The Jewish Community of Gąbin, 1918-1945

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Introduction

1. Purpose and scope of the study

The Second Polish Republic was a multinational state, where Poles, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans and other national minorities often lived as neighbors. The Jewish population constituted about 10% of the total Polish population during the interwar period (1918-1939), and in some regions much more. That was the case of Gąbin, a small town in Mazovia, where the Jewish share of the population fluctuated around 40%. The purpose of my work is to recount the history of this community and its tragic fate during the Second World War, when the destruction of the Jews became one of the main goals of the German Nazis.

Territorially, the work covers the town of Gąbin. Chronologically, the main focus is on the interwar period and the Second World War, although I also outline the history of the town and its Jewish settlement since the Middle Ages. I take 1918 as starting point for the main part of the study because, with the restoration of independence, the citizens of the Second Polish Republic had access to new opportunities to participate in many aspects of national life. I close the work in 1945, with the end of the Holocaust and the survival of only a small part of the Jews of Gąbin. In a few final sentences, I try to show how the memory of a Jewish community that was lost in the darkness of the Second World War is sustained and honored today.

2. Characteristics of the literature

The literature on the history of the Jews of Gąbin is scarce. Some basic references to the Jews were included in Janusz Szczepański's 1984 monograph *Dzieje Gąbina do roku 1945 [History of Gąbin until 1945]*, but they tend to be vague and overlook many aspects of the life of the community. Szczepański offers a comprehensive, general history of the town that does not pay much attention to the minority groups and their internal organization. However, he provides details on some aspects of the town's life in which the Jews had significant involvement, such as the economic activities and particularly trade. Szczepański mentions only the main political parties, writes only about some cultural institutions, and gives very little information about the religious life of the town and activities that typically left less traces in official documents. His brief descriptions of the history of the Jews during the war are limited to the destruction of the Gąbin synagogue and the establishment and eventual liquidation of the ghetto.

The period of the Second World War is covered in much more detail by Hanna Krzewińska in the two-part work *Zagłada Żydów Gąbińskich [Destruction of the Jews of Gąbin],* published in 2000

in the history journal *Notatki Płockie [Płock's Notes].* Krzewińska uses materials from private collections and the archives of the Gąbin Landlovers Association, including documents published in print and online by the Gombin Jewish Historical and Genealogical Society. She describes the living conditions in the ghetto and mentions the Judenrat and the Relief Committee. It is also worth noting that Krzewińska paid attention to the fate of Holocaust survivors and to the activities of organizations of emigrees, survivors, and descendants which have preserved the memory of the Jewish community of Gąbin.

A different type of historical material on the subject is the entry for Gąbin in Yad Vashem's *Pinkas Hakehilot: Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities. Poland, Vol. IV, Warsaw and its Region*", which was published by the Gombin Jewish Historical and Genealogical Society as part of the series *Remember Gombin 1942*. The entry recounts in a concise manner the history of the Jewish residents of the town. Since it is mainly based on memories of survivors, its information should be approached with caution. For Polish readers, an additional difficulty is the fact that the encyclopedia is only available in Hebrew and English versions. Still, it is the only comprehensive source on the history of the Jews of Gąbin, containing information not yet published in Polish studies, such as the size of the community's budget and the political and cultural groups that existed among the Jews. These references complement the image of the community and set directions for further exploration.

Valuable information can also be gleaned from the lists of those who perished during the war, including the names of Jews from Gąbin in the Yad Vashem Institute's "Hall of Memory" in Jerusalem. Yad Vashem intends to publish the full list in the summer of 2004. Fragments are available on Ada Holtzman's website "We remember" (http://www. zchor.org), which also contains a list of Auschwitz inmates from 1942 to 1945 from the Holocaust Museum in Washington and Rabbi Joshua Moshe Aaronson's lists of prisoners in the Czarnków labor camp.

To frame the history of Gąbin, I used the already mentioned monograph by Szczepanski (which, for this purpose, proved to be quite useful) and the collective work edited by Marian Chudzyński *Dzieje Gostynina i Ziemi Gostynińskiej [History of Gostynin and the Gostynin Lands]*. The graduation work of Joanny Jasińska, *II wojna światowa i okupacja niemiecka w Gąbinie i okolicy [Second World War and German occupation of Gąbin and the surrounding area]*, which significantly extends the information given in the Szczepanski 's monograph, was very helpful for the war period.

In contrast to the scarcity of detailed studies, the general literature on the Jews of Poland is very extensive. For my study, I used well-known and respected works such as Jerzy Tomaszewski's *"Niepodległa Rzeczpospolita", w: Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce w zarysie do 1950) ["Independent Republic", in: Recent History of Jews in Poland in Outline to 1950],* Arthur Eisenbach's *Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów [Hitler's policy of extermination of Jews] and Z*

dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVII i XIX. Studia i szkice [History of the Jewish population in Poland in the 17th-19th centuries. Studies and Sketches], and Marian Fuks' *Żydzi polscy, Dzieje i kultura [Polish Jews, History and Culture]*. Valuable data is also offered by Danuta Dąbrowska in *Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w Kraju Warty w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej [Destruction of Jewish Communties in the Warta Lands during the Nazi Occupation]* and Teresa Prekerowa in *Zarys historiiów Żydów w Polsce in 1939-1945 [Outline of the history of the Polish Jews, 1939-1945]*. Detailed information until the early 1930s is included in the collective work *Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej [The Jews in Restored Poland]*, edited by Ignacy Schiper, A. Tartakower and Aleksander Hafftka. For the labor camps, I was able to rely on the encyclopedic reference book *Obozy hitlerowskie na ziemiach polskich 1939-1945 [Nazi Camps in Poland, 1939-1945]*. Detailed information about the Chelmno death camp, where almost the entire Jewish community of Gąbin was murdered, was gleaned from Władysław Bednarz' *Obóz straceń w Chełmnie nad Nerem [Death Camp in Chełmno on Ner]* and Edward Serwański's *Obóz zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem [Extermination camp in Chełmno on Ner]*.

For general information about the Second World War, I relied on Czesław Łuczak's *Kraj Warty 1939-1945: Studium historyczno -gospodarcze okupacji hitlerowskie [Wartheland 1939-1945: Historical-economic study of the Nazi occupation]*, Czesław Madajczyk's *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce [Policy of the Third Reich in occupied Poland]*, and Father Marian Grzybowski's *Martyrologium duchowieństwa diecezji płockiej w latach II wojny światowej, 1939-1945 [Martyrdom of the Clergy of the Diocese of Płock during the Second World War, 1939-1945].*

3. Discussion of sources

For the history of the Jews of Gąbin in the years 1918-1945, I used archival documents from the Płock State Archives and the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. In the Płock archives, only the files for particular years have been preserved, which makes it difficult to fully portray the situation of the Gąbin Jews. For the interwar period, several statistical sources proved especially useful, providing information on the number of residents of Gąbin and their economic activities. The reports from Gąbin municipality to Gostynin's county office cast light on the composition of the Gąbin municipal council and various types of agencies and institutions. Also valuable are the minutes of the Gąbin municipal council meetings of the first period after Polish independence, which allowed me to reconstruct the activities of the newly established municipal authorities, which included Jewish councilors. The Płock archives contain more information about the Gąbin municipality in various files, especially in the form of lists, statistics, and reports on education. A file about the Jewish *Kehila* of Gąbin has been preserved, lists the members of the first board and offers glimpses of internal disputes on the distribution

of the members' contribution and the appointment of rabbis. Here, it is important to note that, in this work, the term *Kehila* (which literally means "community" or "congregation" in Hebrew) is used in the sense widely accepted by the Polish Jews as referring to the Jewish community as an organized entity or institution.

For the interwar period, data from the first general census of 30 September 1921 in *Skorowidz miejscowości II Rzeczypospolitej [Index of the localities of the Second Polish Republic]* and in *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. [Second General Census of 9 December 1931]* proved extremely useful. I was able to determine the political preferences of the Gąbin Jews examining the results of the parliamentary elections of 1919, 1928 and 1930. To clarify the legal status of the Jewish communities in Poland, I consulted the legislative acts and regulations published in the *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic].*

For data about Jewish businesses in Gąbin during the 1920s, I used *Gombiner Jewish Sumames in a Polish Business Directory of the 1920s,* published by the Gombin Jewish Historical and Genealogical Society as part of the series *Remember Gombin 1942*. The information, however, is not exhaustive, since there were craftspeople who worked in their homes without formal registration.

My description of the atmosphere in the town during the last days of peace is based, to some extent, on two August 1939 articles in *Głos Mazowiecki: katolickie pismo codzienne [Voice of Mazovia: a Catholic daily magazine]*, which include reports from the district court about the trials against two ethnic Germans from Gąbin.

For the Second World War period, only the archives of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw are available. They include the correspondence between the Jewish Relief Committee in Gabin and the Warsaw office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, popularly known as JOINT. Among the fifty-two cards stored in the archive, there are reports on the Gąbin Relief Committee's activities, a document on its establishment and members, lists of the needy, a travel pass, and the JOINT's announcement on the discontinuation of assistance. The language barrier proved to be an obstacle because, apart from those in Polish and German, some of the documents are in Yiddish. However, the materials allowed me to determine the number of people and the conditions that prevailed in the ghetto, as well as the committee's methods of operation.

The Jewish Historical Institute archive also includes letters of two Gąbin girls, Rozia and Lusia, to their father Abram Gips, who was in the Warsaw ghetto. They contain information about the extermination of Jews from nearby Żychlin and the upcoming liquidation of the Gąbin ghetto.

This correspondence was published in the first volume of the Ringelblum Archive under the title *Listy o zagładzie [Letters about extermination]*, compiled by Ruta Sakowska.

The only published sources that I could obtain for the period of the Second World War are the memories of people who lived through the events. To a large extent, I relied on the articles of Jan Borysiak published in *Notatki Płockie [Płock's Notes]*, *Głos Nauczycielski [Teachers' Voice]*, and on the website *Echo Gąbina [Gąbin's Echo]*.

The last source on which I based my research are the memories of the Jews from Gąbin in the Yizkor Book (book of remembrance) entitled *Gombin: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Town in Poland*. I had access to a few of the book's testimonies through the collection of the Gąbin Landlovers Association and the website of Ada Holtzman "We remember!" These testimonies are available in English and significantly enriched the information obtained from the archives (also for the interwar period). The memories written in Polish by Shlomo Frenkl, who survived the war in the Soviet Union, are included in an appendix of the already mentioned graduation work of Joanny Jasińska.

4. Organization of the work

The work consists of three chapters. The first contains an outline of the town's history from its origins in the Middle Ages to the end of the Second World War, bypassing the history of the Jews, which is the central subject of the rest of the work. I tried to outline the town's main lines of development as background for the subsequent focus on the Jewish community.

The second chapter covers the situation of the Jews of Gąbin during the interwar period. I begin with an introductory outline of the history of the community until 1918. In the following section I describe the legal status of the community and offer general data on its demographic evolution and internal organization, the composition of the board of the *Kehila*, and the main rabbis. The third section portrays the participation of the Gąbin Jews in political life, their political organizations and the main personalities involved in the affairs of the town. The next section contains information about the economic activities of the Jews, with particular emphasis on trade and on the guilds and financial institutions that gave assistance to merchants and craftsmen. In the section on culture and Jewish education, I outline the public and private institutions, paying special attention to the activities of youth organizations that had their own lounges, libraries and other forms of recreation. The limitations are dictated by the fact that, in the few available sources, only some of all the existing organizations are mentioned.

The third chapter focuses on the tragic fate of the Jewish community of Gabin during the Holocaust. In the first section, I discuss the situation of the community after the German

occupation of the town and examine life in the ghetto until its liquidation in 1942. The second section describes the murder of virtually all the Jews of Gąbin at Chełmno extermination camp and the ordeal of some of the Gąbin Jews who were deported to forced labor camps. In the last section, I present examples of the stories of survivors and review the efforts of descendants around the world to preserve and dignify the memory of the murdered Jews of Gąbin.

The text is supplemented with photographs taken from Janusz Szczepański's monograph and some of the websites mentioned above. I have included tables showing part of the statistical data used for the study, always specifying the sources.

Chapter 1

History of Gąbin until the end of the Second World War

1. The town before the First World War

Gąbin is a small town in the Gostynin Lake District, on the western part of the Mazovian Plain. Today, it is administratively located within the limits of the county of Płock, in the Province of Mazovia. The closest cities and towns are Osmolin (16 km), Płock (20 km), Gostynin (24 km) and Żychlin (26 km). The Central and Baltic glaciations, which affected the surrounding lands, left traces in the form of hills, erratic boulders, moraine hills and gutter lakes in a chain that stretches from the north-west towards Gąbin. Alluvial and fertile black soils occur near the town. Picturesque forests, which are remnants of ancient woodlands, are a characteristic feature of this part of the Gostynin Lake District. The landscape is complemented by the Nida, a small tributary of the Vistula River that flows through Gąbin.[1]

During the reign of the first Piasts, the administrative and political center of the area was a defensive stronghold in Gostynin, probably established between the 6th and 9th centuries. In the 11th century, a castle was erected on the site.[2] Gąbin was the region's second oldest housing estate. It was founded as a market settlement on the important trade route Lviv-Lowicz-Gostynin-Toruń.[3] During the Middle Ages, it was at the point of bifurcation of the Płock-Łęczyca and Płock-Inowrocław-Kraków routes, which according to Kazimierz Pacuski, allows the dating of the foundations of the market square and the church to the end of the 11th century.[4]

In the source materials, there are references to Gąbin as one of the first settlements of western Mazovia. Already in 1215, it appears as an ancient royal estate granted by Konrad I to the provost of the Jeżów Benedictine Monastery in Lublin. However, it is difficult to determine the date of the town's foundation. It was probably among the towns founded by the Chełmno Law of 1322, or perhaps earlier since it already existed as an *oppidum* (Latin word applied in Roman times to smaller urban settlements than cities).). In 1437 Siemowit V confirmed the town rights of Gąbin through a privilege signed in Sanniki. This document considerably extended the privileges of the residents, who obtained the right to trade beer, fat, cloth, wax and grain, exemption from duties, and exclusive propination of beer. In addition, they could use the surrounding forests, meadows and pastures free of charge. Craftsmen obtained the typical permissions given to the towns under the Chełmno Law, and local authorities had the right to detain and punish "rebels". All burghers were exempt from the Saint Martin Day's tax and other taxes on land, inns and bakeries. In addition to certain privileges for the head of the commune, the document imposed the annual obligation to deliver to Gostynin and Sanniki 60 measures of

oats and payment to the prince of five groszes (cents) for each barrel of beer produced. Moreover, the prince and his court had sojourn rights, and the city councilors could collect fines for the benefit of the Gostynin castle (74 groszes). The rest of the incomes from taxes and rents were used for the maintenance of the town.[5]

After the sudden death of the Mazovian dukes, Siemowit IV and Władysław II, Gąbin and the entire Gostynin district were incorporated into the Crown by Kazimierz Jagiellończyk on December 14, 1462. In administrative terms, the district became part of the Rawa province and was divided into two counties: Gąbin and Gostynin. The nobility gained the right to elect two deputies to the king's parliament in regional assemblies that usually took place in Gąbin. For this reason, it was considered a royal town.

Power in the town was wielded by a hereditary commune administrator assisted by the head of the court and seven lay judges. In the 16th century, following a nationwide trend, this office was taken over by the nobility because it afforded large profits.[6] Subsequent changes took place in the 18th century. There was a division of powers between the commune head, the town council and the mayor, which set the stage for numerous competence disputes.[7]

In the last years of the First Republic of Poland, the political activity of townsmen striving to improve their legal situation intensified, particularly during the sessions of the Great Parliament (1788-1792). Two members of Gąbin's town council participated in the so-called "black procession" of December 2 1789, adding their signatures to the memorial handed to the king. At the same time, a Civil-military Committee of Gostynin County and Gąbin Land was established as the local administrative authority. Interest in politics during the Great Parliament's deliberations was also demonstrated by the nobles, who elected two delegates at a regional council in Gąbin and sent them to Warsaw.

On April 21, 1791, parliament passed a law on cities and towns. The act guaranteed the burghers personal inviolability, the possibility of acquiring landed property, and access to service as officials in the army and administration. In place of the administrators previously appointed by the king, a central body was established, the Police Commission, to which all the magistrates were subordinated. The changes in Gąbin were implemented slowly, in an atmosphere of conflict between the Civil-military Committee and the Police Commission. The dispute went all the way to the king, but it was never settled due to the outbreak of the Russian-Polish war in 1792.

The Russian army occupied the Mazovia region. Gąbin, as a result of the Second Partition of Poland in January 1793, eventually came under Prussian rule. In May of the same year, the representatives of the new province, South Prussia, presented a solemn tribute to the royal plenipotentiaries in Poznań. Gąbin was represented by the mayor and three councilors.

According to the new administrative division, the town was in the Piotrków department and in the Gostynin county and tax registry.

More changes followed the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. Gąbin was ascribed to the Warsaw department, the Płock regency, the Gostynin county and the tax district of Łęczyca. The push to limit municipal self-governance was resumed after the end of the Kościuszko Uprising. The office of mayor of the police was established, with almost unlimited powers and authority to govern. Due to the high cost of maintaining two officials at the same time, Gąbin, Gostynin, Kutno and Osmolin had a joint court and mayor of justice. As the largest town in the Gostynin area, Gąbin was the seat of most district authorities, including the tax collector for the Gostynin district. The headquarters of Prussia's 5th Silesian Invalids Company were also located in Gąbin.[8]

During the existence of the Duchy of Warsaw, Gąbin was in the Warsaw department, Gostynin county. A local command of the national guard was established in the town. A very important event was Gąbin's assumption of the function of county capital in December 1808. With the creation of the Kingdom of Poland in 1815, the town became part of the province of Mazovia and continued to be the capital of Gostynin county, housing the peace court and the council of nobles. In 1845, after further administrative reforms, Gąbin remained within the borders of the Warsaw Gubernia and Gostynin county, whose capital was Kutno. As a consequence of the defeat of the January Uprising of 1863, the headquarters of Gostynin county's War Chief were established in Gąbin. This was a part of Tsarist repression, which was not eased even after a "servile letter" to Tsar.[9]

At the beginning of the 20th century, there was an upsurge of political activism in the town, which was especially visible during the revolution of 1905. A year earlier, at the time of the military draft, some Jewish residents managed to escape to the Americas with the help of Jews from Płock. The recently founded local branch of the Polish Socialist Party opposed compulsory enrollment for military service. The Polish right-wing National Democracy Party and the clergy also supported the strikes. From 1906, the underground activity of the Combat Organization of the Polish Socialist Party intensified with attacks on guards, distribution of pamphlets, press and party appeals, recruitment and fundraising. Much less organized was the local circle of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, whose activity was limited to distributing leaflets. Jewish residents mobilized, first with the Polish Socialist Party and later with the Jewish party Bund. The revolutionary slogans were also supported by some of the local ethnic Germans, who usually took a neutral stance towards the anti-Russian agitation.[10]

Figure 1. Members of Gąbin's Polish Military Organization, 1918.

Source: J. Szczepański, Dzieje Gąbina until 1945, Warsaw 1984.

Polish independence would arrive with the First World War. Gąbin remained outside the main theater of war and was only affected by a bombardment in June 1915 that destroyed a house and killed three people. In the years 1914-1918, the town was part of the Gostynin-Kutno county, with capital in Kutno. Under the German occupation, the mayor of Gąbin was Albert Schneider, later replaced by von Hagen from Germany. On 25 June 1915, the Germans shot five people in Sanniki, including two from Gąbin, for cooperating with the Russians. Despite the difficult conditions and repression, there was a secret cell of the Polish Military Organization under the command of Lucjan Jankowski, a group of about twenty scouts led by Wacław Milke, and a circle of the Polish Socialist Party. In the last days of the war, mayor von Hagen resigned and left Gąbin. Bronisław Gajewski became mayor of Gąbin. In spite of the general joy, the first day of independence ended with a tragic incident when two men, Aleksander Rojewski and Ferdynand Wierzbicki, provoked the German garrison at the Old Market Square. Both men were killed and the soldiers retreated to Kutno at night.[11]

Information on the demographic evolution of Gąbin can be traced back to the 16th century, when a 1564 survey of Rawa province listed 354 houses in the town.[12] The corresponding population estimate would be between 1770 and 2124 residents.[13] The population may have been higher at an earlier point, since the survey mentions three recent fires and, as a result, in 1545, Zygmunt the Old had issued a privilege reducing benefits, rents and fees.[14] Poles were a majority at that time, although from the beginning of the 16th century there had been Jews in Gąbin and their number had been increasing over the years. This process was intermittently disrupted by wars (like the Swedish invasions of mid-17th-century), epidemics (cholera and, less often, dysentery or smallpox), fires, crop failure crises and, later on, the repressive campaigns against the national uprisings. In the initial period of Prussian rule, there were changes in the composition of Gąbin's population, caused by the forced migration of Jews from the countryside

to the towns and cities, the arrival of German colonists and the activities of the Evangelical church. Ethnic Germans from West Prussia, Pomerania and Wielkopolska came to Gąbin encouraged by numerous privileges and facilities[15]

Table 1. Demographic evolution of Gąbin, 1564-1913.

Year	Total number	Poles	Jews	Ethnic Germans
1564	1770-2124			
1661	90			
1794	901			201
1800	1274	758*	615	
1808	1183	606*	577	
1857	3627	1642	1897	388
1866	4110	1733	2048	329
1913	6652	2654	3835	363

Numbers marked * refer to the Christian population.

Sources: *Lustracje województwa rawskiego 1564 i 1570 [Survey of the Rawa Province, 1564 and 1570]*, edited by Z. Kądzierska, Warsaw 1959; J. Kazimierski, *Cities and towns in Mazovia and Podlasie Nadbuzanski in the years 1918-1939 [Miasta i miasteczka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu Nadbużańskim w latach 1918-1939]*, [in]: *Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym [Mazovia in the interwar period]*, edited by A. Stawarz, Warsaw 1998; J. Szczepański, *Dzieje Gąbina do 1945 r. [History of Gąbin to 1945]*, Warsaw 1984.

In economic terms, Gąbin was a typical Mazovian town of craftspeople and farmers. As stated on page 8, it had been founded as a market settlement, which underscores the importance of trade in the life of the town. In its initial period of existence, Gąbin and the surrounding area suffered periods of economic stagnation as a result of frequent wars and invasions. The privilege issued in 1437 by Siemowit V helped promote economic recovery by regulating the trade of products and granting tax exemptions and exclusivity for liquors propination.[16]

The profile of Gąbin's economic activities would not change much over the centuries. According to the survey of 1564, most of the craftsmen of Gąbin were tailors, bakers, butchers and shoemakers. In the Mazovian region, Gąbin's drapery products were famous at the time. The town was also one of the largest producers of beer and liquors, particularly rye vodka. Most craftsmen were organized in specialized guilds that often came into conflict with amateurs.

The merchants of Gąbin were very active in the grain trade. They purchased from the surrounding nobility and floated the merchandise by the Vistula river to Gdańsk. Products for the local market were sold at fairs held on Thursdays, while those for the regional market were traded at four annual fairs and, since the late 19th century, at six fairs every year. Numerous inns and eating places served the needs of those who came to the fairs from other districts.[17]

Figure 2. Market day in Gąbin's Old Market Square, 1910.

