from

\* Mendele Mocher Seforim was the father of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature.

the Polish Red Cross permitting them to remain. The Red Cross is liquidating its activity in the Ghetto quarter.

My dear friend:

A wooden bridge has been put up on Mlawska Street, linking the Ghetto streets. Two Jewish streetcar lines, 15 and 28, have been canceled. Now only one streetcar line is still operating—there's a big Jewish star on it. The Christian apothecaries are doing a tremendous business. All their drugs are bought up immediately. An epidemic of tuberculosis threatens; because of the closeness in the Ghetto, it would spread like wildfire. Frequent cases of scavenging in garbage cans. On the other hand, houses where they eat oranges daily, 25 zlotys per kilo, and grapes, etc. More entertainment spots opened. Many of the partners ethnic Germans. There are Jews who collaborate with the S.A., S.S., and the like. They make the rounds of Jewish organizations demanding clothing and the like, on the basis of their connections. At the least sign of opposition they threaten to denounce you to Them. A whole body of legends surrounds Dr. Schubert, a high official of the Warsaw Municipality District, the protector of Gancwajch. Is said to put on an arm band, and walk through the Ghetto. Is said sometimes to save Jewish goods from confiscation. He is a Baptist.

*Misericordia et justitia*, the slogan of the Inquisition. Scabies widespread, because of dearth of soap. Terrible case of three-year-old refugee child. En route, the guard threw the child into the snow. Its mother jumped off the wagon and tried to save the child. The guard threatened her with a revolver. The mother insisted life was worthless for her without her child. Then the guard threatened to shoot all the Jews in the wagon. The mother arrived in Warsaw, and here went out of her mind. In provinces, huge sums extorted; in Radom



50,000 zlotys had to be raised in three hours for 500 deportees. . . . Another explanation, the reason for "location" deportation of Jews from the Warsaw District [to Warsaw Ghetto] is the arrival of Poles from Pomerania. In fact, Pomeranian Poles did arrive in Piaseczna shortly after the deportation of the [local] Jews. A short time ago group of twenty Jews was sent out to work for a German farmer in a village from which Jews had been deported. So work can open the Ghetto doors.

Big to-do recently in the Transfer Station,\* involving a German army officer and Jewish workers whom he refused to give work certificates. Wouldn't give work to any Poles, out of fear of sabotage. There are illegal traveling libraries that circulate from house to house. There is a Talmud Torah attended by 700 students; rabbis are the teachers. "Grind the Organ" is the most popular name for Jewish Council. Throw a coin to the organ grinder, and the organ plays. In February some of the streets had their names changed: Zamenhofa back to Dzika, etc. Sienna got its old name back. For this privilege Jews had to pay 160,000 gold zlotys. Jews were given certificates to be able to buy gold on the Other Side, rings, junk, and the like. The money goes to the Winter Relief for the Nazi Party. One S.S. man came looking for a Jew, but took nothing when he found him. Instead, asked for a Jewish holy volume—as a charm. Hawkers cry their wares in the street: "If you must buy a rag, buy a clean one!"

Beggars ply their trade in various fashions in the street. The Pultusk cantor, his assistant at his side, trills *El Mole Rachamim*. A preacher delivers complete sermons rushing back and forth, as though someone were at his heels, and gesticulating

\* German office, through which all business dealings involving the Ghetto passed.

**THE GHETTO BREAKS** | **UP**



## EDITORIAL COMMENT

*The end came with tremendous speed. By September, 1942, the Ghetto had been in existence almost two years. But in the last two months of that period, it lost more than three-fourths of its inhabitants.*

*On July 22, 1942, the Jewish Council published a German notice to the Ghetto that all but a necessary few were to be deported "to the East," regardless of age or sex. Only Jews working in German industries or employees of the Jewish Council were exempt. There was a mad rush for jobs in German factories. The scenes at the Umschlagplatz, where people were assembled for deportation by train, were frightful. The Jewish police played a particularly nasty role, in their eagerness to please the Germans and save their own lives. But on Yom Kippur, September 26, 1942, 2,000 of the Jewish police were themselves deported with their families. The same day the Ghetto's area was cut in half.*

*At the end of 1942, when the Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto concludes, there were only 40,000 Jews left in the Ghetto, working for the German factories. (There had been almost half a million in 1941.) They lived shadow existences—slaves, Ringelblum calls them. His description of these slaves, in a fragmentary, elliptic style reflecting the quick gasps of their shuddering lives, is a powerful one. The sobriety with which*

*he relates the ingenious—but unavailing—attempts at concealment is overwhelming in its understatement.*

*But though it seemed probable that those pathetic phantoms left in the Ghetto would die like slaves, there were clear signs that there were some who had finally decided that they must resist—knowing the resistance must fail. Ringelblum was himself one of them, and his report of the mood of those who were preparing to resist was his own. He took part in the uprising—after seeing to it in March, 1943, that the archives of the Oneg Sabbath group which bore his name as well were buried for future generations to discover—and his Notes with them.*



26/JULY-DECEMBER, 1942

**THEY ESCAPED FROM THE WAGONS!**

Those who had experience.

Young men.

One [young man] escaped two times—organized eight “springers”—people who escaped extermination in Oswiecim by springing out of the railroad wagons taking them there.

**RESISTANCE**

The Jew from the Small Ghetto—who grabbed a German by the throat. The Other was shot—went berserk and shot thirteen Jews in the courtyard (Panska or Twarda Street).—The Jew from Nalewki Street who tore a rifle out of a Ukrainian guard's hand, and fled.

The role the youth played—the only ones who remained on the battlefield [were the] romantic phantasiasts—Samuel—couldn't survive the tragedy of the Ghetto—the decisions by the [various] factions involved in the resistance—the attempt at [setting the Ghetto on] fire—the [resisters'] appeals of the 6th of September for the populace to resist deportation

regarded [in the Ghetto] as [Nazi] provocation. Attempt to assassinate Szerynski.\*

The group of porters who had lost their families and dreamed of revenge—[the people who] offered money to avoid deportation—the idea of using coal gas in defense against the Jewish police—partisans—diversionary acts.

## WHY?

Oct. 15

Why didn't we resist when they began to resettle 300,000 Jews from Warsaw? Why did we allow ourselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter? Why did everything come so easy to the enemy? Why didn't the hangmen suffer a single casualty? Why could 50 S.S. men (some people say even fewer), with the help of a division of some 200 Ukrainian guards and an equal number of Letts, carry the operation out so smoothly?

