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WARTIME RESCUE OF JEWS BY THE POLISH CATHOLIC CLERGY: THE TESTIMONY OF SURVIVORS AND RESCUERS. COMPILED AND ANNOTATED BY RYSZARD TYNDORF WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ZYGMUNT ZIELIŃSKI*

Tyndorf's book *Wartime Rescue of Jews by the Polish Catholic Clergy*. The publication is promoted by the Abraham J. Heschel Centre for Catholic-Jewish Relations at the Catholic University of Lublin.¹ This monumental work numbers 1,278 pages and consists of two volumes. Its author, Dr. Richard Tyndorf, is a Canadian lawyer and documentary filmmaker. He has collected material for many years, yet – as he emphasizes – the book is only a contribution to subsequent work, as many sources still need to be properly processed. "Moreover, numerous archives – Polish, Israeli, German, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and American – remain untapped. Many of the stories found herein would benefit from expansion or further validation," states Tyndorf (p. 16).

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The study was undertaken at the initiative and with the collaboration of Fr. Prof. Zygmunt Zieliński, historian of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Catholic Church, retired lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin, member of the Commission for Modern History, the Committee for Research on Polish Diaspora Abroad, and the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Fr. Prof. Zygmunt Zieliński is also the author of approximately 850 academic publications, including many on the history of Polish-Jewish relations.³

Ryszard Tyndorf's work is the first comprehensive English-language publication of this kind, focusing on the institutions of the Catholic Church, its clergy (members of congregations and religious orders, including women religious orders, and diocesan priests), and the laypersons involved in the Church life and aid provided to Jews during World War II in German-occupied Poland. It is based primarily on the testimonies of Jews rescued by or with the assistance of the Polish clergy, the testimonies of both the clergy and laypeople involved in the Church, along with archival documents (2023, p. 16). The author has, of course, also taken into account academic studies on the subject, including the results of many years of research by Franciszek Kącki,⁴ Franciszek Stopniak,⁵ Paweł Rytel-Andrianik and

³ See, among others, *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945*, vol. 1, ed. Z. Zieliński, (Warsaw, 1982), vol. 2 (Katowice, 1992); Z. Zieliński, *Problem ratowania Żydów przez polskie zgromadzenia zakonne w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej. Stanowisko polskie i żydowskie* (Warsaw, 1983); *idem*, "Activities of Catholic Orders on Behalf of Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland," in *Judaism and Christianity under the Impact of National Socialism (1919–1945)*, ed. O. Dov Kulka, P.R. Mendes-Flohr (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 381–394; *idem*, "Polska w oczach Żydów amerykańskich," *Więź* 6 (34) (1991), pp. 9–29; Z. Zieliński, "Żydzi w społeczeństwie Polski międzywojennej," *Dzieje Najnowsze* 4 (27) (1995), pp. 39–65.

⁴ F. Kącki, Dzieło miłosierdzia chrześcijańskiego. Polskie duchowieństwo katolickie a Żydzi w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej (Warsaw, 1968); idem, Udział księży i zakonnic w holokauście Żydów (Warsaw, 2002).

⁵ F. Stopniak, "Pomoc kleru polskiego dla dzieci w II wojnie światowej," in Kościół katolicki na ziemiach Polski w czasie II wojny światowej. Materiały i studia, ed. F. Stopniak (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 3–63; idem, "Duchowieństwo katolickie i Żydzi w Polsce w latach II wojny światowej," Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi 11 (1987), pp. 195–215; idem, "Katolickie duchowieństwo w Polsce i Żydzi w okresie niemieckiej okupacji," in Polskie podziemie polityczne wobec zagłady Żydów w czasie okupacji niemieckiej. Referaty z sesji, Warszawa, 22 IV 1987, ed. I. Borowicz (Warsaw, 1988), pp. 66–84; idem, "Duchowieństwo katolickie z pomocą Żydom w II wojnie światowej," Saeculum Christianum 1 (2) (1995), pp. 89–99; idem, "Katolickie duchowieństwo w Polsce i Żydzi w okresie niemieckiej okupacji," in Społeczeństwo polskie wobec martyrologii i walki Żydów w latach II wojny światowej. Materiały z sesji w Instytucie Historii PAN w dniu 11 III 1993 r., ed. K. Dunin-Wąsowicz (Warsaw, 1996), pp. 19–55.

