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GERMAN PERSECUTION AND REPRESSION OF THE JEWISH
POPULATION IN THE KREIS BUSKO DISTRICT BETWEEN
1939 AND 1942: SELECTED ISSUES

State of Research

German persecution and repression of the Jewish population in the Kreis Busko district¹ between 1939 and 1942 is an issue that has rarely been addressed in Polish historiography. There are no comprehensive publications dealing with this topic not only at the level of the *Kreis* but also at the level of the municipalities. As far as towns are concerned, researchers have paid the most attention to Chmielnik.² The number of studies presenting the history of the Jews during the German occupation of Busko-Zdrój is remarkably small. In the introduction to Matylda Engelman's book entitled *Podróż bez końca* (A Journey Without End), I briefly presented the various forms of German persecution and repression of the Jews of Busko-Zdrój between 1939 and

¹ The information presented in this article also concerns the pre-war county of Stopnica.

² S. Bender, "Żydzi z Chmielnika w czasie okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1943)," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 2 (2007), p. 42–63; P. Krawczyk and M. Maciągowski, *Żydzi w historii Chmielnika* (Kielce, 2006); M. Maciągowski, *Spoleczność żydowska w Chmielniku w XIX–XX wieku* (Poznań, 2012).

1942.³ The issue of forced labour has been addressed by Piotr Owsiański in his article entitled “Jüdische Bevölkerung von Busko-Zdrój während des Zweiten Weltkrieges im Lichte der ausgewählten örtlichen NS-Dokumente.”⁴ A book by Henryk Smarzyński can also hardly be considered a comprehensive study of the history of the Jews in Busko-Zdrój. The author selectively presents the repressions and persecutions in the Busko-Zdrój district before 1 September 1939 and during the German occupation between 1939 and 1945.⁵ Moreover, the list of names of the inhabitants of the Busko district murdered between 1939 and 1945, which is included in this publication, does not include the Jewish population. Dariusz Kalina in his book *Busko-Zdrój. Dzieje miasta w XIX–XX wieku sytuacji Żydów w czasie II wojny światowej* (Busko-Zdrój. The History of the Town in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) devotes only one sentence to the situation of the Jews during the Second World War.⁶ The article by Stanisław Meducki, published in the post-conference publication *Tradycje walk o wyzwolenie narodowe i społeczne na ziemi buskiej. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 11 IV 1987 r.* (Traditions of the Struggle for National and Social Liberation in the Land of Busko. Proceedings of the Popular Science Session of 11 April 1987) is glaringly general.⁷ At the same time, it should be noted that thanks to the digital revolution, a great deal of information on the history of the Jews in Busko-Zdrój during the German occupation has been published on individual websites.⁸

Although the Jewish community made up more than 60% of the population of Nowy Korczyn in the pre-war period, regionalists have given a very brief account

³ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, “Wstęp,” in M. Engelman, *Podróż bez końca* (Kazimierza Wielka, 2022), pp. 3–12.

⁴ P. Owsiański, “Jüdische Bevölkerung von Busko-Zdrój während des Zweiten Weltkrieges im Lichte der ausgewählten örtlichen NS-Dokumente,” *Studia Niemcoznawcze* 61 (2018), pp. 351–359.

⁵ H. Smarzyński, *Powiat Busko-Zdrój przed 1 IX 1939 r. i w okresie okupacji niemieckiej w latach 1939–1945* (Cracow, 1960).

⁶ D. Kalina, *Busko-Zdrój. Dzieje miasta w XIX–XX wieku* (Busko-Zdrój, 2017).

⁷ S. Meducki, “Busko w latach wojny i okupacji (1939–1945),” in *Tradycje walk o wyzwolenie narodowe i społeczne na ziemi buskiej. Materiały sesji popularnonaukowej 11 IV 1987 r.*, ed. by Z. Guldon (Kielce, 1988).

⁸ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, “Getto w Busku-Zdroju (Kreishauptmannschaft Busko, dystrykt Radom),” <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/teksty/87746,Getto-w-Busku-Zdroju-Kreishauptmannschaft-Busko-dystrykt-Radom.html> (accessed 10 November 2022); R. Szklany, “Powiat buski 1939–1945,” <https://www.powiatbuski1939-1945.pl/> (accessed 10 November 2022).

of the history of the local Jews during the war conflagration. Andrzej Bienias and Stanisław M. Przybyszewski devoted only three pages to the subject.⁹ Teresa Ginalska in her study *Nowy Korczyn. Gmina u zbiegu Wisły i Nidy* (Nowy Korczyn. Gmina at the Confluence of the Vistula and Nida) laconically presented the forced labour and elimination of Jews from economic life, focusing mainly on the displacement action from the Nowy Korczyn ghetto carried out on 2 October 1942.¹⁰ Andrzej Bienias and Stanisław M. Przybyszewski presented the same aspects of the terror in their next book, *Nowy Korczyn przez stulecia. Szkice z dziejów Nowego Korczyna i okolic* (Nowy Korczyn Through the Centuries. Sketches from the History of Nowy Korczyn and the Surrounding Area).¹¹

The state of research into the history of the Jews in Stopnica during the Second World War is equally modest. Both Jarosław Tadeusz Leszczyński in his study *Stopnica. Szkic monograficzny* (Stopnica. A Monographic Sketch), Aleksandra Salomon in *Rys historyczny dziejów Stopnicy* (Historical Outline of the History of Stopnica) and Jarosław Banasik in *Królewska Stopnica wczoraj i dziś* (Stopnica Yesterday and Today) focus mainly on the discussion of the expulsion that took place in the Stopnica ghetto on 5 and 6 November 1942.¹²

The situation of Jews in Szydłów during the Second World War was also presented in a non-exhaustive way in the book entitled *Szydłów przez stulecia: monografia gminy Szydłów* (Szydłów Through the Centuries: a Monograph of the Municipality of Szydłów).¹³ As in the case of Nowy Korczyn and Stopnica, the expulsion from Szydłów in October 1942 drew the most attention from regionalists.¹⁴ It should be noted that there are virtually no publications on the Jews of Pacanów and Wiślica.

The state of research into the history of the Jews of Pińczów during the German occupation is as modest as that of Busko-Zdrój, Nowy Korczyn, Stopnica and Szydłów. Andrzej Dziubiński's article in *Pińczowskie Spotkania Historyczne* briefly

⁹ A. Bienias and S.M. Przybyszewski, *Nowy Korczyn* (Kazimierza Wielka, 2018).

¹⁰ T. Ginalska, *Nowy Korczyn. Gmina u zbiegu Wisły i Nidy* (Krosno, 1999).

¹¹ A. Bienias and S.M. Przybyszewski, *Nowy Korczyn przez stulecia. Szkice z dziejów Nowego Korczyna i okolic* (Kielce, 2001).

¹² J. Banasik, *Królewska Stopnica wczoraj i dziś* (Krosno, 2000); J.T. Leszczyński, *Stopnica. Szkic monograficzny* (Kielce, 2003); A. Salomon, *Rys historyczny dziejów Stopnicy* (Kielce, 1999).

¹³ *Szydłów przez stulecia. Monografia gminy Szydłów*, ed. by C. Jastrzębski (Szydłów, 2011).

¹⁴ J. Poniewierska and P. Mazanka, "Zagłada Żydów z Szydłowa," *Kurier Ziemi Szydłowskiej* 1 (2019), pp. 18–19; P. Mazanka, "Z historii szydłowskich Żydów," *Kurier Ziemi Szydłowskiej* 2 (2015), pp. 33–34.

discusses the forced labour and expulsion action carried out in the Pińczów ghetto on 4 October 1942.¹⁵ These themes are presented in the brochures *Spółczeństwo żydowskie w Pińczowie* (Jewish Society in Pińczów)¹⁶ and *Historia społeczności żydowskiej w Pińczowie* (History of the Jewish Community in Pińczów).¹⁷ The publication, written by Renata Urban and Piotr Żak, focuses mainly on the issue of the help given to the Jews by the inhabitants of the Pińczów region.¹⁸

Information on the history of the Jews in the Kreis Busko district during the German occupation can also be found in publications dealing with the occupied territories as a whole. Among Polish publications, the most important is Krzysztof Urbański's *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (The Holocaust of Jews in the Radom District), in which the author describes the various methods of German repression and persecution in the Kreis Busko district, the conditions in the ghettos in this area, and the conduct of the "Reinhardt" operation. The same topics are dealt with in English-language publications: *Encyclopaedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. 2: *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe: Part A*,¹⁹ *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*,²⁰ and a German-language: *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945*, authored by Robert Seidel.²¹ A great deal of information about Jews in Chmielnik and Pińczów during the German occupation is provided by Jewish memory books (*jizkor buch*).²² Due to the language barrier, they have not yet been of interest to scholars.

The authors of all the publications mentioned above did not attempt to estimate the deaths of Jews residing permanently or temporarily in the Kreis Busko district during the German occupation. Thanks to the Internet, every reader has

¹⁵ A. Dziubiński, "Wojna i okupacja na Kielecczyźnie 1939–1945 (na przykładzie Pińczowa)," *Pińczowskie Spotkania Historyczne* 9 (2005), pp. 6–14.

¹⁶ J. Tambor, *Spółczeństwo żydowskie w Pińczowie* (Pińczów, 1998).

¹⁷ *Historia społeczności żydowskiej w Pińczowie*, ed. by R. Urban (Pińczów, 2022).

¹⁸ R. Urban and P. Żak, *Żydzi w historii okolic Pińczowa* (Busko-Zdrój, 2022).

¹⁹ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, vol. 2: *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe: Part A*, ed. by M. Dean and M. Hecker (Bloomington, 2012).

²⁰ *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*, ed. by G. Miron and Sh. Shulhani, vol. 1–2 (Jerusalem, 2009).

²¹ R. Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen. Der Distrikt Radom 1939–1945* (Paderborn, 2006).

²² *Pinkas Chmielnik: yizkor book in memory of the annihilated Jewish community*, ed. by E. Shedletski (Tel Aviv, 1960); *A Book of Memory of the Jewish Community of Pinczow, Poland* (*Pińczów, Poland*), ed. by M. Shinar (Tel Aviv, 1970).

access to both Polish-language databases [these include: “Informacja o więźniach KL Auschwitz-Birkenau” (Information about Auschwitz-Birkenau Concentration Camp Prisoners) “Księga imion. Baza ofiar Treblinki” (Book of Names. Database of Treblinka Victims), “Baza zmarłych więźniów KL Gross-Rosen” (Database of Deceased Inmates of the Gross-Rosen Concentration Camp), “Straty osobowe i ofiary represji pod okupacją niemiecką w latach 1939–1945” (Deaths and Victims of Repressions under the German occupation in the Years 1939–1945), as well as English-language ones (“Arolsen Archives,” “The Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names” at Yad Vashem, “Jewish Gen,” “The Memorial Archives”)]. The civil registration records of the residents of the Mosaic faith in Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Stopnica, Pacanów and Szydłów were also not used. The authors did not search in the archives of Yad Vashem, in the Bundesarchiv in Ludwigsburg and in the Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, where the records of the following investigations, among others, were deposited: the investigation against the Kreishauptmann, Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, undertaken in connection with his participation in the extermination of Jews in the area of Busko-Zdrój and the deportation of Jews to Treblinka, the investigation against Wilhelm Schäfer and Johann Hansel, and the investigation against Bernhard Krause.

In discussing the state of research on the Jewish population between 1939 and 1942 in the Kreis Busko district, it is also necessary to cite the memoirs of Poles and Jews. They were published as separate books or printed in various collections. Jewish memoirs broadly describe the struggle for survival. They also describe German persecution and repression of the Jews and the living conditions in the town (locality) in question. In the case of Kreis Busko, we have, among other things, memoirs of Jews who resided in Busko-Zdrój,²³ Chmielnik,²⁴ Pińczów,²⁵ and Stopnica.²⁶ In Polish memoirist literature, the fate of Jews is usually merely hinted at. On the subject of Busko-Zdrój, we have a study by Leopold Wojnakowski entitled *Z dala od Wykusu* (Far from Wykus),²⁷ on Stopnica we have Bogumił Hetnar-

²³ Engelman, *Podróż bez końca*.