Source: J. Szczepański, The History of Gąbin until 1945, Warsaw 1984.

Part of the town's residents, mostly Poles, engaged in farming and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry. Trade was traditionally concentrated in the hands of the Jewish population. There was more diversity among the craftsmen and the operators of small industrial workshops. For example, in 1837 there were 37 Jewish tailors, 27 shoemakers (including 20 Poles), 15 Jewish bakers, 15 ethnic Germans manufacturing dresses and fashionable clothes, and 14 butchers (six Poles, six Jews, and two ethnic Germans). In 1843 there were 239 craftsmen in Gąbin, organized into ten guilds of coopers, tanners, potters, blacksmiths, tailors, millers, bakers, butchers, carpenters and shoemakers.

In the 1820s, a settlement of ethnic German craftsmen specialized in dressmaking was established in the north-eastern part of the town, on the Nida River. Unfortunately, the political upheavals of 1830 resulted in their emigration and the collapse of the textile center. For the rest, industrial activity in Gąbin was very limited. Among others five tanneries, four mills and an oil factory functioned in the town.[18]

From the beginning of its history in the 12th century, Gąbin was a deanery of the diocese of Poznań. It consisted of two parishes: Gąbin and Iłów. In his book, Szczepański refers to the foundation of the first temple in the 11th century. It was a church dedicated to the Holy Cross (later it became a church hospital). The church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was probably founded before the privilege of 1437. It stood on Church St. near the Old Market Square. In the

early 16th century, king Aleksander subordinated the deanery of Gąbin, with its 17 parishes, to the diocese of Włocławek.

Under the Prussians, the situation of the clergy deteriorated. A 50% income tax was imposed on the Gąbin parish priest. After the defeat of the Kosciuszko Uprising, the parish priest lost the church building, and then the presbytery. His entire land inventory was confiscated and leased to a nobleman.

During the Kingdom of Poland, the deanery of Gąbin had 18 parishes and was included in the diocese of Warsaw. At that time, the ruins of the church hospital were demolished and the temple on Old Market Square was renovated. In 1913, the church was destroyed by fire, but almost immediately parishioners began work on a new building that was dedicated in 1934.

Figure 3. Gąbin's Old Market Square and the Catholic church.

Source: J. Szczepański, The History of Gąbin until 1945, Warsaw 1984.

The non-Catholic residents of Gąbin belonged to the Evangelical-Augsburg parish or to the much larger Jewish community. Protestants came to the town at the end of the 18th century and developed the artisanal manufacturing of cloth. In 1820, there were 47 Protestant families in the town. They had a prayer and study room on Dobrzykowska St. The founding of the textile settlementand the influx of ethnic Germans led to the initiative to build a church. After obtaining permission from the relevant local authorities and the Government Commission of Internal and Spiritual Affairs, a parish was established in 1827, including nine communes with 26 villages and 2,723 residents. It should be noted, however, that the territorial scope of the Evangelical parish was quite large, including settlements in a radius of more than 10 kilometers around Gąbin. In the town itself, only 467 of the 2,355 inhabitants were ethnic Germans. In 1830, the construction of the Evangelical church and the pastor's house were completed. However, before the ordination of the temple, the Russian army confiscated the church for use

as a weapons depot and the pastor's house as a hospital facility. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Evangelical parish of Gąbin was one of the largest in Poland with about 3,000 people.[19]

Education and cultural life developed very slowly in Gąbin. Although a parish school seems to have existed in the Middle Ages, later sources do not mention it.[20] In 1816 the government established a 3-class elementary school attended by 76 students in 1820 and a second elementary school was eventually set up for the Evangelical children. The Jewish children learned in a traditional *cheder*, the religious equivalent of an elementary school teaching the basics of Judaism and the Hebrew language (plural: *chedarim*). In 1838, there were 91 students in the government schools, and in 1850 there were 149 students.[21] Despite the repression that followed the January Uprising, the number of public schools in Gąbin increased to four at the beginning of the 20th century. Two of them were 6-class Catholic schools (separately for boys and girls). The other two were the Evangelical and Jewish schools, which were coeducational. In 1902, these schools had a total of 496 students, including 210 Poles, 258 Jews and 28 ethnic Germans. In 1910, a 4-class secondary school was established in the town. Three years later, it had 79 students, including 45 Catholics, 17 Lutherans, 13 Jews, 2 Russian Orthodox, 1 Mennonite and 1 student of the Mariavite denomination. Russian teachers were in charge of the secondary school, and 30% of the students were young people from surrounding areas outside Gąbin.[22]

Gąbin's cultural life was rather narrow until the establishment of the Volunteer Fire Brigade in 1798. Starting in 1904, the brigade formed an orchestra of around 20 members. In addition to concerts, the Volunteer Fire Brigade organized theater performances and dance parties.[23] Silent film sessions began in 1909, becoming important events in the town.

2. Gąbin during the interwar period

With the independence of Poland, a meeting of 22 citizens of Gąbin under the chairmanship of Jerzy Tarasowicz established a temporary town council on November 12, 1918. The council had 15 members, including five Jews. Jerzy Tarasowicz served as president, Władysław Olempski as vice-president, and Jan Kuczkowski as secretary. Bronisław Gajewski was appointed as mayor and committees were formed to deal with the most urgent problems: food, finances, forestry and institutional reorganization. In the following days other committees worked on several issues: sanitary, military and school supervision. The last one was very quickly eliminated due to an already existing school supervision body.[24]

The temporary council imposed order in the town, focusing mainly on providing food and fuel, and removing and replacing the German officials, including the police commissioner, the

secretary and the cashier (who was accused of embezzling municipal treasury funds). Among its many initiatives, the temporary council settled the matter of butcheries, introduced maximum prices, set controls on public forests, recovered peat bogs from private individuals, and increased wages for municipal employees. It also took steps to compensate for the losses of Gąbin residents and raise funds to support the creation of the Polish Army.[25] Jerzy Tarasowicz, Władysław Olempski and Rabbi Yehuda Laib Złotnik were elected as representatives to the Kutno-Gostynin district assembly. The lawyer Zenon Sobolewski and the teacher Stanisław Jankowski represented Gąbin in the new parliament of the Polish state (the legislative Sejm)[26]

On 30 March 1919, elections were held to a 27-member municipal council. Stefan Kęsicki stood at its head, Ludwik Jackowski, Jan Rutkawski and Manasze Sztolcman became lay members of the court. In the following years, the mayor's office was held by Stanisław Jankowski, Leonard Janczewski and Władysław Machowski.[27] The new authorities took initiatives aimed at reducing poverty and hunger in the community. A municipal store and a ration card system was established to provide basic food items. Wood could be exchanged for potatoes and grain, and distribution licenses were issued for dairy products, on condition that the appropriate amount of eggs and butter was delivered to the municipal store at fixed prices. Selling grain and flour outside Gąbin was forbidden. New jobs were created and two shelters for the homeless were established in the town.[28]

Table 2. Demographic evolution of Gąbin, 1921-1939.

Year	Total	Poles	Jews	Ethnic Germans	Others
1921	5777	3286	2377	111	3
1928	6450	3750	2710	150	20
1931	5690				
1933	5721	3025	2469	226	1
1939	7015		2312		

Sources: *Skorowidz miejscowości II Rzeczypospolitej [Index of the localities of the Second Polish Republic]*, Warsaw 1925; *Drugi Powszechnym Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. [Second General Census of 9 December 1931];* APP, AmG, reference number 692,704; J. Kazimierski, *Cities and towns in Mazovia and Podlasie Nadbuzanski in the years 1918-1939 [Miasta i miasteczka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu Nadbużańskim w latach 1918-1939]*, [in]: *Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym [Mazovia in the interwar period]*, edited by A. Stawarz; *Pinkas Hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities, Poland, Vol. IV. Warsaw and 1st Region*, Jerusalem 1989.

During the Second Polish Republic, Gąbin was within the boundaries of Gostynin county, in the province of Mazovia. Despite the war losses, the town began to develop. The population grew from 5,777 residents in 1921[29] to 6,450 in 1928.[30] As a result of the economic depression, however, the number of residents decreased again to 5,690 in 1931.[31] At the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, there were 7,015 people living in Gąbin.[32]

During the twenty years of independence, Gąbin's occupational structure did not change much. Most people were working in crafts, small industry and commercial activities. Farming and forestry only employed a small minority of the local residents. In 1928, unemployment affected 150 persons who depended on their families. The number of unemployed would significantly increase during the economic depression of 1929-1932.[33]

Table 3. Gąbin's economically active population, 1928.

Occupational groups	Total population	Active economically	Catholics	Evangelicals	Jews	Others
Agriculture and forestry	900	680	625	48	1	6
Crafts and industry	2980	1498	952	13	530	3
Trade	1800	1015	40	5	920	
Communication and transport	80	60	18		42	
Public service	120	60	44	4	12	
Unemployed	450	150	120	10	20	
Unspecified occupation	120	120	47	3	68	2
Total	**6450**	**3583**	**1846**	**83**	**1643**	**11**

Source: APP, AmG, reference number 697.

Traditionally, shoemaking and saddlery were dominated by Polish and ethnic Germans, while the Jews prevailed in tailoring, furriery and the making of the upper parts of shoes. All in all, there were 550 craft workshops in 1928, employing 300 journeymen and 230 apprentices.[34] The economic depression caused a significant drop in the number of craftsmen. The situation began to improve in 1934, thanks to large orders for shoes from the Polish Army. In that same year, a public vocational school was established in Gąbin.[35] In the interwar period, there were seven craftsmen's guilds in the town.

Retail trade in Gabin was largely in the hands of Jews. Among the 1015 merchants listed in 1928, there were 920 Jews, 40 Catholics and five Evangelicals.[36] There were 33 stores selling groceries and colonial goods (products imported from overseas like tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, etc.). Other specialty shops offered clothing and fancy goods. The stores were concentrated around the Old Market Square and on Kutno and Płock streets. Competing with the stores were

many peddlers and vendors, since a large part of the retail trade still took place in open fairs and markets.[37]

Table 4. Craftsmen's guilds in Gąbin, 1933.

Guild name	Headquarters	Guildmaster	Masters	Journeymen	Apprentices
Shoemakers, shoe upper makers and saddlers	44 Kilińskiego St.	Shoemaker Michał Trzebiński	110	15	8
Jewish shoemakers and shoe upper makers	Plac.B. 24 Pieracki St.	Shoe uppers maker Jojne Bibergał	17		3
Carpenters, blacksmiths and wheelers	Plac.B. Pierackego 24	Carpenter Tomasz Stypulski	32	6	9
Polish Bakers and butchers	11 Gen. Składkowski St.	Butcher Roman Fortuna	26	4	10
Jewish bakers and butchers	Plac.B. 24 Pieracki St.	Butcher Beniamin Zalme	19		4
Tinsmiths, locksmiths and watchmakers	Plac.B. 24 Pieracki St.	Tinsmith Majer Łaski	16		5
Tailors, cap makers and furriers	Plac.B. 24 Pieracki St.	Tailor Lurje Chaim	50		7

Source: APP, AmG, reference number 706.

Small industries also developed in the city, largely in association with agriculture. In the Gabin area there were, among others, five water and motor mills, three windmills and three tanneries. The tannery of Ferdinand Schneider was the largest industrial plant, employing a seasonally variable number workers ranging from just a few to over twenty employees. To the east of Gabin there was a municipal brickyard. Towards the north, there was a sawmill, a galvanizing plant and a milling house. There was also a perfumery, an oil cannery and a mechanical workshop for agricultural tools. These small industries also employed a variable number of workers, depending on the agricultural cycle. Off-season, they were usually closed.[38]

Farmers were the smallest occupational group in Gąbin. In 1920 there were 144 farms with 902 hectares of arable land. By 1929 the number of farms had increased to 233 and their cultivated land to 1,135 hectares, but only 87 families made a living exclusively from agriculture. The largest four farmers owned 20 to 27 hectares of land. Because of the excessive fragmentation of the farms, a policy of consolidation was implemented during the years 1929-1938. The main agricultural products were varieties of cereals and root crops. Husbandry, which was less important, focused on horses, pigs and cattle. The food surpluses of Gąbin and its surrounding areas were sold at the Farmers' Cooperative.

Two credit institutions operated in the town: the Loan and Savings Association for Christians and the Loan and Savings Association *Ezra* (Assistance) for the Jewish population. As explained in the following chapter, *Ezra* was replaced by the Jewish Credit Cooperative in 1922, and the

People's Bank. There was also a Cooperative Bank established in 1923. In the 1930s a new loan bank, *Gemilot Chasadim* (Bestowing Kindness), was also established in Gąbin to offer interest-free loans to people who did not qualify for commercial bank loans.[39]

Figure 4. Gąbin's Old Market Square.

Source: http:/jerzyjedrzejkiewicz.webpark.pl/str01

The municipal council had its own income, mainly from the exploitation of the town's forest and the power plant established in 1924. In the initial period, electrification covered the buildings on the New Market Square and the Płock, Kiliński, and Kaminski streets. Electricity was extended to the entire town in 1937, but a year later the power plant was taken over by the "Zemwar" Union of Municipalities of Warsaw Province. Other incomes came from the already mentioned brickyard, a peat bog, a slaughterhouse, and a bathhouse situated on the corner of Browarna and Garbarska streets. Fees were collected from the treasurer of Gostynin County as rental for the facility used by the police and also from the detained people.

The installation of sewage in Gąbin was very slow. Attempts to obtain government approval for a railway line, a sanatorium and a mental institution in or near the town did not succeed. The municipal council focused on promoting the natural environment of ancient forests and picturesque lakes that made the town attractive for resting and vacationing. As a result of these efforts, Gąbin became a member of the Holiday and Tourism Board of Warsaw Province in 1938.[40]

To assist the growing number of poor, unemployed and homeless people, the town authorities established in 1919 a charity commission. Two shelters were created: one for Christian residents, funded by a special tax, and a second for Jewish residents, run by the board of the Jewish *Kehila*.[41] In addition, there was the Municipal Committee for Unemployment that

provided seasonal work and distributed fuel and food to the needy. The municipality granted aid to the poorest through a social welfare committee. In 1928 the municipality established social assistance workers, divided the town into care districts for better efficiency, and offered food to about 30-60 children in the municipal building.[42] Funds from the town's budget were also allocated to benefits for the handicapped and to cover the medical care costs of mentally ill patients.[43]

In Gąbin, as in the rest of Poland, political life flourished on many levels during the Second Republic. Already in 1919, monuments were built on the graves of local heroes of the January 1863 Uprising and two Gąbin soldiers killed during the First World War. The anniversary of Poland's restoration of independence was solemnly celebrated every year. A committee to assist the victims of the Polish-German conflict in Silesia was formed in 1919, and the following year saw the establishment of a local branch of the Upper Silesia Plebiscite Committee, which together with the local Union of Polish Women organized rallies and raised funds to support Polish participation in the plebiscite vote. The residents of Gąbin were also active during the 1920 Polish-Soviet war. They sent representatives to the county's Council for the Defense of the State.The town was also required to pay a special tax and provide clothing and blankets for the army.[44] In the Gąbin municipal council there was a conflict between members of the National Democracy party and the Jewish party Bund on the matter of peace negotiations or continuation of the war.[45]

Independence created conditions for the free development of political parties.[46] In Gąbin, the rightist National Democracy party included craftsmen, merchants and some members of the local intelligentsia. They fought against the formation of the Gąbin Workers' Council, which included members of the Bund. In addition to the National Democracy, the Christian Democracy Party was active in the city, proclaiming "the social solidarity of craftsmen, merchants and workers."

In a small town like Gąbin the popularity of leftist groups was constrained by the fact that industry and the working class had not developed much. The Jewish party Bund had 240 members. The Union of Unskilled Workers of Poland, which had been founded in Warsaw by Eugeniusz Łętkowski in 1919, had a branch in Gąbin with 300 members, including Poles and Jews. But the lack of cooperation between Polish and Jewish activists led to the council's break-up and eventual dissolution. The most committed workers continued their activism in the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party and, less frequently, in the local branch of the Polish Communist Workers' Party, which only had seven members in 1922. In 1934-1935, the Gąbin branch was incorporated to the Płock Regional Commitee of that party.

More activity and vitality was manifested by the local circle of the Polish Socialist Party, which was boosted by the arrival of Roman Kowalewski, an experienced activist from Siberia. Leftist

parties fighting to improve the workers' situation organized strikes, rallies and demonstrations. An example was the 1921 Schneider tannery strike of 40 workers led by Communist activists, which ended with a pay rise. In January 1929, in response to a request of the Socialist Party and the Bund, the municipality gave fuel to the 357 poorest residents of Gabin. These leftist parties were opposed by the local branches of the parties that were first involved in the Non-Partisan Block for Cooperation with the Government and later with the pro-government National Unification Camp, which mostly included state officials. In 1939, some Gąbin communist activists were arrested and sent to the Bereza Kartuska prison.[47]

The farmers were active in the Polish People's Party, which in Gostynin county was organized by Andrzej Czapski. In August 1937, he orchestrated a wave of peasant strikes throughout the county. The peasants gathered at the New Market Square in Gąbin making political demands and singing songs such as "Hi, gentlemen, gentlemen". They listened to Andrzej Czapski's speech and for ten days they did not deliver agricultural and food products to Gąbin. They were very severe with any farmer who tried to break the strike.[48]

The political parties organized educational and cultural activities and sponsored juvenile groups such as the Circle of Polish Youth and the Union of People's Youth.[49] There were also occupational organizations in Gąbin, including the Union of Urban Workers, the Jewish Workers' Union, the Union of Workers of the Clothing Industry, and the Association Jan Kiliński of Christian Craftsmen.[50]

The ethnic German minority in Poland was represented by the German People's Union (Deutscher Volksverband), founded in 1924 (many, but not all ethnic Germans were members). The head of the Gąbin branch was Bruno Gutknecht, who would come to be known as "the pastor who turned out to be a Nazi spy." Gutknecht was a cunning character who could mask himself well and even gain the favor of Polish political activists.[51] Under his leadership, the organization engaged in anti-Polish activities, preparing the ethnic Germans to play the role of a local "fifth column".

In the early years of independence, there were four elementary and secondary schools in the town. The youngest attended a kindergarten on Płock St. with capacity for about 60 children. A downside of this facility was that it did not supply meals to the kids. About 120-150 pupils received meals in the public schools, which included two Polish primary schools in Warsaw and Kościuszki streets, a Jewish school on Garbarska St. and the Evangelical school on Gostynin St. These schools received funding from the municipality. The frequent requests for fuel, repairs and furnishings indicate that the budget was not enough for the needs of the schools and their 16 teachers.[52] A significant improvement was the construction of a large school building on May 3rd St. during the years 1923-1927. The Polish schools were transferred to that building, while

the Jewish children were moved to a facility on Warsaw St. The Polish school had a common room and organized a variety of activities including scouting, a choir and a music band.

Gabin's teenagers continued their education in the 4-class coeducational secondary school of the Polish Educational Society , which had 162 pupils in the year 1918/1919. In 1922, the grammar school was reorganized as a 4-class Coeducational School of the Polish Educational Society , and later as a full 7-class public school.[53]

The Volunteer Fire Brigade was the most important center of cultural life in the town. The poor condition of its headquarters spurred action by various Gąbin associations in support of the construction of a Firefighters House. The works were completed in 1937 and the firefighters received new equipment. The brigade's brass band, which included about twenty musicians, animated all the events in Gąbin. It performed at the town's park and in nearby towns, earning income for the brigade.[54]

Various Polish and Jewish organizations were present in the cultural and educational life of Gabin. Natalia Ćwiklińska was leader of the local branch of the Polish Women's Association, established in 1919. There was a Circle of Stage Lovers under the leadership of the organist Jan Tutinas. There were sport organizations like the Falcon Gymnastics Society and the sports sections of the Volunteer Fire Brigade and the Polish Educational Society. At one point, seven libraries and six social lounges functioned in the town. As explained in more detail in the next chapter, the Jews had their own organizations, including the Jewish Library and Reading Society and the sports associations *Maccabi* and *Tarbut*. Many of the town's residents spent their free time going to sports events and to the "Polonja" cinema, which was located on New Market Square. By the end of the 1930s, the ethnic Germans of Gabin subscribed to the periodical *Evangelical-Lutheran Vistula Courier*. During the interwar period, the Catholics also had their own local religious press in the form of the *Gabin Parish News Weekly*.[55]

3. The years of the Second World War

The Polish population spent the last months of peace in the tense atmosphere caused by the European developments. Hitler's actions on the international scene prompted intense activity among the numerous ethnic Germans of Gostynin county,[56] especially in the Vistula areas from Traszyn to Zyck and Piotrówek, as well as Gąbin, Gostynin and Lwówek. Activists of the already mentioned German People's Union organized provocative gatherings during which "songs were sung, flags were hanged and people were greeted with the Nazi salute", like one meeting in the property of the colonist Prokop in Wiączemin[57] In the spring of 1939, young ethnic Germans began to escape to join the German army in the Reich, organized by Aleksander Nippe, who came to Gąbin from Kalisz. As explained above, there was a branch of the German People's

Union in Gąbin itself, led by the pastor Bruno Gutknecht.[58] The activities of the "German provocateurs" heightened the anxieties of the towns's residents. In July 1939, Leopold and Herman Stelle stood in front of the District Court in Płock. The first of them, "a zealous supporter of Hitler, publicly said that Hitler would soon take Gdansk and come to Poland" and mocked the Polish army.[59] Herman Stelle was accused of insulting the mayor of Gąbin and the president of the United States.[60]

In the summer of 1939, various types of defense exercises with participation of reservists, scouts and secondary school students were carried out in Gostynin county.[61] Gąbin's residents participated actively in the fundraising for the National Defense Fund. Church services ended with the song "God save Poland" and secular meetings with the patriotic anthem "Oath". In late August, the Polish government issued a general mobilization call that was quickly dismissed, causing disorientation when the actual mobilization order was finally made on August 31.

On September 1, the radio reported the outbreak of war and Płock was bombarded by the German Luftwaffe. The hopes elicited by the news that France and Great Britain were declaring war on Germany quickly vanished in the face of reality. During the first days of September, the police and police reservists arrested ethnic Germans suspected of anti-Polish activity. The detainees were transported to Gostynin, and then to Warsaw and the Bereza Kartuska prison.[62]

On September 3 and 4, Polish troops and armored vehicles passed through Gąbin, retreating towards Warsaw. The accompanying attacks of the Luftwaffe terrified the town's residents. A massive retreat of the Modlin and Pomerania Polish armies began. On September 6, the municipal authorities led by mayor Machowski decided to leave the town. On that same evening, a new municipal board was appointed with mayor Stanisław Matusiak as its head. A civilian guard organized life and kept order in those difficult moments.[63] Many groups of refugees, mainly from Kujavia and Pomerania, were passing through the town. Three days later, the first bombing of Gąbin took place, killing seven soldiers and a nurse.[64] On September 10, soldiers of the Vistula Division heading to Sanniki saw a terrifying scene: "In addition to the burning and smoldering ruins of buildings, along the road and everywhere else lay piles of people, horses, broken cars, and cannons that took your breath away at the sight of such destruction."[65]

The tragic situation of the town was aggravated by the Battle of the Bzura, which raged all over Western Mazovia. On September 14, 15 and 16 more Luftwaffe bombardments took place, hitting buildings on Gąbin's Old Market Square, the Kościelna, Kościuszki and Płock streets, and partially destroying the Catholic church. There were fires in the Evangelical church and in a school building that had been turned into a field hospital.[66] The town was gripped in chaos and terror. Many residents began to escape from the smoke and conflagration towards Sanniki, accompanied by military units.