Edward Kopówka,⁶ Martyna Grądzka-Rejak,⁷ Grzegorz Chajko,⁸ Ewa Kurek-Lesik,⁹ Agata Mirek,¹⁰ Daniel Wojciechowski,¹¹ as well as Zygmunt Zieliński, who helped in the creation of this monograph.¹²

The first volume consists of an introduction, two maps, ¹³ and five chapters (it should be added that the content of the fifth chapter – probably due to the breadth of the study – has been divided between two volumes). The first chapter reviews the findings of other researchers and documentation of scholars to date. The quoted authors include Philip Friedman, ¹⁴ Władysław Bartoszewski, ¹⁵ Ema-

⁶ E. Kopówka, P. Rytel-Andrianik, Dam im imię na wieki (Iz 56,5). Polacy z okolic Treblinki ratujący Żydów (Warsaw, 2011).

M. Grądzka-Rejak, "Od dłuższego czasu straciłem wszelki kontakt z żydami i żydostwem'. Neofici w okupowanym Krakowie w świetle materiałów Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 13 (2017), pp. 342–371; *eadem*, "Kościół katolicki w okupowanym Krakowie w pomocy Żydom. Zarys problematyki badawczej," in *Kościół krakowski 1939–1945*, ed. Ł. Klimek (Cracow, 2014), pp. 125–154.

⁸ G. Chajko, "The Clergy of the Archdiocese of Lviv of the Latins in Aid of the Jewish Nation during the Years of the German Occupation from 1941–1944. An Outline of the Events," *The Person and the Challenges: The Journal of Theology Education Canon Law and Social Studies Inspired by Pope John Paul II* 2 (3) (2013), pp. 143–155.

⁹ E. Kurek-Lesik, "The Conditions of Admittance and the Social Background of Jewish Children Saved by Women's Religious Orders in Poland from 1939–1945," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* 3 (1988), pp. 244–275; *eadem, Gdy klasztor znaczył życie. Udział żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w akcji ratowania dzieci żydowskich w Polsce w latach 1939–1945* (Cracow, 1992); *eadem*, "The Role of Polish Nuns in the Rescue of Jews, 1939–1945," in *Embracing the Other: Philosophical, Psychological, and Historical Perspectives on Altruism*, ed. P.M. Oliner *et al.* (New York, 1992), pp. 328–334; *eadem, Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German-Occupied Poland*, 1939–1945 (New York, 1997).

¹⁰ A. Mirek, "Udział sióstr zakonnych w ratowaniu ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w latach 1939–1945 na przykładzie wybranych zgromadzeń," in *Polacy ratujący Żydów. Historie niezwykłe*, ed. J. Żaryn, T. Sudoł (Warsaw, 2014), pp. 135–160.

¹¹ D. Wojciechowski, Duchowni kieleccy i wierni wobec eksterminacji Żydów (Kielce, 2006).

¹² It is also worth mentioning the conference proceedings used in the above publication, which is the aftermath of an academic conference held in 2018 at the Ignatianum Academy in Cracow (its coorganiser was the IPN Branch in Cracow): *Kościół, Żydzi, jezuici. Wokół pomocy Żydom w czasie II wojny światowej*, ed. M. Wenklar (Cracow, 2021).

¹³ Map 1 shows the archdioceses and dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church of the Latin rite in Poland as of 1930, while Map 2 shows the administrative division of the Polish lands occupied by the Third Reich, but with an erroneous caption (boundaries of the archdioceses and dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church of the Latin rite in Poland in 1939).

¹⁴ P. Friedman, *Their Brother's Keeper* (New York, 1957).