²⁴ S.E. Hagstrom, *Sara’s Children. The Destruction of Chmielnik* (Spotsylvania, 2001); *Ukryci, aby przeżyć. Historia Esther Gutman Lederman i Ezjel Lederman* (Chmielnik–Busko-Zdrój, 2019).

²⁵ S. Rubinek, *So many miracles* (Markham, 1988).

²⁶ J. Bainvoll, *Wielki mrok* (Warsaw, 2013).

²⁷ J. Wojnakowski, *Z dala od Wykusu* (Łódź, 1988).

ski's *Ze Stopnicy do Itaki* (From Stopnica to Ithaca)²⁸ and Franciszek Faliszewski's *Kartki z przeszłości ruchu ludowego w byłym powiecie stopnickim* (Pages from the Past of the People's Movement in the Former Stopnica County),²⁹ whereas on Wiślica we have the memoirs of Szymon and Wanda Starkiewicz.³⁰

The presented state of research indicates a lack of knowledge about the German persecution and repression of the Jewish population between 1939 and 1942 in the Kreis Busko district. The aim of this article is, therefore, to fill this research gap. The use of the period 1939-1942 in the article is deliberate. The starting date is, of course, linked to the outbreak of the Second World War and the ending date to the implementation of the "Reinhardt" Operation.

The starting point of this paper is an account of the persecution of Jews by the Germans during the 1939 campaign. Next, selected forms of persecution specific to this phase of German anti-Jewish policy are presented, specifically forced labour and the exclusion of Jews from economic life, as well as restrictions imposed on their freedoms. The author gives a brief description of the ghettos in the Kreis Busko and describes the persecution of the Jewish population within the area. An attempt is also made to estimate the deaths of Jews from the beginning of the war until the summer of 1942. The incarceration of Jews in prisons and jails in Kreis Busko is also discussed. The study is supplemented by a table of the names of Jews who died in the area between 1939 and 1942, based on Jewish civil registration records from the archives in Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów, Stopnica, and Szydłów.³¹

Murders of Jews by the Wehrmacht in September 1939

From the very first days of hostilities, the German occupiers persecuted the Polish and Jewish populations. The way of thinking and the behaviour of German commanders and soldiers were heavily influenced by anti-Semitism. Wehrmacht

²⁸ B. Hetnarski, *Ze Stopnicy do Itaki. Pamiętniki chemika* (Krosno, 2009).

²⁹ F. Faliszewski, *Kartki z przeszłości ruchu ludowego w byłym powiecie stopnickim* (Warsaw, 1965).

³⁰ *Szymon i Wanda Starkiewiczowie. Czyn i łza. Wspomnienie z Górki*, ed. by B.M. Dołęgowska-Wysocka (Warsaw, 2004).

³¹ A full list of names of Jews who resided permanently or temporarily in the Kreis Busko area during the German occupation and suffered deaths is included in the following publication: K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, *Ofiary terroru i działań wojennych w latach 1939–1945 z terenu Kreishauptmannschaft Busko* (Warsaw, 2023).

soldiers perceived Jews through the prism of the stereotype of a Jew from the East, which had been widespread in Germany since the First World War. They, therefore, described their impressions of the Polish villages and towns they invaded in September 1939 according to this stereotype. In the first report of the Third Squadron of the 29th Artillery Regiment, the opinion of the Jews in Stopnica, described as a “Jewish town,” was presented: “a swarm of innumerable Jews, driven by false politeness, wanted to give us boiled eggs.”³²

On 4 September 1939, Wehrmacht soldiers committed their first crimes in Chmielnik, which were an example of uncontrolled individual violence. While entering Chmielnik, Wehrmacht soldiers shot a Jewish woman named Rydelnik (the first name undetermined), who was looking out of the window of her house by the road. On the same day, another murder took place. We have two versions of the circumstances of the death of the 24-year-old carpenter – Chaim-Wolf Moszkowicz. According to one of them, the young Jew, convinced that there were French soldiers in the tank, ran out onto the road and stopped the vehicle with German soldiers.³³ According to another, one of the soldiers, sitting on a tank heading for the market square, saw Moszkowicz walking down the street with a rifle on his shoulder. The German called out to him, and when he did not respond, he shot him.³⁴ In the first days of September 1939, four Jews were hanged in Chmielnik: “When the Germans entered Chmielnik, they immediately killed four Jews; they hung them on a beam in the gate of a house, next to the hospital. They forbade us to take them down.”³⁵

A common phenomenon accompanying the advance of the German army was the mass terrorisation of the population and the breaking of resistance by

³² J. Böhler, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu w Polsce. Wrzesień 1939 – wojna totalna* (Cracow, 2009), p. 22.

³³ Delegatura IPN w Kielcach – Wydział Archiwalny [Institute of National Remembrance Delegation in Kielce – Archival Department, hereinafter AIPN Ki], Okręgowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu – Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej w Kielcach [District Commission for the Persecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation – Institute of National Remembrance in Kielce, hereinafter OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce], *The Crimes Committed by Wehrmacht on the Territory of Chmielnik and the Village of Suchowola, County of Busko-Zdrój*, 53/5143, Report on the Murder of Poles and Jews in Chmielnik and the Village of Suchowola, County of Busko-Zdrój, in September 1939 by the Invading Wehrmacht Troops, no date, fol. 3; Registry Office in Chmielnik, Civil Status Records of the Mosaic Faith in Chmielnik, Certificate of Death of Chaim-Wolf Moszkowicz, Chmielnik, 27 September 1939, no. 38, no page numbers.

³⁴ Hagstrom, *Sara's Children*, p. 50.

³⁵ *Nasi sąsiedzi Żydzi. Z dziejów relacji polsko-żydowskich na Kielecczyźnie w XX wieku*, ed. by A. Dziarmaga, D. Koczwańska-Kalita, and E. Majcher-Ociesa (Warsaw, 2018), p. 138.

taking hostages whose fate was to secure the actions of the occupiers. On the night of 4–5 September 1939, fourteen people of Jewish nationality were arrested, along with Father Władysław Kwieciński. Also arrested were the organist and two young Poles from nearby villages, whose identities have not been established. The detainees were taken to the Jewish prayer house in Chmielnik at 4 Sienkiewicza Street. The organist and the two young men were soon released. The Jewish prayer house was doused with petrol and set on fire. Only Father Kwieciński, who jumped out of a window from a height of three metres and fled the scene of the tragedy, was saved from the burning building. The remaining fourteen Jews were either burned to death or killed while trying to escape.³⁶ Among the murdered Jews were Goldsztajn (the first name undetermined), Chaim Margules, 61-year-old Berek Trombecki, 54-year-old Joel Ungier, Szmul Elja Wajl and two rabbis from Chęciny.³⁷ A few days after the outbreak of war, the hostages in Chmielnik were arrested again. Wehrmacht soldiers then took four or five Jewish families (including the Garfinkels and Kaufmans) from their homes. These people were held before a firing squad for about 30 minutes. After that, they were chased away to their homes.³⁸ It is estimated that in the first days of September 1939, up to seventy Jews may have died in Chmielnik.³⁹

In Stopnica, Wehrmacht soldiers shot dead four Jews.⁴⁰ In Wiślica, on 9 September 1939, they murdered a Jewish woman named Bukiet, who was a grain trader. Other ten Jews also fell victim to Wehrmacht soldiers.⁴¹

The crimes committed by German soldiers in September 1939 included looting and rape. In the second half of September 1939, three soldiers of the motorised field gendarmerie, Siegfried Baudisch, Andreas Kerner and Franz Rothe, looted several Jewish flats in Busko-Zdrój, including those of Jusek Topiol – owner of a printing house, Kala Cukiermanowa and Szlam Zylbersztajn: “About eight days

³⁶ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, “Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu we wrześniu 1939 r. na terenie powiatu stopnickiego,” <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/teksty/64278,Zbrodnie-Wehrmachtu-we-wrzesniu-1939-r-na-terenie-powiatu-stopnickiego-buskiego.html> (accessed 15 June 2020).

³⁷ Krawczyk and Maciągowski, *Żydzi w historii Chmielnika*, pp. 158–159.

³⁸ Hagstrom, *Sara's Children*, p. 50.

³⁹ Bender, “*Żydzi z Chmielnika*,” p. 45.

⁴⁰ “Stopnica,” *Kielce–Radom Special Interest Group Journal* 5/2 (2001), p. 7.

⁴¹ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, The Shooting of 15 Persons in 1939 in Wiślica, 53/5286, Statement of Reasons for the Suspension of the Investigation, 29 November 1973, fol. 34.

ago, at night, they ordered money to be given to them in three Jewish flats and businesses. They forced the Jewish owners of the flats or shops to hand over the money under the threat of a gun. According to their testimony, they got about 8,000–9,000 zloty that night.⁴² Baudisch's colleagues persuaded him to take part in this criminal activity, arguing that crimes against Jews were nothing improper and not punishable. Therefore, the victims of the robberies, perpetrated by three German soldiers, were exclusively Jews.⁴³ On the night of 27–28 September 1939, Baudisch, Kerner and Rothe severely beat Szaja Kaufman, who lived on Stopnicka Street in Busko-Zdrój. The Germans shaved off his beard, ordered him to strip naked and then lie down in a puddle on command. His daughter, 20-year-old Hinda, was raped.⁴⁴

Germans persecuted the Jewish population consistently from the first days of the war. According to the findings of the author of this article, at least 135 Jews were killed on the territory of the future Kreis Busko in September 1939.

Territory, Population Statistics, German Authorities

Kreis Busko was created by an order of the German occupying forces on 10 February 1940.⁴⁵ The district included 25 rural and two urban municipalities of the pre-war County of Stopnica. In addition, it absorbed eight municipalities of the pre-war County of Pińczów (the city of Pińczów, the municipalities of Chotel, Chroberz, Góry, Kliszów, Pińczów, Zagość and Złota).⁴⁶ Its capital was Busko-Zdrój.

The area of Kreis Busko in March 1940 had a population of 190,511 people,⁴⁷ including 22,406 Jews. In 1941, due to the influx of deported Jews, this number rose

⁴² "Meldunek pododdziału 3 kompanii batalionu żandarmerii polowej o grabieży i gwałtach dokonanych przez żołnierzy Wehrmachtu," in *Okupacja i ruch oporu w dzienniku Hansa Franka 1939–1945*, vol. 1: 1939–1942 (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 108–109.

⁴³ Böhler, *Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu w Polsce*, p. 215.

⁴⁴ J. Chruśliński, *Życie wpisane w historię* (Warsaw, 2012), p. 34.

⁴⁵ The publication adopts the administrative boundaries of the war period. Kreis Busko and nine others: Jędrzejów, Kielce, Końskie, Opatów, Radom, Radomsko, Starachowice, Piotrków and Tomaszów, were part of the Radom district in the General Government (GG).

⁴⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach [State Archives in Kielce, hereinafter APK], Związek Gmin w Busku [Union of Municipalities in Busko], 21/2123/10, The Order of Dr. Schäfer, Busko-Zdrój, fol. 1.

⁴⁷ Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej [Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, hereinafter AIPN], Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce [Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, hereinafter GK], 179/40, Population Figures in the Former Radom District as of 10 March 1940 – Extract from a Book by Dr. Max du Prel, no date, fol. 2.

to 26,459 people⁴⁸ By 1942, the number had increased to 32,274 people. The Jewish population then accounted for 16.9% of the total population living in the area.⁴⁹

The most significant number of Jews lived in the areas of Chmielnik, Pińczów and Busko-Zdrój, as well as in the municipalities of Pacanów, Nowy Korczyn and Stopnica. The population of Kreis Busko in 1943 decreased to 181,725 people.⁵⁰ These data need to be approached with a dose of criticism. In fact, due to the displacement operations carried out from October 1942 to January 1943 in the Kreis Busko area, the number of inhabitants in 1943 decreased by approximately 26,000. Therefore, it appears that the area was inhabited by fewer people then.