On September 17, motorized German units entered Gąbin from Dobrzyków, Gostynin and Żychlin. On the following day, the occupation authorities appointed Ferdinand Schneider, owner of the largest tannery of the town, as head of the municipality. Two other ethnic Germans would fulfill that role over the next two years: Rodde, a local miller, and Erich Ratzlaff, a teacher from nearby Wymyśle. Ratllaff, who was considered "too indulgent" in his treatment of the Poles, was sent to the Eastern Front in June 1941. Richard Hacke, from Riech, who had earned a reputation for cruelty against Poles, was then installed as Gąbin's Amtkomissar.[67] Several ethnic Germans from surrounding villages were recruited to work in the municipal offices, along with pre-war Polish officials who were kept in place because of the lack of enough local German personnel.[68]

Originally, the Germans planned to leave Gostynin county (including Gąbin) in the territory of the General Government of occupied Poland but, after insistent requests of the local ethnic Germans, on November 9 1939 Gostynin county was included in the district Reichsgau Posen (Poznań), which had been annexed as an integral part of the Third Reich. On January 29 1940 the name of the district was changed to Reichsgau Wartheland. The area of Gostynin was part of the regency of Inowrocław.[69] The Gauleiter in charge of the Wartheland was Arthur Greiser, a trusted member of the Nazi party, who had received a mandate to rule the area as a "National Socialism Test Area", a model for the entire Third Reich. Early on, Hitler had made the decision to "germanize the Wartheland within ten years and transform it into of a source of foodstuffs, raw materials, and cheap labor for other regions of the Reich." In line with this project, the Germans' behavior towards the Wartheland's Polish population was inspired by three goals: exterminating a part of it, reducing its numbers through forced deportation of workers to Germany or to the territory of the General Government of occupied Poland, and turning the remaining people into a new breed of passive and completely obedient slaves of their German masters.[70]

Strict ordinances and bans were imposed. Poles were denied access to restaurants, cafes, cinemas, theaters and other public premises, and the benches of parks were reserved for the exclusive use of Germans. The Polish educational institutions were replaced by "Polenschulen" with a very limited curriculum and German was imposed as official language. From the beginning of the occupation, all Polish political parties and religious associations were banned. The Roman Catholic Church was allowed to function, but its rights and freedom of action were continuously eroded. The Germans relentlessly harassed the Polish population with constant checkups and curfews. Meetings, celebrations and even funerals were restricted to people from the immediate family. Having radio receivers was forbidden.[71]

Gąbin was run by the Nazi Party, headed by Albert Foth and then by Amtkomissar Hacke himself. The ethnic German youth was enlisted in the Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth), led by Gustaw

Kamer. A Nazi court (Amstgericht) was established on Kościuszki St and a work office (Arbeitsamt) nearby. Local branches of the Schutzpolizei (Uniformed Police) and Hilfpolizei (Auxiliary Police of local ethnic Germans) were also established. The Schutzpolizei had its headquarters in the magistrate building, while the Hilfpolizei, subject to the local authority, confiscated a building on Plock St. The nearest headquarters of the SS (Schutzstafeln) were located in Kutno. In Gąbin there was a postal office run by Mebiuss, who came from the Reich and employed Polish workers.[72] The Volunteer Fire Brigade operated on similar principles, with Zygmunt Wegert as commander.[73]

Immediately after the arrival of German troops, systematic terror was enforced in Gąbin. On 19-21 September 1939, twenty arrested railwaymen and policemen were executed in front of the school building on May 3rd St.[74] There were arrests of local farmers, including six who were taken by truck to Golonka forest and shot dead. Soon after, ten residents of Powiśle met the same fate.[75] In Dobrzykow, four students were shot, accused of conspiracy and possession of weapons.[76]

In November 1939, 36 social and political activists of Gąbin were detained and sent to concentration camps. Another group of seventeen activists was deported in March 1940.[77] More arrests followed in April 1940, including the detention of Natalia Rzymska and Stanisław Wąsiakowski. They were sent to prison in Inowrocław and he was sentenced to death.[78] On the night of April 13, twelve residents of Gąbin and surrounding areas were arrested, including Wacław Milke. In 1940, four unidentified men (probably visitors) were killed by the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei , Secret Police) in the nearby village of Czermno and Stefan Goliszewski was shot dead in the village of Grabie Polskie.[79]

The arrests reached a peak on June 11 1941, as retaliation for the killing of a German policeman in the vicinity of Grabina, near Gąbin. At that time, 86 Poles from the town and surrounding areas, were detained and locked up in the Catholic church. After four days, on June 15 at 8.00 in the morning, ten of them were executed. On the next day, the other prisoners were sent by trucks to Gostynin, and from there to Inowrocław prison and to concentration camps.[80]

Later in the same year, Jan Białecki was shot dead in the village of Tokary Rąbież for "refusing to cooperate" with the Germans. In 1942, three unidentified men were shot in Gąbin, followed by nine additional unknown men who were thought to be partisans and man named Nowak.[81]

On 13 June 1944, three clerks, Tadeusz Guziak, Jan Kopeć and Kazimierz Wojciechowski were arrested and transferred to Gross-Rosen concentration camp. From September 14 to October 26 1944, ten people from Gąbin were arrested in Gostynin along with other residents of the area, in retaliation for the blow-up of the work office (Arbeitsamt) in Gostynin.[82] All in all, 53 Polish

residents of Gąbin were killed during the German occupation,[83] including the teachers Jadwiga Mierczewska and Marian Ślepowroński.[84]

Figure 5. Execution of ten Polish residents in Gąbin, June 15 1941.

Source: http://jerzxjedrzeikiewicz.webpark.pl/str01

Another form of repression was the displacement of the Polish population, mainly farmers, to the territory of the General Government of occupied Poland. The roundups were brutal, often at dawn. The baggage of an adult person could not exceed 50 kg. At the same time, the Poles could take 200 zlotys with them, and the Jews 50 zlotys per person.[85] About 60 families were removed in this way during the summer months of 1940, 1941, and 1943. The abandoned farms were occupied by German colonists imported from Volhynia and Ukraine.[86] Youngsters aged 18-25 were sent to forced labor in the Reich, where they were used as "farm workers and servants of German farmers".[87] A total of 1,500 people were sent to work in Germany, 5 of them died.[88]

The Germans focused on breaking the spirit of the population. Jan Borysiak recalls that they allowed masses and services to be normally celebrated until mid-1940, but imposing bans on reading the Gospel in Polish or singing religious songs that were considered to have patriotic content. The arrest of priest Władysław Turowski on November 9 1939 and again on August 26 1940 was followed by the detention of his vicar Marian Żebrowski on August 26 1940.[89] Father Turowski's path of martyrdom included Szczeglin, Sachsenhausen, Dachau and Mauthausen, where he died on April 13 1942. Father Żebrowski was sent to forced labor camps in Szczeglin, Sachsenhausen, and Dachau, where he was liberated by American troops.[90]

In June 1941, the Germans began to close churches in the Wartheland. Mass could only be celebrated at nearby Czermno because the local priest, Father Wincenty Helenowski, had

prevented anti-German demonstrations in Powiśle before the outbreak of the war. In the fall of 1941, the Germans began the demolition of the Catholic church of Gąbin, using forced labor of Polish (mostly carpenters) and Jews. The bricks were cleaned by children aged 11-13. The demolition lasted until August 1943. Following the arrests of the priests, the parish of Gąbin, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, was deprived of pastoral care until the end of the war.[91]

In October 1940, the explosives unit brought by the German mayor also demolished the monument to the Defenders of the Fatherland and the tower of the Evangelical church. The work was slow, because the walls were cemented. At the same time, the occupation authorities ordered to clear the streets of the rubble and dismantle the burned building of a public school. The salvaged materials were used for the "Neue Heimat" complex of four residential buildings on Garbarska St. Poles and Jews "employed" by a German company built a road to Kamień and restored the building of the Volunteer Fire Brigade. The theatre hall was adapted for the screening of films and, along with the “Deutches Haus”, was used by the Germans for entertainment purposes.[92]

From the very start of the occupation, the Nazi authorities began the process of transforming the Poles into slaves. The first step was to abolish Polish education.[93] In the building of the Jewish school, they established the “Herbert Norcus Schule”, exclusively for ethnic German students. The school staff, brought from the Reich, included director Luter and three teachers.

Despite the lack of appropriate conditions, Polish children studied with Bronisława Forembska and Zofia Ślepowrońska, former teachers of the public school. The lessons took place in the house of the Gać family on Płock St. from November 1939 to July 7 1940, when this form of education was forbidden. Zofia Ślepowrońska secretly kept educational materials and continued teaching at her home and later in the homes of pupils until her arrest by the police in 1941. The same secret teaching was conducted by other teachers in Gąbin.[94]

In 1943, the occupation authorities organized a school for Polish children, the "Polnische Schule". In the first period, from March to June, the classes were conducted by Wanda Lincke, an ethnic German from Gostynin who did not have any background in pedagogy. The school included 100 children, divided into two classes for ages 10-12 and 13-14. Since the students were able to read and write, the teaching was limited to phonetic recording of Lincke’s dictation (often incorrect) from German textbooks. In April 1943, another German woman from the Vistula region came to Gąbin to organize two additional classes for children aged 8-10. For the younger classes, a one-year learning period was established. After lessons, the children were required to clean bricks from the demolished church. The work took place from 3:00 to 6:00 pm under the vigilance of Rumpel, a cruel German who used a stick to spur the children.[95]

Despite the ruthless terror and the attempts to physically and spiritually destroy the residents of Gąbin, there was a resistance movement in the town. In the vicinity of Gąbin, a group of about 40 people established contacts with the underground Płock Region of Border Protection Corps in the spring of 1940. The commander of the unit was captain Mieczysław Sowiński, assisted by second lieutenant Antoni Stańczak. The liaison officer was Laura Sowińska, whose apartment served as a contact point and a place of hiding for commander Stańczak. This resistance unit managed to hid and keep in storage the archive and some weapons of the "Pomorze" regiment of the defeated Polish Army. It helped the families of arrested or deported men and distributed flour from the Wegert mill.[96]

In Gostynin county there were also underground groups of the "Hammer and Sickle" Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Councils, headed by Włodzimierz Grzelak from Gąbin. Difficult conditions and large losses caused the disintegration of the local circle of activists of the Polish Socialist Party, whose activities were limited to "maintaining loose contacts with the headquarters".[97]

The residents of Gąbin also tried to resist the occupation in their daily lives. In addition to the secret activities, many orders of the German authorities were sabotaged, especially in connection with food policy and appropriate behavior in workplaces. There were people who secretly listened to Allied radio stations and distributed underground leaflets passed on by Zofia Michałowska, who worked in the municipal office. With the help of Father Helenowski from Czermno, she also sent food parcels to workers in labor camps. Access to German documents allowed her to give advance warning about the roundups of forced laborers, and she had the courage to fake the names of women in the office files, saving them from having to go to work in the Reich.

The activities of ethnic Germans who did not support Hitler's anti-Polish policy were important in Gąbin and the surrounding areas. One of them was Reinhold Wegert who, as a manager of the mill in Sanniki, had frequent contact with the occupation authorities and the Gestapo. He warned many Poles about impending arrests, and even helped some to escape across the border to the territory of the General Government. He also collaborated with the Czermno parish priest in the matter of food parcels. A teacher named Kuhn and a miller named Ratzlaff did the same in Wymysle.[98]

Some residents of Gąbin fought in regular military units. Jan Białkowski escaped after the Mława battle defeat and participated in the Belgian and later the French resistance movement. As a soldier of the Second Polish Corps under the British commanded by General Władysław Anders, he was seriously wounded in the battle of Monte Cassino. Ignacy Lendzion was a pilot of the 111th Fighter Squadron of the Polish Air Force. After the September 1939 defeat, he managed

to reach France, where he participated in the resistance. From the autumn of 1944 he served at the recruitment center in Edinburgh as an officer of the Polish Air Force in Britain.[99]

Starting in July 1944, the occupation authorities began defensive preparations. The hope for liberation awoke among the residents of Gąbin, despite the demonstrations of German power in the summer, including the visits of Gauleiter Arthur Greiser to Gostynin and Gąbin and the county congresses of the SS and the Nazi party. Under the supervision of the Wehrmacht, the residents built bunkers and dug fortifications and trenches in Gąbin and its vicinity. In early January 1945, assault aircraft attacked a German column on a road near the town and, a couple of weeks later, the residents of Gąbin could hear the sounds of fighting.[100] On January 17, acting on the news that the Soviet army's 50th Armored Brigade of Colonel Józef Czeriapkin was approaching Gostynin, the Germans began to flee the town towards Szczawin. A day later, at dawn, a motorized Soviet patrol entered Gąbin. Later in the morning, the townspeople saw tanks of the 2nd Armored Army of General Siemion Bogdanow coming from the direction of Kamien and Sanniki.[101]

As a result of the war and the German occupation, the population of the municipality of Gąbin decreased to 3,125 people.[102] The agricultural population index was 1.8 persons per hectare. In February 1946, there were 16 Jews and 434 ethnic Germans in the town. According to the analysis of 1939-1945 losses prepared by the Municipal Board, 53 Poles died or disappeared. Of that number, six had been killed in direct warfare, 23 were "murdered", 19 died in camps and prisons, and five during forced labor. There were 27 people physically injured, 15 of them with serious injuries. About 1,500 people had been deported to forced labor, and 300 families had been displaced or sent to unknown destinations. The report also contains information about the destruction of 159 residential buildings, 130 agricultural buildings and 203 non-agricultural buildings.[103]

On 21 January 1945, the municipal board and council were restablished. Bolesław Forembski , a teacher, was elected as the new mayor.

Chapter 2

The Gąbin Jews during the interwar period

1. The town's Jews before the First World War

Jewish settlement in Gąbin probably dates back to the Middle Ages.[1] In the 13th century the Jewish *Kehila* was already registered in nearby Płock.[2] The first documented mention of Gąbin's Jewish population appears in *Taxa Judeorum in civitatibus et oppidis Regni existentibus* (Tax assessment of Jews in the existing cities and towns), a list of Jewish settlements included in the book of incomes and expenses of the royal court. Gąbin (Gambyn) is cited as one the ten Jewish Mazovian communities that paid between two and eight zlotys crown tax.[3]

A survey carried out in the 1560s shows seven Jewish homes in Gąbin, "which pay a rent of ten zlotys to the castle".[4] Using a multiplier of five or six people per home, it can be estimated that 35-40 Jews lived in the town at that time.[5] That number would later grow exponentially. The rapid influx of Jewish people at the end of the 18th century was stimulated by the partition of Poland, since both Prussia and Russia relocated the Jews from the rural areas to the cities in order to facilitate their taxation. A key element in this process was the General Statute for the Jews of the East, South and New East Prussia, issued on April 17 1797. In subsequent years, the imperial policies hindered the mobility of the Jewish population.[6]

Table 5. Gąbin's Jewish population, 1564-1913.

Year	Population	Jews	% Jews
1564	1,770-2,124	35-40	1.9
1794	901	479	53.2
1808	1,183	577	48.8
1827	2,926	1,472	50.0
1857	3,926	1,897	48.3
1897	5,137	2,539	49.4
1913	6,652	3,835	57.7

Sources: Lustracje województwa rawskiego 1564 i 1570, oprac. Z. Kądzierska, Warszawa 1959; B. Wasiutyński, *Ludność żydowska w wiekach XIX i XX, studium statystyczne [Jewish population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, statistical study]*, Warsaw 1930; J. Kazimierski, *Cities and towns in Mazovia and Podlasie Nadbuzanski in the years 1918-1939 [Miasta i miasteczka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu Nadbużańskim w latach 1918-1939]*, [in]: *Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym [Mazovia in the interwar period]*, edited by A. Stawarz, Warsaw 1998.

Despite their growing number, the Jewish residents of Gąbin were the most exposed to disease and experienced high mortality during epidemics. The main reason was the very poor sanitary conditions in which they lived. According to Szczepański: "Jewish houses were bigger, but they were built more shabbily. This may be explained by the fact that the Jews were less rooted in the town than the Christians, since they often moved to other cities and towns looking for better opportunities. The notarial deed and mortgage records show that in the Jewish houses there were usually two or three families".[7] In 1866, there were on average 19.6 persons in a Jewish house, while the averages for Polish and ethnic German houses were 14.6 and 13.7 respectively. The average blurs the fact that in many Jewish houses the actual number of people was larger, since the smaller group of richer Jews had much better housing conditions. Poverty was endemic among the majority of the Jewish population. The cash assistance provided to the poorest families was so onerous that sometimes the *Kehila* had difficulty paying the municipal taxes. In 1823, the fund for the poor was 800 zlotys, while the *Kehila* of neighboring Gostynin spent 200 zlotys for this purpose.[8]

The living conditions of the Jewish families caused great mortality during numerous epidemics. An example was the cholera epidemic of 1894: there were 129 sick people in Gąbin including 84 Jews, 51 of whom died.[9]

Motivated by the drive to improve their economic situation, the Jews sought opportunities in other towns and abroad. In addition to permanent emigration, trips for seasonal work were very common, mainly to Prussia. In the 19th century, after the 1843 decree requiring Jews to enroll for active military service, many went on job trips in order to escape conscription into the Russian army. In 1910, when draft orders were sent to 84 men in Gąbin, twenty left for America or England, including thirteen Jews.[10] Still, emigration did not slow down the demographic growth of the Jewish population, which reached 3,835 persons in 1913.[11]

In the 16th century, Stefan Batory's decrees of 1578 allowed Jews to settle in Gąbin, engage in trade, sell alcoholic beverages and purchase food. These privileges were confirmed by subsequent decrees in 1695 and 1765. Yet, the shoemakers' guild statute, approved by Stefan Batory in 1578 and Zygmunt III in 1622, had set limits to those rights in the case of certain activities such as the purchase of leather hides and tallow.[12]

On April 4 1777, by virtue of an agreement with the town of Gąbin, the Jews were granted citizenship and the right to "freely trade in all domestic and foreign goods, grain and flours, except for the baking of bread and the sale of salt." This prohibition, however, did not include bagels and allowed two Jews to trade salt by the pot (an old Polish unit of measurement) if the local authorities consented. All Jews could sell salt per barrels and bałwans (other old Polish

units of measurement). The settlement regulations did not apply to the fairs, where there was total freedom of trade. In addition, the Gąbin Jews had to respect the priority of Christians when buying land plots and houses. Most of the municipal taxes were regulated by the county magistrate. The administration of justice among the Jews was left to the competence of the *Kehila*, with the possibility of appealing to the county magistrate's court, which settled disputes between Jews and Christians.[13]

Further changes took place after the second partition of Poland, when Gąbin became part of Prussia. On April 17 1797, the Prussian authorities issued the already mentioned General Statute for the Jews of East, South and New East Prussia and began to relocate the Jews from villages to cities in order to facilitate tax collection. The statute defined the Jewish population as a separate social and religious corporation that did not have full civil and national rights. It introduced formal imperial supervision over the Jewish communities and confirmed the old special taxes. It also defined the list of occupations permitted for Jews, greatly restricting their work opportunities in the countryside.[14] The statute was supplemented by the Prussian Government's Declaration of February 6 1802, which granted Jewish tavern keepers and leasholders the right to settle freely in cities and towns, abolishing the 16th century's privileges of Mazovian towns and guilds that had included the right to prevent the settlement of Jews *("de non tolerandis Judeis"*). The Jewish population was also exempted from military service for men aged 14-60, in exchange for the so-called "recruitment tax". Moreover, under Prussia's policy of Germanization, the Jews were ordered to adopt German names.[15]

With the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, article 4 of the constitution approved on July 22 1807 equated all citizens before the law. However, subsequent royal decrees of 1808 and 1812 deprived the Jews of effective citizenship, suspending their electoral rights for ten years and forbidding them to produce or trade alcoholic beverages and live in the taverns, inns or breweries.[16] Restrictions on the free movement of the Jews were also imposed. Nevertheless, the Jews were often able to bribe officials and circumvent these regulations.[17]

Under the legislation of the Kingdom of Poland, only Christians had civil rights (Article 11 of the constitution of November 27 1815). In 1821, the Council of State abolished the autonomy of the Jewish *Kehila*, establishing a system of synagogue supervisors whose competences were reduced to purely religious matters. Also important was a decree of 1843 re-imposing on the Jewish population the duty of military service. Until 1917, the status of the Jews was determined by the "provisional rights" of 1882. There was a list of allowed occupations for Jews, and their residence in the countryside and purchase or lease of land was forbidden. Jews had to refrain from working on Sundays and Christian holidays, and they could not migrate freely. The ban on the sale of alcohol deprived many Jews of a source of income.[18]

In the 1820s, the local authorities tried to introduce additional restrictions for the Jewish population. The Commission of Internal Affairs and Police issued a ban on the settlement of Jews from other towns and villages in Gąbin, and the municipality sought approval from the Kingdom's officials to confine the Jews to a designated district and outlaw their propination of alcoholic beverages. Lobbying the central Warsaw authorities, Lajzer Zylberberg, the Gąbin Synagogue supervisor, managed to prevent the success of these initiatives.[19]

Although a segregated district was not created in Gąbin, the majority of the Jewish population lived in the northern and central part of the city adjacent to the Old Market Square. There, at the confluence of Ciasna and Tylna streets, the Jews completed the construction of a magnificent wooden synagogue in 1710. Inside the synagogue there were 18th century baroque sculptures, the eastern wall was covered with old sheets of engraved brass, and an iron ring for sinners hung in the corridor. In the 19th century, the roof of the building was covered with metal sheets for protection against damage.[20] By the temple stood the small synagogue, a building for prayer and teaching that also housed the traditional institutions managed by the *Kehila*, including among others the *Chevreh Tillim* (a group that chanted Psalms), the *Chevreh Kaddishe* (the men and women who took care of burials according to Jewish tradition), and *Hachnosas Kallah* (a group that provided help for the marriage of poor brides).[21]

Until the late 19th century, the Orthodox Jews were the main influence in the community. Gostynin, Płock and Żychlin were important centers of the *Hasidic* movement (a mystic revivalist current that emerged among Eastern European Orthodox Jews in the 18th century). In Gąbin, *Hasidism* did not gain much popularity, although the influences of some *tsadikim* (*Hasidic* righteous men) from Góra Kalwaria reached the town. As scholars, the *Hasidim* often held the office of rabbis and worked in *chedarim*, like for example Rabbi Benjamin. Other *Hasidim* from Gąbin were *chazanim* (cantors) like Rabbi Lajbisz, or *shochtim* (ritual slaughterers) like Josef Dawid Klapman. The rainbow of Gąbin's Jewish diversity also included groups of *mitnagdim* (Orthodox Jews who opposed the Hasidim) and *maskilim* (Enlightenment-inspired critics of traditional religion who favored the adoption of modern secular culture).[22]

Initially, the Jews of Gąbin and the surrounding towns were engaged in crafts and agriculture. They did not belong to the guilds and paid a fee for work permits from the local magistrate, which was often the source of disputes between them and the Christian guilds. One of the manifestations of this economic competition was the fact that, in the 1582 shoemaker's guild statute issued by Stefan Batory and confirmed by his successors, Jews could not purchase leather hides or tallow in the town.[23]

Towards the end of the 18th century there were major economic changes in Gąbin. Jews moved in from neighboring villages and became prominent as merchants and craftsmen. In 1794, 55 of the 102 craftsmen in the town were Jews. Particularly visible was the group of 21 Jewish tailors,

but there were also nine butchers, seven bakers, and smaller numbers of shoe upper makers, knitters, furriers, glazers, bookbinders, gingerbread makers, haberdashers, and even a Jewish goldsmith and handicraftsman in the town. In other industries, such as cloth making or shoemaking, Christian craftsmen prevailed. Jewish craftsmanship was characterized by its skewed occupational structure, with as many as 38.1% of all craftsmen being tailors. By the end of the 19th century, however, Jewish craftsmanship was more evenly distributed among tailors, hatchers, furriers, butchers, bakers, tinsmiths, and watchmakers and the first Jewish guilds were established.