✓ *The shops as traps*—They took the best specialists away—"a couple of porters" laughed—they were taken away—the professionals were taken away, They looked at their hands, *clean palms*. Office employees taken away . . . only wearing work clothes—wearing slippers. Accompanied on the way [to the Umschlagplatz] by Ukrainians—they kept shooting.

Selection for deportation in the street among whole blocks—at first, on the basis of working papers, later on the basis of appearance (people dyed their gray hair).

They shaved off all the beards—tore off all the frock coats, ear locks. The street dead all day, except for after the barricade† and from five in the morning to seven—the movement from one street to another, where there had already been a barricade. But the Others kept barricading the same neigh-

\* Head of the Jewish police in the Ghetto.

† Streets were barricaded to prevent any Jew from escaping the selection for deportation.

borhood day after day.—The Jewish agents informed the Others about the populace's mood, about the hideout methods.

The role the shop owners played in the barricades—their cooperation with the S.S.—how they fooled people, for example, [the shop owner] Toebbens at 65 Niska Street. He said he wanted to avoid a barricade, so he took away all the workers' laundry.

Jewish [work] directors helped catch the illegals,\* for example at Hallman's shop.

### THE UMSCHLAGPLATZ—WHAT IT LOOKED LIKE

The heroic nurses—the only ones who saved people from deportation without [asking for] money. Szmerling†—the hangman with the whip.

The scenes when the wagons were loaded—the industriousness of the Jewish police—the tearing of parents from their children, wives from their husbands, Rabbi Kanal, Lubliner.

The shooting on the spot of those who tried to escape through holes in the Wall at night—the exemption of people who pretended to be doctors. Nurses' headkerchiefs saved hundreds of professionals, employees of the Jewish Council.

*The Great Pursuit*—Szmerling currying the Others' favor.

More than once he tore the badges off policemen who had saved Jews from the Umschlag.

Faithful executor of Their orders—introduced a check of the nurses because they allowed people to escape without paying money.

Great grafter—took more than 100 zlotys per head. Most of those who were exempted—bought off the watch at the gate.—The police made enormous sums.

\* Those who had no work permits.

† Commanding the Jewish police at the Umschlagplatz.



["The Thirteen"] Special Service made a lot of money exempting people too; com.[munity] institutions set up a fund to save the professionals.

The tragedy of those seized two, three, and five times—the mother who wouldn't go without her child—the husband who wouldn't go without his wife, etc.—and afterward they all went in the same wagon—hundreds of families went to the Umschlag together because of the children.

Because the quota wasn't met, the Germans seized people on the street, drove them directly into the wagons, not to the Umschlag but straight into the wagons—12,000 killed during the resettlement.

### **THE POT ON NISKA STREET**

The 6th of September—the cruelty. In the middle of the night Lejkin was instructed to have all the Jews in the quadrangle bounded on one side by Gesia, on another by Smocza, on a third by Niska, and on the fourth by Zamenhofa to select [deportees] and round up illegals—Massacre of 25,000 people, perhaps even more. Of the barracks that were emptied out (everyone ordered out of the barracks) two or three houses set aside for each shop, most of them in the country—some shops' [workers] got back into their apartments that day—others not till the next day, or the day after.

"Ah, but we had a fine pot!" said Witasek, who directed the resettlement operation.

The tens of thousands who remained on Niska Street—the continual slaughtering—seventy people killed in one apartment on Wolynska Street—in two days, 1,000 people killed, taken to the graveyard—hundreds killed in the street during the selections, all forced to kneel on the pavement [to be killed.]

Hundreds and thousands of people lay in their hiding places



all week, without water (a water main burst), without food.

*Hoffman's shop* consists of two industries. One is reworking old things collected in Germany. The things are washed, mended, and then sent back.

*Illegals.* "Illegals" are those people who do not have [work card] numbers, people who, according to the law, should have been on the Umschlagplatz, and yet are still alive. How many there are of this kind nobody knows. There are various estimates. Many people place the number of illegals at 7,000, others estimate 10,000 and even 15,000. The fact is, they *are!*

Who are they? A large number are members of the family of "legal persons"—mostly the police, Jewish Council officials, etc.

The illegals also consist of officials of the Council, or of the YYGA, who were let go, but did not go to the Umschlagplatz; instead they went into hiding, and now they huddle close to their former colleagues for protection.

And then there is a third category—"everyday Jews," who simply hid out and are still in hiding. They pay off the Work Guard and live at home. Many of the illegals are people who worked in shops that were given up, who managed to save themselves from the Umschlagplatz. Shops of this kind were Hans Miller's, where many Jewish artists, actors, and others perished. There are houses, such as 35, 37, 41, etc., Nalewki Street, which are entirely occupied by hundreds of illegals.

The problem of offering relief to the illegals is becoming daily more pressing. The ex-officials among them receive a ration of soup and bread.

*Yom Kippur, Sept. 22*

The day there was a selection in the shops.—The slaughter of women, children, illegals.

✓ The practice of torturing Jews in the cities on Yom Kippur. The barricade of the German and Jewish householders—selection supposedly on the basis of craft,\* actually on the basis of graft—the “good Germans” turned bad, e.g., Toebbens.

### HOW THE SELECTION TOOK PLACE

✓ In the Jewish Council, around 3,000 employees,† elsewhere [in other community institutions] entire departments were sent to the Umschlag.—At Hallmans' [shop] 700 were numbered off and [exempted] on the spot; the remaining thirty carpenters with their wives and children were taken away.—At the brush factory, 1,200 were numbered off [and exempted], the rest sent away, mechanically, including the shop where the *chalutzim* worked, valuable human material, the young.

Thousands of people who had managed to save their lives all the time by staying in their hiding places went to the Niska [quadrangle], because they believed they would be leaving the Ghetto for good.

✓ The goal [of the Niska Pot]: to get the secret Jews—the ones in hiding—to come out. [It] succeeded. Tens of thousands taken in the Niska Pot.

### PREHISTORY OF THE RESETTLEMENT

Letter from Lublin [warning about]—Szamek Grayer‡—about 60,000 Jews [to be left] in Warsaw, about a work Ghetto [to be set up in Warsaw]—letter from Wlodawa about the

\* Handicraftsmen were supposed to be exempt from deportation.