Table 1. Population Statistics for the Individual Urban and Rural Municipalities of Kreis Busko as of 1 February 1941⁵¹

| Municipality name | Polish population | Jewish population | Total |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|
| Town of Busko-Zdrój | 5,490 | 1,695 | 7,185 |
| Town of Chmielnik | 2,884 | 7,280 | 10,164 |
| Town of Pińczów | 3,843 | 2,726 | 6,569 |
| Busko (rural municipality) | 4,274 | 6 | 4,280 |
| Chmielnik (rural municipality) | 8,283 | 124 | 8,407 |
| Chroberz | 7,083 | 84 | 7,167 |
| Drugnia | 4,726 | 182 | 4,908 |
| Gnojno | 6,980 | 40 | 7,020 |
| Góry | 8,358 | 121 | 8,479 |
| Grabki | 5,661 | 124 | 5,785 |

⁴⁸ A. Rutkowski, "Martyrologia, walka i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie radomskim podczas okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 15–16 (1955), p. 76.

⁴⁹ According to the Central Statistical Office (GUS), in 1931, its territory was inhabited by 153,091 inhabitants. 17,157 were Jews (see *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dnia 9 XII 1931 r.* [Warsaw, 1938], fol. 34). The largest concentration of the Jewish population was in Chmielnik, where approximately 7,500 Jews lived. Jews also made up more than a half of the inhabitants of Nowy Korczyn, Pińczów, and Stopnica. In 1939, 16,800 Jews lived in the County of Stopnica.

⁵⁰ *Amliches Gemeinde- und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement auf Grund der Summarischen Bevölkerungsbestandsaufnahme am 1. März 1943* (Cracow, 1943), pp. 51–52.

⁵¹ APK, Union of Municipalities in Busko, 21/2123/625, Quantitative List of the Polish and Jewish Population as at 1 February 1941.

| Municipality name | Polish population | Jewish population | Total |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------|
| Grotniki | 5,717 | 45 | 5,762 |
| Kliszów | 6,919 | 73 | 6,992 |
| Kurozwęki | 5,423 | 242 | 5,665 |
| Łubnice | 5,226 | 10 | 5,236 |
| Maleszowa | 5,934 | 222 | 6,156 |
| Nowy Korczyn | 1,971 | 3,597 | 5,568 |
| Ogłędów | 8,580 | – | 8,580 |
| Oleśnica | 8,059 | 133 | 8,192 |
| Pacanów | 11,236 | 2,612 | 13,848 |
| Pawłów | 6,080 | 6 | 6,086 |
| Pęczelice | 5,722 | 15 | 5,737 |
| Pińczów | 5,134 | 51 | 5,185 |
| Potok | 4,612 | 52 | 4,664 |
| Radzanów | 5,884 | 54 | 5,938 |
| Stopnica | 1,998 | 3,772 | 5,770 |
| Szaniec | 8,957 | 48 | 9,005 |
| Szczytniki | 5,871 | 98 | 5,969 |
| Szydłów | 5,872 | 792 | 6,664 |
| Tuczępy | 7,912 | 98 | 8,010 |
| Wolica | 7,550 ⁵² | 151 | 7,701 |
| Wójcza | 6,949 | 24 | 6,973 |
| Zagość | 5,372 | 29 | 5,401 |
| Zborów | 4,863 | 301 | 5,164 |
| Złota | 6,077 | 44 | 6,121 |

Wilhelm Schäfer held the post of Kreishauptmann Busko between 1939 and 1945.⁵³ At the beginning of November 1939, he established four departments of the Kreishauptmannschaft. The employee of Department I was Erich Berthold, born on 20 July 1893 in Berlin.⁵⁴ He arrived in Busko-Zdrój in February 1940. After

⁵² In 1943, the municipality of Wolica was inhabited by 6,442 people (*Amliches Gemeinde- und Dorferverzeichnis*, p. 52).

⁵³ Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg [hereinafter STAL], Investigations against unknown persons, Wilhelm Schäfer and Johann Hansel, 1938–1944, 1959, EL 317 III Bü 902 [hereinafter EL 317 III Bü 902], Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Wilhelm Schäfer, 15 February 1969, fol. 203. In 1963, the Central Office for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in Ludwigsburg launched an investigation against Schäfer in connection with his activity on the territory of Kreis Busko. In 1967, the proceedings were discontinued.

⁵⁴ STAL, Investigations against unknown persons, Wilhelm Schäfer and Johann Hansel (1956) 1963–1966, EL 317 III Bü 903, List of Kreishauptmannschaft's employees, no date, fol. 539.

the dismissal of Emil Philipp, Berthold took over the leadership of Department I in December 1940. He supervised Polish and Jewish social welfare organisations. Division II was managed by Bela von Christen,⁵⁵ whose responsibilities included criminal matters and the registration and supervision of former Polish officials. Gustav Sawatzki headed Department III. He was responsible for issuing identity and service cards, and dealt with official fees and military matters. Ludwik Korz most likely worked in Department III. In January 1940, he was posted to Busko-Zdrój, where he was responsible for issuing identity cards and *Kennkarten*.⁵⁶ He was also in charge of Jewish matters. Department IV was headed until 1940 by Siegfried Hoffman, the deputy for food and agriculture (Kreislandwirt). He was succeeded by Heinrich Wagner, who held this position until the end of the German occupation.

In April 1941, the structure of the Kreishauptmannschaft was unified. It comprised four main offices: internal affairs, economy, food and agriculture and school.

The German gendarmerie in the area of each district constituted a platoon (Zug), with its commander acting as district gendarmerie commander.⁵⁷ Within the Kreis Busko district, the gendarmerie headquarters were situated in Busko-Zdrój.⁵⁸ The stations in Chmielnik⁵⁹ and Nowy Korczyn⁶⁰ were subordinate to it.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ STAL, EL 317 III Bü 902, Minutes of the interrogation of Ludwika Korz, 12 June 1963, fol. 55.

⁵⁷ His name was Paul König (STAL, EL 317 III Bü 902, Note, 8 August 1964, fol. 21).

⁵⁸ The post of commander of the gendarmerie station in Busko-Zdrój was held by Johann Brzezińczyk (*ibid.*). The gendarmerie officers were also Corts, Gutzeit, Jan Solyga *vel* Soliga, Heinrich Dux, Reinhold Kuhn, Franz Milke, Niedermack, Wilhelm Predel, Bruno Sibeneichler, Socher, Schwenke and Richard Weichbrodt.

⁵⁹ The station personnel in Chmielnik consisted of 10–15 people on average. According to the periodic report of 31 December 1943, 11 gendarmes served there: 6 Germans and 5 *Volksdeutsche* from Pomerania (AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Crimes committed by Hitlerite gendarmes [Haas, Orłowski, Wreide and others] from the station in Chmielnik between 1939 and 1945, 53/5237, Periodic report no. 11/43, 5 January 1944, no page numbers). Its commander was Ernst Hass. Other officers who also served there were Józef Cieślak, Feldberg, Hilke, Bernhard Krause, Lachman, Leon Orłowski, Julian Świątek and Wreide.

⁶⁰ In the Kreis Busko area, there was also a gendarmerie post in Słupia and Złota. The latter usually consisted of 12 gendarmes (AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, 53/131, Information on the network of the former Nazi gendarmerie stations and posts of other police formations and their personnel, Letter of the District Commission for the Persecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation in Kielce, 6 August 1968, fol. 8).

Assuming that 10 to 20 people manned each post, the number of gendarmes in the Kreis Busko area was around 60. This group had an enormous influence on the terror policy of the Kreis Busko area, which in 1943 had a population of – as already mentioned – 181,725. Also under the authority of the gendarmerie was the Polish Police of the General Government (*Polnische Polizei im Generalgouvernement*), commonly referred to as the Blue Police. Its headquarters were also located in Busko-Zdrój. Bolesław Stefanowicz headed the formation.⁶¹ Blue police stations were established, among others, in the following towns and villages: Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Chroberz, Dobrowoda, Kije, Pińczów, Nowy Korczyn, Raczyce, Pińczów, Stopnica, Szydłów and Złota.⁶² According to German accounting records, 104 officers served in the Kreis Busko Blue Police in 1941,⁶³ whereas in 1943 there were 135.⁶⁴

Busko-Zdrój also housed the headquarters of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*). According to the findings of the author of this article, it consisted of at least ten people. The head was Emil Fischer.⁶⁵ The Polish Criminal Police, whose headquarters were in Busko-Zdrój, was under the control of the Security Police. It consisted of at least nine officers.⁶⁶

⁶¹ AIPN, GK, Lists of Polish police officers in the Radom district; correspondence relating to the verification of Polish police cadres, especially senior officers; lists of Polish police officers involved in the resistance movement; list of senior Polish police officers; a letter containing a list of senior Polish police officers known to be loyal to the German authorities, 105/260, Letter concerning Blue Police, 30 April 1943, fol. 202.

⁶² K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, *Zbrodnie niemieckie w Lesie Weleckim koło Buska-Zdroju* (Warsaw, 2022); see AIPN, GK, Staffing of positions in offices in the County of Busko, 639/1, List of Blue Police officers in the Kreis Busko area, no date, fols 111–114.

⁶³ AIPN, GK, Der Kreishauptmann Busko, 639/68, Numerical breakdown of Polish and Ukrainian policemen in the Radom district on 1 April 1941, fol. 11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 167.

⁶⁵ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Operational materials concerning German crimes committed in the voivodeship of Kielce during World War Two, 15/10, part 1, External posts of the commander of Security Police and SD for the Radom district, no date, fol. 33.

⁶⁶ From the spring of 1943, detachments of militarised units of the Order Police were stationed in the Kreis Busko area, which the local population called the “punitive expedition.” They belonged to the 3rd Battalion of the 17th SS Police Regiment. The 11th company was stationed in Busko-Zdrój in the primary school on Mickiewiczza and 3 Maja Streets. The 3rd Battalion of the 17th SS Police Regiment was also stationed in the Wielopolski Palace in Chroberz from the spring of 1943 until the first half of 1944. (K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, “Zbrodnie III Batalionu 17 Pułku Policji SS na Ponidziu”, <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/teksty/74399,Zbrodnie-III-Batalionu-17-pulku-policji-SS-na-Ponidziu-w-czasie-okupacji-niemiec.html> (accessed 12 April 2021).

Before Ghettos Were Created

A regulation issued by Governor General Hans Frank on 26 October 1939 introduced compulsory labour for the Jewish population.⁶⁷ The second executive order, published on 12 December 1939, specified the age of the Jews to be subjected to forced labour – from 14 years to 60 years of age. In particular, the first phase of the extermination campaign aimed at destroying the material and economic basis of the Jewish population's existence.⁶⁸ Jews were forced to pay high monetary contributions and other tributes. They were also made to work as forced labourers.

In the beginning, labour offices supervised the employment of Jews. In the first period, people were taken to work mainly from round-ups. After the German occupation authorities became more robust, the Councils of Elders (Judenrats) were obliged to constantly supply a certain number of Jewish labourers daily. The Judenrat in Chmielnik, under the leadership of Abraham Langwald, provided the Germans with Jewish labourers for work within the town and its surrounding areas from the second half of 1940. Pinchas Rozen – a resident of Chmielnik, recalled: “The Germans abolished all Jewish institutions and started taking young people to do slave labour, to shovelling the snow from the streets in winter and to work in the quarry and in the fields in the summer. When I was 17, I was forced to appear in person every morning for forced labour.”⁶⁹ The German demand for labour was so huge that the local Judenrat struggled to supply an adequate number of workers. About 300 Jews were sent to the camp in Słupia.⁷⁰

The Jews of Busko-Zdrój worked 18 hours a day on the peat bog located behind the Polish cemetery.⁷¹ Józef Rozenberg testified as follows: “We worked at various forced labour sites, such as peat extraction, in wet, rotten swamps. People caught malaria from the hard 20-hour labour and died of exhaustion. SD soldiers beat us

⁶⁷ *Reprezje za pomoc Żydom na okupowanych ziemiach polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, vol. 1, ed. by M. Rejak-Grądzka and A. Namysło (Warsaw, 2019), pp. 15–16.

⁶⁸ Smarzyński, *Powiat Busko-Zdrój*, p. 213.

⁶⁹ Krawczyk and Maciągowski, *Żydzi w historii Chmielnika*, p. 248.

⁷⁰ Bender, “*Żydzi z Chmielnika*,” p. 47.