¹⁵ Ten jest z ojczyzny mojej. Polacy z pomocą Żydom 1939–1945, ed. W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, (Cracow, 1966), second edition 1969, third edition 2007; English edition: Righteous Among the Nations: How Poles Helped the Jewish, 1939–1945 (London, 1969); abbreviated American edition: The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust, ed. W. Bartoszewski, Z. Lewinówna, (New York, 1970).

nuel Ringelblum,¹⁶ Mordechai Paldiel¹⁷ and David Silberklang.¹⁸ This group also contains scholars critical of Polish involvement in helping the Jews such as Jan Tomasz Gross, who argued that the definition of collaboration should also include collaboration by omission and include people, and institutions that remained passive towards the occupier's policies. Ryszard Tyndorf states that "armed" with this definition, Gross accuses the Polish clergy as a whole of engaging in such "collaboration" (2023, p. 27).¹⁹

The second chapter outlines the situation of the Polish clergy during World War II against the background of the decidedly more lenient treatment of representatives of the Church in other countries occupied by the Germans. The author gives examples of the persecution to which priests, monks and nuns, and lay faithful involved in the life of the Church were subjected in particular dioceses. He also cites reports on the persecution of the Church in the former territories of the Second Polish Republic (Fr. Zygmunt Kaczyński, Zenon Fijałkowski, Jonathan Huener, Roman Dzwonkowski, Andrew Turchyna - regarding Catholic clergy of Ukrainian origin - and others). It also analyses the size and structure of the pre-war Polish clergy.²⁰ In doing so, Tyndorf outlines the conditions imposed by the Germans in the occupied Poland, with particular emphasis on the brutal repression to which the Poles were subjected. This seems particularly important for readers unfamiliar with the actual terms of the German occupation of Polish lands. The chapter also mentions the death of Jan Semik. According to Władysław Bartoszewski, quoted by Tyndorf, this would be the first known case of execution for helping Jews. Bartoszewski wrote that on 6 September 1939, in Limanowa,

¹⁶ E. Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish relations during the Second World War* (Jerusalem, 1974); E. Ringelblum, *Kronika getta warszawskiego. Wrzesień 1939 – styczeń 1943*, introduction written and edited by A. Eisenbach (Warsaw, 1983).

¹⁷ M. Paldiel, Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers (Minneapolis, 1996).

¹⁸ D. Silberklang, "Refleksje na temat losu Żydów w okupowanej Polsce 1939–1945," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość* 1 (2008), pp. 113–126.

¹⁹ See also J.T. Gross, "O kolaboracji," Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały 2 (2006), pp. 407–416.

²⁰ On the eve of the war, there were about 18,600 priests, monks and nunsand about twenty thousand nuns working in Poland (p. 54). In contrast, in 1939 there were 9,700 priests, 12,700 monks and 49,600 nuns in a much smaller Belgium; see B. Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford – New York, 2010), p. 169). In 1929, France had almost fifty thousand priests, about seven thousand monks, and one hundred and seventeen thousand nuns; Italy in 1936 had about one hundred and twenty-nine thousand nuns.

the postman Jan Semik was shot together with the nine arrested Jews he stood up for.²¹ According to the investigation materials of the District Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Cracow and the research of the Office for Commemorating Polish Struggle and Martyrdom of the IPN Branch in Cracow, the story was most likely different. On 12 September 1939, the Germans arrested and then shot twelve Jewish inhabitants of Limanowa, craftsmen and merchants, as well as a Pole, Jan Semik, who ran a chimney sweeping shop. According to the testimony of Zofia Semik, the wife of the murdered man, given ten years later, one of the executioners informed her that the arrested Jews were accused of providing funds for the purchase of armaments for the Polish Army and that her husband was accused of building anti-tank entanglements.²²

Chapter two also attempts to outline an answer to the question about rabbis' reactions to the persecution of the Polish clergy at the beginning of the war (either those shared by the public or recorded in the pages of memoirs).