† At one time, the Jewish Council had as many as 5,000 employees.

‡ Jewish Gestapo agent from Lublin sent to Warsaw to help in the extermination.

the shops have long-term orders. Not long ago (mid-October), Schultz's received orders and raw material [sufficient to last] until April—there was universal rejoicing. People drank toasts, threw parties, and the like. But an early deadline hangs over some of the shops. Included in this category is a shop that is one of the most valuable, socially speaking, the O.B.W. shop, whose deadline ended the 20th of October. Eventually, the deadline was extended another thirty days. Put yourself through an effort of the imagination in the minds of those people whose fate is linked with that of the shops. If the shops go out of existence, *they* lose the right to live. They become people without [work card] numbers, without homes, without food-supply cards.

#### THE SIGNS OF MODERN SLAVES

1. Numbered and stamped.
2. Live in barracks—without their wives.
3. Wives and children removed, because slaves don't require families.
4. Walk in crowds, not individually.
5. Beaten and terrorized at work.
6. Inhuman exploitation (agreement at Schultz's [?]) like coolies.
7. Ban on organization of any kind.
8. Ban on any form of protest or sign of dissatisfaction.
9. Every slave dependent for his life on his master and the [master's] Jewish assistant. At any moment a man can be sent to the Umschlagplatz.
10. The murderous discipline, and the sending of workers to forced [labor] camps because of lateness as happened at Schultz's.
11. Compulsion to work, even [when worker is sick] with temperature.



✓ 12. Worse off than slaves, because *they* must look after their own food.

13. Confiscation of property from a dead worker's family, because the right of inheritance has been abolished.

14. Locked inside the residential block.

15. Ban on leaving your apartment and walking in the street after work hours.

16. Limitation of personal freedom, of movement.

✓ 17. *Worse than slaves*, because the latter knew they would remain alive, had some hope to be set free. The Jews are *morituri*—sentenced to death—whose death sentence [has been] postponed indefinitely, or has been passed.

18. The sick and the weak are not needed, so ambulatory clinics, hospitals, and the like have been liquidated.

### COMMUNICATION

✓ Every shop is a unit in itself; by the decree of [the 29th of] October, one may not leave the shop's bounds. This is true of the Ghetto, too. Persons caught in the street without a pass are sent to the Umschlagplatz. After work hours (seven in the morning until six or five in the evening in some shops), one can move about somewhat more freely—by attaching oneself to a group that is going from work to its residence block, or to an outside work detail on its way home—but such a group is usually under close supervision, particularly if it is a small one. Individual Jews may not move about the streets.

A second way of being out in the street during the work-day hours is to ride in a carriage. They are not bothered, and this is held to be a safe method of passage.

✓ *Treblinka*—The news about the gravediggers (Rabinowicz, Jacob),\* the Jews from Stok who escaped from the wagons . . . loaded with gold and foreign currency—the unanimous de-

\* An escapee from Treblinka, who was the informant.

The most important purpose of the organization of shops and residence blocks was to round up those who had no work cards for the Umschlagplatz.

*Wave of fictitious marriages*—sons to mothers, brothers to sisters, to protect their kinfolk. The rabbis used to issue marriage contracts without even seeing the bridal couple.

The unpreparedness of the Jewish populace. The fear of collective responsibility—the fear that the whole community might have to pay for any act of resistance.

*Umschlag*—There were daily executions of hundreds both at the Platz and the graveyard: of old people, sick people, weak people, and, in general, of those who were not expected to be able to survive the journey to Treblinka. This continued until the beginning of the deportation operation; afterward it was discarded. Apparently, there was fear that the executions might become known in the Polish part of the city, and might have a bad effect on the populace.

I don't have the figures for the volunteers who reported to the Umschlag. But the minimum seems to me to have been 20,000 persons who, driven by hunger, anguish, a sense of the hopelessness of their situation, had not the strength to struggle any longer, simply had no place to live, because they weren't assigned to any shop, and had no recourse but to go to their death voluntarily. In estimating the number of volunteers, it must not be forgotten. . . .

## POLICE

The Jewish police had a very bad name even before the resettlement. The Polish police didn't take part in the forced-work press gangs, but the Jewish police engaged in that ugly business. Jewish policemen also distinguished themselves with their fearful corruption and immorality. But they reached the height of viciousness during the resettlement.



They said not a single word of protest against this revolting assignment to lead their own brothers to the slaughter. The police were psychologically prepared for the dirty work and executed it thoroughly. And now people are wracking their brains to understand how Jews, most of them men of culture, former lawyers (most of the police officers were lawyers before the war), could have done away with their brothers with their own hands. How could Jews have dragged women and children, the old and the sick, to the wagons—knowing they were all being driven to the slaughter? There are people who hold that every society has the police it deserves, that the disease—cooperation with the Occupying Power in the slaughter of 300,000 Jews—is a contagion affecting the whole of our society and is not limited to the police, who are merely an expression of our society. Other people argue that the police is the haven of morally weak psychological types, who do everything in their power to survive the difficult times, who believe that the end determines all means, and the end is to survive the war—even if survival is bound up with the taking of other people's lives.

In the presence of such nihilism, apparent in the whole gamut of our society, from the highest to the lowest, it is no surprise that the Jewish police executed the German resettlement orders with the greatest of zeal. And yet the fact remains that most of the time during the resettlement operation the Jewish police exceeded their daily quotas. That meant they were preparing a reserve for the next day. No sign of sorrow or pain appeared on the faces of the policemen. On the contrary, one saw satisfied and happy individuals, well-fed, loaded with the loot they carried off in company with the Ukrainian guards.

Very often, the cruelty of the Jewish police exceeded that of the Germans, Ukrainians, and Letts. They uncovered more than one hiding place, aiming to be *plus catholique que le*

*pope* and so curry favor with the Occupying Power. Victims who succeeded in escaping the German eye were picked up by the Jewish police. I watched the procession to the wagons on the Umschlagplatz for several hours and noted that many Jews who were fortunate enough to work their way toward the spot where the exempted people were standing were forcibly dragged back to the wagons by the Jewish police. Scores, and perhaps hundreds, of Jews were doomed by the Jewish police during those two hours. The same thing happened during the blockades. Those who didn't have the money to pay off the police were dragged to the wagons, or put on the lines going to the Umschlagplatz.