⁷¹ AIPN, 2323/1085, A collection of microfilm copies of testimonies by Jewish individuals concerning the occupation and extermination of the Jewish people in occupied Poland during Second World War, obtained from the Yad Vashem Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority in Jerusalem, The Testimony of Rozenberg Josef, no date, fol. 10.

cruelly at work until we lost consciousness.”⁷² Jews from Busko-Zdrój were also forced to work at a construction site of a shooting range on the outskirts of the town. They did the work for the German gendarmerie: “Every morning, ranked groups of Jews with shovels on their shoulders would walk towards the mudflats. A young SS man with a submachine gun on his shoulder and a whip would order them to sing. It was summer. The Jews, stripped down to their skivvies, were digging a shooting range, the slopes of which they had to cover with the green turf brought in by peasant carts.”⁷³ The Jews who worked too slowly were murdered. After the war, at least two mass graves were discovered at the shooting range. Wiesław Dytkowski reported: “I recognised from the clothes and beards that only Jews were buried there.”⁷⁴

The Jews of Pińczów worked in the forests and did road repairs. They were paid in the form of a portion of flour:⁷⁵

I worked in the forest cutting peat, which the Germans sold for firewood. Every morning, around 5.00 a.m., we set off and walked through the forest, 9 kilometres we had to walk like that. Our shoes would be a waste. We reached the cemetery, where everyone had graves; we hid our shoes and continued barefoot. We were all starving. Sometimes, we managed to pick a kohlrabi or a few blueberries in the forest.⁷⁶

Stopnica’s Jews worked in road construction and built the Strumień Canal; 60% to 70% of Stopnica’s Jewish population gathered in the square every morning and then marched about 8 kilometres to work. They received 1 kilogram of wheat and 1 litre of skimmed milk daily for their work.⁷⁷ The Jews of Pińczów repaired roads

⁷² STAL, EL 317 III Bü 902, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Józef Rozenberg, 15 June 1964, fol. 122.

⁷³ Wojnakowski, *Z dala od Wykusu*, p. 70.

⁷⁴ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Files of the investigations into crimes committed by the occupying authorities, in particular the Sipo, the SD and the Gendarmerie in Busko and the surrounding area between 1939 and 1945, 53/5350, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Wiesław Dytkowski, fol. 121.

⁷⁵ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 277.

⁷⁶ Dziubiński, “Wojna i okupacja na Kielecczyźnie,” p. 11.

⁷⁷ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 321.

and did drainage work. The German guards often made them sing songs on the way to the site to humiliate them. According to Stanisław Jaklewicz, an excerpt from one of these songs went as follows: “Marshal Śmigły Rydz taught the Jews nothing, Hitler, the golden one came, taught the Jews how to work.”^{*78} From 1940, Jews from Wiślica were employed in paving the road on the Busko-Zdrój-Wiślica route and in agriculture. Jews from Szydłów and Pacanów worked in agriculture. The latter picked strawberries in the summer of 1940. Each was then allowed to take a small portion of strawberries home as a form of payment.

One of the occupying authorities’ first and most important tasks was confiscating the immovable property of Poles and Jews. Flats, shops and commercial properties were taken away from Jews. For example, Aron Lorber, a resident of Busko-Zdrój, was ordered to vacate his flat and business premises within seven days. Otherwise, he was threatened with forced removal.⁷⁹ Jews were also required to deliver a contribution. One of the first tasks of the Judenrat in Nowy Korczyn was to collect it in the amount of 20,000 zlotys. Before long, the Germans demanded an extra contribution – twice as high as the previous one.⁸⁰ In Wiślica, the contribution amounted to 30,000 zlotys.⁸¹ During October or November of 1939, the Judenrat, under the leadership of Moshe Aron, made a plea to the Jewish community of Pacanów to surrender all their valuables. These were to be handed over to the Germans as part of the contribution.⁸² In Stopnica, on the other hand, Jews had to surrender their money or gold. Laja Blusztejn reminisced: “In my time, such contributions were made five or six times.”⁸³

On 23 November 1939, by order of Governor General Hans Frank, all Jews over the age of 10 were required to wear white armbands on their right sleeve

* The original is rhymed: “Marszałek Śmigły Rydz, nie nauczył Żydów nic, przyszedł Hitler złoty, nauczył Żydków roboty” [translator’s note].

⁷⁸ <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=pi%C5%84cz%C3%B3w+getto+wspomnienia> (accessed 12 February 2021).

⁷⁹ APK, Files of the town of Busko, 1216, Letter from the commissary mayor of Busko-Zdrój to Aaron Lorber, 9 April 1940, fol. 56.

⁸⁰ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 262.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁸³ AIPN, GK, The case files of, among other things, the investigation against Herbert Böttcher, former SS general and SS and Police commander (SS und Polizeiführer) in the former Radom District, 179/114, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Laja Blusztejn, 6 May 1947, fol. 141.

with a minimum width of 10 centimetres, bearing a Star of David. A regulation on marking shops in the General Government, issued on 23 November 1939, ordered their Jewish owners to mark their outlets with the Star of David in a way visible from the street.⁸⁴ The policy of “Aryanisation” is illustrated perfectly by the memoirs of Jan Wojciechowski:

Only the Jewish population was forbidden to run businesses, which were placed under Poles’ management. In the interim period, Poles were assigned control of a few shops at a time, with the sales clerks being Jews. Armbands were introduced for the Jewish population, and bowing was compulsory. Eventually, the Jewish population was forbidden to walk in particular streets, especially the market square.⁸⁵

The restriction of free movement within the GG was regulated by an executive order of the Labour Compulsion Regulation of 26 October 1939, issued on 11 December that year by Hans Frank. Starting January 1, 1940, the Jewish population was prohibited from altering their residence or location without obtaining written authorisation from the relevant administrative authority. For example, the Jews of Busko-Zdrój, to get a pass, had to apply to the town’s mayor – Stanisław Sikorski.⁸⁶ Jews applying for a pass had to present a medical certificate attesting to their good health. These were issued to them by,⁸⁷ among others, Dr. Aniela Żwan-Golschmied and Dr. Zygmunt Żubr.

⁸⁴ *Represje za pomoc Żydom*, p. 19.

⁸⁵ AIPN, GK, Investigative materials of the District Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Radom concerning Nazi crimes committed in the municipalities: Grabki, Szczytniki, Stopnica, Potok. Minutes of interrogations of witnesses, lists of German crimes (including location, date of crime, type of crime and names of witnesses), questionnaires about executions and mass graves, and correspondence. The case files of, among other things, the investigation against Herbert Böttcher, former SS general and SS and Police commander (SS und Polizeiführer) in the former Radom District, 179/114, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Jan Wojciechowski, 14 March 1946, fol. 125.

⁸⁶ These were submitted by Jusek Pacanowski, among others, on 29 July 1941: “I kindly ask the Lord Mayor to give me permission to leave Busko for Chmielnik to visit my sister, Gitla Rozencwajg, who is seriously ill and needs my help” (APK, Files of the town of Busko, 1296, Letter by Jusek Pacanowski, 29 July 1941, fol. 6).

⁸⁷ APK, Files of the town of Busko, 1296, Certificate issued by Dr. Aniela Żwan-Golschmied, 1941, fol. 8.

From 9 p.m. to 5 a.m., Jews were prohibited from using roads, streets and squares.⁸⁸ The food ration card standards established in mid-October 1939 allocated only half the provisions to the Jewish population compared to the Polish people. They included only bread, cereal, coffee and sugar. The German occupying forces followed the principle of first providing food for the Germans, then for the Polish population and finally for the Jews.⁸⁹ According to Siegfried Hoffman's order, "The bakeries designated for the provisioning of the Jews will be given via the Agricultural-Commercial Cooperative only rye flour for 100 grams of bread per person per day."⁹⁰

In the Kreis Busko area, as in other parts of the Radom district, the Germans constantly used individual violence against Jews. Daniel Fischgarten from Busko-Zdrój reported: Once, the gendarmerie abruptly stormed into a bakery demanding bread. When the baker could not provide any, they subjected him to a brutal beating and trampling that ultimately led to his death.⁹¹ It was also the custom of the gendarmes from Busko-Zdrój to organise attacks on Jews leaving the synagogue on Saturdays.⁹²

The Judenrats from Stopnica and Pinczów collected money from the local population to bribe the Germans and, as a result, to limit the arrivals of the gendarmes from Busko-Zdrój. On the initiative of Jankiel Taubelblat, the chairman of the Judenrat in Stopnica, every German arriving in the town was taken to a Polish restaurant, where refreshments spiked with vodka were organised. A bribe was then handed to him by Taubelblat. Joseph Bainvoll recalled after the war: "After such a visit, the Germans would leave the town or rarely hang around in the streets. No one doubted that the Germans' gentle behaviour resulted from a generous bribe, which Reb Jankiel did not begrudge. One must admit he knew

⁸⁸ APK, Files of the municipality of Busko, 1266, Letter to all mayors of the county of Busko, 13 January 1940, fol. 503. By order of Kreishauptmann Schäfer, a curfew was imposed for Poles, which lasted from 9 p.m. to 5 a.m. (APK, Files of the municipality of Busko, 1267, Schäfer's order, 8 April 1940, fol. 442).

⁸⁹ K. Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim* (Cracow, 2004), p. 59.

⁹⁰ AIPN, GK, Der Kreishauptmann Busko [Starosta Powiatowy w Busku] 639/8, Letter to mayors in Busko, Chmielnik, Pińczów, Stopnica, Pacanów, Nowy Korczyn, Wiślica, 8 January 1940, fol. 6.

⁹¹ Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie [Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, hereinafter AŻIH], A collection of testimonies of the Jewish Holocaust survivors, 301/254, The Testimony of Daniel Fischgarten, no date, fol. 1.

⁹² Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim*, p. 150.

whom to pay off and how.”⁹³ These activities, however, did not stop the Busko-based gendarmes from committing crimes in Stopnica. One of them, Gutzeit Niedermack, shot a Jew who was crossing the street in the town in November 1939.⁹⁴ A man called Bruchman (the first name undetermined) was also his victim. In April 1940, during the Passover celebrations, gendarmes from Busko-Zdrój murdered thirteen Jews in Stopnica.⁹⁵ In 1941, Germans shot three wealthy Jews and plundered their property.⁹⁶ Numerous crimes against Chmielnik’s Jews were committed by German gendarmes from Chmielnik. According to the testimony given by Michał Stępień:

The Germans didn’t segregate that this one had some consideration; this one was younger or older. If he wanted to, he would shoot, and that was it. I witnessed an incident where a German military policeman, referred to as Kleuzer [the correct name is Krause], shot a Jewish woman named Pasternakówna, who was between 25 and 30 years old, right before my eyes. [He killed] because his son was killed at the front. He said he would shoot two hundred Poles and kill four hundred Jews because his son died at the front.⁹⁷

One of the persecutors of the Jewish population in the spa town was Johann Hansel of the Security Police. He used violence against the Jews of Busko regularly: “At the end of 1940, my father Jacob, returning from the synagogue, was stopped by Hans. Hans started to tug at his beard with a handkerchief, threw him to the ground and kicked him with his boots, leaving him bleeding and unconscious in the street. My father has been paralysed ever since.”⁹⁸ In April

⁹³ Bainvoll, *Wielki mrok*, p. 63.

⁹⁴ AIPN, Questionnaires of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland and the District Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Warsaw Collected between 1968 and 1972. Questionnaires concerning the Voivodeship of Kielce – V. County of Busko-Zdrój – questionnaires, encyclopaedic notes [hereinafter Questionnaires of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, 1968–1972], 2448/321, part 1, Questionnaire, no date, fols 389–390.

⁹⁵ “Stopnica,” *Kielce–Radom Special Interest Group Journal* 5/2 (2001), p. 7.

⁹⁶ Bainvoll, *Wielki mrok*, p. 63.

⁹⁷ *Nasi sąsiedzi Żydzi*, p. 129.

⁹⁸ STAL, EL 317 III Bü 902, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Józef Rozenberg, 15 June 1964, fol. 123.