Trading was almost completely dominated by Jews. Out of the 17 Gąbin merchants listed in 1794, only one was a Pole. This state of affairs lasted for the following years. Unlike the specialized craftsmen, merchants dealt with various trades. Most Jewish merchants had their own shops in which they displayed luxury articles for the nobility. The goods of common use were sold at fairs and markets, where some Jews were also intermediaries in the buying and selling of cattle. On market days, inns and taverns operated by Jews were particularly busy.

The transactions of the Gąbin Jewish merchants were not limited to the local market. They had extensive contacts going beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, as in the case of Dawid Berliner who was the son of the main Rabbi of London. As a result of such connections, their stands were stocked with a variety of products. The most popular items were grains, liquors, spices, flour, hides, salt and cloth.[24]

Until the middle of the 19th century, the Jews of Gąbin were not involved in Polish national struggles. That changed with their participation in the 1863 January Uprising. With the suppression of the revolt, many Jews were arrested, drafted into the Russian army, or sent to exile in Siberia. Along with the spread of assimilationist attitudes, Jewish participation in the political life of the town increased. Many Gąbin Jews joined the local circle of the Polish Socialist Party.[25] By the beginning of the 20th century, small groups of Zionists and Bundists were also active in the town, stimulating the participation of the entire Jewish community in political and cultural activities. An example was the existence of an underground Jewish library in the years leading to the First World War.[26]

During the First World War, Jewish political involvement was quite visible. There were five Jews among the fifteen members of the municipal Citizens' Committee set up in 1914. In the elections of 1917, twelve Christians and six Jews were elected to Gąbin’s municipal council.[27] Also, there were several casualties among the many local Jews who fought on the front, including two confirmed dead, Moszek Bauman and Moshe Bol, and two missing in action, Menasze Izrael Bol and Izrael Goldfarb.[28]

2. Organization of the Jewish community

During the interwar period, Gąbin concentrated the largest number of Jews within the county of Gostynin. In the county as a whole, Jews only accounted for 1.5% of the total population in 1921 and 1.3% in 1931.[29] In the town of Gostynin, the proportion of Jews was 27.4% in 1921 and 18.45% in 1939. In Gąbin, the corresponding figures were 44.4% and 33.0%.[30] A more precise analysis of the demographic data indicates that, after two decades of fluctuation, the population dropped sharply by the end of the 1930s. Gąbin was the center of a synagogue district that included the neighboring villages of Czermno, Dobrzyków, Łack and Szczawin.[31] The 1921 data for these communes included 162 people of Jewish nationality and 276 people who identified themselves as religiously Jewish.[32]

Table 6. Gąbin's Jewish population, 1921-1939.

Year	Population	Jews	% Jews
1921	5771	2564	44.4
1928	6452	2712	42.0
1931	5,695		
1933	5,721	2,469	43.2
1939	7,015	2,312	33.0

Sources: *Skorowidz miejscowości II Rzeczypospolitej [Index of the localities of the Second Polish Republic]*, Warsaw 1925; APP, AmG, reference number 692, 704; J. Kazimierski, *Cities and towns in Mazovia and Podlasie Nadbuzanski in the years 1918-1939 [Miasta i miasteczka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu Nadbużańskim w latach 1918-1939]*, [in]: *Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym [Mazovia in the interwar period]*, edited by A. Stawarz, Warsaw 1998.

Throughout the interwar period, many Gąbin Jews left the country searching for a better life. Between 1920 and 1935, 47 Jewish families and 127 individuals emigrated. Of this number, three families and 31 people settled in Palestine. Others probably went to the United States or France.[33] The names of 62 people reaching the United States in the years 1920-1923 are known.[34] Later, this process must have intensified, since by 1939 the number of Jews in Gąbin had dropped to 2,312.[35]

In the first months after Polish independence, the status of the Jewish communities continued to be defined by the regulations of the powers that had partitioned Poland. On November 1 1916, the German occupation authorities issued a decree "about the organization of Jewish Religious Society" in the area of the General Government of Warsaw, which included the provinces of Warsaw and Łódź and a part of Białystok province. The decree, which had direct

relevance for the Gąbin Jews, introduced a rather restricted right to vote, limiting the functions of the Jewish *Kehila* by giving it an exclusively religious character.[36]

The legal situation of the *Kehila* was modified on February 7 1919 by a decree of the Head of State "on changes in the organization of Jewish religious communities in the former Congress Kingdom", which covered all the lands of the former Kingdom of Poland. The changes, however, only strengthened the purely religious definition of the Jewish communities.[37]

In subsequent years, the independent Polish state proceeded to normalize the legal position of Jewish communities. A Presidential Act, issued on October 14 1927, defined the status and organization of the Jewish religious communities in the territory of the Republic of Poland with the exception of the provinces of Poznań, Pomerania and Silesia[38] On 5 April 1928, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education regulated the Presidential Act and extended its power to Poznań and Pomerania, except for the district of Śląskie.[39] This became the basis for the functioning of the *Kehila* in the period under discussion.[40]

The ordinances stipulated that all the Jewish communities of the country constituted a single Religious Union, which would function as a public-law association with corporate rights and would be headed by a Religious Council of Jewish Communities. According to Article 3 of the "Provisions", the competences of this entity were purely religious and charitable, including:

a) Organization and maintenance of the rabbinate.
b) Establishment and upkeep of synagogues, houses of prayer, ritual baths, and cemeteries.
c) Supervision of the religious upbringing of children and youngsters.
d) Supervision of the provision of kosher meat for the Jewish population.
e) Management of the property, foundations, buildings and facilities belonging to the Jewish communities.

An additional competence was the ability to establish charitable institutions and assist the needs of the poorest members of the community.

Since Gąbin was classified as a small municipality (with less than 5,000 Jews), the composition of the Jewish community board was limited to a rabbi and eight regular members who held their offices honorarily (without remuneration) and were elected for periods of four years. The right to vote was vested on men over 25 who had been living in the municipality for at least a year. Candidates for election to the *Kehila* board had to be at least 30 years old and have Polish citizenship with "impeccable" credentials. Each community had a rabbi and, if necessary, an assistant or deputy rabbi, elected by simple majority in universal, secret, equal and direct elections. The board of the *Kehila* was headed by a chairman elected by a simple majority vote

of its members. The chairman's tasks included convening the meetings and leading the debates of the board, which adopted resolutions by simple majority votes.

The board of the *Kehila* represented the community in "all legal relations". To carry out its tasks, it could establish committees that could include persons from outside the board. One of its main tasks was to prepare the budget and elaborate lists stipulating the amounts of the personal contributions of all community members.[41] The *Kehila* board could impose various kinds of mandatory contributions and fees, whose rules and method of collection had to be approved by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education in consultation with the Ministry of Finances.[42]

The rules for the appointment of rabbis were established by the Religious Council and subsequently approved by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education. The Ministry oversaw the election and appointment of rabbis and their deputies, who held their positions for life. Their main obligation was to preach on Sabbaths and holidays, and they were responsible for "overseeing religious services, the work of teachers in Jewish religious schools, and the work of ritual butchers and other religious officials".

In Gąbin, the first rabbi after the recovery of Polish independence was Yehuda Lejb Złotnik,who had been appointed before the First Wold War. Złotnik, a social leader and speaker who was among the founders of the Mizrachi movement and the General Zionist Organization of Poland "*Histadrut Hazionit Hakalit"*, was also known by the pseudonym Yehuda Elzet (formed from the initials of his name Leib Zlotnik). The choice of Złotnik as rabbi of Gąbin was marked by controversy because, as a supporter of Zionism, he was resisted by the local Hasidim. Złotnik was elected by a large majority, but the Hasidim appealed to the magistrate of Gostynin arguing that the elections had been rigged. Another election was held in the presence of a government observer, with the same result. Złotnik was rabbi of Gąbin for about ten years, until November 1919, when he left for Canada. After serving as secretary general of the Canadian Zionist organization, he emigrated to South Africa, and then to Israel, where he published in the magazine *Yeda Haam* (People's Knowledge) and sometimes in the newspaper *Hatzofe* (Observer). He authored several books including *The Wonderful Treasure of the Yiddish Language*, *Jewish Traditions*, *Reshumot*, and *The Beginning of the Hebrew Rhetorical Language*.[43]

The next rabbi of Gąbin, Natan Nuta Nutkiewicz, was also supported by a majority in the elections of November 1919. After the vote, however, a group represented by I. Siekierka, A. Brzeziński and Gieber Wojdesłowski wrote a letter to the municipal authorities requesting a new election, arguing that such a serious position could not be invested "in an insignificant person who lacks the necessary intelligence to properly represent the Jewish Community of Gąbin". Since the local magistrate overruled the objection, the dispute went to the Gostynin magistrate.

The matter ended in July 1920, when, according to a letter from the *Kehila* board to the town magistrate, the Ministry of Religious Denominations confirmed Nutkiewicz as new rabbi of Gąbin.[44]

Figure 6. Yehuda Lejb Złotnik.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

Figure 7. Natan Nuta Nutkiewicz.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

Rabbi Nutkiewicz served until 1933, when he left Gąbin to become the rabbi of Rypin.[45] A document from the "Ringelblum Archive" describes his death in Warsaw, shot by a Ukrainian guard after jumping off the train wagon that was taking him to Treblinka.[46]

The successor of Rabbi Nutkiewicz was Rabbi Zalman Unger, son of the famous teacher Uriah Unger from Włocławek. Except for the fact that he was the last rabbi of Gąbin, there is no archival or documentary information about him. As explained below on page 58, he was murdered by the Germans shortly after the occupation of the town in 1939.[47]

In the first years after the recovery of independence, the *Kehila* of Gąbin was managed by the board elected in 1918, which included 22 members. Initially, it was headed by Mosze Żychliński, but in 1920 the chairman was Rabbi Nutkiewicz. Eljasz Grynberg and Jakub Lessman served as deputy chairman and secretary.[48] The personal composition of the first board is also known.[49] However, there is no information about the subsequent boards of the *Kehila*. It is only known that, after the 1931 elections, the board included four artisans, three Zionists and a member of Agudat Israel.[50]

As illustrated by the disputes surrounding the election of rabbis, internal conflicts were common in the *Kehila*. The available information about the contributions for the synagogue offers another example. On 26 October 1919, six members of the board, K. Rosen, M. Goldsztejn, A. Wolfowicz, K. Opatowski, S.D. Szafik and L. Wojdysławski, denounced to the authorities that "without knowledge and consent of the undersigned, some members of the board have manipulated the distribution of the synagogue tax to benefit their own families, wrongly burdening the poor with excessive contributions".[51]

The work of the *Kehila* was frequently disturbed by problems with the collection of taxes. In 1919, the board repeatedly appealed to the authorities on this matter, but the municipality delayed action on the grounds that it was overwhelmed by work. Lacking funds to employ a tax collector, the *Kehila* appealed to the county's authorities, which finally ordered the collection of the contributions by the magistrate on November 14 1920.[52] There is no information in the sources about the size of the individual contributions, but in June 1919 the municipality transferred to the *Kehila* a total of 6,030 marks from the taxes collected from the Jews.[53] Some information about the *Kehila*'s budget is provided in *Pinkas Hakehilot*. In 1930, the total budget was 37,267 zlotys, with 1,700 zlotys allocated to social assistance and 1,000 zlotys to Torah study. As a result of the economic crisis, the budget decreased in 1935 to 26,138 zlotys. Spending for social assistance increased to 2,000 zlotys and the allocation for education decreased to 300 zlotys. At that time, the municipality supported about 130 Jews.[54]

The *Kehila* played an important role in Jewish social and cultural life. It was in charge of the cemetery, which was located at the end of Cmentarna Street, next to the Catholic cemetery.[55] It also managed public institutions such as *Dom Chleba* (house of bread), founded in 1923 to help the poorest, and *Linat Zedek* (shelter for the needy), established in 1926 to provide medical assistance and accommodation for the homeless. In addition, the *Kehila* administered the *mikvah* (ritual bathhouse), the *chedarim* and a kindergarten.[56] All these institutions, along with the work of *shochtim*, *chazanim*, and the *Chevreh Kaddishe,* were supervised by Orthodox Jews, including a small group of *Hasidim*.[57]

Figure 8. The wooden synagogue of Gąbin.

Source: http://jerzyjedrzejkiewicz.webpark.pl/str01/

The wooden synagogue of Gąbin, built in the 18th century, was the center of the religious and social life of the Jews. It stood on a small hill at the intersection of Ciasna and Tylna Streets, opposite the old small *Beit Hamidrash* (house of study and prayer). There was a *cheder* nearby. The *mikvah* was located down the hill towards the Nida river, followed by a public toilet, a shelter and a slaughterhouse. Most Jewish institutions were clustered in the same area and around the Old Market Square.[58]

In the interwar period, the concentration of Christians and Jews in different parts of the town was still preserved, although some neighborhoods were mixed. Most Jews lived in the commercial and public center around the Old Market Square and on Kutno and Kiliński streets. Around the synagogue, the streets Garbarska, Ciasna, Tylna, and Płock were entirely inhabited by Jews.[59] On most other streets, however, the different groups mingled. Christian children often played with Jewish friends, although they pretended not to know them in the presence of other Christian children. Henry Greenbaum recalls the characteristic mutual indifference of Polish-Jewish relations, which were typically limited to commercial interactions. Of course there were deviations from the rule: friends helped each other in difficult times regardless of religion, and youngsters belonging to modern organizations and parties maintained social contacts with their peers. On the other hand, there were a couple of cases of Jewish women who converted to Christianity, which led to mourning in their homes and the severing of all contacts. There were also moments of extreme distress caused by antisemitic discriminatory comments of teachers in schools and priests in the Catholic church. In Gąbin, two national groups of roughly the same size lived side by side without trying to know each other better and understand their differences.[60]

3. Participation in political life

Despite their religious and cultural isolation, the Gąbin Jews, as Polish citizens, took an active part in the political life of the town and the country. During the interwar period, local branches of Jewish parties functioned in Gąbin.[61] In the 1920s and 1930s, the Jews of Poland were represented by a variety of parties that belonged to five differentiated political currents or camps: Orthodox, Zionist, folkist, socialist, and assimilationist.

The Orthodox camp, the most conservative, vindicated "classic Jewish traditionalism", with religion playing the main role. Within this camp, the main political party was *Agudat Israel*, but there were other organized groups and a large periphery of non-aligned Orthodox Jews, some of whom were actively involved in the political life of the towns as members of municipal councils and *Kehila* boards.[62] In Poland, there had been an Association of Orthodox Jews *(Agudat ha-Ortodoksim)* since 1916. In 1922, the party adopted the name *Agudat Israel* (Union

of Israel). Since its main focus was on religious activities, this party typically adopted a position of loyal support to all governments in accordance with the Talmudic sentence: "*dinah de-malkhuta dinah*" (the state's law is the law). The declared goals of *Agudat Israel* included, among others: strengthening the faith, protecting the religious interests of the Jews, and promoting Jewish education through various associations and institutions. In practical terms, *Agudat Israel* sought to gain control over the life of the communities and impress on them a strict Jewish character based on traditional religious values. As a religious party, *Agudat Israel* fought against all secular and socialist parties. It also spent a great deal of energy opposing Orthodox Jews who embraced the ideals of Zionism and were active in various religious Zionist organizations.[63]

Among the secular Jews, the Zionists constituted the largest camp. It included many different parties that were affiliated to the World Zionist Organization, following its general orientation on future Jewish statehood but preserving their full independence as parties that were also involved in Poland's internal politics. In general, all Zionist groups had the ultimate goal of promoting Jewish immigration to Palestine in order to establish an independent Jewish state. Their differences concerned the appropriate time for achieving statehood, the nature of society and politics in the futu**re** Jewish state, and the stances to be adopted in the domestic political arena in order to defend Jewish interests in the Second Polish Republic. In the Zionist camp, the most important groups were the Zionist Organization in Poland *(Histadrut ha-Tzionit be-Polin)*[64] and the reformist Labor Party (*Mifleget ha-Avodah ha-Tzionit, also called „Hitachduth"* from the Hebrew word Union).[65] The main Zionist party among the Orthodox Jews, *Mizrachi (acronym for Spiritual Center)* was established in 1919. It advocated for loyalty to the authorities of Poland and a future Jewish state in Palestine based on Jewish religious principles. Despite the fact that *Mizrachi* was a conservative religious party, its Zionist orientation attracted fierce criticism from *Agudat Israel*.[66] Finally, the leftist wing of the Zionist camp was represented by *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion), a Marxist-socialist party of intellectuals and that had been formed after the Bund rejected Zionism. In 1920, *Poalei Zion*'s split into Left and Right factions, following a similar division that occurred in the international socialist movement.[67]

The folkist current was inspired by the doctrine of Diaspora Nationalism (autonomism), which had been first articulated by Jewish intellectuals led by the historian Simon Dubnow. Folkism took root among people who were active in the Yiddish secular school movement during the German occupation of Poland in the First World War. They established the Jewish People's Party in Poland, which demanded Jewish cultural and national autonomy and the creation of national minority assemblies as part of the democratization of the political order. They supported the secularization of education in the schools and saw Yiddish as the national language of the Jews.[68] The initial support for the folkist party was mainly concentrated in Warsaw and Lodz. The folkists' secular nationalist stance was strongly opposed by *Agudat Israel*

and the Orthodox camp, and their critiques of socialism and Zionism alienated them from the Jewish left. These confrontations led to a quick decline of their influence.

Within the socialist Jewish camp, the most important force in Poland was the General Jewish Workers' Union, popularly known as the Bund (the word stands for alliance or union in German and Yiddish). The Bund was born in the midst of the agitation leading to the 1905 Revolution in the Russian Empire and continued to be a major political force in Poland during the interwar period. It reflected the confluence of the emerging Jewish working class and Jewish intellectuals attracted to Marxism and socialism. The Bundists wanted to achieve Jewish cultural and national autonomy within the framework of the victory of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland. Since its political positions were entirely focused on the role of the Jews in promoting social and political change in the Poland, the Bund stood in opposition not only to the Zionists, but also to the Orthodox Jews. As a workers' party, it tried to build alliances with the Polish Socialist and Communist Parties. Although they only began to participate in municipal boards relatively late, in 1936, the Bund activists played an important role in municipal goverments.[69.] This participation, however, did not interfere with the intense activism of the members of the party and its youth branches within the Jewish communities. In addition to the Bund, the socialist Jewish camp in Poland included Zionist socialist parties like the previously mentioned *Poalei Zion* with its Left[70] and Right[71] branches, and smaller regional parties such as the All-Jewish Labor Party, which was established in Lviv (Western Ukraine) by disaffected activists who had split from the Bund and other socialist parties. It should also be pointed out that, rather than joining Jewish parties, some leftist Jews preferred to participate in mainstream Polish groups like the Polish Socialist Party, the Independent Socialist Labor Party, or the Communist Party of Poland.

Finally, the Jewish political scene of the Second Polish Republic included an assimilationist sector that proposed the full incorporation of the Jews into the Polish nation through equal political rights and the acquisition of the culture of the Polish majority. A political expression of this current was the Union of Poles of Mosaic Confession which gained some influence among academic and intellectual circles of Warsaw, Lviv and Krakow. This party rejected the idea of Jewish national autonomy and supported the adoption of Polish culture and language. In general terms, however, assimilationist attitudes had very little traction among the Polish Jews. The Jewish political scene in Poland was characterized by a large diversity of groups, but also by continuous activity to improve the situation of the Jews of Poland.[72]

The Jewish community of Gąbin reflected these general trends of Jewish politics during the Second Polish Republic. This is ilustrated by the local electoral results.[73] Following the independence of Poland, 1,230 Gąbin Jews were elegible for voting in the parliamentary elections of 1919. The turnout was large, with 1,051 (85%) of them exercising their right to vote.

A majority of 743 supported the Jewish Association, a coalition dominated by Zionist parties that received 705 of the 743 votes. The Bund garnered 226 votes and 27 people voted for the Union of Independent Zionists.[74]

The Polish parliamentary elections of 1928 were marked by competition between large coalitions of political parties or "blocks". Most Jewish parties participated in these coalitions, which makes it impossible to determine the number of votes for each one of them. In Gąbin, a majority of 616 Jewish voters supported the Block of National Minorities, which embraced Jewish, German, Belarusian and Ukrainian political organizations (the block's Jewish sector included the GeneralZionists from central and eastern provinces, *Mizrachi*, some folkist groups, the Central Association of Jewish Craftsmen and some *Hasidim*). The All-Jewish National Electoral Block (*Agudat Israel* and some folkist and business groups), which had promised support to Józef Piłsudski's Nonpartisan Block for Cooperation with the Government, garnered 137 votes. The Bund, which had not joined any coalition, won 372 votes. The other party that ran independently, *Poalei Zion*, received 58 votes.[75]

The following years weakened the Zionist camp and increased the importance of *Agudat Israel*, which joined the Nonpartisan Block for Cooperation with the Government for the 1930 parliamentary elections. As a consequence, many Jewish votes that had previously gone to Jewish parties were now cast for the Nonpartisan Block for Cooperation with the Government (probably according to the instructions of the Orthodox Jews). In Gąbin, this block received 1,653 ballots from non-Jewish and Jewish voters (in the previous elections it had received 233 votes). The Block of the Socialist Left, which included the Bund and the non-Jewish Independent Socialist Labor Party, garnered 110 votes. Only two people voted for *Poalei Zion*.[76]

From the voting patterns in national parliamentary elections, then, it can be concluded that the Jews of Gąbin divided their political loyalties among the leftist parties, Bund, *Poalei Zion*, and increasingly the Orthodox party *Agudat Israel*. The fortunes of these parties depended on their positioning on the broader canvas of national Polish politics. At a different level, the political involvement of the Jews can be appreciated more clearly by examining their activism within the town itself. In Gąbin, the first small groups of Bundists and Zionists had appeared at the beginning of 20th century and developed their activities during the First World War. After the end of the war , the local branch of the Bund's General Jewish Workers' Union had 240 members. The Bund's main activists in Gąbin were Icchak Mosze Chaja, J. Drachman, Chaim Lurie, M. Tatarka and Abram Tober. Inspired by the Russian Revolution, they set up a short-lived local Council of Workers' Delegates and, in 1919, they unsuccessfully tried to cooperate with the Polish Union of Unskilled Workers. Soon thereafter, both trade unions ceased to exist when the idea of revolution collapsed in the country.[77]

Figure 9. Bund committee in Gabin.