A scene I witnessed at 3 Dzsika Street, opposite the Umschlagplatz, one day when every policeman had to meet a quota of four "heads" (this was several days before the end of the "operation") will remain in my mind *the* symbol for the Jewish police in Warsaw. I saw a Jewish policeman pulling an old woman by the arm to the Umschlagplatz. He had a hatchet on his shoulder. He used the hatchet to break down locked apartment doors. As he approached the Umschlagplatz where the watch was stationed, the policeman shamefacedly took the hatchet off his shoulder and transferred it to his hand. It was the general rule those days to see individual policemen dragging men, women, and children to the Umschlag. They took the sick there in rickshas.

For the most part, the Jewish police showed an incomprehensible brutality. Where did Jews get such murderous violence? When in our history did we ever before raise so many hundreds of killers, capable of snatching children off the street, throwing them on the wagons, dragging them to the Umschlag? It was literally the rule for the scoundrels to fling women on to the Kohn-Heller streetcars, or on to ordinary trucks, by grabbing them by the arms and legs and heaving. Merciless and violent, they beat those who tried to resist.



They weren't content simply to overcome the resistance, but with the utmost severity punished the "criminals" who refused to go to their death voluntarily. Every Warsaw Jew, every woman and child, can cite thousands of cases of the inhuman cruelty and violence of the Jewish police. Those cases will never be forgotten by the survivors, and they must and shall be paid for.

Beside the police, another group of [Jewish] organizations shared in the resettlement operation. Gancwajch's red-capped Special Ambulance Service was the worst. This organization of swindlers had never given a single Jew the medical aid they promised. They limited their activity to issuing authorization cards and caps, for thousands of zlotys. Possession of these, together with Gancwajch's personal assistance, exempted the owner from forced labor and was a defense against all kinds of trouble and taxes, in general. Besides, a Special Service uniform enabled its wearer to perpetrate a variety of swindles and blackmail associated with sanitation (informing on typhus cases, disinfection steam baths, and the like). It was this pretty gang that now voluntarily reported for the assignment of sending Jews to the hereafter—and they distinguished themselves with their brutality and inhumanity. Their caps were covered with the bloodstains of the Jewish people.

The officials of the Jewish Council also cooperated in the "operation," as did the Service of the K.A.M.—City Aid Committee.

*Dec. 12*

### **HATRED OF THE POLICE**

So long as the "operation" was in progress (that was the name for the massacre of the Warsaw Jews), the populace was silent. They allowed themselves to be led to the slaughter



like sheep. I know that porters from the CENTOS (Children's Aid Society) warehouses, who had many a time displayed courage in the face of danger, allowed themselves to be led off like lambs during the "operation." The same can be said of most of the men and women taken to the Umschlag at that time. This will be an eternal mystery—this passivity of the Jewish populace even toward its own police. Now that the populace has calmed down somewhat, and they are reviewing what took place, they are becoming ashamed of having put up no resistance at all. People remember who was responsible for the mass slaughter, and conclude that it was the Jewish police who were the chief culprits; some people go so far as to lay the whole guilt on the police's shoulders. Now people are taking their revenge. They pass up no opportunity to remind the Jewish police of their crime. Every policeman you talk to nowadays acts as innocent as a newborn babe. *He* never took part in the operation. He was assigned to this or that institution. Or else, if he *was* there, he saved people from the Umschlag. Others did the seizing, not he. From these protestations, one would gather that those who seized people for the Umschlag were themselves deported to various labor camps or to Treblinka—since none of them are around; we know the truth is exactly the opposite. It is the hoodlum and criminal element in the police that has remained among the 300 policemen who are now on guard duty in the Ghetto, while, on the contrary, the less diligent, who didn't have enough money for "protection," have gone either to Treblinka or to camps like those at Lublin.

So the time for soul-searching has come, the time for revenge. A secret hand did away with Lejkin,\* the police chief in charge of the resettlement. The Jewish police are persecuted at every step. Not only by the Jews—the Poles, too,

\* Lejkin was probably assassinated on October 20 by a member of the Jewish resistance movement.

demonstrate their hatred for the Jewish police. The ex-Jewish policemen working on the streetcar platforms are constantly persecuted by the Polish workers. In Rembertow, even German soldiers persecute them. Many shops protested against hiring policemen. One shop voted to have all former policemen dismissed. I know for a fact that ex-policemen in one outside work detail wear their caps until they reach the watch at the Ghetto Wall, because a cap is a sign of importance in the Ghetto. Once outside the Ghetto, they take their caps off, because they are afraid of the Polish populace, who hate the Jewish Law and Order Service for what they did during the resettlement. A man recognized a policeman who had taken away his parents in the street, and attacked him. In Hallman's shop the relief committee distributed dole to a sick ex-policeman. The furor against the relief committee cannot be imagined. This happens everywhere—ex-policemen are persecuted at every step.

People keep bringing up instances of the Jewish police's brutality during the resettlement. They tell this story: A Jew was killed at 50 Leszno Street. His body lay there in front of the gate. Two undertakers came along in a wagon to remove the corpse. That day, the police were scurrying around like poisoned rats, because their quota for the day was five "heads." If they didn't meet it, they and their families faced the threat of deportation. Without thinking overlong, the police took away the two undertakers, leaving the corpse to lie untended in the middle of the street. Another incident, that took place at 24 Leszno Street: A sixteen-year-old baker's boy beat up a policeman who was trying to take away the boy's mother. The boy tore the policeman's short coat. He was taken to the courtyard of the police headquarters, and there given twenty-five stripes, as a result of which he died.

Still another, no less horrible, instance: A policeman enters,



or rather, to be precise about it, breaks into an apartment. All the tenants are hiding somewhere or other, leaving only a three-month-old baby in his cradle. Without a moment's thought, the policeman calls the German who is supervising the operation in from the courtyard. The German makes a face at being offered such a victim. He beats the policeman up badly and shoots the baby. A number of people have assured me this is true.