1940, Hansel executed the Jewish baker Avigdon Birenbaum on the pretext that he was baking bread before Passover. His body was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Busko-Zdrój. In 1941, Hansel also shot an unnamed Jew for not wearing a Star of David armband.⁹⁹ The inhabitants of Busko-Zdrój knew of his role in the executions of Jews in the Jewish cemetery: “Every time he appeared at the Jewish cemetery, shots could be heard. He always went there with somebody and came back alone.”¹⁰⁰ Hansel, together with gendarmes from Busko-Zdrój, also came to Pińczów. He used to walk around the town with his wolfhound that he set on the local people: “Upon his command, the dog would typically assault Jews walking down the street, biting and injuring them, and tearing at their clothes, until it was called off.”¹⁰¹

Ghettos and Labour Camps

The legal status of the Jews was definitively established by an order issued by Reinhard Heydrich on 21 September 1939, commonly referred to as the “Schnellbrief.” According to it, all Jews would be concentrated in separate and isolated quarters of the larger cities near the railway lines. The ghettoisation process in the Radom district accelerated considerably in 1941, and the number of ghettos created is estimated to be at least 120.¹⁰²

In the Kreis Busko area, at a conference on 3 April 1941, Erich Berthold, an employee of Department I of the Kreishauptmannschaft, informed the chairmen of the delegations of the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) and the Judenrats about the establishment of Jewish quarters. According to a decree by Kreishauptmann Wilhelm Schäfer, they were to be established by 15 April 1941.¹⁰³ A total of eight

⁹⁹ Bundesarchiv in Ludwigsburg, Investigation against Johann Hansel, B 162/6207, Letter of the Ministry of the Interior, 19 January 1966, fol. 818.

¹⁰⁰ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Files of the investigations into crimes committed by the occupying authorities, in particular the Sipo, the SD and the Gendarmerie in Busko and the surrounding area between 1939 and 1945, 5349, Letter of the District Commission for the Persecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation in Kielce, 10 March 1967, fol. 48.

¹⁰¹ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Reference files of the investigation concerning crimes committed by Hitlerites in Pińczów, 53/4907, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Piotr Lech, no date, fol. 86.

¹⁰² There were 10 ghettos in the Kreis Piotrków area, 11 in the Kreis Radomsko area and 19 in the Kreis Tomaszów area (Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim*, p. 114).

¹⁰³ Seidel, *Deutsche Besatzungspolitik in Polen*, p. 240.

were established, located in Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów, Pińczów, Stopnica, Szydłów and Wiślica.

Initially, all ghettos were open, i.e., no physical barriers were erected to separate the so-called Jewish residential quarters from the so-called Aryan zone. Jews, however, were forbidden to leave them. Escape from the ghetto was initially punishable by a fine. For example, for the escape of two Jews from the Busko ghetto, the community had to pay a ransom of 1,000 zlotys for each fugitive.¹⁰⁴ From Order No. 3 concerning the Restrictions on Residence in the GG of 15 October 1941 onwards, arbitrary departure from the ghetto was punishable by death.¹⁰⁵

The territory of the ghetto varied from town to town. The Jews of Chmielnik, living in the city centre, were ordered to move to a ghetto covering Bednarska, Furmańska and Magistracka Streets.¹⁰⁶ The square happened to be outside the ghetto's territory. In Busko-Zdrój, the ghetto was mainly located on Kościuszki and Kilińskiego Streets. It also covered the present Partyzantów Street, where the synagogue was located.¹⁰⁷ The ghetto in Wiślica (established in May 1941), on the other hand, comprised 76 one-storey houses housing 1,500 local Jews and around 500 Jews from Łódź, Płock, Radom, Sandomierz and Warsaw. Unlike other ghettos, it was not located in a quarter previously inhabited by Jewish people but in another one – arbitrarily chosen by the Germans. Due to the houses being constructed of weeping stone, there was a widespread occurrence of mould and mildew, creating conditions favourable for the spread of diseases. This neighbourhood had no access to a well, so the local population drew water from the nearby Nida River.¹⁰⁸ The Jews of Pacanów lived in 125 houses in the town's centre. Water was drawn from a well.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ AŻIH, A collection of testimonies of Jewish Holocaust survivors, 301/254, The Testimony of Daniel Fischgarten, no date, fol. 1.

¹⁰⁵ B. Musiał, O. Musiał (collab.), *Kto dopomoże Żydowi...* (Poznań, 2019), pp. 80–81.

¹⁰⁶ STAL, EL 317 III 902, The Testimonies of Kalman Żelaznik, Mosze Kleinhendler and Ben Icchak Anszel, 21 June 1964, no page numbers.

¹⁰⁷ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁸ Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁹ AŻIH, Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna [Jewish Social Self-Help Organisation, hereinafter ŻSS], Correspondence between the Presidium of the ŻSS and the ŻSS Delegation in Pacanów, 211/778, Note concerning the ghetto in Pacanów, 1942, fol. 17.

Table 2. Demographic Situation of Ghettos in Kreis Busko between 1941 and 1942¹¹⁰

| Locality | Number of inhabitants in 1941 | Number of inhabitants in 1942 |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Busko-Zdrój | 1,728 | no data available |
| Chmielnik | 8,000 | 13,000 |
| Nowy Korczyn | 3,559 | 4,200 |
| Pacanów | 2,645 | 2,785 |
| Pińczów | 2,991 | 3,554 |
| Stopnica | 4,600 | 5,300 |
| Szydłów | 770 | 1,270 |
| Wiślica | no data available | 2,165 |

A commonplace phenomenon in the occupied Polish territories was the displacement of Jews from one village to another. Repeated relocation of the same group and looting of the Jewish property destroyed them economically. The Kreis Busko stood out against other administrative units referred to as Kreis in the Radom district for the relatively high number of refugees – in 1941, it reached 7,756 people.¹¹¹ In this respect, it ranked third after Kreis Tomaszów and the city of Częstochowa. At the same time, it is worth noting that the capital of Kreis Busko, Busko-Zdrój, remained the town with the smallest number of displaced persons (16.3% of new arrivals). This was the outcome of a conscious decision by Kreishauptmann Dr. Wilhelm Schäfer, who decided that Busko-Zdrój was to remain a town free of Jews.¹¹²

On 1 December 1940, an order was issued for the deportation of some 2,000 Jews from Radom to the Busko and Opatów districts. These people had arrived in the

¹¹⁰ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 212. According to Adam Rutkowski, the number of Jews in each town was as follows: Busko-Zdrój in September 1941 was inhabited by 1,728 Jews, in June 1942 – 1,587; in Chmielnik in September 1941 – 8,292, and in April 1942 – 8,510. In Nowy Korczyn in September 1941, there were 3,700 Jews, and in April 1942 – 3,834. In Pacanów in July 1941, there were 2,612 Jews, and in April 1942 – 2,828. In Pińczów in September 1941, there were 2,991 Jews, and in June 1942 – 3,554. In Stopnica in September 1941, there were 4,600 Jewish people, and in April 1942 – 5,300. 1,004 Jews lived in Szydłów in September 1941 and 1,257 in June 1942. In Wiślica, there were 2,200 Jews in November 1941 and April 1942 – 2,165 (Rutkowski, “Martyrologia, walka i zagłada,” pp. 147–148).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

¹¹² *Encyklopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 206.

district capital in 1940, unemployed and suspected of criminal activities. Only the Jewish poor were expelled from Radom; under the leadership of Józef Diamant, the Judenrat put on the list of expellees those who had previously applied for an allowance, even unsuccessfully. Under the threat of punishment, they were forbidden to return to town.¹¹³ Between 5 and 12 December 1940, around 200 Jews were displaced from Radom to Dwikozy and Chmielnik.¹¹⁴ In December 1940, 1,500 Jews from Radom arrived in Busko-Zdrój,¹¹⁵ and on 6 December 1940, 300 Jews arrived in Stopnica. 300 Jews residing in Radom were deported in the spring of 1941 to the ghetto in Nowy Korczyn.¹¹⁶

In February and March 1941, around 10,000 Jews from Płock were resettled in the Radom district. In February 1941, 400 Jews from Płock arrived in Chmielnik. In the civil registration records of the Jewish community in Chmielnik for 1941, 26 death certificates were registered for Jews deported from Płock to Chmielnik.¹¹⁷ On 24 February 1941, 966 Jews from Płock were resettled to Busko-Zdrój. They had neither luggage nor livelihood, having previously passed through the camp in Działdów. Most of them suffered from influenza, 11 had physical injuries, and two died of heart attacks during the transport.¹¹⁸ On 25 February 1941, 200–250 Jews from Płock (mainly women and children) were deported to Stopnica. At the end of 1940 or the beginning of 1941, 150 arrived in Wiślica.¹¹⁹

The most significant number of deported Jews was in the Chmielnik ghetto. In the summer of 1940, 1,150 Jews were deported to Chmielnik, coming mainly from Glinice and from Łódź. Transports of deportees from Cracow and Warsaw also

¹¹³ Urbański, *Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie radomskim*, pp. 138–139.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

¹¹⁵ “Radom ghetto,” <http://www.deathcamps.org/occupation/radom%20ghetto.html> (accessed 1 February 2021).

¹¹⁶ *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, p. 532.

¹¹⁷ The death certificates of the following persons were registered: Ita Estera Bocian, Abram Lejzor Cynaber, Ita Elias, Jankiel Aron Feder, Gołda Falek, Henoch Fudałowicz, Icek Gajzler, Binem Groner, Symcha Jakub Jakubowicz, Chana Łaja Kronenberg, Chaim Kuten, Moszek Josef Kuten, Uryn Jankiel Kuten, Dacha Lewitan, Abram Litman, Jakub Lejb Litman, Josef Litman, Czarna Lejzorowicz, Maks Palusiak, Jójne Szklarek, Chaja Bajla Szymanicka, Bajla Szwarz, Gitla Szwarz, Nuzyn Szwarz, Szmul Tangzuz and Juda Waserman (Registry Office in Stopnica, Civil status records of the Mosaic Faith in Chmielnik, 1941, no page numbers).

¹¹⁸ Krawczyk and Maciągowski, *Żydzi w historii Chmielnika*, p. 139.

¹¹⁹ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 341.

arrived in the Chmielnik ghetto. The Jews from the surrounding villages of Drugnia, Piotrkowice, Przededworze and Śladków were also sent there. At the end of 1941, the number of inhabitants of the Chmielnik ghetto reached 8,000. In October 1942, it rose to 13,000 people.¹²⁰ Jews from various parts of occupied Poland were also deported to Stopnica. In 1941, Jews from Łódź and Cracow were brought to the town. On 8 March 1941, the Jewish Social Self-Help reported: “The situation of all the displaced persons staying here – disastrous. They are all staying all the time in three collective points: in one synagogue, there are 110 people; in another, there are 50 people; and in one large room, there are about 40 people. They are all lying on the floor [...] Several adults and children are sick. Two persons have died.”¹²¹ In 1942, additional Jews from the surrounding villages were brought in. In April 1942, about 5,300 Jews lived in the Stopnica ghetto.¹²²

As for Nowy Korczyn, in the first half of 1941, Jews from Łódź, Kielce, Radom, and Warsaw came to the town. The number of Jews in May 1941 oscillated around 3,559.¹²³ In October 1942, 4,200 Jews lived in Nowy Korczyn. Jews from Głowno near Łódź, Cracow, Łódź, Radom and Warsaw were also deported to Pacanów. In May 1941, the number of Jews in Pacanów reached 2,645 (including 785 refugees).¹²⁴

Unlike Stopnica or Chmielnik, the ghetto in Pińczów was inhabited by far fewer Jews – in June 1942, 3,554 people lived there.¹²⁵ Compared to the ghettos in the first two towns, the ghetto in Pińczów was characterised by a relatively small number of deportees. Undoubtedly, the conditions there were much more difficult. In September 1939, 82% of Pińczów was destroyed as a result of the criminal activities of the Germans. The city was deprived of its numerous bakeries, shops and

¹²⁰ AIPN, GK, Questionnaires. Executions. Graves: Kielce voivodeship, vol. 1: Questionnaires concerning mass executions and mass graves – Kielce voivodeship, 163/47, Questionnaires concerning camps, 24 October 1945, fols 367–368.

¹²¹ AŻIH, ŻSS, Correspondence between the Presidium of the ŻSS and the Delegation of the ŻSS in Stopnica, 211/933, Letter to the Advisor of the ŻSS to the Head of the District in Radom, 8 March 1941, fol. 1.