The third chapter illustrates the attitude of the Polish Catholic clergy to the deteriorating situation of the Jews from September 1939 to June 1941, i.e., until the attack of the German Reich on the Soviet Union. Among the well-documented cases described are those of Fr. Wincenty Mieczysław Zawadzki and Sr. Rufina (Tekla) Świrska, along with many other members of the Polish clergy who either stood up for Jews or provided them with direct aid. This aid included feeding, sheltering, and organizing support for Jews, including refugees in Soviet-occupied territories. The activities of Fr. Maximilian Maria Kolbe, at the time the guardian of the Franciscan monastery at Niepokalanów, where many Jews found shelter and help, are described in greater detail. This is important as Fr. Kolbe is often pointed as the flagship example of an anti-Semitic Catholic (pp. 88–94).²³ The chapter also includes testimonies of efforts made by Polish bishops, including Archbishop Adam Sapieha. Examples of attempts made to persuade the Vatican to respond more firmly are outlined. Instances of less obvious assistance are also

²¹ Righteous Among the Nations, pp. 72–73.

²² See https://krakow.ipn.gov.pl/pl4/aktualnosci/94275,Glaz-pamieci-Zydow-i-Polaka-zamordow-anych-przez-Niemcow-we-wrzesniu-1939-r-pod-L.html, accessed 9 April 2024.

²³ Cf. P. Treece, A Man For Others: Maximilian Kolbe Saint of Auschwitz, in the Words of Those Who Knew Him (San Francisco, 1982), pp. 91–93.

highlighted, such as refusing to participate in various anti-Jewish projects, issuing forged documents or false certificates, signing petitions, and expressing solidarity with those wronged or murdered. This chapter highlights the repression of Jews in the context of the persecution experienced by Poles at that time. It also juxtaposes the possibilities of aid in various countries of occupied Europe. It concludes that the assistance given to Jews by Poles was, eventually, as ineffective as the attempt to change their own tragic fate.

The situation of Jews, above all in the Polish Eastern Borderlands, altered significantly after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. Chapter four focuses on the changes that occurred after 22 June 1941 and the reactions of the Polish clergy, especially from areas previously occupied by the Soviets. Here, too, persecution and the possibilities of assistance are shown against the background of the then situation of the ethnically diverse inhabitants of the eastern lands of Poland.

The fifth chapter concerns the persecution of the Jews in the years 1942–1945 which were the most tragic in this regard, and to the various forms of assistance provided by the Polish clergy during this period. We shall find here information concerning the involvement of priests, monks and nuns in the activities of the Council for Aid to Jews "Żegota" and above all, Mother Matylda Getter, the superior of the Warsaw province of the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary and Sister Wanda Garczyńska, the superior of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The documents cited indicate that even in this tragic period, the help given to the Jews by the Catholic clergy was not always well received by some members of the Jewish community, as shown, among others, by the notes of Emanuel Ringelblum (pp. 143–144).²⁴ The author also undertakes a discussion of allegations that one of the primary purposes of the nuns' aid to Jewish children was conversion to

²⁴ Ringelblum mentions, among other things, a discussion among a group of Jewish intellectuals about the action of sending Jewish children to monasteries and convents. One of its participants argued that although it was considered that only children between the ages of ten and fourteen would be placed in monasteries and convents – as being old enough to resist indoctrination – they would nevertheless succumb to the influence of the priests and sooner or later become Christians. He did not believe the priests' promises not to convert the children; he believed that in time, as a result of their education, they would abandon Judaism. He maintained that Jews should follow the example of their fathers and accept martyrdom in the name of God; see E. Ringelblum, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto: The Journal of Emmanuel Ringelblum* (New York, 1958), pp. 336–337.