קאָמיטעט פון בונד

פון רעכטס צו לינקס:
יהזקאל האדיס, בלומע לידערשטיין, שמואל כאָרענשטיין, העניך גאָלדשמיט, שרה־נאָלדע פרעוקעל,
יצחק משה כייא, שלמה אַדלער.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

In addition to the Bund, the Zionists had considerable influence in Gąbin. In 1917, the small group that had been active before the First World War reorganized itself as *Bnai Zion* (Sons of Zion). In 1920, the Zionist Union had 72 members and its board included Chil Chajek, Jakób Gorzałka, Abram Prawda, Majlech Tadelis and Abram Zamość. Other Zionist groups, including *Mizrahi*, also functioned in the town. The influences of all these Zionist groups extended to the surrounding areas.[78] The activists of the Bund and *Bnai Zion* participated in the life of the Gąbin Jewish community by organizing cultural, educational, economic assistance, and welfare institutions. Branches of other Zionist organizations appeared in the town, including the Women's Union WIZ0, which was established in 1924 by a group that included Sura Marjem Belger, Channa Boczko and Czarna Rabinowicz.[79] The WIZO group, which at one point grew to 35 members, focused on providing help and care to the weakest members of the community. The scouting organizations *Hashomer Hatzair* (Young Guardians), *Hekalutz* (Pioneers) and *Hashomer Hadati* (Religious Guardians), which were related to Zionist parties, also established their own local branches for the Jewish children and teenagers of Gąbin.[80]

The conservative groups that managed religious and moral life were another source of influence in the Jewish communities. In Gąbin, however, the *Hasidim* did not control of the local *Kehila* as they did in neighboring Gostynin and Płock. Michael Rozenblum remembers the Gąbin *Hasidim* as a small group that did not even have a *shtibel* (prayer room) of their own. They studied the scriptures and prayed at the *Beit Hamidrash*. Among the Gąbin *Hasidim*, there were scholars like Ezriel Yehudah Etinger, who commanded great respect even among the local *maskilim* and *mitnagdim*. As already mentioned on page 32, some *Hasidim* performed the functions of

shochtim and *chazanim*. In Gąbin, as in other towns, the Orthodox Jews controlled religious education and oversaw the work of the charitable and assistance institutions.[81]

Figures 10 and 11. Orthodox Jews of Gąbin in Sam Raphael's film, 1937.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

Throughout the interwar period, the Gąbin Jews were represented in the local municipal authorities. After independence, when Gąbin's Provisional City Council was established on November 12 1918, one-third of its 15 members were Jews: Rabbi Lajb Złotnik, Dr. Jakub Winogron, Marek Wolfowicz, Abram Gips and Jakub Sztolcman. On that same day, the councilors formed committees to deal with the most urgent issues. One of them was the accusation of wood theft from the municipal forest during the war by councilman Gips, who, due to this fact, did not take part in the Council's meetings after December 2 1918.[82] In April 1919, ten Jews were elected for a new, enlarged City Council of 27 members. Gips was one of them, despite the court case against him. The trial ended in January 1920, when the court magistrate removed him from office.[83] In 1921, nine of the 24 members sitting in the council were Jews. One of them, Manasze Sztolcman, who was not aligned with any party, became a lay member of the court. The other Jewish councilors included four Orthodox, three Bundists, and another non-aligned community member.[84]

The presence of ten members of the National Democtracy party led to conflicts in the municipal council. A dispute erupted in the winter of 1920, when the Bund councilors voted against Gąbin's affiliation to the Society for Brotherly Assistance to Polish Soldiers and supported a resolution requesting the government to begin peace talks with Russia.[85] In response, the councilors of National Democracy filed a protest that was voted down. The years of the Polish-Bolshevik war were difficult for the Bund, which had previously supported the Russian Revolution and was now suspect of communist sympathies.[86] Anti-Bund feelings led to repression when Bundist councilors Icchak Mosze Chaja, Majlech Tadelis and Abram Dawid Tober were suspended on October 23 1920 for "subversive agitation"[87]. Fearing arrest, some Bund activists emigrated abroad.[88] The weakening of the workers' organizations was reflected in

the results of the 1927 municipal elections. Of the 22 councilors, nine were Jews, including two Zionists, two Orthodox, five non-aligned, and a lay member of the court, Marek Wolfowicz, who was not affiliated to any party.[89] When the next municipal elections were held in 1934, there were six Jews among the 16 councilors: Salomon Boll, Chaim Lurja, Abram Łącki, Mordka Wolfowicz, Abram Ch. Żychliński, Josek Żychliński, and lay member of the court Hersz Lajb Siekierka. The minutes of the 1938 meetings indicate that four additional members were added to the municipal council, including Izrael Hersz Sztolcman.[90]

The involvement of the Jews in political life was also expressed through their active participation in various campaigns and in the celebration of official state ceremonies in Gąbin. An example was the 1920 campaign for the plebiscite that would determine the Polish-German border in the ethnically mixed region of Upper Silesia. Moszek Wolfowicz was among the three members of the Plebiscite Committee that was formed in Gąbin to support the pro-Polish vote. The committee's main work was collecting donations. It solicited funds from individual donors of all nationalities and sold symbolic stamps. The total amount raised was 237,290 marks, of which 4,395 marks came from a donation of the *Kehila* board and 705 marks from the collection carried out by Jewish children. The civil associations of Gąbin organized various fund-raising events, including carnival parties and theatrical performances.[91]

Summing up, during the interwar period the Jewish community of Gąbin participated in the town's political life and, more indirectly, in the politics of the Polish state. At the local level, the most important groups were the Bundists and later the Zionists. A characteristic feature of the small towns was the central role of the Orthodox Jews in matters of religion and morality. They also had their representatives in the municipal council of Gąbin during all the years of the Second Polish Republic. The Jewish councillmen were in constant conflict with the National Democrats, but they often agreed with members of the other Polish parties on finding solutions for concrete problems. Regardless of their ideological and political differences, the activists of all the Jewish organizations shared basic concerns about the conditions of Jewish life in Gąbin. These concerns had to do with political, social and cultural issues, and they were expressed through the activity of the numerous educational, economic and charitable institutions that they had created and influenced.

4. Economic activities of the Jews

During the Second Polish Republic, most of the Jews were involved in trade and crafts. In 1931, industries employed 42.4% of the Jewish population, with 37.2% of them working in small Jewish enterprises. This facilitated the preservation of religious principles such as resting during Sabbath, which was not observed in the large factories that employed workers from all

nationalities. In those factories, holidays and working days depended on the cycle of the Christian holidays. Most Jews worked in the clothing sector (17%), wood-carving and carpentry industries (3.4%), textiles (3%) and metals (3%). All in all, the Jews employed in industry accounted for 21.3% of the total population of the Second Republic of Poland.

In commerce and finances, 58.7% of the total number of employed people were Jews, including 36.6% of all the merchants. Most of them (27.8%) worked in retail trade (Jews accounted for as much as 71% of all the people working in Poland's retail trade). Some Jews worked in transport and communication (4.5%), although they constituted only 12.1% of all the employees in this sector of the Polish economy. Moreover, the share of Jews in free legal professions amounted to 34.2% of the total, 24.3% in the area of health care, and 21.5% in education and culture. A characteristic feature of Jewish employment was the marginal involvement in farming (only 4% of the Jews were engaged in agriculture, making up just 0.6% of the total farming population in Poland). With slight modifications, this concentration of Jewish employment in commercial activities, industry and the free professions remained in place throughout the entire interwar period in Poland.[92]

Gąbin's employment structure reflected the general national picture. In 1928, local trade was almost completely dominated by Jews, who accounted for 95.6% of the economically active merchants in Gąbin. They also held a significant share of the jobs in the communications and transport sector (70%). In industry, virtually all the workers were Catholic (63.6%) or Jewish (35.4%), although the largest factories belonged to a small number of Evangelicals. In the public service, 20% of the employees were Jewish and there was only one Jew involved in farming. Among those who reported being employed "without specifying an occupation", 56.7% were Jews and 39.2% Catholics. Among the unemployed, 13.3% were Jews.

Table 7. Economically active Jewish population in Gąbin, 1928.

Economic activities	Total	Jews	% Jews
Agriculture and forestry	680	1	0.1
Industry	1498	530	35.4
Trade	1015	970	95.6
Communication and transport	60	42	70.0
Public service	60	12	20.0
Unemployed persons	150	20	13.3
Other activities	120	68	56.7
Total	3583	1643	45.9

Source: APP, AmG, reference number 697.

Looking at the overall structure of employment of the town's Jews we find that, in 1928, 59% of them were merchants, 32.3% worked in industry, 4.1% were employed in "unspecified

occupations", 2.5% worked in the transport industry, almost 1 % were public servants, and a little over 1 % were unemployed.[93]

The majority of the Jews in industry were small craftsmen, mainly concentrated in the clothing and leather sectors. Relative to Christians, there were large percentages of Jews among tailors, bakers, and hairdressers. The percentages were smaller among shoemakers, butchers and carpenters. Some crafts, like making the upper parts of shoes, tinsmithing, watchmaking, cap and hat making, furriery, and glassmaking were exclusively performed by Jews.[94]

In 1923, tailors were by far the largest Jewish occupational group in Gąbin. In addition to the 75 tailors, 20 Jews worked and doing the upper part of shoes and 20 in shoemaking, 16 as butchers, 15 as cap makers and 10 as bakers. There were also eight Jewish tinsmiths, four glaziers, three rope-makers, three watchmakers, two carpenters and a blacksmith, a shoemaker and a locksmith.[95]

In 1928, 550 craft workshops operated in the town, gathering 330 craftsmen and 230 unskilled wage laborers.[96] The Gąbin craftsmen were organized in seven guilds. During the 1929-1932 economic depression, the number of craftsmen declined significantly. In 1933, there were 270 masters, 25 journeymen and 46 apprentices in the guilds.[97]

The economic situation slowly improved in Poland, the craftsmen of Gąbin returned to work. In 1934, the municipal authorities received an order to make 7,000 pair of shoes for the army, which created jobs for 49 shoemakers and makers of boot-uppers.[98] In addition, the Gąbin youngsters could gain qualifications in the newly established Vocational Public School maintained by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education. In 1935, 198 of the 488 people employed in crafts were Jews, including 65 tailors, 28 shoemakers, 25 seamstresses and embroiderers , 15 needleworkers , 10 tinsmiths, seven cap makers, five barbers, five locksmiths, four builders and four furniture makers.[99]

In 1934 there were also professional associations helping the artisans. The Jewish Craftsmen Association had about 100 members and its accounts showed 5.47 zlotys in cash and 100.00 zlotys in movable property. The Guild of Jewish Butchers and Bakers had 15 members and a Loans and Relief Fund with relatively large capital. In 1934, it had 217.03 zlotys in cash assets, 755.00 zlotys in bills of exchange, 24.00 zlotys in securities, 11.00 zlotys in repayable expenses and 24.30 zlotys in movables.[100] The main goals set by the members of the union focused on solving conflicts, improving working conditions and providing financial assistance.[101]

In interwar Gąbin there were some small factories owned by Jews. In 1923, Gips and Wolfowicz operated a sawmill on Rogatki Gostynińskie St. in partnership with Sznajder, an ethnic German. Lajbus Laffel had a glue factory in the same area. Moszek Stupaj owned an oil mill on Garbarska

St. and L. M. Tyber managed a perfumery in Dobrzykowska St. These small factories employed one or two workers.[102]

As mentioned above, Jews were a majority in the communication and transport sector. In the year 1923, nine Gąbin Jews were active in this sector. Altman and Haja, Estera Kaliska and Arje Kaliski were engaged in passenger transport. Haim Chudy, Kasryl Opatowski, Aron Szwarc, Mordka Szawarc, Azriel Wyrobek and Salomon Zajdeman owned heavier vehicles for shipment of merchandise.[103]

Figure 12. Gąbin's Jewish Savings and Loan Association, 1913.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

In 1925, the Jews in the sector of services and free professions included doctor A. Dziewczepolski, midwife F. Kalmus, medics E. Samulewicz and Moshe Samulewicz, translators Abram Hirszberg and Chaim Kerber, and hairdressers Lajb Odera and Hersze Taifeld. A. Szejne and B. Wajs had restaurants, G. and Moshe Milgrom managed a local inn, Chaim Zandman had a photographic studio, and Joine Grunbaum owned the "Polonja" cinema.[104]

The majority of the Jews, however, persisted in trade. Jewish merchants thoroughly prevailed in Gąbin and its surrounding markets. In 1923, their number was 150[105] and, five years later, there were as many as 920 people involved in trading. It should be noted, however, that this large number reflected the inclusion of family helpers. From 1015 all active merchants, about 600 of that total number were family helpers, which means that the actual number of merchants was about 400 people.[106]

There were Jewish stores selling food products (16), textiles (15), haberdashery (13) and colonial items (9)[107]. In 1928, there was a concentration of 33 grocery and colonial stores in the area of Old Market Square and Kutno and Płock streets. The more expensive products were sold in these stores, but the main income of Gąbin's merchants came from transactions in fairs and markets. Some store owners were also peddlers.[108]

Small-scale trade took place in Gąbin every Thursday at the Old Market Square in the center of town. On the first and third week of each month, local farmers brought grain, cattle and pigs for sale at the New Market Square. In 1938, the Polish majority in the municipal council decided to transfer all trade to New Market Square. There were protests from the Jewish population, but they did not have any effect on the council's decision, which also designated a site on Plock St. as the only place for the sale of eggs.[109]

The protests of all merchants, however, did have an impact in 1924, when the province of Warsaw introduced changes in the scheduling of local fairs. Gąbin's municipal authorities began efforts to restore the previous situation. On November 6 1926, the Council of Ministries increased the number of fairs to eight, including Tuesdays. The new schedule was approved by the councilors in 1926, but it was only accepted by the provincial authorities in April 1928.[110]

The Gąbin merchants had two organizations. A branch of the Polish Association of Small Merchants and Traders was established in 1928, embracing the area of Gąbin and Sanniki. Its headquarters were located on 5 Dzika St and its board included Szmul Borensztein, Moszek Gliwzeliger, Juna Tyber, Marek Wolfowicz, Henoch Żurkowski and Jakób Żychliński. The association had 126 members, all of them Jews.[111] In the years of the economic depression the membership declined. By 1934, when it moved its office to 1 Kutno St., the name of the organization was changed to Central of Retail and Small Merchants and was presided by Moszek Glikzeliger, a trader. It had 75 members, of which only 45 paid contributions. The merchants were grouped into industry sections. This association did not own any property and was influenced by the Zionists.

The other organization, the Association of Non-Partisan Small Merchants of Gąbin, typically took the side of the government, but it had was much less significant in the town. In 1934, it had 55 members, 47 of whom paid contributions. The organization, which was headed by Aron Ryster and vice-presidents Szmul Bornsztejn, Hersz Maydal and Abram Petlarz, had 11.81 zlotys in property.[112]

The frequent crises and the large numbers of small traders and craftsmen favored the creation of many self-help institutions among the Jews. The Second Loan and Savings Society of Gąbin, founded in 1910 included 444 members. It was headed by Abram Wolfowicz and the vice-president was Możesz Żychliński. The board included Fajweł Bornsztejn, Abram Fried, Josif Gips,

Abram Płoński and Henoch Żurkowski. In 1919, the Bundists organized the "Unity" Workers Cooperative in Gąbin, bringing together 240 people. The managers of the cooperative were S. Adler, J.M. Chaja, C. Lurie, M. Łaski, M. Tadelis, M. Tatarka and J. Tyber.

As indicated on page 18, the Loan Association *Ezra* (Assistance) was active in Gąbin. It had been founded in 1902 with 250 members. The board of *Ezra* included Abram Gips, Mosze Glikzeliger, Szymon Kranz, Manele Lizak, Marek Wolfowicz, Abram Zamość and Jakób Żychliński.[113] Later on, the association was reorganized as the Jewish Credit Cooperative with headquarters in 5 Old Market Square. It had 367 members and was headed by Abram Zamość.[114] Its activity was boosted by funds brought from the United States in 1922 by Abraham Icchak Maks. In 1923 the cooperative was transformed into the People's Bank (the Folks Bank). Its most active members were A. Zamość, A. Gips, M. Tadelis, A. Tyber and Pinkus Szacher. The fund-raising efforts of the organizations of Gąbin Jewish emigres in the United States were facilitated by the American JOINT Distribution Committee, which had been working in Poland since 1914 and had systems in place to send the money directly to Gąbin.[115] The People's Bank played a key role in the economic life of the town because it received and managed those funds, apportioning a part to support the Kehila's budget and using the rest to offer loans to the Gąbin Jews.

Figure 13. Gąbin's Gemilot Chasadim Bank.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

A limitation of the People's Bank was the fact that its loans required repayment guarantees that could not be provided by the poorest members of the community. The Craftsmen Association was also not very effective. Therefore, in 1927, the American Gąbin Jewish emigres sent another delegate, Szoiman, with funds for the establishment of the Loans and Savings Bank *Gemilot Chasadim.* The founders included well-known social activists Haim Lejb Bornstein, Icchak Siekierka, Pinkus Szacher, A. Tiber and Abraham Wróbel. The cash register committee held

weekly meetings and remained in constant contact with the JOINT office in New York, sending business reports every two months.[116]

As stated on page 18, *Gemilot Chasadim* was the first institution to lend money on much milder conditions, which resulted in the involvement of a significant part of the Jewish community of Gąbin. Initially, the loan amounts were very small but they increased over the years. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the bank granted loans of 300 zlotys.[117]

Figure 14. Meeting with Gąbin Jewish envoy from America.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

Summarizing this section, the Jewish community of Gąbin took active part in the town's economic life. Trade depended on the Jews and, to a lesser extent, transport as well. The Jews were active in small industry and services. Due to their fragmentation in a multitude of workshops and shops, the majority of the members of the community were in a difficult economic situation and required the assistance of various institutions such as trade unions and cooperatives. Banks and credit unions made possible economic survival, especially in times of crisis, when the conditions deteriorated considerably and the number of professionally active Jews decreased significantly. The assistance provided by Gąbin Jewish emigres in the United States mostly from Newark and through the JOINT played a significant role. Their financial support was decisive for the operation of many institutions that provided social welfare and economic assistance to the members of the community like *Beit Lechem* (The House of Bread) and *Linat Zedek*.

5. Culture and Jewish education

Poland's recovery of independence had a huge impact on the education of its minority groups. Before the First World War, Jewish children in the Kingdom of Poland were mainly educated in traditional religious *chedarim*, although by the end of the 19th century there were also private secular schools.[118] In Gąbin, one such school was run by Fishel Lehrer who, in addition to writing, reading, and other secular subjects, taught Polish, German and Russian. Lehrer made agreements with teachers of *chedarim* who dismissed the boys earlier from their classes so that they would be able to go and learn at his school several times a week.[119] By the beginning of the 20th century, there was also a public coeducational general school for Jewish children and a secondary school for teenagers of all nationalities.[120]

On October 1 1917, the new Polish administrative authorities issued provisions for the education of national minorities. Article 97 of the law stated that "for Jewish children, if there are enough applications from their parents, there will be separate elementary schools or divisions, observing the Sabbath". Article 98 introduced the possibility of temporary attendance of children to private institutions with an extended curriculum and under "general supervision" These provisions provided the basis for further Polish legislation on education during the interwar period.[121]

On the threshold of the Second Polish Republic, the Jewish political parties tried to ensure that all Jewish children aged 7-13 would be included in public education, although in reality the situation varied in different areas of the country. According to the Little Treaty of Versailles, all national minorities had the right to receive education in their native language, which nevertheless raised doubts about which of the languages spoken by the Jews was to be considered "native". The Political Committee of the Council of Ministers issued guidelines instructing the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education to create a unified system of general (basic) education with separated classes, but local authorities often formed separate schools for the Jews, called "Sabbaths". In 1922, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education approved the release of the students of reformed *chedarim* from the obligation to attend the public school system, a decision that was later reaffirmed in a more detailed resolution passed on April 17 1935.[122] The result was that Jewish children could be educated in two types of schools: public schools with instruction in the Polish language, and private schools (religious or secular) in which the language of instruction could be Hebrew, Yiddish, or bilingual combinations of the three languages.[123]

After Polish independence, four general schools with 16 teachers functioned in Gąbin. One of them had been established in 1915 for Jewish students who had been previously attending Christian schools. The first manager of the facility was Regina Perczakówna, who emigrated to America in 1920. The new headmaster of the Universal (primary) School No. 3 was Ignacy

Sztokhammer and the teachers included Gross, Frajda Jungwiecówna Prync, Sztolmanowa, C. Wygodzka J. Wygodzki and Z. Zarentanówna.[124] In later years Abram Kalmus taught at the school. Ignacy Icchak Rembaum , also a teacher, was the school's director on the eve of the Second World War.[125]

Figure 15. Gąbin's Universal School No. 3. Among the teachers, I. Sztokhamer and A. Kalmus, 1924.

ייִדישע פּאָלקשול מיט די לערער: קאַלמוס, שטאַקהאַמער — 1924

Source: http://www.zchor.org

At the beginning, the Jewish school had 6 classes and 250 children.[126] Because of staff shortages and overcrowding, some classes were held in the afternoon until 5:00 pm, despite the lack of electricity. In 1922 the municipal authorities allowed the opening of three more classes, but the conditions of the school building continued to be appalling. The directors repeatedly asked for renovations, electrification of the facility, and fuel. Their requests for teaching aids, textbooks and the addition of a library were also frequent. The situation improved when the school equipment company from Warsaw "Urania" donated the most-needed teaching materials to the school.[127] In 1927, the construction of a new building for the 7-class General (primary) School No. 1 allowed the transfer of the Jewish school to the facilities that had been used by School No. 1 on Warsaw St.[128]

Another problem was the issue of Sunday learning in Jewish schools, which raised objections from Catholic and nationalistic circles that saw it as "a violation of the holiday day."[129] The matter was discussed as a general problem in Polish education, but the pressures were particularly strong in traditionally conservative small towns like Gąbin. In February 1920, Adam Styliński, a member of the National Democracy party, presented a protest accusing the director, Regina Perczakówna, of forcing people to work in the school on Sundays.[130]

In the years 1919-1922 there was a 4-class secondary school in Gąbin. Until 1920, the school was supervised by the Polish Educational Society (Polska Macierz Szkolna), but due to lack of funding, its supervision was taken over by the municipal authorities. It was a coeducational school attended by teenagers of all nationalities. In 1920, the school had 162 students. There were separate religion lessons for the different religious groups, with Abram Kalmus in charge of the instruction of Jewish children. In 1922, the 4-class school was transformed into a 7-class general secondary school.[131]

In addition to the schools of the public Polish system, there were the Jewish schools that were run by the Gąbin *Kehila* and on a private basis. In 1921, the board of the *Kehila* presented a report to the local authorities about the *chedarim,* the *Talmud Torah* school, and the kindergarten.[132] Learning in a traditional *cheder* was customary for Jewish boys from an early age. A *melamed* (religious teacher) gave them basic lessons on reading and writing, prayers, Torah, and Jewish history and moral norms. Students went to the *cheder* with the teacher's fee in hand. *Talmud Torah*, was a *Kehila*-sponsored day school in which the same type of instruction was offered to all those who could not afford to pay tuition. The supervision of the *chedarim* and *Talmud Torah* was exercised by Orthodox Jews, and their traditional teaching methods were often seen as anachronistic.[133] They functioned in the *Beih Hamidrash* near the Gąbin synagogue. The students could continue their education in evening classes run by the *Kehila* in the public school building. The classes included Hebrew language and history of Jews.