¹²² *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 322.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

warehouses.¹²⁶ The situation of the local Jews was tragic; the number of deportees was 197 in November 1940. In January 1941, it rose to 218.¹²⁷

Wiślica was the destination of deportations of Jews from Cracow, Łódź, Sandomierz and Warsaw. In April 1942, 2,165 Jews lived in the Wiślica ghetto, including 728 deportees.¹²⁸ A low number of deportees also characterised the Szydłów ghetto. In May 1941, it was inhabited by 770 Jews (including 170 deportees). In September 1941, this number went up to 1,004 people.¹²⁹

As a result of the numerous deportations, the ghettos in Kreis Busko became overcrowded, which subsequently led to the proliferation of diseases. In the ghetto in Pacanów, 12–13 people lived in one room, while in Nowy Korczyn, 12.¹³⁰ In Busko-Zdrój, there were as many as 20. Due to the high population density and the terrible sanitary conditions, a typhus epidemic broke out in almost all the ghettos. In 1941, 100 people died of typhus in Chmielnik. Most of those who fell ill were displaced persons and the poorest of the town's inhabitants. To combat the epidemic, the Jewish Council opened a hospital. In May 1941, it had 27 patients.¹³¹

Gradual isolation from the outside world and deteriorating material conditions forced ghetto inhabitants to establish contacts with the Aryan side, primarily to obtain food. Despite the looming threat of capital punishment for leaving the ghetto, some Jews ventured out to purchase food. Food was also smuggled into the ghettos by Polish peasants. Jews from the Pacanów ghetto bought fish, eggs and tomatoes from local farmers.¹³² In the Stopnica ghetto alone, 400 people,¹³³ i.e. 8.6% of its inhabitants, died in 1941 of starvation and disease. The figures appear to be inflated. According to the civil registration records of the Jewish community in Stopnica, in the Stopnica ghetto, compared to 1940, the Jewish

¹²⁶ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, "Zbrodnie Wehrmachtu we wrześniu 1939 r. na terenie Pińczowa," <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/teksty/85883,Zbrodnie-Wehrmachtu-we-wrzesniu-1939-r-na-teren-pinczowa.html> (accessed 16 January 2023).

¹²⁷ *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 276.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

¹³¹ AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/301, Letter to the Presidium of the Jewish Social Self-Help Organisation, 20 May 1941, p. 30.

¹³² *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 274.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

death rate in 1941 increased by half (48 death certificates for 1940 and 96 for 1941).¹³⁴ In the Chmielnik ghetto, compared to 1939, the mortality rate almost tripled in 1941 (71 registered death certificates in 1939 and 196 in 1941). Death certificates of Jews from Nowy Korczyn also show an increase in mortality. In 1939, 26 deaths were registered, and in 1940 – 34, 1941 – 34, and 1942 – 56. In 1942, the last death certificate was registered on 24 March. In the civil status records of the Jewish denomination in Pacanów, 19 death certificates were found for 1940 and 1941 – 34.

Living conditions in the ghettos of the Kreis Busko area were generally no different from those in the ghettos of the entire Radom district. Overcrowding, collective and individual murders, confiscation of property, displacement and heavy labour were the order of the day. To determine the mortality rate in the ghettos in the Kreis Busko area, the author analysed the civil status records of the Jewish community in Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów, Stopnica and Szydłów. Unfortunately, no records have survived from Pińczów and Wiślica. It should also be noted that the deaths for 1942 are only documented by the Jewish registry office in Nowy Korczyn. Given that the German policies resulted in a severe decline in the living conditions of the Jewish community (escalating hunger, impoverishment, and lack of medical care), the author of this article viewed all individuals who passed away between 1939 and 1942 (even those from natural causes) as casualties of German crimes. As part of a project entitled “The Terror of the Occupation in the Polish Lands 1939–1945,” the author researched the fatal victims in the Kreis Busko area. According to her findings, at least 60 Jews were killed in 1939,¹³⁵ 71 in 1940, 332 in 1941, and 80 between the beginning of 1942 and the summer of that year. These figures must be increased by the deaths of those who could not be identified by name. It can be assumed that the number of deaths of Jews who lived permanently or temporarily on the territory of the Kreis Busko from September 1939 to mid-1942 was much higher.

¹³⁴ Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Stopnicy [Registry Office in Stopnica], Civil status records of the Mosaic faith of the synagogue district in Stopnica, 1941, no page numbers.

¹³⁵ We are talking about people whose personalities have been established. As mentioned above, in September 1939, at least 135 Jews were killed in the area of the future Kreis Busko.

In late 1939 and early 1940, the first forced labour camps for the Jewish population (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, Julag*) were established.¹³⁶ The operation of the camps was also regulated by an order of 20 November 1939 issued by Karl Lasch, the head of the Radom district. Jewish individuals ranging in age from 12 to 60 were compelled to perform forced labour. They had to work in the camps for two years. However, the stay could be extended indefinitely, according to Lasch's order. One of the first labour camps in the Kreis Busko area was established in Słupia in 1941.¹³⁷

It was located in Błonie Ratajskie, about 3 kilometres from Pacanów. Initially, the camp housed Jews from Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów and Stopnica. The Romani were also sent there. The camp was supervised by German military police officers from the outposts in Słupia and Busko-Zdrój.¹³⁸ On average, 180 to 200 prisoners were held there. Its area was fenced off with a triple barbed wire fence 2.5 metres high. Behind the wall on the western side was a 3-metre wide and 3.5-metre deep canal dug out. Inside the camp, there were five barracks. The three smaller ones were designated for the functionary prisoners, as well as the kitchen, storerooms and the guardhouse. The two more extensive barracks housed the prisoners. They slept on bunk beds of wood and straw.

The conditions in Słupia were harsh. Washing was done in tin troughs filled with water from the canal. As a result of the poor hygienic conditions, an epidemic of typhus broke out in the camp, and the prisoners often suffered from stomach problems. The food was terrible. After the morning roll call, prisoners were given sliced black bread, a spoonful of jam or fish paste, and black cereal coffee without sugar. Dinner consisted of beetroot or turnip soup. Supper was the same as breakfast. They also ate chestnut soup. The prisoners worked on the construction of drainage canals.¹³⁹ Violence was used often. Jan Zdyb, who worked on the

¹³⁶ M. Wardzyńska, "Obozy niemieckie na okupowanych terenach polskich," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 4 (2009), p. 28.

¹³⁷ J. Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin, 1988), p. 152; see *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939–1945. Informator encyklopedyczny* (Warsaw, 1979), p. 457.

¹³⁸ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, "Działalność obozu pracy w Słupii na terenie Kreishauptmannschaft Busko," <https://przystanekhistoria.pl/pa2/teksty/78082,Dzialalnosc-obozu-pracy-w-Slupii-na-terenie-Kreishauptmannschaft-Busko-w-latach-1.html> (accessed 3 February 2020).

¹³⁹ AIPN, Questionnaires of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, 1968–1972, 2448/321, part 2, Questionnaires relating to camps, no date, fol. 743.

construction of the barracks, testified: "I even saw a German knock a Jew into the mud and cut his throat in the mud."¹⁴⁰

In 1941, the Judenrat in Chmielnik was ordered to deliver 300 people to the camp in Słupia. Under pressure from their families, Mosze (Monik) Pasternak went to Słupia. When he returned to Chmielnik, he told them about the workers' tragic situation. After some time, some of the workers returned to the town. Eventually, they all returned.¹⁴¹ From the second half of 1942, Poles began to be incarcerated in the Słupia camp. At that time, its character was changed to penal (Straflager). Mainly, farmers who failed to meet their quota deliveries were imprisoned there.

The next *Julag* in the Kreis Busko area was the Biechów Dolny camp, which operated from spring to autumn 1942.¹⁴² It was located next to the road, probably in the stables that had belonged to Jan Popiel before the war. Mainly, Jewish men from Stopnica and Pacanów were incarcerated in the camp. The average number of prisoners was 200. The gendarmerie from Nowy Korczyn exercised supervision. The camp consisted of two wooden barracks. The living conditions, just like in Słupia, were harsh. The prisoners slept on the ground, on straw. They worked at excavating canals. Violence was often used against them. The food was terrible. The local population provided food for the Jews.¹⁴³ In the autumn of 1942, the Jews were rushed to Szczucin to the railway station, from where they were transported to the Treblinka extermination camp.

Jews in Jails and Prisons (1941–1942)

Alongside the concentration camps, the prison system was a vital part of the German terror machine. During the German occupation, prisons played a central role in the extermination of the Polish nation between 1939 and 1945. They

¹⁴⁰ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Murders committed against Poles and Jews in the Słupia Pacanowska labour camp 1941–1944, 53/4970, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Jan Marcin Zdyb, 18 February 1970, fol. 18.

¹⁴¹ Bender, "Żydzi z Chmielnika," p. 47.

¹⁴² AIPN, Questionnaires of the Chief Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland, 1968–1972, 2448/321, part 2, Questionnaires concerning camps, no date, fol. 734.

¹⁴³ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Files concerning crimes committed in the camp in the village of Biechów Dolny between 1942 and 1943, County of Busko-Zdrój, 53/4966, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Stanisław Kobos, 23 February 1970, fol. 14.

were used to isolate, torture and murder Poles and Jews. Prisoners were also sent to concentration camps. The most critical prisons in the Radom district had the status of a German Penal Institution (Deutsche Strafanstalt) and were part of the judicial prison system. Prisons in Częstochowa, Kielce, Pińczów, Piotrków, Radom and Sandomierz had such a profile. At the same time, in the territory of the Radom district, there were numerous county and town detention centres, as well as impromptu detention facilities for abducted persons (detention centres of full-time and extra-time gendarmerie stations).¹⁴⁴

According to the research conducted by the author of this article, Jews in the Kreis Busko area were incarcerated in the pre-trial detention centre in Busko-Zdrój and the prison in Pińczów. They were not detained in Busko-Zdrój in Dr. Byrkowski's villa, in the "Versailles" villa and in the building on Kościelna Street.

The pre-trial detention centre in Busko-Zdrój was used for investigative and administrative purposes.¹⁴⁵ It was not uncommon for prisoners to serve short-term administrative sentences there. The detention centre operated from 1940 to 1944. It was at the disposal of the Security Police, the gendarmerie, the district office and the Labour Office.¹⁴⁶ Based on the surviving record book, which comprised three volumes, it can be inferred that 5,628 individuals were incarcerated there (assuming that the detention centre existed until 22 July 1944 and that the records in all the notebooks were kept in the correct order).¹⁴⁷

In the county jail in Busko-Zdrój, mainly Poles were imprisoned. Jews from Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów, Pińczów and Stopnica were also sent there. Jews from outside the Kreis Busko's territory, such as Staszów, Szczucin, Tarnów and Warsaw, were also held there. On the average, the prisoners stayed there for several days. From October 1941 to May 1942, Jews were incarcerated

¹⁴⁴ T. Domański, A. Jankowski, *Represje niemieckie na wsi kieleckiej 1939–1945* (Kielce, 2011), p. 307.

¹⁴⁵ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, "System więziennictwa na terenie Buska-Zdroju w latach 1939–1945," *Rocznik Świętokrzyski. Seria A – Nauki Humanistyczne* 36 (2021), pp. 104–105.

¹⁴⁶ *Ead.*, "Straty osobowe mieszkańców Kreishauptmannschaft Busko," *Więś Polska w Czasie II Wojny Światowej* 1 (2020), p. 47.

¹⁴⁷ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, 5351, Report on the conduct and results of the investigation into the Nazi crimes committed in Busko, Pińczów and the Busko County, no date, fol. 112.

in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój due to various reasons, including not possessing a Kennkarte, involvement in smuggling, and leaving their place of residence without permission.¹⁴⁸

During the first weeks of the German occupation, pre-war Polish identity cards were the proof of identity. From November 1939, on the territory of the General Government, it was obligatory to permanently carry an official certificate, colloquially known as a *palcówka* (a certificate containing the person's fingerprints).¹⁴⁹ In 1941, a *Personalausweis* (*Ausweis*) – a certificate from an employer confirming a person's employment – became the document allowing its holder to avoid trouble with the police.

Another reason for the incarceration of Jews in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój was that they were caught smuggling. Smuggling resulted from the Jewish population being granted dramatically low food rations. Difficulties in obtaining rationed food necessitated seeking contacts with the so-called Aryan side and attempting to purchase goods in short supply in the ghetto. In the Kreis Busko area, Jews from Wiślica were the leading smugglers in 1940.¹⁵⁰ In the early days, the penalty for Jews caught in the act of smuggling was imprisonment¹⁵¹ and, later, the death penalty.