Christianity. Although such a thesis is not reflected in documents or testimonies, some publications make the gravest accusations. Jan Tomasz Gross for example, refers to the baptizing of children in hiding as "ritual murder" (p. 146).²⁵

Tyndorf cites numerous testimonies of the lack of gratitude and even the harshest accusations directed at those who rescued Jews, particularly the clergy. Jan Dobraczyński and Jadwiga Piotrowska described the reaction of the "Jewish Committee" to the handing over of a list of rescued Jewish children to its representatives:

We were also told we were worse than the Germans. The Germans only took the body; we took the soul, condemning the children to damnation. Our arguments that we were fighting for their lives were put off right away: 'It would have been better if these children had died...'. We left completely broken. [...] Over forty years have passed, and I am still grappling with this in my conscience. Would it really have been better if we had sent those children to their deaths? (pp. 146–147).²⁷

For the reasons named by Tyndorf, baptizing Jewish children in Christian orphanages significantly increased their chances of survival.²⁸ However, there were times when Jews chose death over help from Catholic clergy (e.g., pp. 341–342).

Like the previous ones, this chapter is a rich collection of moving testimonies of the survivors mainly but also of witnesses to those events and of rescuers themselves, added with the collected research results by other researchers. When quoting subsequent stories, the author underlines that they are only examples; stories confirmed by archives and memories he managed to reach. Nevertheless,

²⁵ J.T. Gross, Fear. Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation (New York, 2006), footnote on p. 162.

²⁶ The said "Jewish Committee's" name was in fact "Koordynacja" (The Zionist Coordination Committee for the Redemption of Jewish Children), operating between 1946 and 1949. Its aim was to find Jewish children who had survived the Holocaust hidden i.a. in monasteries and convents or with Catholic families, and to place them in a Jewish environment. The children were moved to four homes: two in Łódź and two in Silesia. More in E. Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine*, pp. 111–121.

²⁷ As cited in: *ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁸ More in T. Domański, "Konwersje Żydów na katolicyzm w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie na przykładzie diecezji kieleckiej," *Polish-Jewish Studies* 2 (2021), pp. 202–219.

they inspire respect for this "work of painstaking scholarship" – as George Weigel called Ryszard Tyndorf's publication – which "is a major contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the twentieth century, to modern Polish history, and to Holocaust studies. It is also inspiring reading, as the book bears witness to immense human courage, spiritually inspired, under the most draconian of circumstances."

The first volume ends on p. 566 with a sequence of narratives about the most tragic events of 1942–1945. In the second volume, the fifth chapter continues until p. 968, with subsections devoted to the following: (1) the help given to Jews in German concentration or labour camps by their fellow prisoners – clergymen, (2) the help given to Jews during death marches, (3) the help given to Jews by Karol Wojtyła – then a seminarian, later Pope John Paul II, (4) conversion of Jews to Catholicism,²⁹ (5) people who did not remember or did not learn the names of the clergy who helped them, (6) Poles who helped Jews outside Poland, (7) the post-war return of Jewish sacred objects entrusted to the Catholic clergy (Torah scrolls, prayer shawls, phylacteries, etc.) and last, (8) a subsection, somewhat divergent from the main topic, (unfortunately only half a page) devoted to financial donations as a form of gratitude to the Catholic clergy after the war.

The second volume concludes with nine appendices (starting from p. 971). The first (A) contains a bibliography of selected titles on the subject in English, Polish, and Italian – only 50 items in total. Appendix B lists parishes and other church institutions where assistance was provided to Jews (excluding institutions run by religious orders). The next appendix contains a list of religious and monastic orders mentioned in the publication, both of women (C) and men (D), which provided assistance to Jews during the war (the author underlines the incompleteness of these lists). Appendix E is an alphabetical list of Polish Roman Catholic clergy recognized as "The Righteous Among the Nations" (only 150 persons) – a number that is constantly growing. To date, Yad Vashem has recognized 41 priests³⁰ and 72 nuns³¹ as The Righteous, as well as five Poles who were ordained as priests after the war

²⁹ For example, the story of the conversion of Shmuel Oswald Rufeisen, later Fr. Daniel, a Carmelite in Haifa, whose story this author regards as a personally close one that is included in the fifth chapter starting from p. 815 onwards and Rachel Drążek aka Maria Janina Malczewska, later Sr. Paula of the Benedictine monastery on the Mount of Olives, mentioned in only a few sentences.

³⁰ Until the book was published, the number was 39.