Apart from the traditional religious education supervised by the *Kehila*, there were attempts, typically initiated by groups affiliated to Jewish political parties, to establish modern secular schools. However, the difficult material conditions of the community meant that such attempts were short-lived. Until 1926, there was a school managed by the nationwide Cultural and Educational Association "*Tarbu*t", which had been founded in 1922 by the Zionist organizations to promote instruction in Hebrew and learning about Palestine.[134] The *Tarbut* schools, which also taught religion, sought to "educate students as the future builders of the Jewish national home in Palestine." The quality of education in the Zionist schools was very good but, since the costs were high, only the children from better-off Jewish families were able to attend.[135]

Two additional schools, also connected to nationwide organizations operated in Gąbin until 1933.[136] One of them, sponsored by *Agudat Israel*, was part of the "reformed *chedarim*" initiative of the Central Educational Organization "*Chorew*". The *Agudat Israel* party had established this organization in 1929 in response to the development of Jewish secular education in Poland. In the "reformed *chedarim*", the language of instruction was Yiddish, and the traditional teaching of religion was supplemented with "modern" general subjects. The other school was a kindergarten run by the Central Organization of Jewish Schools (Centrale Jidysze Szul Organizacje, CISzo), which was the only secular Jewish educational institution in

Poland that completely avoided religion lessons. The organization was under the influence of the Bund and Poalei Zion-Left. It promoted Yiddish as the language of instruction and its main emphases were the natural sciences, the humanities, and the need to raise "aware Polish citizens" who also learned the Polish language and the history of Poland.[137] Sonia Cemelinska-Nowogrodzka, Channa Celemelinska and Rajzla Żychlińska were among the teachers who worked in the Bund-sponsored kindergarten.

Figure 16. Bund-sponsored Kindergarten, teachers S.Cemelińska-Nowogrodzka (right) and C. Celemelińska (left).

Source: http://www.zchor.org

The Bundist and Zionist groups were also active in establishing local libraries all over Poland. In Gąbin, they founded the Jewish Library and Reading Society in 1914 and, by the end of the war, they obteined permission from mayor Schneider to legalize an informal library that functioned at the Poznański tenement house in the town's center. The library was run by a five-member committee that included three Bundists and two Zionists. By 1920, the association had 150 members. The library board included J.M. Chaja, I. Sztokhamer, M. Tadelis and A. Tober.[138]

The library started with about 2,000 volumes. The association, however, did not focus only on lending and borrowing books. They organized educational courses for the young and, later, they sponsored a "drama circle" that was directed, among others, by Weislicz and Domb. The group presented plays by Sholem Ash, Chekhov, Fibiszewski and Andrzejew. Music concerts were also organized. Open lectures by well-known guest speakers, including M. Kasher, Israel Lichtensztejn, N. Szafran and Wiktor Szulman, were very popular in the town.[139]

In addition, Bundists and Zionists had their own separate libraries. During the interwar period, the Zionist library had about 3,000 books in Hebrew, Yiddish and Polish. The Bundist collection, managed in the 1920s by C. Hodys, had about 2,700 volumes and served 250 readers. Associated with these libraries were Jewish sports organizations established by both groups, the Zionist *Maccabi* (named after the Jewish warriors who rebelled against the Greeks) and the Bundist *Morgenstern* (morning star).

Maccabi and *Morgenstern* had been functioning in Gąbin since the early years of Polish independence. In 1935, another Jewish sports organization, *Hapoel* (The Worker, related to *Poalei Zion*-Right), was established in the town.[140] In his memories, Wolf Maintczik reminisces that *Maccabi* and *Morgenstern* had soccer and gymnastics teams that competed with each other. *Maccabi* had a much better soccer team that included, among others, Baum, Holcman, Teyfeld, and A. Żychlinski. Its greatest successes came before the outbreak of the Second World War. In addition to local games, *Maccabi* played soccer matches against Jewish and Polish teams from other towns in the area. In 1923 they beat the Polish team from Płock 3 to 1, but in the second leg match, goalkeeper Abram Hodys was severely wounded. *Maccabi* decided not to play again at the Plock stadium to avoid antisemitic attacks.[141]

A Jewish orchestra, associated with Maccabi, played in Gąbin under the direction of Moshe Hodys. The musicians included Meir Zelig Kerber (lyric tenor), Azriel Tatarka (clarinet), and Tyber, Wróbel and Żychliński. The orchestra gave concerts in the town and played in the neighboring forest during *Lag BaOmer* (a festival celebrating the end of a plague among Rabbi Akiva's students in Judea).[142]

Figure 17. Maccabi sports organization in Gąbin.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

The Bund's *Morgenstern* had an excellent gymnastics team trained by, among others, Kroy and Abram Frenkel. Their slogan was "in a healthy body, a healthy spirit", and they greeted each other with *"frish-frei, stark-trei"* (newly free, strongly faithful).[143] Claiming that their local *Maccabi* rivals were too weak, they invited gymnastic clubs from Płock and Włocławek to compete. Their soccer team, which was ambitious but less successful, included as players Szlomo Bławat, Somel Szczerb, Hersz Natan, Zeidman, Fajwisz Gurker, Chaim Gurker, Zalman Klinger, Moshe Schwarcz, Moshe Tipiel, Israel Stupai and Lazer Kuczinski.[144]

Among the youth organizations, the *Hashomer Hatzair* scouting association played a very important role in Gąbin. It had been founded in 1922 by young activists connected with *Poalei Zion*-Left.[145] In Gąbin, their local *ken* (nest) was established in 1925 and existed until the outbreak of the Second World War. Their first *madrichim* (group leaders) were students of the *Tarbut* school, which at that time was about to be closed for lack of funds. Following the model of English and German scouting organizations, the *madrichim* took children and youngsters to excursions in the surrounding forests and fields, instilling in them the secular values of socialist Zionism. They saw *Hashomer Hatzair* as a movement that would free the Jewish youth from "the terrible weight of isolation in the diaspora".[146]

Figure 18. Hashomer Hatzair in Gąbin, 1926.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

Hashomer Hatzair's lounge,located on Gen. Składkowski St., functioned throughout the week and was visited by about twenty teenagers aged 14 to 15.[147] The *Maccabi* sports club run another scout group of about sixteen youngsters aged 14-25. They met twice a week in their lounge on Piłsudski St.

Starting in 1909, film screenings became popular as a new type of entertainment in Gąbin. The cinema hall was established by Edward Modzelewski but, during the interwar period, its owner

was Jojne Grinbaum. The "Polonja" cinema, which was located on Gostynin St., was also used as a place for festivals, meetings and celebrations of the entire community of Gąbin.[148]

On the whole, it can be said that the educational and cultural scene of Jewish life in Gąbin was characterized by a great deal of activity and diversity. Children and teenagers could attend traditional and modern schools, and had opportunities to participate in sporting and scouting activities sponsored by a variety of social and political organizations, especially the Bundists and Zionists. Libraries, lounges, theater and music circles offered choices for the enjoyment of leisure time, enlivening the everyday life of the entire Jewish community.

Chapter 3

Extermination of the Jewish population of Gąbin

1. German policy towards the Wartheland Jews and its implementation in Gąbin

Just before the outbreak of the war, the population of the Wartheland was 4,922,200, including about 400,000 Jews (8.1% of the total). By district, there were 326,000 Jews in Łódź and 4,500 in Poznań.[1] In the district of Inowrocław, to which Gąbin belonged, the Jewish population was 54,087. In Gąbin itself, 2,312 of the 7,015 residents were Jews (about 33%).[2]

The German invasion of Poland began on September 1 1939. The occupation of the cities and towns of the Wartheland marked the onset of terror for the Jewish population. The Wehrmacht and SS troops took every opportunity to mistreat and persecute the Jews, insulting and beating anyone who looked Jewish in the streets. Roundups, forced labor, plundering of Jewish property, and profanation and burning of synagogues became routine. A typical Nazi entertainment was cutting off the beards and side curls of Orthodox Jews, as well as forcing them to perform “senseless and humiliating acts”.[3]

Gąbin was occupied by the German forces on September 17 1939. On September 21, the moral authority of the Jews, Rabbi Zalman Unger, highly respected by the whole community, was forced to put on his ceremonial robes and dragged through the streets with a pitchfork in his hands towards the forest.[4] There, he was killed by the Germans, although there are several versions of his death. Jan Borysiak writes that the rabbi "was taken away and murdered somewhere".[5]

On that day, the Gąbin Jewish community lost not only its spiritual leader, but also its place of prayer. The Germans ordered the Jews to concentrate in Piłsudski Square (now New Market Square), where they were beaten and harassed. At the same time, the soldiers poured gasoline and set fire to the historic wooden synagogue, pushing into the building several Jews who somehow managed to survive. The fire spread to neighboring buildings because the authorities did not allow any attempt to extinguish it. The *Beit Hamidrash* was consumed by the flames along with the *Kehilah* office, where the silver ornaments on the Torah scrolls had been hidden the day before. More than fifty Torah Scrolls hidden in the basement of an adjacent brick house were also irretrievably lost. The Jews had to watch the symbols of their faith disappear in flames, but the Germans did not stop there. The occupation authorities accused the Jews of arsoning the synagogue and allowing the fire to spread to other buildings.[6]

Within the next couple of weeks, the stores and warehouses owned by Jews were confiscated and incorporated into a new Genossenschaft (cooperative) headed by Dreier, Kern and Kossman, three local ethnic Germans. The headquarters of the cooperative were established in a building opposite the Catholic church on Warsaw street. The confiscations also included property of Polish merchants.[7]

At the same time, Jews began to be resettled from their homes and apartments into much worse buildings in other parts of the town. Initially, the resettlement affected the better-off families, whose homes were allocated to ethnic Germans from neighboring villages, especially from Borki, Świniary, Troszyn, Wiączemin and Wymyśle. The action, in which defenseless Jewish families were kicked and beaten, was conducted by the Schutzpolizei and SS, together with local German members of the Nazi party and the Selbschutz (self-protection unit). Good quality household equipment was requisitioned, while lesser quality furniture was thrown out through the windows and balcony doors.[8] In Gąbin, the evicted Jews were resettled within the town. In many other towns of the Wartheland, people were deported to the territory of the General Government. According to D. Dąbrowska, it was in the areas closest to the Third Reich that the Germans directly deported the evicted Jewish population. In the eastern counties of the Wartheland, like Gostynin and Kutno, the Jews were not displaced during the initial period of the war.[9]

On October 15, 1939, the county's occupation authorities sent an order to Abraham Lajb Gips (chairman of the organization of Jewish small businesses and the People's Bank) instructing him to establish a Judenrat (Jewish Council) of seven members belonging to various organizations. The order was heeded, with Mosze Wandt as head of the Judenrat.[10]

The Judenrat was a body of Jewish administration. It was completely dependent on the Germans, compelled to execute orders issued by the occupation authorities in a precise and timely manner.[11] One of the duties of Gąbin's Judenrat was to draft workers from the Jewish population aged 16-60. Those who were assigned had to work without pay, at first one day a week and, later on, on the days determined by German decrees.[12]

The Judenrat was a way of forcing the victims to implement on themselves the Nazi policies for Jews in the occupied areas of Poland. It maintained lists of the people in the Jewish communities, assisted the local authorities in resettling the population, and organized the transports of Jews to labor camps and, later on, to extermination centers. As everywhere in Poland, Gąbin's Judenrat had to fulfill the Germans' extortionate demands, collecting and transferring cash "contributions" and various types of valuables, furs, furniture, etc. In addition it was responsible for organizing the internal life of the Jewish community, dealing with religious and educational issues, housing problems, food and fuel supply, and social assistance for the most needy.[13]

Despite the awareness that the Judenrat was the executor of Nazi decrees, most Jews showed obedience to it because, like its members, they believed that in this way they could have a chance to survive. They hoped that as compliant and productive workers they would manage to stay alive until the victory of the Allies.[14]

The Judenrat had its own Order Service, a Jewish police, organized on the model of the Polish Blue Police under the occupation. Its officers wore green bands on their sleeves and carried clubs. The Jewish police maintained order among the Jews, performed requisitions, and escorted displaced persons. It helped in anti-epidemic campaigns and deportation actions. The members of the Judenrat and the Jewish police were not paid salaries, but they received larger food allowances, which caused resentment in the Jewish community. In Gąbin, the chief of the Jewish police was the brother of Mosze Wandt, the head of the Judenrat.[15]

Jews aged 16-60 were drafted as unpaid laborers from the very beginning of the occupation. The Gąbin Judenrat provided 200 men and 50 women, whose initial task was filling in bomb craters and demolishing the buildings that had been damaged by the bombardments of the 1939 invasion.[16] Jews and Poles worked in the demolition of the primary school on May 3rd St. and later in the demolition of the Evangelical and Catholic churches. Jews were also used in the construction of the "Neue Heimat" block complex and the road to Kamień. Jewish and Polish children aged 11-13 cleaned bricks under the ruthless watch of the already mentioned Rumpel.[17]

Figure 19. Group of Jewish draft laborers in Gąbin.

Source: http: //www.zchor.org

The first mass arrests of Gąbin residents took place on November 9-11, 1939. Among the 36 detained people there were well-known Jewish figures such as Abraham Zamosc, director of the People's Bank, and Icchak Rembaum, headmaster of the Jewish Primary School No. 2. They

were kept in a school building and then transported to Lodz. On November 12, fearing further arrests, another group of Jews fled to the territory of the General Government, including Abraham Lajb Gips and Lajb Siekierka.[18] In Warsaw, they established contact with the office of the already mentioned organization JOINT, which was now doing its best to help the ghettoized Jews of Poland with donations from American Jews. To receive assistance from the JOINT, a Jewish Relief Committee was established in Gąbin on January 30 1940 with Hersz Sztolcman as chairman and K. Glass as secretary. The committee also included Jojne Bibergał, Rafał Dziedzic, Majer Łaski, Icchak Flajszman, Abram Fried, Eliasz Sieradzki, and Moszek Wandt.[19] In the following months there were changes in the membership of the committee. tThe last surviving letter to the Warsaw office ofthe JOINT, written on December 22 1940, was signed by M. Wandt and M. Zajdeman as chairman and secretary of the committee. The other members were J. Fleiszman, K. Glass, A. Hadys, H. Holcman, M. Laski and K. Rembaum.

The activity of the Jewish Relief Committee in Gąbin focused mainly on the fire victims, the poorest, and the sick. With funds received from the JOINT, it organized a kitchen that provided 800 meals a day, distributed clothes and food (mainly fats such as butter, margarine and edible oils), and tried to organize medical care. For this purpose, the committee hired a paramedic, paid the municipal doctor and maintained an "isolation center" for infectious patients.

In accordance with the JOINT's requirements, the Gąbin Relief Committee sent detailed reports with full accounts of its expenditures to the Warsaw office. In February 1940, the committee received a subsidy of 1,000 marks from the JOINT. In March, the subsidy was 1,500 marks. Since the actual expenses were much higher, the committee obtained permission from the JOINT office in Warsaw to borrow from private individuals. In February, these liabilities amounted to 660 marks and by March they had increased to almost 1,000 marks. A part of the Relief Committee's funds came from donations and fees for the meals.

The contact with the office of the JOINT was not limited to letter exchanges. Members of the committee also traveled to Warsaw. On February 12-15, for example, Moszek Wandt and Majer Łaski visited the JOINT headquarters. However, the assistance did not last long. On August 5 1940, the JOINT notified the Gąbin Relief Committee that it would no longer be able to provide help because the town belonged to a region that had been annexed to the German Reich.[20] The Relief Committee continued to function, but the scope of its activities was limited. The weekly contribution it collected in the town was only enough to compensate the Jewish workers who, by order of the occupation authorities, had to work for no pay at the German businesses in Gabin. The kitchen meals were replaced by sporadic cash benefits and food products including flour, meal, oil, groats and bread. The committee continued to pay for paramedic and city doctor services, provided housing assistance, and sponsored the vaccination of all Jews against typhus.[21]

In the spring of 1940, the terror campaign against the Jews of Gąbin intensified. On April 20, a meeting for Hitler's birthday was organized in the town. Jan Borysiak recalls that members of the SS and the Nazi party came from Gostynin and neighboring villages and attacked the Jews on the streets. Many Jewish residents were beaten and dragged from their homes, and about a dozen members of the community were locked in the basement of the house where the SS had their headquarters. There they were severely beaten and forced to pay a high contribution.[22]

After that, the situation of the Jewish population deteriorated drastically. In the same spring of 1940 (April or May), Jews were ordered to wear marks in the form of triangles sewn on the back, and yellow six-pointed stars on the breasts. For greater humiliation, they were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks and forced to circulate in the middle of the streets. Beatings and raids of Jewish homes became more frequent. The Germans did not spare the children. In May 1942, after the liquidation of the ghetto, they held the son of Mosze Wandt in the cellar for several days before murdering him.[23] There were rapes of young girls like 14 year old Hanna Klinger and a daughter of the Tiber family, aged 11.[24]

Early in 1940, the local authorities had started to displace Jewish families from their homes and concentrate them in the northern part of the town, which was the area most densely populated by Jews. Initially, the ghetto was open, in the sense that the Jews could move in and out, contact the Polish population and even buy food from nearby farmers.[25]

The conditions in the neighborhood were appalling. Although there is no detailed information, a report of the Gąbin Relief Committee to the JOINT indicates that, on average, three families lived in one room. In December 1940, before the formal enclosure of the ghetto, about 2,100 Jews lived in the town, 250 of whom had come from other towns after the German invasion.

Figure 20. Jewish workers from the ghetto in Gąbin.

Source: http: //www.zchor.org

The report mentions huge overcrowding, a large number of homeless, constantly spreading diseases, and a growing pauperization of the Jewish community caused by the closure of factories and workshops.[26]

In August 1941, the occupation authorities officially enclosed the Gąbin ghetto. The decree formally separated the Jewish ghetto from the rest of the town and enforced a ban on Polish-Jewish contacts.[27] The ghetto covered the area near the Old Market Square that had been most densely inhabited by the Jews before the occupation. It spanned the so-called Budki (box), which included Cmentarna, Kilińskiego and Poprzeczna streets and part of the Suchy Pień area in the center of town. The Poles who lived in this area were resettled to inferior lodgings previously occupied by Jews in other neighborhoods.[28]

Despite the vigilance of the armed guards and the risk of death, some Polish-Jewish contacts were maintained. An example was the activity of two Jewish teachers, Hinda Brzezińska and Apolonia Pindek. The first of them taught several Polish children who, together with their parents, remained in the ghetto, including Maria Gil. Apolonia Pindek gave lessons to three Poles, who crossed the boundary of the ghetto for this purpose. A few weeks before the liquidation of the ghetto, she fled to Warsaw, where she probably died in the 1943 uprising. Her students were Marian Borkowski, Kazimierz Kowalski and Janusz Rogoziński.[29]

According to D. Dąbrowska, in 1942 there were 2,150 Jews in the ghetto.[30] This number was subject to change, since during first half of 1941 some groups were deported to labor camps and other groups were brought in from nearby towns.[31]

The Gąbin Jews heard rumors about German atrocities but, initially, they did not trust them. This changed when the Germans enforced a new poll tax. Rosa Greenbaum-Dinerman recalls that two refugees from Kolo had warned the Gąbin Jews that the poll tax was the first sign of the impending liquidation of the ghetto, which actually took place on April 12-14 1942.[32] Pretending that they were organizing a transport to another town, the SS, Hilfpolizei (the Auxiliary Police) and other local Germans armed with rifles, revolvers, shotguns, clubs and other weapons, herded the Jews to the Firemen's Square, allowing them to take only their most valuable things. On the way through Płock St., they were beaten and abused by the Germans. The sick or infirm were killed on the spot including, among others, Rafał Mejdat, his wife Hanna, and the tailor Żołna, a war-disabled man.[33]

Three days spent the Jews on the Firemen's Square, writing down their names and undergoing selection. The entire ghetto population was divided into groups, with young men separated from the elderly, women and children. A few tried to escape, but they were betrayed by peasant informers and murdered by the Germans. Among them was the mother of Abraham Greenbaum.[34]

The place was surrounded by barbed wire and tightly guarded by the Germans, who killed several sick old people at night.[35] A barrel with dirty water from the pond was given to the Jews for drinking and washing. Despite the ban to contact the Jews and the threat of death, the situation was so tragic that some Polish neighbors tried to help. Thanks to their courage, some food and water was passed on to the Jews standing on the square. Helena Anyszewska, Emilia Stępień and Emilia Wróblewska were especially generous and brave. The director of the Jewish school, Ignacy Icchak Rembaum, provided spiritual support to the desperate community.[36]

On April 14 1942, the lists were completed and trucks were waiting for the Jews. Jan Borysiak remembers: "They (the Germans) gave orders to leave the luggage in the square and the people were thrown into the trucks, cramming them so much that they suffocated. When the last men were driven away, Rembaum intoned a Hebrew prayer and others joined, despite the beatings of the Nazis"."[37] Eventually, the trucks with the last groups departed, leaving behind a deserted square.

Shortly after the liquidation of the ghetto, the Gąbin occupation authorities organized an auction of Jewish property after burning the worthless things.[38] On the same month, local Polish peasants whose farms had been taken over by Romanian ethnic Germans, were brought to the buildings vacated by the Jews. The last act in the destruction of the Jewish community of Gąbin was the razing of the cemetery in late August and early September of 1942.[39]

2. Holocaust of the Jews

The final stage in the Nazis' policy towards the Jews was their physical mass destruction. In the Wartheland its implementation began in October 1941. By November, the first German death camp was already being established in Chełmno, a village on the river Ner near the town of Kolo. It started operations on the following month. On January 2, 1942, following Himmler's directive to liquidate 100,000 Jews from the province during the first months of the year, Greiser issued a secret order to "regenerate the Wartheland".[40]

The final clearance for the "anti-Jewish action" was given at the Wansee conference on 20 January 1942, which was attended by representatives of the central and national Nazi authorities in all the occupied countries. The idea of deporting the Jewish population to the territory of the General Government, using the slave labor of the able-bodied Jews to the point of exhaustion was replaced by the *Endlösung* (final solution) concept that prescribed the total extermination of the Jews by closing the ghettos and eliminating their residents in extermination camps.[41]

After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Jews of Gąbin were directly taken to Chełmno, which had been designated as the extermination camp for the Jewish communities of the Wartheland. The camp had been initially called *Sonderkommando Schultze*. Later on, its name was changed to *Sonderkommando Kulmhof* (the German name of Chełmno), and finally to Sonde*rkommando Bothmann* (after Hans Bothmann, the camp's commander).[42] During the camp's first period of activity, from December 8 1941 to April 7 1943, the main victims were the Jews of the Wartheland, but Poles, Gypsies and Soviet prisoners of war were also killed at the site. The facility was reopened between June 26 and July 14 1944 for the extermination of more Polish and Hungarian Jews.[43] In total, about 250,000 people were murdered at the Chelmno death camp.[44]

The small palace in Chełmno had been chosen as the camp's location because it was close to Koło (14 km), a town with a train station on the main axis of the Łódź-Kutno-Poznań railway line. There were large numbers of Jews in the area, especially in Łódź, which was about 70 km away and contained "the main reservoir of human material for the camp". An additional advantage of the Chelmno location were the surrounding coniferous forests, which were "extremely opaque" and could hide the secret of the true activity of the Germans who were working there.[45]

The camp itself occupied a small space of about 3 hectares. During the first period it consisted of a large two-story brick country estate house called the "Palace", surrounded by barracks to accommodate the German personnel. The area was enclosed with a wooden fence (about 2.5 meters high) guarded by police stations.