There are any number of horrifying stories about the conduct of the Jewish police at the Umschlag. To them, nobody was a person, only a "head" that could be blackmailed. The only way to escape was by buying the police off with money, diamonds, gold, and the like. The price per head varied. At first it was 1,000 or 2,000 zlotys. Later it went up, until it reached 10,000 zlotys per head. The exact sum depended on a complex of subjective and objective factors, into which the Jewish police had sometimes to draw "Yunakes" as partners, as well as the Letts or Ukrainians who were on service in the Umschlagplatz. The Jewish police were without mercy. You could be the most worthy of persons, if you didn't have ransom money, or relatives to pay the asking price, you would be sent away. There are known cases where the police, in addition to money, demanded payment in the form of a woman's body. My friend Kalman Zylberberg knows the badge numbers of the policemen, and the names of the women who paid for freedom with their bodies. The police had a special room in the hospital for this purpose. As a general rule, the police were beside themselves during the resettlement. They were always furious at the recalcitrants who refused to allow themselves to be resettled. The police themselves were continually threatened with being sent to the Umschlag with their wives and children. And then, they were demoralized from before the resettlement. Those seized for the Umschlag,

particularly the women, put up resistance. All these things created an impossible situation for the police, who reacted like beasts.

Dec. 14

### **PRIESTS WISH TO RESCUE JEWISH CHILDREN**

In certain circles a plan is now under discussion to rescue a certain number (several hundred) of Jewish children by placing them in monasteries in various parts of the country. Three factors have motivated the men of the cloth to propose this: first, soul-snatching. The Catholic religious leaders have always exploited such difficult moments in Jewish life as pogroms, deportations, etc., to convert adults and children. This is perhaps the most important factor motivating the proposal, although the clergy assure us they will not attempt to convert the Jewish children entrusted to the care of their institutions.

There is a second, *economic* factor. Every Jewish child will have to pay 600 zlotys a month, and for a year in advance, too. This is a very good stroke of business for the monastic orders; since they have their own fields and gardens, their food costs are very low. For the Jewish children who are unable to meet this fee, costs are to be covered by the children of the rich, who will be taxed double.

The third factor is that of prestige. Until now, the Polish Christian spiritual leaders have done very little to save Jews from massacre and "resettlement," to use Their euphemism. In view of the world-wide protest against the mass murder of Polish Jews, rescuing several hundred Jewish children may be offered as evidence that the Polish clergy did not sit with hands folded in these difficult times, that they did everything they could to help the Jews, particularly their children.

I was present at a discussion of this question by several



Jewish intellectuals. One of them categorically opposed the operation. He argued that though it was agreed that [only] children between ten and fourteen years of age were to be put in the convents (as desired by the Jewish negotiators), the children—though supposedly old enough to resist indoctrination—would fall under the priests' influence and would be converted sooner or later. The priests' promise not to convert the children would be of no avail; time and education would take their toll. He maintained that we must follow the example of our fathers and accept martyrdom in His name. We have no right to give our blessing to the conversion of our children. Jewish society has no right to engage in such an enterprise. Let it be left to every individual, to decide and act on an individual basis.

When, he concluded, 300,000 Jews have been exterminated in Warsaw, what avail is it to rescue several hundred children? Let them perish or survive together with the rest of their people.

However, others argued: We must look after the future. In time of massacre such as this, with all of European Jewry being slaughtered, the soul of each and every Jew is precious, and we must take pains to try to preserve it. After the war, the clergy will have no influence. Who knows whether they will even exist? This being so, there is no need to fear lest the children fall under the influence of the monastic orders. When one studies the pages of Jewish history closely, one discovers that martyrdom in His name was not the principle of our history. On the contrary, marranism was pseudo-Christianity.\* Jews have always adapted themselves to the hardest conditions, have always known how to survive the hardest times. Sending a handful of Jewish children into monasteries

\* At the time of the Spanish Inquisition, many Jews accepted baptism in preference to death. But they continued to observe Jewish religious practices in secret. They were always suspect to their Christian neighbors, who called them marranos, or "pigs."

will enable us to rescue those who will be the creators of a new generation of Jews. We have no right to take away the coming generation's right to live.

Those who took this position argued that one must strongly underline the difference between conversion and pseudo-Christianity. The priests themselves state that the children will not be converted, but will have to conduct themselves outwardly like Christians. True, there is some danger that if this persists for a long time some of the children will fall under the influence of the clergy—but there is a second, worse danger. If we do not carry out this child-rescue operation with the aid of the clergy, in a short time none will remain, the handful whom we are now in a position to rescue will perish as well. Numbers, some of the intellectuals said, are the most important consideration at this time. At any cost, we must rescue the largest possible number of Jews; so we must agree to the proposal to place some of our children in convents.

Still others argued that the thing had to be done, but not with the sanction of the representatives of Jewish society. Individuals were rescuing themselves in various ways—let the convent operation be a matter of individual choice.

*Dec. 14*

### **HIDING PLACES**

Now, in December, 1942, hiding places are very popular. Everyone is making them. Everywhere, in all the shops and elsewhere in the Ghetto, hiding places are being built. Their construction has actually become a flourishing specialized craft. Skilled workers, engineers, etc., are making a living out of it. Hiding places go back many years. People began to hide out when the Germans entered Warsaw, in October, 1939. People hid themselves, hid their goods. On Franciszkanska and Nalewki Streets, cellars were walled up, attics,



## AFTERWORD

*Most of the Ghetto's remaining residents died in the uprising that began on April 19 and ended on May 16, 1943. The Germans bombed the Ghetto, building by building, set it on fire, and razed it to the ground. The S.S. set up a concentration camp for 2,000 Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners where the Ghetto had stood. For several months longer, we hear of a few survivors living mysterious, subterranean lives in the cellars and sewers of what had been the Warsaw Ghetto.*

*And the author of Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto? In May, 1943, in the middle of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, a radiogram from the fighters asking for help was received in London by the Polish government-in-exile. One of the three signers of the radiogram was Emmanuel Ringelblum.*

*Captured by the Germans, Ringelblum was sent with some of his comrades to the slave camp at Poniatow. An armed revolt broke out there too, and many of the rebels committed suicide. But, two days before the revolt broke out, Ringelblum was smuggled out of the camp by the Jewish underground. They found a hiding place for him in the Other Side of Warsaw, where he lived with false papers, as an "Aryan."*

*In his underground home, Ringelblum returned to his beloved writing of the history of his time. He had directed the Oneg Sabbath group in collecting about one hundred volumes*

of memoirs, complete files of various official German documents, hundreds of reports. Now Ringelblum composed a history of the Jewish Combat Organization in Poland (the resistance movement). He regarded this as his life work, and he refused to leave it. In January, 1944, he had his last chance to escape. The Polish government-in-exile in London received a list from the Warsaw underground with the names of nineteen former Jewish underground leaders; the Polish government agreed to rescue these men from London, through the underground. Now only three of the nineteen on that list were still alive—one being Emmanuel Ringelblum. But all three survivors obstinately refused to leave, "because we must fulfill our duty to society."