Jews were also imprisoned in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój for arbitrarily leaving their place of residence. An executive order to the Compulsory Labour Regulation of 26 October 1939, issued on 11 December 1939 by Hans Frank, re-

¹⁴⁸ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, A Hitlerite prison – the pre-trial detention centre in Busko-Zdrój, vol. 1, 23 October 1941 – 1 June 1942 (1546–2796), 53/4623, no page numbers.

¹⁴⁹ S. Piątkowski, “Aryjskie papiery. Z problematyki pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w legalizowaniu fałszywych tożsamości na obszarze Generalnego Gubernatorstwa,” *Polish-Jewish Studies* 1 (2020), p. 307.

¹⁵⁰ *Encyklopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 341.

¹⁵¹ AIPN, GK, Investigative materials of the District Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Radom committed in the municipalities of: Nowy Korczyn, Pawłów, Radzanów, Grotniki, Chmielnik, Counties of Stopnica and Busko-Zdrój. Minutes of the interrogations of witnesses, lists of German crimes (covering the locality, date of crime, kind of crime and names of witnesses), questionnaires on executions and mass graves, and correspondence. The case file concerns, among others, the investigation against Herbert Böttcher, a former SS general and the SS and Police commander (SS und Polizeiführer) in the former Radom district, 179/113, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Ignacy Struzikiewicz, 3 April 1947, fol. 94.

stricted the free movement of Jews within the General Government.¹⁵² This was paired with stringent residence registration obligations.¹⁵³ From 1 January 1940, Jews were not allowed to change their place of residence or stay without written permission from the competent authority of the German administration. A few people were imprisoned in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój for fraud or political reasons. It was not until 1942–1943 that the record books of the county jail in Busko-Zdrój listed Jewish nationality as the reason for the arrest.¹⁵⁴

In the record book, information about prisoners is entered under seven sections: name, place of residence, day of imprisonment, reasons for arrest, day of release and subsequent fate. The last of these should be approached with caution. In most cases, information appears next to the names of the Jews, stating that they were released from detention. This was a deliberate action by the German occupying forces, who thus concealed most of the crimes. Information about the shooting of Jews, inmates of the county jail in Busko-Zdrój, did not appear in the record books until 1943.¹⁵⁵ A significant number of Jews were transferred to the prison in Pińczów. Due to the lack of railway lines, direct transports to the concentration camps did not depart from the territory of Kreis Busko. Therefore, Jews were imprisoned in prisons in towns with railway stations, such as in Pińczów. Establishing the precise count of Jews from the Kreis Busko area who were deported to concentration camps from the Pińczów prison between 1941 and 1942 would unquestionably hold significant value.

¹⁵² *Represje za pomoc Żydom*, p. 18.

¹⁵³ S. Piątkowski, *Radom w latach wojny i okupacji niemieckiej (1939–1945)* (Lublin–Warsaw, 2018), p. 407.

¹⁵⁴ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, 5351, Report on the conduct and results of the investigation into the Nazi crimes committed in Busko, Pińczów and the Busko County, no date, fol. 116.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, fols 84–91.

Table 3. Jews Incarcerated in the County Jail in Busko-Zdrój between 1941 and 1942, Taking into Account the Reason for Arrest, Place of Origin and Allocation¹⁵⁶

| Date | Number of incarcerated Jews | Name of the locality they came from | Does not have a Kennkarte | No armband with the Star of David | Leaving the town limits | Smuggling | Fraud | Number of Jews transferred to the prison in Pińczów |
|---------------|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------|---|
| November 1941 | 21 | Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Kielce, Kraków, Pacanów, Tarnów, Warsaw | 17 | - | - | 3 | 1 | no data available |
| December 1941 | 23 | Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów | - | - | 6 | - | - | 6 |
| January 1942 | 8 | Busko-Zdrój, Łódź, Słabkowice, Wiślica | - | - | 3 | 3 | - | 3 |
| February 1942 | 22 | Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Kielce, Nowy Korczyn, Pińczów, Warsaw | - | - | 10 | 5 | - | 5 |
| March 1942 | 17 | Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pińczów, Stopnica | - | 1 | 5 | 1 | - | 11 |
| April 1942 | 14 | Chmielnik, Pacanów, Pińczów, Radoszyce, Stopnica, Szydłów and Wiślica | - | - | 8 | - | - | 10 |
| May 1942 | 17 | Busko-Zdrój, Chmielnik, Pacanów, Nowy Korczyn, Stopnica, Szydłowice | - | - | 6 | 3 | - | 7 |

¹⁵⁶ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, 53/4623, Records of prisoners incarcerated in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój, 1941–1942, no page numbers.

The Pińczów prison was the most expansive correctional facility in the Kreis Busko area, typically housing nearly 300 inmates. It occupied an area of about 2 hectares. It was surrounded by a wall over 3.5 metres high with four watchtowers. The gendarmerie from Busko-Zdrój supervised it. At first, the head of the prison was a functionary of the Polish prison guards, Michał Wataci; his successors were Gustaw Hasis (1940–1944)¹⁵⁷ and Alfons Keller.

At least 42 Jews from the county jail in Busko-Zdrój were taken to the prison in Pińczów between November 1941 and May 1942. Jews from the prison on Zamkowa Street in Kielce were also brought there. Only transport lists for 1941 have survived in the State Archives in Kielce. One hundred ninety-one people were transported to Pińczów in February 1941. At least ten Jews were imprisoned there at that time: Abraham Faktor, Majer Frydman, Josek Goldfinger, Zenoch Kleinstein, Chil Lewkowicz, Majer Pinkus, Izrael Pinkusowicz, Icek Salzman, Leibus Taubenblatt and Szulim Tenenbaum.

The subsequent larger transport from Kielce to Pińczów took place on 5 May 1941, at a time when 78 prisoners were taken. Among them, there were at least 8 Jews.¹⁵⁸ Herszel Wymysłowski arrived at the Pińczów prison on a transport on 27 May 1941.¹⁵⁹ One of the most numerous transports of Jews to the Pińczów prison in 1941 was probably organised on 15 October 1941. A total of 35 people of Jewish nationality were brought there.¹⁶⁰

On 4 November 1941, 67 prisoners were transported from Zamkowa Street in Kielce; 8 Jews were imprisoned in the Pińczów prison: Szapsia Blankleider, Chemia

¹⁵⁷ K. Trzeskowska-Kubasik, "Działalność więzienia w Pińczowie w latach 1939–1944 (dystrykt Radom)," *Archiwum Kryminologii* 43/2 (2021), doi: 10.7420/AK2021.28, p. 434.

¹⁵⁸ These were: Jentla Kaminer, Szmul Kochen, Dora Rajzman, Chana Rajzla Rubinowicz, Łaja Rubinowicz, Estera Basia Szpilman, Gabriel Strosberg and Motel Wajnberg (APK, Prison in Kielce, 21/186/222, Transport list, Kielce, 5 May 1941, fols 23–25).

¹⁵⁹ APK, Prison in Kielce, 21/186/222, Transport list, Kielce, 27 May 1941, fol. 39.

¹⁶⁰ These were: Estera Ajdelkopf, Łaja Cukier, Chawa Frochtman, Łaja Glajt, Tauba Goldfarb, Alta Szajndla Goldman, Gisla Grundman, Chaim Hoffenberg, Abram Jakub Najman, Szmul Lerman, Jankiel Lederman, Brucha Liberman, Chana Lerman, Joel Manela, Hersz Martyn, Mendel Martyn, Cyrla Pinkusowicz, Hinda Przytycka, Hersz Rapaport, Chil Rozenblat, Jakub Rozenblat, Mordka Rozenblat, Fiszel Rozenberg, Szaja Rzeźnicka, Gela Sztarkman, Leibus Tarnowski, Hinda Tenenbaum, Herzig Turkieltaub, Leizor Tysz, Chemia Wasserstein, Estera Zajge *vel* Zajęc, Perla Zylberberg, Frajda Zylbersztajn, Kalman Zylbersztajn and Moszek Leib Zysmanowicz (APK, Prison in Kielce, 21/186/222, Transport list, Pińczów, 15 October 1941[?], fols 112–113).

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Both Poles and Jews were shot outside the prison in Pińczów, at the so-called *Zawiężenie* (Area behind the prison). The executors included a Security Police officer, Johann Hansel from Busko-Zdrój, who, according to Stefan Wróbel, an inmate of the jail in Pińczów, was said to have shot at least 200 Poles and 1,000 Jews and Romani:

During those two years in prison, Hans came from Busko twice a week, brought some victims, led them to the prison wall and shot these victims in the back of the head with a short firearm. After the executions, he would call me from the stable where I was employed and say to me, Wróbel goes to bury. [...] I underline that I personally, on Hans's orders, buried at least 200 Poles and over 1,000 Jews and Gypsies. These persons were shot by Hans personally.¹⁶²

The exact number of Jews who perished at the Pińczów prison is difficult to determine. As part of the operation code-named 1005,¹⁶³ in the second half of 1944, the Germans toured the execution sites and fenced them off. To obliterate the traces, they sprinkled the bodies of the prisoners with concentrated chlorine concentrate.¹⁶⁴

There were 121 Jews incarcerated in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój from October 1941 to May 1942. Given that a list of prisoners detained between June and August 1942 is missing, it must be assumed that the number of Jews held there was higher. Both Jews living within and outside the territory of Kreis Busko were sent to the county jail – 38 were imprisoned for leaving their place

¹⁶¹ APK, Prison in Kielce, 21/186/222, Transport list, Kielce, 4 November 1941, fols 65–66.

¹⁶² AIPN, GK, The case files of, among other things, the investigation against Herbert Böttcher, former SS general and SS and Police commander (SS und Polizeiführer) in the former Radom District, 179/114, Minutes of the interrogation of the witness Stefan Wróbel, 17 March 1947, fol. 121.

¹⁶³ J. Hoffman, *Dass kann man nicht erzählen. „Aktion 1005“* (Hamburg, 2013), pp. 390–391.

¹⁶⁴ AIPN Ki, OKŚZpNP – IPN Kielce, Reference files of the investigation concerning crimes committed by Hitlerites in Pińczów, 53/4907, German crimes committed on the territory of the town of Pińczów. Information sheet, no date, fol. 23.

of residence, 17 for not having a *Kennkarte*, 15 for smuggling, one for fraud and one for not having an armband. Forty-two Jews were transferred to the prison in Pińczów. The fate of the remaining 79 Jews remains unknown. In 1941, 62 Jews were transported from the Kielce prison to the Pińczów prison. These figures cannot be regarded as definitive. Given that only transport lists for 1941 have been preserved in the State Archives in Kielce, it must be assumed that the number of Jews who were transferred to the prison in Pińczów from Kielce was probably much higher.

Conclusion

Due to the vastness of the subject, this publication can only touch upon certain aspects of the terror of the German occupiers against the Jewish population in the area under discussion. On the territory of the Busko district, the Germans consistently applied various forms of persecution against the Jews from the first days of the war. According to the findings of the author of this article, at least 135 Jews were killed in the area in question in September 1939. Members of the Jewish community were forced to work and were excluded from economic life. They were then persecuted in ghettos in Kreis Busko. An interesting but unexplored phenomenon is the presence of Jews in local prisons and jails. The prison system was an essential part of the German terror machine. The lack of publications on the imprisonment of Jews in the county jail in Busko-Zdrój and the prison in Pińczów is surprising. The records of the Busko-Zdrój county jail allow us to determine not only the dynamics of the incarceration of Jews between 1941 and 1942 but also their personal data and, in some cases, their fate. The author has tried to estimate the number of prisoners held. Due to the scarcity of archival sources, her findings should not be considered binding.

Individual threads probably require further research. Some sources estimate the deaths among the Jewish population from the Kreis Busko area at about 26,000 people.¹⁶⁵ Lists of the names of Jews who died between 1939 and 1942 while living permanently or temporarily in the above areas are virtually non-existent. It is somewhat paradoxical that 78 years after the end of the war,

¹⁶⁵ Faliszewski, *Kartki z przeszłości ruchu ludowego*, p. 46.

we have not seen an exact calculation of the loss of life. The vast majority of victims remain anonymous. The author of this article has established that at least 532 Jews were killed between September 1939 and the summer of 1942. These are only those whose identities have been found. It can be assumed that the number of Jews who lived permanently or temporarily in Kreis Busko between 1939 and 1942 was much higher. The figures given should indeed not be regarded as definitive, as the author continues to research fatal victims. The following table is an incomplete list of the German persecution and repression victims.