The Chelmno crew numbered about 120-150 people, including about 10-15 Gestapo officers from Poznan. The others were auxiliary staff, including police and gendarmes from Łódź and Poznań. The first officer in charge, Herbert Lange, was temporarily replaced by Schultze until the appointment of Hans Bothmann, the last commandant.[46] The crew was organized into several commandos that carried out specific tasks such as supervising the work of the crematorium furnaces. The Germans selected Jews from incoming transports to do the most grisly tasks like searching the clothes of the victims. and handling the corpses.[47]

Chełmno was one of the most efficiently organized death camps. Its operation was based on speed, precision, and maintaining the nature of the operation in absolute secrecy to avoid complications in the handling of future victims. To this end, the Germans dictated letters to ten people from each transport. The letters were sent to the victims' relatives and friends, reassuring them that everything was well and there was no need to worry.[48]

The extermination campaign's first targets were the Jews from nearby villages and towns. The Germans took them to Chelmno by truck. Starting in January 1942, the liquidation of the ghettos located in the more remote areas of the Wartheland required changes in the means of

transport. The victims were brought by rail to the station in Koło, spent the night in the local synagogue, and were then taken in trucks to Chełmno. After March 1942, they were moved by narrow-gauge railway from Koło to the Powiercie station and, after a night in the Zawadki mill, brought on foot or by truck to the Chelmno Palace.

Until the last moment people were kept in the belief that they were going to work in the east. They were told and they would take a bath and their clothing would be disinfected. For the sake of appearances, they were ordered to undress in a spacious room where they received soap and towels. From there, they were suddenly herded through the Palace's internal corridor and across an external door leading directly into the back of a van.

For the purposes of the camp, three vans, functioning as mobile gas chambers, were brought to Chełmno from Berlin.[49] One of them could accommodate up to 150-170 people (or 200 children). The other two had capacity for around 80-100 people. They had been adapted to kill the people inside with the engine's exhaust fumes. A tailpipe connected the exhaust to the interior of the van, delivering the gases when the engine was started.[50] The inlet was secured to the floor by a metal strainer, which was in turn protected by a wooden grille that blocked access.[51] In the sealed interior, death occurred in four or five minutes. The van made its way to the Rzuchow forest, where the corpses were unloaded and buried in large pits. The work in the forest was done by the so-called *Waldkommando*, which included Jews who excavated the pits, removed jewelry from the bodies, and placed them in the mass graves. Back at the Palace, *Hauskommando* workers did cleaning labors and searched the victims' clothes for valuables. After cleaning, the gas vans set off for another transport.

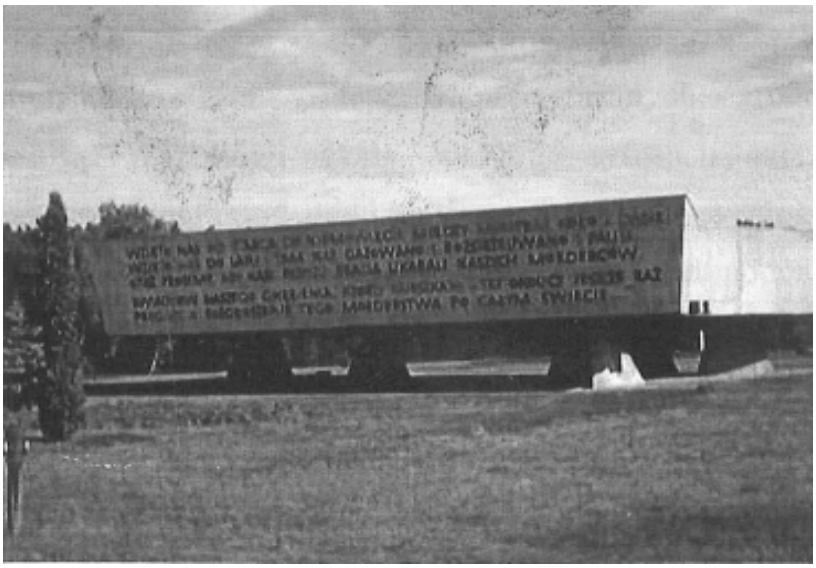
The tightly organized operation made possible the murder of about 1,000 people every day,[52] avoiding situations in which any prisoners would have a chance to escape their fate. It can be assumed that the Jews from the Gąbin ghetto were killed in the course of two days in April 1942. It is not known whether anyone from Gąbin was forced to work in the gruesome tasks assigned to Jewish prisoners at Chelmno.

At one point during the summer of 1942, a typhus epidemic and the strong emanations from huge quantities of decomposing corpses interrupted the functioning of the camp. A special unit, *Kommando 1005*, was established to exhumate the bodies and incinerate them in two crematorium furnaces and in open-air grills . After grinding the remaining bones in a special mill, the ashes were again buried in large pits.[53] The camp resumed activity in August 1942, burning the corpses of subsequent transports immediately after death .[54]

On April 7 1943, the first period of operations at Chełmno on the Ner ended. To cover the traces, the Palace and furnaces were blown up, and the barracks pulled down. The German crew was reincorporated into the Waffen SS and sent to Yugoslavia.[55]

In the spring of 1944, a new crew arrived to Chełmno commanded by Bothmann. The camp's location was moved four kilometers away to the Rzuchow forest. The area was enclosed with a high fence and two barracks were built, one for undressing the arriving victims and the other to store their belongings. After killing the people in the gas vans, their corpses were burned in newly built furnaces. Then, the gendarmes carried the ashes in sacks and poured them into the Warta River. This system was used between June 26 to July 14 1944 in the murder of about 10,000. Jews.[56]

Figure 21. Memorial to the victims of Nazism at Chelmno.



Source: http: //www.zchor.org

After July 1944, the site was no longer used except for sporadic killings. The barracks were pulled down, but a German crew remained in the forest with a group of 47 Jewish workers. On the night of January 17 1945, the Nazis began to drag the Jews from their shack in groups of five and shot them in the snow. After several shootings, the prisoners rebelled. The Jews killed two SS men, but the Germans burned the shack and fired upon those who tried to escape the flames. Only two of the prisoners managed to escape.[57] This marked the end of the mass murders in Wartheland, where the extermination of the Jews took around 250,000 lives, including more than 2,000 people from the Gąbin ghetto.

As already indicated, many Gąbin Jews had been deported to forced labor camps before the final extermination at Chełmno. According to the information in *Pinkas Hakehilot*, about 200 men were sent to Amsee (Janikowo), Czarków (Konin), Eindziov, and Hohensaltz (Inowrocław). Many of them died in Auschwitz.[58] The number must have been greater, since in March 1942, before the liquidation of the Gąbin ghetto, 300 Jews were sent to the labor camp that functioned in Konin from the winter of 1942/1943 to September 1944.[59] The workers' barracks

were located in Czarków, a neighborhood next to the Konin railway station. The Jews worked in the expansion of the railway and the layout of sewage networks. They were also used in earthworks, gardens and other projects in the city. The prisoners suffered from typhus and dysentery. The high mortality was also due to abuse and beatings by the camp's crew.[60]

Thanks to the records kept by Rabbi Yehoshua Moshe Aaronson, the names of part of the Gąbin Jews interned in the Czarków camp are known. Aaronson was a rabbi from Sanniki, who was hiding in Konin as a shoemaker.[61] In his diary he included lists of 137 sick inmates who were sent to the death camp in Chełmno (50 from Gabin),[62] 129 prisoners transferred to Andrzejew (59 from Gąbin), and 63 who were still alive in the camp on August 8 1943 (30 from Gąbin). Rabbi Aaronson writes that a revolt broke out a day later in Czarków. On August 9 1943, fearing another transport to the death camp, the prisoners set fire to the barracks and hanged themselves inside. The German guards quickly extinguished the fire, suppressed the uprising and ordered the surviving Jews to remove the bodies and clean up the place. Among those who died in the revolt were Fleivish Kamlazh, Abraham Neudorf and Philip Zielonka from Gąbin, Getzel Kleinot, Zalman Nusenowicz and Abraham Seif from Gostynin, and Dr. Hans Knopf from Berlin.[63] They were buried in the Catholic cemetery of Konin next to other camp Jews whose names were also noted by Rabbi Aaronson. Of the 63 persons in the common grave, half came from Gąbin.[64] After a few weeks, the remaining prisoners of Czarnkow were taken to Inowrocław.[65]

Earlier, in the autumn of 1941, about 50 Jews from Gąbin had been sent to Gostynin, from where they were deported to the newly created Amsee labor camp along with another 250 Jews.[66] This camp, which was probably located in Janikowo near Poznan, functioned until the autumn of 1942. The 300 prisoners dug trenches for sewage works. About 50 of them died in the camp, eight were hanged and the rest were shot outside the camp by the Germans.[67]

Some Jews from Gąbin were sent to Oświęcim. Between May 1942 and October 1944, there were eleven in Auschwitz, including Szlama Cymalinski, Moises Etinger, Simon Goldszlak, Jakob Markiewicz, Szmul Miolla, Fiszel Nowak, Wolf Pytel[68] and four members of the Temerson family including Chaya, Isaac, Mania and Rose.[69]

From the autumn of 1943, several Gąbin Jews worked at Buna Monowitz. The group included Yankel Altman, Mechl Ber, Herszl Bławat, Lejzer Bocian, Szmulik Frenkl, Ben Guyer and Hersz Zeideman.[70] Buna Monowitz had started in October 1942 as one of the Auschwitz sub-camps supplying workers to IG Farben, a German chemical and pharmaceutical conglomerate that had set up a plant in Monowice near Oświęcim in April 1941. On November 22, 1943, the command Auschwitz III-Monowitz-Aussenlager KL was formed at the sub-camp, with all the units of the industrial plants subordinated to it. Starting on November 25 1944, it began to function as the Monowitz concentration camp. On 17 January 1945, it had 10,223 prisoners in about sixty

barracks. A day later, the Germans evacuated most prisoners on foot to Gliwice, from where they were sent by rail to Buchenwald and Mauthausen. The inmates who were left behind were freed by the Red Army on January 27 1945.[71]

Other Jews from Gąbin were in the camps of Gliwice, Poznań (Municipal Stadium), Rogoźnica (Gross-Rosen), Zbąszyń, Dachau, Bergen-Belsen and Vienna. Some of them survived the war and wrote about their experiences, making possible a partial reconstruction of the history of about 350 Jews from the town in concentration camps and smaller labor camps.[72]

Finally, there were some Gąbin Jews in ghettos of other cities. As mentioned on page 5, in the Ringelblum Archive there are two letters sent by sisters Lusia and Rozia Gips to their father Abram who, together with his wife and son Aron, were in Warsaw Ghetto.[73] Boruch Grzywacz was in the Lodz ghetto, where he worked in the construction department.[74]

3. Paths to survival and remembrance

Among the Gąbin Jews, 212 managed to survive the tragic fate of their community during the Holocaust.[75] While each one of their grim stories was unique, they had some features in common. Some of them are presented here as representative examples.

The memories preserved in the memorial book *Gombin: The Life and Destination of a Jewish Town in Poland* include the narratives of two siblings, Albert Greenbaum and Rose Greenbaum-Dienerman, who survived the war hiding on the "Aryan side". During the September 1939 invasion, Albert Greenbaum served in the 21st Polish Infantry Regiment near Mława. After the defeat, he returned to Gąbin in civilian clothes. In the autumn of 1941 he was among the Jews who were arrested and taken to Gostynin. After spending a night in the church, about 300 men were sent to Włocławek and then by train to the Amsee labor camp in Janikowo, where Greenbaum became an assistant to the German overseer. Despite constant efforts, the family was not able to free him, so his only chance was trying to escape.[76]

In the winter, Albert managed to return to Gąbin with Rosenberg and Zalmen Bressler.[77] When he heard the rumors about the mass killings of the Jews, he and Rose decided to escape to the territory of the General Government. Albert crossed the border hidden in the wagon of a woman who was returning from the town’s market to the countryside. He wandered around the whole night seeking shelter among the peasant families. After spending a day in the hut of a woman who had once worked for his family as a maid, he went on after sunset looking for help, but everybody was afraid to assist a Jew. Finally, a peasant named Chabar, who had been a customer of the Greenbaums’ store, took him to the farm of a family called Garbarek, introducing him as a Pole from Poznan. Albert spent the war in the barn of the Garbarek family.

In January 1945, four days after the Soviet troops entered the village, Greenbaum returned to Gąbin.[78]

Albert Greenbaum's sister, Rose, escaped from Gąbin on March 17 1942. Together with the Glass couple, she went to Strzegowo near Sierpc. During the journey, they were caught by the Germans and taken to the Gestapo headquarters, where they were cruelly beaten but allowed to leave. Conditions in Strzegowo got worse and the terror increased. Roza dyed her hair blonde and moved to a farm in a nearby village. The farmer, who knew she was Jewish, employed her in the fields and entrusted her with the task of teaching his children. After the enclosure of the Strzegowo ghetto, Rosa moved on for several months as a Christian, but her lack of documents aroused suspicion. Finally, she found refuge with the Ostrowski family, which did not ask for details and allowed her to stay until the end of the occupation. With the help of Red Army soldiers, she made her way to Gąbin, where her brother was waiting for her.[79]

Some Gąbin Jews survived by escaping to the Soviet Union. Such were the cases of Szlomo Frankiel and Abraham Zeideman. Szlomo Frankiel had served in the 36th Polish Infantry Regiment. After his regiment's defeat, he managed to go to Warsaw and was taken prisoner during the defense of the city. The prisoners were herded on foot to Grójec and loaded on a freight train heading west. Following the example of other soldiers, Szlomo and two other prisoners jumped from the wagon after midnight. After walking about twenty kilometers, a farmer helped them burn their uniforms and change into civilian clothes. Szlomo went to a brother living in Kutno. When he recovered, he returned to Gabin, where he worked for a member of the SS.[80]

When it was announced that all former Polish soldiers had to report to a local office, Szlomo decided to escape. He received help from the mayor, an ethnic German with whose son he had served in the army. The mayor accompanied him through the town, talking to the Germans he met on the way. In Kutno, he joined his brother and they went to Warsaw by train. As they moved on to Białystok, they were arrested in Zaleszczyki, but they were released and managed to reach Tarnopol, which was in Soviet hands. After working briefly in the railway, Szlomo fled to Kowal, where he was arrested by the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) and sent to Siberia.

In Bergjewo, Szlomo worked for a while in forest clearing and as a train driver. In the winter of 1942, he was sent to Kazakhstan. In the city of Dziambol, he was assigned to work in a sugar factory and sometimes to a workshop as a tinsmith. Looking for food in the market, Shlomo met a group of soldiers from the Anders' Army (a Polish unit led by Władysław Anders under Soviet command). He volunteered and, on the recommendation of the captain, he was admitted as the only Jew of the unit. The captain turned out to be his friend from Siberia. Assigned to a base in Kazakhstan, Szlomo worked in a workshop repairing steam locomotives. Later, he recalled that "I

was very well at the base in Kazakhstan. I was an employee of the secretariat, had decent clothes, good food, and many friends. After several months of work we left to Iran, then through the Strait of Hormuz to Baghdad, and from there to Palestine. The years of wandering finally ended for me. In Palestine, I found fellow Jews from Gąbin and I got involved with them. Amen".[81]

Abraham Zeideman and his wife also escaped to the Soviet Union. They married in a quiet family ceremony and on the following day, November 20 1939, they left to Warsaw with Siekierka's son-in-law in the wagon of Mojżesz Szlang, who had permission to travel. After three days, together with other Jews, they reached Słowatycz, a town on the Bug river, which divided Poland from the Soviet Union. There, they were beaten by the Germans and locked up in a fortress during the night. Then, thanks to the help of a Polish woman, they crossed the river to the Soviet side. On the road to Brest-Litovsk, however, they were arrested by the NKVD and sent back to the Polish side. Nevertheless, they managed to cross the border again and get to Brest-Litovsk.

They were shocked by the sight of normal life in the city: "People walked about in the streets without fear or hindrance. Jewish children, clutching books, were on the way to school, business establishments were open. Soldiers promenaded on the sidewalks, engaging passersby in friendly conversation. It seemed incredible that only a few kilometers separated us from the *gehenna*, where the Nazis stalked their prey like animals, where each and every Jew had a death sentence hanging over him".[82]

Despite the friendly atmosphere of the city, the Zeidemans continued by train to Janów, near Pinsk. Their Gąbin contacts were Abraham's brother-in-law Moishe Gelbert and his friend Benyomen Baruch, who were running a small bakery in Janów. The initial weeks seemed like a dream to the Zeidemans, but the situation began to change. They had chosen to keep their Polish citizenship and, as a result, they were eventually arrested with other Poles and loaded on a freight train bound to northern Russia. After ten days the train stopped In Kotlas, on the Severnaya Dvina river. The Poles in the transport were divided into small groups and the Zeidemans were put on a wagonette that took them to Basharova, a village surrounded by impenetrable forests about 25 kilometers from Kotlas.

Life in Bashrowa turned out to be a nightmare. They lived in wooden barracks with dangerous insects lurking everywhere. They worked clearing the forests under temperatures that were very high in the summer and extremely low in the winter. Undernourished and exhausted, they suffered from blindness and lost their hair. The situation finally changed when the Soviet Union and the Polish government in exile signed the Sikorski–Mayski agreement, under which the Polish exiles were freed. After being released from the camp, the Zeidemans tried to go to Afghanistan, but they ended up in the town of Djambul, Kazakhstan, a tough place where

Abraham's wife gave birth to their first child. Zeideman wanted to serve in Anders' Army, but Jews were not accepted. The situation worsened when the Soviet Union began to send refugees to labor camps. After avoiding the transports several times, Abraham was eventually sent to a coal mine camp in Karaganda. But once again he managed to escape, return to Djambul, and obtain a passport that allowed the family to come out of hiding, register and receive a bread-card. After the German surrender, the Zeidemans returned to Gąbin but, facing a town empty of Jews and the hostile reception of the local Poles, they decided to emigrate to the United States.[83]

Another Jew from Gąbin who survived the camps was Ben Guyer, who was serving since March 1939 in the 21st Polish Infantry Regiment. In the September defeat, his unit was in the area of Mława, from where he went to Warsaw. After the capitulation of the capital, Guyer was taken prisoner by the Germans and placed with other war prisoners on a train going west. In the vicinity of Kutno, Ben jumped out of the wagon and returned to Gąbin. When former Polish soldiers were ordered to report to the town hall, Guyer's brother persuaded him to go to Warsaw and stay with the Friedmans, a weavers' family that at one time lived in Gąbin. Their young son had served with Ben in the Polish army. In Warsaw, the situation was also dangerous because the Germans seized Jews and forced them to work, but Ben's "Aryan appearance" allowed him to walk the streets without being caught.

Shortly thereafter, Guyer's older brother, worried about his fate, came to Warsaw and took him back to Gąbin. Ben wanted to follow the example of those who went to the area of Poland occupied by the Soviet Union. But until March 1942 he stayed in Gąbin working as a tailor. When the Germans began the process of liquidating the ghetto, they gathered Jewish men in the Firemen's building in order to send them to the forced labor camp in Konin. During the stay in the firehouse, they were abused and beaten by the guards. "Big Moishe", a corpulent Jew, was beaten to death. Four sick men were also shot by the Germans. After a night spent in the building, the older people were allowed to go and the rest were taken to the Czarnkow camp in Konin with other Jews from Gostynin, Sanniki and Żychlin.

Guyer spent a year in Konin's Czarnkow camp, which he later described as "not a work camp, but a *gehenna*."[84] Because of the conditions of starvation and unbearably harsh work, the mortality rate among the prisoners was extremely high. Those who fell sick or were unable to work were immediately sent to the death camp at Chelmno. Apart from describing horrible scenes and the Germans' cruelty, Ben recalls a German socialist guard who treated prisoners as "people" and smuggled information about the outside world, including news of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and rumors about the planned liquidation of the camp. The rumors were confirmed when the number of prisoners was reduced to 60 and the Germans announced a "delousing" of the camp. This prompted the already described revolt, when several prisoners,

including three from Gąbin, set fire to the Czarków barracks and hanged themselves. Ben Guyer, who was working away from the barracks, did not participate in the revolt.

He and the other remaining survivors were taken to a camp in Inowrocław and, in the autumn of 1943, sent by freight train to Auschwitz. After passing the selection, Ben Guyer and two other Gabin Jews, Mechl Behr and Mendel Wrubel, were sent to work in the Buna Monowitz camp. Guyer got the number 144212 tattooed on his arm and was assigned to Block 4 along with other Jews from Gąbin: Yankel Altman, Mechl Behr, Herszl Bławat, Shmulik Frenkel, and Hersz Zeideman. Mendel Wrubel was sent to another camp.

For six weeks, Guyer worked in the coal mine. Then he was transferred to a punitive unit in the quarry. There he met Bławat, whom he saved by hiding him in the barracks when he broke his leg. In mid-1944, a youngster from Gąbin, Lejzer Bocian, was brought to the camp. Guyer had already looked after him in Konin.

In January 1945, facing the coming German defeat, the camp authorities evacuated some of the prisoners. Among those, there were several from Gąbin: Guyer, Bocian, Frenkel, Behr and Abraham Mastboim. Despite the snow and frost, they had to march on foot to a camp in Gliwice. From there, they were transported in open railway wagons to the Dora-Mittelbau concentration camp in Germany. After working for a while in that camp they were sent to Bergen-Belsen, where the Gąbin group, which included Guyer, Frenkel, Mastbojm, Bocian, and the brothers Shmuel and Mendl Laski, were liberated by the British army on April 15 1945.[85]

In addition to Shmulik Frenkel, who was a 12-year-old child at the outbreak of the war, his two brothers Jankiel and Chaim, respectively aged 10 and 15, also endured the ordeal of the camps. They were the only survivors of the Frenkel family, which had seven sons. In March 1942, they were among the Gąbin Jews who were taken to Gostynin, and from there to the camp in Konin. Like other children in the camp, they risked their lives to leave at night and bring back some food from neighboring farms (small children were best suited for maneuvering through the barbed wire fences).

From Konin, the three Frenkel brothers were sent to Guttenbrum camp near Poznań. The group of prisoners was greeted with a “spectacle" prepared by the Nazis: four young boys aged 10-11 were hanged for smuggling food into the camp. The brothers understood that they were "in the hell known as Guttenbrum".[86] The only daily meal consisted of diluted soup, and the work involved constantly loading and unloading heavy cement bags from wagons.

After Guttenbrum, the Frenkels worked in the Municipal Stadium camp in Poznań, where most of the other prisoners were Jews from Lodz and Ozorków. Every day many people died from German blows, hunger and inhuman labor. Later on, the brothers found themselves in a group

of prisoners sent to Zbąszyn, where they performed irrigation works for a German factory. Living conditions were better because they worked in the field and received larger rations of food.