On March 1, 1944, Ringelblum wrote an account of the rich underground intellectual life of the Warsaw Ghetto. Before it could be smuggled out of Poland, the Gestapo discovered the subterranean cellar where he was in hiding with his wife, twelve-year-old son, and thirty-five other refugees from the Ghetto. (The account was eventually received in New York, and distributed by the Jewish Labor Committee.)

There are two stories about Ringelblum's death. According to one, an attempt was made by other prisoners in the jail where he was kept to bribe the police officer to let Ringelblum go, on the pretext that he was a good shoemaker. Ringelblum would not hear of this. Pointing to his son, Uri, he said: "And what about him?" But the jailer was bribed anyway; Ringelblum's archives and notes were too important to allow him to die, whether he wished it or not. The next morning, Ringelblum's friends heard that he had been executed. When reproached, the jailer said (with a smile?), "I understand he wasn't a shoemaker, after all."

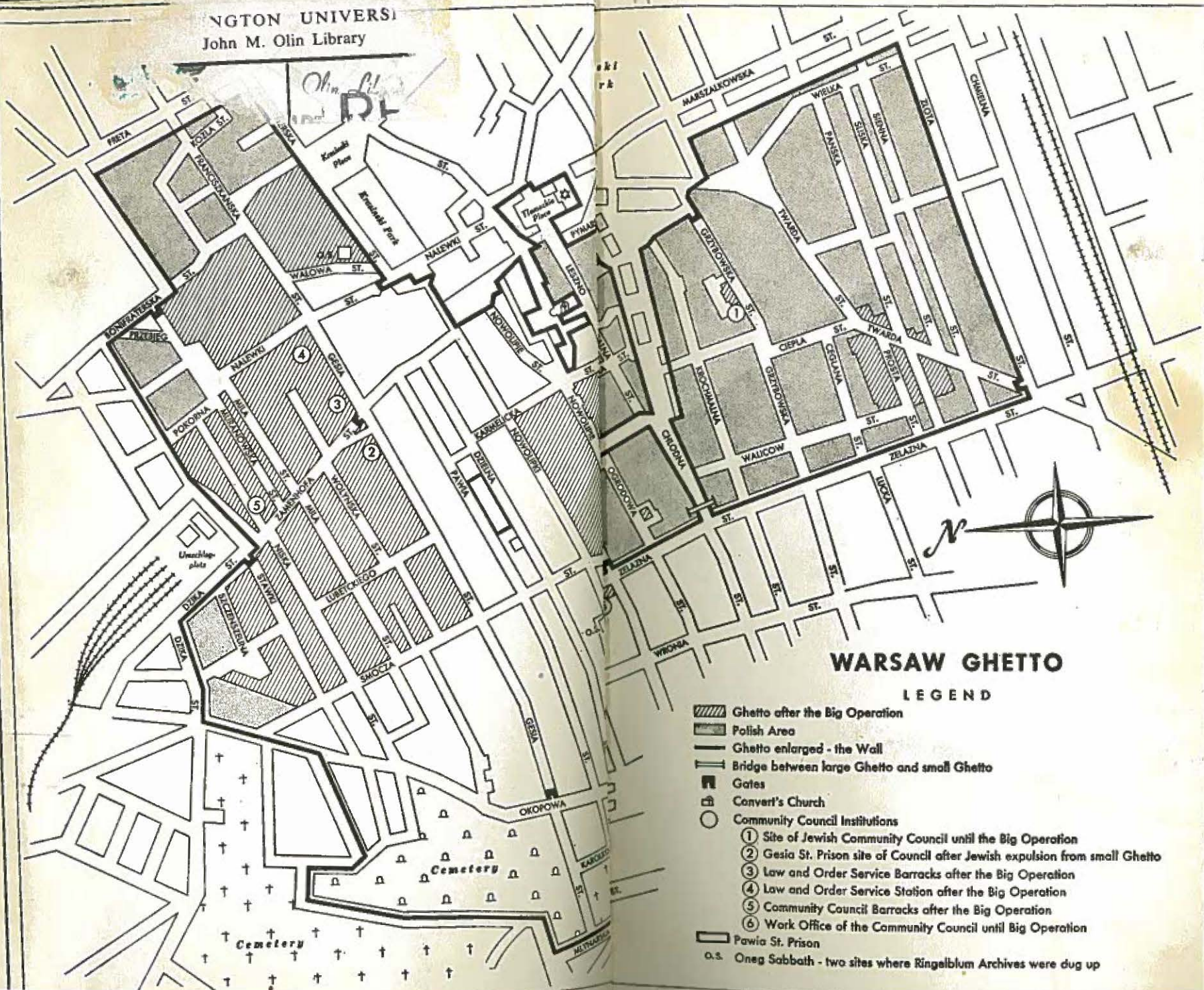
The other account of Emmanuel Ringelblum's death relates that the Gestapo knew who he was from the very first. They



*tortured both him and his family in an attempt to find out where the archives were hidden. But none of them would talk.*

*On March 7, 1944, Emmanuel Ringelblum went to his death, together with his wife, child, and the thirty-five who had shared the bunker with him, among the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto. As he would have wished, he shares a collective grave.*





## WARSAW GHETTO

### LEGEND

- Ghetto after the Big Operation
- Polish Area
- Ghetto enlarged - the Wall
- Bridge between large Ghetto and small Ghetto
- Gates
- Convent's Church
- Community Council Institutions
- ① Site of Jewish Community Council until the Big Operation
- ② Gesia St. Prison site of Council after Jewish expulsion from small Ghetto
- ③ Law and Order Service Barracks after the Big Operation
- ④ Law and Order Service Station after the Big Operation
- ⑤ Community Council Barracks after the Big Operation
- ⑥ Work Office of the Community Council until Big Operation
- Pawia St. Prison
- o.s.* One Sabbath - two sites where Ringelblum Archives were dug up



## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw*

- Sept. 27 Warsaw surrenders to Germans.
- Oct. 4 Adam Czerniakow ordered by Gestapo to set up Jewish Council to replace Jewish Community Council within twenty-four hours.