³¹ Until the book was published, the number was 67.

ended. To this should be added four Protestant clergymen, five Orthodox, and ten Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergymen engaged in the rescue operation in Poland. Yad Vashem awarded the first title to a Polish clergyman in 1966, to Fr. Witold Szymczukiewicz from Rukojnia near Vilnius. Interestingly, the vast majority of the nuns, monks, and priests honoured were recognized as The Righteous only after 1982. By then, the list numbered only six persons!

Appendix F is a brief reminiscence of the clergy (men and women) who lost their lives for helping Jews. Appendix G lists examples of repression experienced in occupied Poland for helping Jews; for the sake of comparison, these are contrasted with penalties imposed on helpers in other countries of occupied Europe. The rather extensive Appendix H concerns an attempt to reconstruct the scale and forms of rescue efforts of Christian Poles in occupied Poland (with comparisons to other European countries). The study is concluded by Appendix I, entitled "(Non) Recognition and (In)Gratitude." This appendix attempts to outline the framework of how rescued Jews or Israelis refer to rescuers or their memory. Alongside beautiful behavior and expressions of gratitude, there are also starkly contrasting attitudes mentioned here – opinions that are blatantly harmful and perpetuate the worst stereotypes. Among those who defame the memory of those who rescued Jews are, unfortunately, also Poles.

The book cites documents and testimonies confirming the help given to Jews by 66 women religious orders in about 450 institutions (mainly nunneries), 25 men religious orders in about 85 institutions, and by more than 700 diocesan priests in at least 580 localities in occupied Poland. The author points out that this is only a fraction of the actual assistance and a tiny fraction. It is not just about the unknown or forgotten stories that vanished with their participants but about the sheer number of people it took to save a single Jew (and, after all, the rescue efforts were not always successful). Of course, it was also not uncommon for Jews to be rescued in the strictest secrecy by one or two people. At the same time, it should be emphasized that the repression to which the whole of Polish society, including monks, nuns and the clergy, was subjected, was significantly harsher than the persecution in other countries of German-occupied Europe.

The second limitation of this study, to which, incidentally, the author draws particular attention (Appendix H), is that the Church is not only ordained per-

sons but also the lay faithful inspired by the Church's teaching, and not only those directly involved in any of its, even if only parochial, structures. The Christian inspiration of lay people helping Jews during the Occupation is a topic that requires a separate study.

Although the data collected and presented is far from complete, it can be concluded that the percentage of nuns, priests, and consecrated persons saving Jews alone is significantly higher than the involvement of the entire population (the total number of ethnic Poles honoured by Yad Vashem according to the January 2022 data is 7,232 people, to which one should add approximately 1,500 Righteous of other nations helping Jews on Polish territory). However, as the author himself points out, "Lengthy appendices further demonstrate that clergy rescue was neither unusual nor out of character, but rather an intrinsic element in the Polish nation's response to the Holocaust" (p. 18).³²

Richard Tyndorf's study is, first and foremost, a collection of testimonies. Many of them have been processed – documented, verified, and more or less extensively and exhaustively discussed. Many others have only been cited – in cases where there are no other sources or documents to verify them or the author has not yet managed to access them. Tyndorf emphasizes that this is only the beginning of this work; many sources have not yet been compiled, and many minor archives have not even been reviewed for this purpose. It is impossible to determine how much history exists solely in collective memory without physical evidence. The example of Jan Semik highlights the need to correct errors in the literature in the field. Ryszard Tyndorf's work serves as a collection of materials for further discussion and an outline of the entire issue. It is undoubtedly a significant contribution to reconstructing a more accurate picture of the history of the Holocaust in Poland.

Anyone interested can download both volumes free from the website: https://bit.ly/3TzWRaH.

³² "Lengthy appendices further demonstrate that clergy rescue was neither unusual nor out of character, but rather an intrinsic element in the Polish nation's response to the Holocaust." Cf. https://episkopat.pl/duchowni-sprawiedliwi-wsrod-narodow-swiata/, accessed 9 April 2024.