Table 4. Jews who Perished in Chmielnik, Nowy Korczyn, Pacanów, Stopnica, and Szydłów between 1939 and 1942, according to the Jewish Civil Status Records¹⁶⁶

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|---|-------------------|----------------|
| Fajga Albirt | 1932 | – | Łódź | 2 July 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Hinda Baumsztajn | 7 February 1871 | Chmielnik | Pacanów | 19 November 1940 | Pacanów |
| Zlata Birenbaum | – | – | Stopnica | 25 November 1940 | Stopnica |
| Ita Estera Bocian | 1891 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 28 September 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abram Bomchowicz | – | – | Stopnica | 20 May 1940 | Stopnica |
| Tabla Cebulara | 1882 | – | Nowy Korczyn | 6 January 1940 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Estera Chmielnicka | 1936 | – | Chmielnik | 16 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abela Czapnik | 1896 | Nowy Korczyn | Nowy Korczyn | 8 March 1940 | – |
| Ela Eliasiewicz | 1863 | – | Chmielnik | 28 March 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Golda Falek | 1889 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 12 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Estera Perla Faktor | 1919 | – | Nowy Korczyn | 16 February 1942 | – |
| Chawa Finkielsztajn | 1890 | – | Stopnica | 23 November 1940 | Stopnica |
| Moszek Finkielsztajn | 1923 | Nowy Korczyn | Nowy Korczyn | 17 January 1940 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Blima Flamholz | – | – | Głowno/Chmielnik | 11 April 1941 | Chmielnik |

¹⁶⁶ Sources of data: Archiwum Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego w Chmielniku [Archives of the Registry Office in Chmielnik], Civil status records of the Mosaic faith; Archiwum Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego w Nowym Korczynie [Archives of the Registry Office in Nowy Korczyn], Civil status records of the Mosaic faith; Archiwum Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego w Pacanowie [Archives of the Registry Office in Pacanów], Civil status records of the Mosaic faith; Archiwum Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego w Stopnicy [Archives of the Registry Office in Stopnica], Civil status records of the Mosaic faith.

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| Izrael Frydberg | 1915 | - | Nowy Korczyn | 4 March 1942 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Icek Gajzler | 1880 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 26 August 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Jakub Glajt | - | - | Łódź/Chmielnik | 28 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abram Glicensztajn | - | - | Łódź/Chmielnik | 1 February 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Golda Goldhersz | 2 March 1862 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 20 April 1941 | Pacanów |
| Chaim Icek Grorberg | 1872 | - | - | 19 February 1940 | Stopnica |
| Herszel Grynewize | 1895 | Pacanów | Kraków/Pacanów | 16 May 1941 | Pacanów |
| Szmul Gryngras | 1878 | Pińczów | Pińczów | 7 September 1939 | Pińczów |
| Binem Groner | 1910 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 8 June 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Icek Majer Hyrszewicz | - | - | - | 26 February 1940 | Wislica |
| Symcha Jakub Jakubowicz | 1891 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 2 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abram Józefowicz | 1896 | - | Łódź/Chmielnik | 4 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Wolf Kaufman | 1911 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 23 February 1940 | Pacanów |
| Chana Klajner | 1872 | - | Stopnica | 16 May 1940 | Stopnica |
| Chana Szajndla Krypel | - | - | Łowicz/Przededworze | 6 September 1941 | Przededworze |
| Chaim Kuten | 1881 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 22 April 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Moszek Kuten | 1918 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 28 June 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Aaron Landau | 1880 | Stary Korczyn | Kraków / Nowy Korczyn | 14 June 1940 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Szmul Lederman | 1857 | - | Pińczów/Chmielnik | 9 August 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Arja Lemberg | 1894 | - | Będzin/Chmielnik | 6 October 1941 | Chmielnik |

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Herszel Lenczner | 1896 | - | Szczekociny/Chmielnik | 21 February 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abram Litman | 1922 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 28 March 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Szylja Lewkowicz | 1902 | - | Łódź/Chmielnik | 26 June 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Chana Szajndla Luft | 1909 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 23 May 1941 | Pacanów |
| Estera Luft | 1901 | Nowy Korczyn | Nowy Korczyn | 28 November 1941 | - |
| Sura Rywa Luft | 25 August 1871 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 10 March 1941 | Pacanów |
| Chaim Margules | 1909 | Chmielnik | Chmielnik | 7 September 1939 | Chmielnik |
| Frymeta Mendrowska | 1872 | - | Chmielnik | 14 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Rywka Miodownik | 1883 | Pacanów | - | 23 May 1940 | Pacanów |
| Josek Moszenberg | 1867 | - | Chmielnik | 14 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Chaim-Wolf Moszkowicz | 1915 | Chmielnik | Chmielnik | 4 September 1939 | Chmielnik |
| Dawid Judka Munysz | 18 February 1863 | Stopnica | Pacanów | 11 November 1940 | Pacanów |
| Eliasz Najberg | 6 June 1863 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 12 August 1941 | Pacanów |
| Ajdlia Niewiadowicz | 1871 | - | Głowno/Chmielnik | 2 October 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Estera Nizenberg | 1856 | - | Chmielnik | 26 April 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Fajga Nudel | 1898 | - | Stopnica | 29 April 1941 | Stopnica |
| Ruchla Osełka | 1919 | Szydłów | - | 17 March 1940 | Szydłów |
| Jakub Orman | 7 June 1893 | Cracow | Cracow/Pacanów | 30 May 1941 | Pacanów |
| Herszka Paprowicz | 1928 | - | Szydłów | 31 May 1940 | Szydłów |
| Majer Rozensztajn | 1899 | - | Stopnica | 9 June 1941 | Stopnica |

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| Józef Pinkus Stopnicki | 21 January 1936 | Tarnów | Pacanów | 6 November 1940 | |
| Lejb Stopnicki | 30 November 1853 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 2 December 1941 | Pacanów |
| Sala Szerok | 1905 | – | Cracow/ Nowy Korczyn | 14 June 1941 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Hinda Sylman | – | – | – | 12 January 1942 | Chmielnik |
| Majer Szumacher | 20 January 1922 | Stopnica | Stopnica | 20 January 1942 | Stopnica |
| Chaja Szymanicka | 1893 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 15 April 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Beila Szwarz | 1916 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 21 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Gittla Szwarz | 1874 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 8 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Chawa Szwer | 1917 | – | Stopnica | 10 April 1941 | Stopnica |
| Jakub Szwer | – | – | – | 25 May 1941 | Stopnica |
| Icek Świczarczyk | 1930 | Łódź | Nowy Korczyn | 25 December 1941 | – |
| Jakub Icek Taubenblat | 5 December 1882 | Stopnica | Pacanów | 7 April 1940 | Pacanów |
| Szmul Tanguzza | 1901 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 9 August 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Fryma Tepel | 1922 | Solec-Zdrój | – | 13 March 1941 | Solec-Zdrój |
| Estera Topioł | 1917 | Stopnica | Stopnica | 24 December 1940 | Stopnica |
| Dawid Topper | 2 May 1900 | Bolesław | Bolesław/Żabiec | 27 June 1941 | – |
| Berek Trombecki | 1878 | – | Chmielnik | 6 September 1939 | Chmielnik |
| Henoch Tudalowicz | 1870 | – | Płock/Chmielnik | 17 August 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Szmul Elia Wajl | – | – | Chmielnik | 7 September 1939 | Chmielnik |
| Cwetla Wajgarten | 1871 | – | Piotrkowice | 12 August 1941 | Piotrkowice |

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|---|------------------|----------------|
| Mosze Warm | 28 October 1894 | Warsaw | Cracow/Pacanów | 29 October 1941 | Pacanów |
| Juda Waserman | 1890 | - | Płock/Chmielnik | 28 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Zofia Wietczniak | 1877 | - | Sędziejowice | 17 June 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Icek Wilhelm | 16 August 1886 | - | Radom/Pacanów | 3 December 1941 | Pacanów |
| Lejb Wolf Wirerberg | 19 June 1924 | Pacanów | - | 27 November 1939 | Pacanów |
| Blima Wiśnicka | - | - | Pińczów | 20 August 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Cywia Wiśnicka | 1898 | - | Chmielnik | 20 July 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Abram Wiśnicki | 1895 | - | Chmielnik | 19 July 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Chana Zysla Wites | - | - | Stopnica | 29 December 1940 | Stopnica |
| Nacha Wygodna | 1889 | - | Śladków Mały | 1 April 1941 | Śladków Mały |
| Chana Zajęc | 1867 | - | Chmielnik | 5 March 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Perec Zajf | 1921 | - | Chmielnik | 29 November 1939 | Chmielnik |
| Chana Zalberg | 1882 | - | - | 18 March 1941 | Stopnica |
| Dawid Izrael Zalczman | 1889 | - | Chmielnik | 28 May 1941 | Chmielnik |
| Mendel Zandperl | 1904 | - | Nowy Korczyn | 23 February 1942 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Moszek Hersz Zygmunt | 19 August 1884 | - | Pacanów | 1 April 1941 | Pacanów |
| Chil Dawid Zylberberg | 1909 | Działoszyce | Proszowice | 8 September 1939 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Dawid Zylberberg | - | - | - | 16 December 1941 | Stopnica |
| Icek Zylberberg | 1918 | - | - | 15 February 1941 | Stopnica |

| Name and surname | Date of birth | Place of birth | Place of residence during the German occupation | Date of death | Place of death |
|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Izrael Zylberberg | 1876 | – | Stopnica | 29 April 1940 | Stopnica |
| Nachman Zylberbogen | – | – | Pacanów | 18 February 1940 | – |
| Frajda Zylberg | 19 July 1893 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 18 February 1940 | – |
| Machla Zylbersztajn | 1902 | – | – | 26 January 1942 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Masza Zylbersztajn | 17 August 1938 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 2 June 1940 | Pacanów |
| Szlama Zylbersztajn | 1901 | – | Busko-Zdrój | 19 February 1942 | Nowy Korczyn |
| Chaja Gitla Zyngier | 14 July 1890 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 21 November 1941 | Pacanów |
| Czarna Zyngier | 1873 | – | Stopnica | 30 June 1940 | Stopnica |
| Moszek Zyngier | – | – | Stopnica | 10 July 1940 | Stopnica |
| Moszek Jankiel Zyngier | 1918 | – | Stopnica | 3 September 1940 | Chmielnik |
| Chaja Sura Zysman | – | – | Stopnica | 18 September 1940 | Stopnica |
| Szyja Zysmanowicz | 1898 | Pacanów | Pacanów | 10 March 1941 | – |
| Szmul Żaba | 1872 | – | Maleszowa | 30 July 1941 | Piotrkowice |
| Sura Rywka Żabner | 1928 | – | Stopnica | 12 July 1940 | Stopnica |
| Małka Żelazko | 1867 | – | Śladków Duży | 15 May 1941 | Śladków Duży |
| Mosze Żeleman | 1873 | – | Stopnica | 21 May 1941 | Stopnica |
| Judka Żeleman | 1874 | – | Stopnica | 9 August 1941 | Stopnica |

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SUMMARY

The subject of this article is the German persecution and repression of the Jewish population in the Kreis Busko area between the autumn of 1939 and the summer of 1942. In 1941, 26,459 Jews lived in this area. The starting point of the publication is a discussion

of the crimes committed by the Wehrmacht against the Jews in September 1939 on the territory of the pre-war county of Stopnica. The author presents the various forms of German persecution and repression: forced labour and the elimination of Jews from economic life, as well as restrictions on freedoms. Living conditions in the ghettos in the Kreis Busko area are also discussed. A separate section is devoted to the imprisonment of Jews in the Busko-Zdrój county jail and the Pińczów prison. An attempt was also made to estimate the number of deaths among the Jewish population in the Kreis Busko area between 1939 and 1942.

KEYWORDS

Radom district • German repression • ghettoisation • the prison system
• deaths/fatal victims