*Events outside Warsaw*

- 1938 Aug. 21 Germany and the Soviet Union sign nonaggression pact, giving Germany a free hand to invade Poland.
- 1939 Sept. 1 Germany invades Poland. S.S. and Wehrmacht instigate numerous pogroms in Poland.
- Sept. 17 Russians occupy Eastern Poland.
- Sept. 21 Reinhardt Heydrich, chief of German Security Police, plans ghettos in Poland.
- Sept. Germany and the Soviet Union partition Poland into three parts: one incorporated into Reich, one to Soviet Union, and one unincorporated, under German protectorate (Government General).
- Oct. 6 Hitler announces his resettlement policy for Poland, including Jewish seclusion.
- Oct. 8 Decree reincorporating provinces lost to Poland in 1918 into German Reich; also province of Lodz.
- Oct. 12 First deportation of Jews from Vienna and Bohemia to Nisko in Poland.
- Oct. 26 Forced labor extended to all Jews living in Government General.
- Oct. 28 Jewish badge imposed at Wloclawek.
- Nov. 8 Hans Frank made Governor General of Poland. Attempt to assassinate Hitler in Munich.
- Nov. 15 Germans forced to readmit Jews expelled across Russian lines.
- Nov. 23 Jewish badge made compulsory throughout Government General.
- Nov. 30 Russia attacks Finland.
- 1940
- Jan. 21 Gestapo orders registration of Jewish property.
- Jan. 26 Congregational worship forbidden; ritual slaughter prohibited.
- March 12 Russia makes peace with Finland.
- April 9 Germany invades Denmark and Norway.
- April 14 Frank declares that Cracow will be "free of Jews."
- April 30 First enclosed and guarded Ghetto set up—in Lodz.
- May 10 Germans invade Western countries.
- May 15 Holland surrenders.
- May 28 British evacuate Dunkirk.



## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw**Events outside Warsaw*

1940 (cont.)			
June	Jewish Council reorganized; limited to carrying out orders of German authorities.	June	First issue of official "Jewish newspaper," <i>Gazetta Zydowska</i> , appears in Cracow.
		June 10	Italy enters the war.
		June 20	Hitler mentions to Mussolini plan to resettle European Jewry on French island of Madagascar.
		June 21	France signs armistice with Germany.
		July 12	Frank says he has persuaded Hitler to stop deporting Jews to the Government General.
		July 19	Hitler addresses Reichstag, offering peace to Great Britain.
Sept.	Quarantine area—later to be Ghetto—contains 240,000 Jews, 80,000 Christians.	Oct. 4	Vichy Jewish Statute deprives refugee Jews of their civil rights.
Oct. 16	Decree gives Christians two weeks to move out of quarantine area, Jews to move in.	Oct. 7	German troops arrive in Rumania.
Nov. 15	Warsaw Ghetto sealed off.		
Jan.	Jewish Council census shows 378,979 Jews in Ghetto.		
		1941	
		Jan. 11	Frank obtains postponement of plans for deportation of all Jews to Government General.
		Jan. 22-23	Iron Guard revolt in Rumania. First Jewish massacre of war.
		Jan. 31	First attempt at creating a Jewish Council in France.
Feb.-April	72,000 Jews deported to the Warsaw Ghetto.	Feb. 17	Rumania enters the war.
Feb. 18	Jewish Council is allowed to raise a loan from German banks on the security of blocked Jewish accounts.	Feb. 22-23	Deportation of Jewish hostages from Amsterdam.
		March 1	Bulgaria enters the war.
		March 2	Hitler outlines plans for occupation of Russia.
		March 4	Construction of Bunawerk factory at Oswiecim authorized.
		March 30	Vichy Government appoints a Commission on Jewish Questions. British troops in Greece.
April	Schools licensed for 5,000 of the 50,000 children in the Ghetto. American Joint Distribution Committee allowed to have offices in the Ghetto.	April 6	Germans invade Yugoslavia and Greece.

## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw**Events outside Warsaw*

1941 (cont.)	
May	Census shows 430,000 Jews in the Ghetto.
July	17,800 refugees, including 3,300 children, classified as destitute.
Aug.	3,000 Jews employed in cooperative workshops.
Sept.	Frank announces a reduction in Ghetto rations. Ghetto post office forbidden to handle foreign mail. End of parcels from neutral countries.
Oct. 5	Death edict for leaving Ghetto without permission.
Oct. 23 Oct.	Liquidation of the Small Ghetto. Streetcar lines abolished.
Dec. 1	Receipt of food packages forbidden, under pretext of danger of epidemics.
Dec. 7	Pearl Harbor leads to withdrawal of American relief organizations (JDC).
May 14	Germans intern 3,600 naturalized Parisian Jews.
May 15	Pétain broadcasts pledge of cooperation with Germany.
End May	<i>Einsatzgruppen</i> (special extermination squads) formed.
June 22	Germany invades Russia.
June 25	Rumanian pogrom at Jassy.
June 28	German-inspired pogrom at Kovno, Lithuania.
Mid-Aug.	Slovak Government disperses Bratislava Ghetto.
Sept. 1	Massacre of Jews expelled by Hungarians, at Kamenets-Podolski.
Sept. 15	Slovakia adopts Nuremberg laws. Jewish badge decreed throughout Greater Reich.
Sept. 19	Liquidation of Zhitomir Ghetto in Ukraine. Germans occupy Kiev.
Sept. 23	Experimental gassing at Oswiecim.
Sept. 28-29	Massacre of 34,000 Jews from Kiev.
Oct. 2	Paris synagogues blown up by secret action of Gestapo.
Oct. 12	Moscow partly evacuated.
Oct. 20	First deportation from Reich decreed (to Lodz).
✓ Oct.	Vast massacres at Riga, Vilna, Kovno, and Dvinsk.
Nov. 4	Lodz deportations completed.
Nov. 6	15,000 massacred at Rovno. First Reich Jews arrive in Riga, Minsk, and Kovno.
End Nov.	First massacre at Rostov. Threat to Moscow over.
Dec. 7	Riga massacres concluded (27,000).
Dec. 11	Germany declares war on United States.



## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw**Events outside Warsaw*

1941 (cont.)

- Dec. 16 Frank reports about 2,500,000 Jews in Government General. Must be "gotten rid of."
- Dec. 17 German post office refuses to accept mail out of the Ghetto—excuse of epidemics, again.

- ✓ Dec. 22 Vilna massacre completed (32,000).  
Dec. 30 Simferopol massacres completed (10,000).  
Dec. 31 First permanent gassing camp opened at Chelmno, near Posen.

- Dec. Jewish cemetery walled off—coffins used for smuggling. Free soup kitchens supporting 100,000 people.

1942

- Jan. Visits and tours of Ghetto abolished for soldiers on leave. Continues, nevertheless.

- Jan. 15 Resettlement operation begins in Lodz.  
Jan. 31 229,052 Jews reported killed in Baltic states and White Russia. First deportation to Theresienstadt.  
Feb. 15 Singapore falls.  
March 15 Hitler promises Russia will be annihilated in the summer.

- March 16 Belzec death camp opens.  
March 17–April 21 Most of Lublin Ghetto resettled.  
April–July Resettlement extends to whole of Poland.

- April 12 Rumored arrival of extermination brigade.
- April 18 Bloody Friday—execution of printers and distributors of Ghetto undercover press. (Ringelblum blames Kohn and Heller.)
- April 14 News of massacre of Lublin Ghetto. News of pogroms in provinces.
- May "The Thirteen" gang killed.
- June News of massacres in Pabianice and Biala Podloska.

- April 26 Reichstag approves Hitler's abrogation of German law.
- May 31 First of big air raids on Germany (Cologne).
- June 1 Jewish badge decreed in France and Holland.
- June 23 First gas-chamber selection at train for Oswiecim (Paris).
- July Massacres extended to Minsk, Lida, Slonim, and Rovno.
- July 1 Germans reach El Alamein (Egypt), and the Don river (Russia).



## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw**Events outside Warsaw*

1942 (cont.)

- |          |  |            |   |
|----------|--|------------|---|
| July 22  | 380,000 in Warsaw Ghetto. Jewish Council publishes notice of deportation to East regardless of sex or age. Czerniakow commits suicide. By Oct. 3, 310,000 resettled. |            |   |
| July 29  | Meeting of Zionist youth organizations decides to combine a unified striking force.  |            |   |
| July     | Zygmunt comes back with verified news of extermination camp at Treblinka.  |            |   |
| Aug. 5   | Extermination squad descends on Ghetto. Operation lasts a week.  | Aug. 4     | First deportation train from Belgium to Oswiecim.                                     |
| Aug. 7   | Blockade of every street and house begins.   | Aug. 10-22 | 40,000 Jews resettled from Lwow (20,000 left).  |
|          |  | Mid-Aug.   | Germans in north Caucasus.  |
| Aug. 20  | Josef Szerynski, head of Jewish police, badly wounded by assassin.   | Aug. 19    | Allies raid Dieppe.   |
|          |  | Aug. 26-28 | Roundup of 7,000 stateless Jews in Vichy Free Zone.                                   |
|          |  | Aug.       | Hans Frank: "1.2 million Jews will no longer be provided with food."                  |
| Sept. 21 | Yom Kippur-Ghetto area reduced by more than half. More than three-quarters of population already evacuated. 2,000 Jewish policemen deported.                         | Sept. 16   | Lodz resettlement ends. Germans enter Stalingrad.                                     |
| Sept. 22 | S.S. and S.D. take over formal administration of Jewish affairs in Warsaw.   |            |   |
| Oct. 3   | First Warsaw resettlement ends.  | Sept. 30   | Hitler repeats prophecy of destruction of world Jewry.                                |
|          |  | Oct. 4     | All Jews in concentration camps doomed to extermination at Oswiecim.                  |
|          |  | Oct. 10    | Ordinance lists thirteen ghettos and forty-two Jewish quarters in Government General. |
|          |  | Oct. 14    | Jews virtually outlawed from Holland.   |
|          |  | Oct. 18    | Jews and "Easterners" in Reich given by Ministry of Justice to Gestapo.               |
| Oct. 20  | Coordinating Committee of resistance movement formed.  | Oct. 28    | End of first phase of Polish resettlement. More than fifty ghettos recognized.        |
| Oct. 29  | Jacob Lejkin, police officer, shot.  | Oct. 29    | 16,000 Jews killed at Pinsk.  |
|          |  | Nov. 7     | Allies land in North Africa.  |
|          |  | Nov. 11    | Germans occupy Vichy France. Italians occupy Nice.                                    |

## CHRONOLOGY FOR NOTES FROM THE WARSAW GHETTO

*Events in Warsaw**Events outside Warsaw*

1942 (cont.)

Nov. 22 Russian counteroffensive begins.  
 Nov. 26 Jewish munitions workers in Reich to be replaced by Poles.  
 Dec. 17 United Nations declaration pledging punishment for extermination of Jewry.

1943

Jan. Only 40,000 Jews left in the Ghetto.

Jan. 14 Allies agree on unconditional surrender at Casablanca meeting.

Jan. 18 Second extermination operation begins. First resistance.

Feb. 2 German 6th army surrenders at Stalingrad.  
 Feb. 5-12 First resettlement from Bialystok.  
 Feb. 15 Russians take Kharkov.  
 Feb. 27 Roundup of Jewish munitions workers in Berlin for Oswiecim.  
 March 13 Cracow Ghetto liquidated. First of new crematoria opens at Oswiecim.  
 March 15 Deportations begin from Salonika and Thrace.  
 March Deportation trains from Holland to Sobibor death camp—those from Vienna, Luxembourg, Prague, and Macedonia to Treblinka.

April 19-  
 May 16 Liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. Ghetto uprising in force. Ghetto bombed, set afire, razed. A concentration camp for 2,000 Jewish and Christian prisoners established on site by S.S.

Aug. Russians advance. Lodz's Ghetto survivors transferred to Oswiecim.

March 7 Emmanuel Ringelblum executed on ruins of the Ghetto, together with wife and child.

1944

Sept. Ten cases of Ringelblum Archives dug up.

1946

1950

Dec. 1 Two rubber-sealed milk cans of Ringelblum Archives dug up—documents up to March 1943.