In the autumn of 1943, the boys were deported to Auschwitz, where they were separated by the selections. As explained above, Shmulik was assigned to the coal mine in the Buna Monowitz sub-camp, where he met Ben Guyer again. Chaim and Jankiel worked in construction, building stables for horses. After a year in Auschwitz, Chaim and Jankiel were sent to Gliwice, and then through Gross-Rosen to Dachau, where they were freed by the Americans They eventually learned that Shmulik had survived and was staying in Hannover, where the three brothers reunited again.[87]

Before the outbreak of the Second World WarI, 2,312 Jews lived in Gąbin. The vast majority were murdered in Chełmno on the Ner. Only 212 of them survived the Holocaust. About 180 of them are known to have fled to the Soviet Union like Abraham Zeideman and his wife. Some survived the Shoah hiding on the "Aryan side", like the Albert and Rose Greenbaum siblings. Others, like Ben Guyer, went through the *gehenna* of the concentration camps. The fate of the rest of the Gąbin Jews remains unknown.

Figure. 22. The restored Jewish cemetery of Gąbin, 1999

Source: http://www.gombin.org

In Israel and other countries, many emigres, survivors, and descendants of the Jews of Gąbin continue to preserve the memory of their relatives and ancestors murdered by the German Nazis. In the United States, Jewish immigrants from Gąbin created their own organizations in New York, Netwark and Detroit in the early 20th century. In 1996, descendants of the Gąbin Jews established the Gombin Jewish Historical and Genealogical Society. This Society works to

preserve the memory and the historical and cultural legacy of the Jewish community of Gąbin. One of its main initiatives was the restoration of the town's Jewish cemetery in 1999, a project that had the encouragement and support of the Gąbin Landlovers Association, a local Polish cultural group that encourages the study of the town's history. Another important accomplishment of the Gombin Society was the installation of a monument at Chelmno extermination camp. The monument, which honors the memory of the Gąbin Jews murdered at the site, was also dedicated in 1999.[88] At the time of this writing, the Society is working on a project to install a memorial plaque in the Catholic cemetery of Konin, at the mass grave where many Gąbin Jews were buried with other victims of the Czarków labor camp.

Figure 23. Gąbin Jews' Memorial Monument at Chelmno, 1999.

Source: http://www.zchor.org

The Gombin Society publishes *Bnai Gombin* (Gąbin's Children), a newsletter that contains a variety of notes and articles about the history of the Jewish community of Gąbin and the current activities of the organization.[89]

World War II cruelly and permanently changed the face of Gąbin, a town where no Jews live today. Most of those who survived the Holocaust left Poland, taking their valuable culture and memories with them. This keeps alive the memory of what once used to be a multicultural Gąbin, but it is also a testimony to the tragedy that claimed the lives of more than two thousand Jewish residents of the town.

Conclusion

The history of the Jews is an integral part of the history of Gąbin. The first Jewish families came to this area of Poland in the late Middle Ages. At that time, they did not have the character of an urban community. They lived in the surrounding villages and countryside as tavern keepers and leaseholders. The situation changed in the 18th century, when they began to pour into Gąbin in large numbers. From then on, the Jews became a substantial part of the town's population and, in certain periods, they even constituted a majority.

Until the First World War, the participation of the Jews in the town's public life was mainly visible in the commercial field. The existing prejudices meant that Jews and Christians lived side by side in relative isolation. Until the January Uprising (1863-1864), the Jews did not participate in national political events. This changed at the turn of the 20th century with the formation of the first groups of Zionists and Bundists in the town. During the revolution of 1905, Poles and Jews fought together. The endeavors of the young political activists animated the life of the entire Jewish community. They also brought social and cultural changes, since they were more disposed to create new internal forms of association and make more contacts with their Polish peers. The period of the First World War turned out to be a breakthrough: the Jews of Gąbin participated in the battles for the liberation of Poland and gained representation in the municipal authorities.

With independence and the establishment of the Second Polish Republic, the Jews took an active part in the town's public life. By then, they constituted approximately 44% of Gąbin's population. This figure fluctuated, but even after its most marked decline it was still 33% in 1939. All the major Jewish political currents were present in the community, including the Bund and the Zionist and Orthodox parties, all of which had representatives in the municipal authorities. The overall trend over two decades reveals a relative decline in the representation of the Bund, with a parallel increase in the proportion of Orthodox councilors.

Regardless of their political orientation, all the parties had their own youth organizations that cared for the physical and spiritual health of the younger members of the community. In the interwar period, there were three sports clubs in Gąbin: *Maccabi*, *Morgenstern* and *Hapoel*. The first two clubs had football and gymnastics teams that competed with each other and with Jewish and Christian teams from other towns. These organizations also established their own libraries, community centers, and even musical bands, creating many possibilities of cultural enrichment and entertainment for the Jewish children. There were also scouting activities organized, among others, by *Hashomer Hatzair*, whose first members came from the school *Tarbut*.

Several Jewish schools operated in the town. The *Kehila* financed and supervised the traditional religious education offered by *Talmud Torah* and the *chedarim.* Other schools were sponsored by national Jewish educational institutions or political groups, including *Tarbut*, the reformed *cheder* of Agudat Israel, and the kindergarten run by the Central Organization of Jewish Schools.

In addition, Jewish children and teenagers attended the primary and secondary schools of the public educational system and evening courses supported by the municipality.

By far, the economic activities of the Jews are the best documented in the available materials. The Jews of Gąbiń dominated trade in the town and constituted a large percentage of the craftsmen, particularly in small handicraft production such as tailoring, butchering and even shoemaking, which was a typical occupation of Christians. The Jews prevailed in transport and were visible in the free professions (doctors, medics and translators) and services (hairdressers, restaurants, and cinema). The guilds and trade unions of craftsmen and merchants provided assistance and support. Also important was the funding from Gąbin Jewish emigres in the United States and the American assistance organization JOINT, which financed the operations of cooperative banks and sustained the work of the traditional welfare institutions that helped the poorest and the sick.

Gąbin was a typical Mazovian town in which Christians and Jews lived together but maintained the traditional isolation of both groups. This, however, does not change the fact that, in many fields of activity, residents from the different nationalities were able to communicate and cooperate. The Second World War and the mass murder of the Jews of Poland marked the end of that relative balance. Terror began with the arrival of the Germans in Gąbin. They burned down the ancient wooden synagogue, humiliated and murdered the rabbi, abused the entire Jewish population, and the situation worsened on a daily basis.

At the beginning of 1940, the Germans concentrated the Jews in a ghetto that was initially open but was eventually locked up in August 1941. The conditions in the ghetto were terrifying. Overcrowding, hunger, epidemics and death became commonplace. The JOINT sent money, food and clothing to the Jewish Relief Committee in Gabin. But that support only lasted for a short time, from January to August 1940. Later on, the Committe, together with the Judenrat, tried to provide assistance, food and medical care. The ghetto was liquidated in April 1942.

From mid-1941, the occupation authorities started sending Jews to labor camps, mainly to Janikowo (Amsee) and Konin (Czarnków). Some were also sent to Inowrocław, Oświęcim, Poznań, Rogoźnica, and even Dachau and Vienna. There is also information about Jews from Gąbin in the Warsaw and Łódź ghettos. However, most of the community members were murdered at the concentration camp in Chełmno. Of the 2,312 Jews living in Gąbin in 1939, only 212 survived, hiding with Polish families or escaping across the border to the Soviet Union. Some of them survived the camps and were liberated by the Allied armies in 1945.

The memory of the Jews of Gąbin is sustained and honored by The Gombin Jewish Historical and Genealogical Society, the Gąbiń Landlovers Association, and other organizations and individual descendants scattered around the world. Among other things, this has resulted in the partial reconstruction of the Jewish cemetery of Gąbin and the erection of a memorial monument at the extermination camp in Chełmno.

Among the memories and documents regarding the life of the Jewish community in Gąbin, a poem by Antoni Słonimski, "Elegy of Jewish towns", recalled for me by Jan Borysiak, can serve as a coda for this work:

Not anymore, there are no longer Jewish towns in Poland,
In Hrubieszów, Karczew, Brody, Falenica,
There are no lighted candles in the windows,
And no singing in a wooden synagogue.

The last Jewish rags disappeared,
The blood was covered with sand, the tracks tidied up,
And the walls were whitewashed with lime,
Like after a plague, a red-letter day.

There is one moon here, cool, pale, alien,
Out of town on the road, when the night lights up,
Relatives of Jewish, poetic boys,
Will not find Chagall's two golden moons.

These moons are above the planet,
They flew away, scared by the grim silence.
No more towns where the shoemaker was a poet,
The Watchmaker a philosopher, the hairdresser a troubadour.

There are no longer towns where biblical songs,
Are combined by the wind with Polish and Slavic folk tunes,
Where old Jews, in orchards under the shade of cherry trees,
Mourn the holy walls of Jerusalem.

There are no more small towns, they passed like a shadow,
And this shadow will lie between our worlds,
Until we meet fraternally and connect together again,
Two nations have filled centuries with suffering.

Notes

Chapter 1

[1] J. Szczepański, Dzieje Gąbina do roku 1945, Warszawa 1984, s. 12-13.
[2] M., Chudzyński, Archeologia o przeszłości powiatu gostynińskiego, „Notatki Płockie", 1968, nr 5, s. 30.
[3] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 13.
[4] K. Pacuski, Ziemia Gostynińska od XII do 1462 r. na tle dziejów Mazowsza płockiego i rawskiego, [w]: Dzieje Gostynina i Ziemi Gostynińskiej, pod red. M. Chudzyńskiego, Warszawa 1990, s. 80.
[5] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 17-18.
[6] S. Pazyra, Geneza i rozwój miast mazowieckich, Warszawa 1959, s. 255.
[7] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 36.
[8] Ibidem, s. 40 - 50.
[9] Ibidem, s. 84 i następne.
[10] Ibidem, s. 222 - 224.
[11] Ibidem, s. 228- 240.
[12] Lustracje województwa rawskiego 1564 1 1570 roku, oprac. Z. Kędzierska, Warszawa 1959, s. 99.
[13] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 22. Obliczenia na podstawie T. Ładogórski, Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XVI w., Wrocław 1958.
[14] Lustracje…, s. 102.
[15] J. Szczepański, op. cit.
[16] Ibidem, s.17-18.
[17] Ibidem, s. 193. W 1882 r. w Gąbinie funkcjonowały 24 szynki z piwem, winem i wódką.
[18] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 137 – 138.
[19] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 106 - 107.
[20] Ibidem, s. 13.
[21] Iibidem, s. 150-151.
[22] Ibidem, s. 222-224.
[23] Ibidem, s. 57-58; Borysiak, F. Jankowski, Z. Łukaszewski, Z dziejów Ochotniczej Straży Pożarnej w Gąbinie w latach 1798 - 1998, Gąbin 2000, s. 11, 58.
[24] Archiwum Państwowe w Płocku, Akta miasta Gąbina, sygn. 539.
[25] APP, AmG, sygn. 539.
[26] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 243.
[27] APP, AmG, sygn. 539, 565, 703.
[28] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s.244-245.
[29] Skorowidz miejscowości II RP opracowany na podstawie wyników pierwszego spisu powszechnego z dn. 30 września 1921 r. i innych źródeł urzędowych, T. I. M. St. Warszawa. Woj. Warszawskie, Warszawa 1925, s. 26.
[30] APP, AmG, sygn. 692.
[31] Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Województwo warszawskie, Warszawa 1937
[32] J. Kazimierski, Miasta i miasteczka na Mazowszu i Podlasiu Nadbużańskim w latach 1918 – 1939, [w:] Mazowsze w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym, pod red. A. Stawarza, Warszawa 1998, s. 118.
[33] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 253; APP, AmG, sygn. 692.
[34] APP, AmG, sygn. 692.
[35] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 245-246.
[36] APP, AmG, sygn. 697.
[37] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 248 - 249.
[38] APP, AmG, sygn. 564.
[39] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 249 - 251.
[40] Ibidem, s. 251-253.
[41] APP, AmG, sygn. 540.
[42] APP, AmG, sygn. 540, 566, 692.
[43] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 254.
[44] Ibidem, s. 250.

[45] APP, AmG, sygn. 540, 547.
[46] J. Szczepański, s.257.
[47] Ibidem., s.260.
[48] Ibidem.
[49] Ibidem.
[50] APP, AmG, sygn. 706
[51] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 260.
[52] APP, AmG, sygn. 667.
[53] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 261.
[54] Ibidem, s. 264.
[55] Ibidem, s 266-267.
[56] M. Cygański, Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce centralnej w latach 1919 – 1939, Łódź 1962; Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn.9 XII 1931 r., Warszawa 1937. W powiecie gostynińskim mieszkały w 1932 r. 7532 osoby posługujące się językiem niemieckim jako językiem ojczystym, tj. 9, 2 % ludności powiatu.
[57] J. Matuszewski, Okres I wojny i okupacji hitlerowskiej, [w:] Dzieje Gostynina i Ziemi Gostynińskiej, pod red M. Chudzyńskiego, Warszawa 1990, s. 525.
[58] J. Szczepański, op.cit., s. 270.
[59] „Głos Mazowiecki", 1939, nr 172 (30 VII 1939 r.), s. 3. Sąd skazał Leopolda Stelle na rok więzienia.
[60] „Głos Mazowiecki", 1939, nr 181 (9 VII 1939 r.), s. 3.Herman Stelle otrzymał karę ośmiu miesięcy aresztu.
[61] M. Chudzyński, Powiat gostyniński we wrześniu 1939 roku, „Notatki Płockie", 1990, nr 3, s. 27.
[62] J. Matuszewski, op. cit., s. 527.
[63] J. Jasińska, II wojna światowa i okupacja niemiecka w Gąbinie i okolicy, (praca dyplomowa UW), Warszawa 1998, s. 20. W skład Straży Obywatelskiej wchodzili m.in.: Roman Borkowski, Stanisław Grabarczyk, Bolesław Lendzion i Zenon Olszewski.
[64] J. Szczepański, op.cit., s. 270-271.
[65]M. Chudzyński, op. cit., s. 29.
[66] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 272-273.
[67] Ibidem, s. 273- 274.
[68] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940 – początki okrutnego terroru hitlerowskiego w Gąbinie, http://jerzyjedrzejkiewicz.webpark.pl
[69] J. Matuszewski, op.cit., 535; Cz. Łuczak, „Kraj Warty" 1939 – 1945. Studium historyczno – gospodarcze okupacji hitlerowskiej, Poznań 1972, s. 12.
[70] Cz. Łuczak, op. cit.s. 16, 19. Więcej na ten temat: Cz. Madajczyk, Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce, t. 1, 2, Warszawa 1970.
[71] Cz. Łuczak, op.cit., s. 18 – 24. Szerzej na temat sytuacji kościoła w Polsce: Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939 - 1945, pod red. ks. Z. Zielińskiego, Warszawa 1982; J. Sziling, Polityka okupanta hitlerowskiego wobec Kościoła katolickiego 1939 – 1945. Tzw.Okręgi Rzeszy: Gdańsk – Prusy Zachodnie, Kraj Warty i Regencja Katowicka, Poznań 1970.
[72] J. Jasińska, op. cit., s. 29.
[73] J. Borysiak, S. Jankowski, Z. Łukaszewski, op. cit, s. 72.
[74] Rejestr miejsc i faktów zbrodni popełnionych przez okupanta hitlerowskiego na ziemiach polskich w latach 1939 – 1945. Z.31. Województwo płockie, oprac. GKBZH, Warszawa 1985, s. 31 – 32; Sz. Datner, 55 dni Wehrmachtu w Polsce (1 IX – 25 X 1939), Warszawa 1967, s. 424 i 432. Ustalono jedynie nazwisko kaprala policji z Torunia, Ignacego Rudzińskiego.
[75] J. Jasińska, op. cit., s. 53.
[76] Rejestr miejsc..., s. 28, 32. Zatrzeleni rolnicy to: Stanisław Jabłoński, Jan Leonarcik ze Strzemeszna, Stanisław Nyckowski z Rumunek, Antoni Sowiecki z Czermna, Wacław Strankowski ze Strzemeszna i Władysław Świątek z Olkusza.
[77] J. Szczepański, op. cit., 276 – 277.

[78] J. Matuszewski, op. cit., 339 – 340. Ośrodek w Inowrocławiu było obozem karnym, przejściowym, z którego maltretowanych w czasie przesłuchań więźniów wysyłano do obozów koncentracyjnych. Szerzej na ten temat: Obóz hitlerowski na Błoniach w Inowrocławiu 1940 – 1945, pod red. E. Mikołajczaka, Inowrocław 1991.

[79] Rejestr miejsc..., s. 26, 40.

[80] J., Borysiak, Rok 1941 – wzmożenie prześladowań Żydów i Polaków, http://jerzyjedrzejkiewicz.webpark.pl/str01 ; Rejestr Faktów, s. 32; J. Szczepański, op.cit., s. 276 - 277. Wśród zamordowanych byli: Franciszek Płażewski - szewc z Gąbina, Jan Potomski - robotnik z Gąbina, Władysław Poliński - piekarz z Gąbina, Wacław Strzelecki - szewc z Gąbina, Józef Stachowski - sklepikarz z Topólna, Stanisław Korpowski - ślusarz z Gąbina, Władysław Kowalik - rolnik z Guzewa, Jan Kurpias- lekarz z Sannik, Jan Skonieczny - rolnik z Sannik. Do listy tej trzeba dodać zamordowanego podczas ucieczki Franciszka Jędrzejowskiego z Gąbina

[81] Rejestr miejsc..., s. 33, 87.

[82] J. Jasińska, op. cit., s. 56.

[83] APP, AmG, sygn. 763.

[84] M. Walczak, Straty osobowe polskiego środowiska nauczycielskiego w okresie wojny i okupacji hitlerowskiej lat 1939 – 1945, Warszawa 1984, s. 377, 378.

[85] W. Jastrzębski, Hitlerowskie wysiedlenia z ziem polskich wcielonych do Rzeszy w latach 1939 – 1945, Poznań 1968, s. 60 – 61.

[86] J.. Szczepański. op. cit.. s.279.

[87] J. Borysiak, rok 1941...

[88] APP, AmG, sygn. 763.

[89] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940...

[90] Ks. M. Grzybowski, Martyrologium duchowieństwa diecezji płockiej w latach II wojny światowej 1939 – 1945, Włocławek – Płock 2002, s. 234 – 240, 342 – 344.

[91] Ks. F. Stopniak, Polskie świątynie katolickie podczas II wojny światowej, Warszawa 1982, s. 159; J. Matuszewski, op. cit., s.546 – 548.

[92] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940...; Rok 1941...

[93] Cz. Łuczak, op.cit., s. 19.

[94] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940...;J. Jasińska, op.cit., s. 77. Tajne komplety prowadziły ponadto w Gąbinie: Maria Bellon, Janina Lewandowska, Maria Pietrzak, Apolonia Pindek, Maria Stanisławska, Natalia Wojdecka, Zofia Michałowska.

[95] J. Borysiak, „Polnische Schule", „Głos Nauczycielski", 1969, nr 33, s. 11.

[96] J, Matuszewski, op. cit., s. 556.

[97] T. Kuffel („Teoch"), Północne Mazowsze w walce z okupantem, [w:] Okręg Płocki1942 – 1945. Z walk PPR. GL – AL.. Warszawa 1974. s.391: J. Szczepański. op. cit.. s. 282 – 285.

[98] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 284.

[99] Ibidem, s. 286 – 287.

[100] J. Matuszewski, op. cit., s.569.

[101] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 287 – 289; B. Dolata podaje 20 I 1945 r. jako datę wyzwolenia Gąbina. (B. Dolata, Wyzwolenie Polski 1944 – 1945, Warszawa 1966, s. 277.

[102] APP, AmG, sygn. 764.

[103] APP, AmG, sygn. 763.

Chapter 2

[1] J. Szczepański., op. cit., s. 22.

[2] I. Schiper, Rozwój ludności żydowskiej na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, oświatowa i kulturalna pod red. I. Schipera, A. Tartakowera, A Hafftki, T. I., Warszawa 1932, s. 23; patrz też: J. Wyrozumski, Żydzi w Polsce średniowiecznej, [w:]

Żydzi w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1991, s. 130 – 131. J. Wyrozumski przyjmuje, że od XIII w. rozpoczyna się proces osadnictwa żydowskiego na zachodnich ziemiach państwa polskiego. Najpierw grupami, później pojedynczo ale zawsze w okolicach gmin żydowskich

[3] M. Horn, Najstarszy rejestr osiedli żydowskich w Polsce w 1507 r., „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1974, nr 3, s. 13. Zgodnie z ustaleniami M. Horna rejestr nie uwzględnia wszystkich ówczesnych gmin, w tym gostynińskiej.

[4] Lustracje województwa rawskiego z 1564 i 1570 roku, oprac. Z. Kędzierska, Warszawa 1959, s. 99.

[5] Obliczenia na podstawie T. Ładogórski, Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski XVI w., Wrocław 1958, s. 45 –

[6] A. Eisenbach, Mobilność terytorialna ludności żydowskiej w Królestwie Polskim, [w:] Społeczeństwo Królewstwa Polskiego. Studia o uwarstwieniu i ruchliwości społecznej pod red W. Kuli, T. II, Warszawa 1966, s. 184.

[7] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 63.

[8] Ibidem, s. 94, 199.

[9] Ibidem, s. 201.

[10] Ibidem, s. 206.

[11] J. Kazimierski, op. cit., s. 118 (tabela 2).

[12] J. Morgenstern, Regestry z metryki koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1574 – 1568), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1963, nr 47/48, s. 123; Eadem, Regestry z metryki koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1588 – 1632), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1964, nr 51, s. 60; J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 22.

[13] Lustracja województwa rawskiego z 1789 r., oprac. Z. Kędzierska, Warszawa - Wrocław - Kraków 1971, s. 217 – 218.

[14] P. Wróbel, Przed odzyskaniem niepodległości [w:] Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce (w zarysie do 1950 r.), Warszawa 1993, s. 59, Szerzej na ten temat: Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej. Działalność społeczna, oświatowa i kulturalna , pod red. I. Schipera, A. Tartakowera, A Hafftki, T. I. i II., Warszawa 1932, 1933.

[15] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 54.

[16]; A. Eisenbach, Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Polsce w XVII i XIX w. Studia i szkice, Warszawa 1983, 148 – 150. Dekrety te wzorowane były na podobnym ustawodawstwie Napoleona.

[17] J. Szczepański, op.cit., s.73. Najbogatsi kupcy uzyskali wówczas pozwolenia na kupno nieruchomości w Gąbinie oraz na wykonywanie zakazanych zawodów.

[18] P. Wróbel, op.cit., s. 19 –23. Patrz także I. Schiper, Dzieje Żydów na ziemiach Księstwa Warszawskiego i Królestwa Polskiego, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej, T.I., s. 423 – 470; S. Hirszhorn, Dzieje Żydów w Królestwie Polskiem, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej, T.I , s. 472 – 503.

[19] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 92 –93.

[20] APP, AmG, sygn. 564. Szerzej na ten temat: M. i K. Piechotkowie, Bóżnice drewniane, Warszawa 1937.

[21] J. M. Rothbart, A Monography of the Shtelt Gombin, [w:] Gombin. The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Town in Poland, New York, 1969, s. 21.

[22] M. Rozenblum, Gombin and its Rabbis, [w:] Gombin…

[23] J. Morgenstern, Regestry z metryki koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1574 – 1568), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1963, nr 47/48, s. 123; Eadem, Regestry z metryki koronnej do historii Żydów w Polsce (1588 – 1632), „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1964, nr 51, s. 60

[24] J. Szczepański, op. cit., 90 i następne.

[25] Ibidem.

[26] M. Guyer, The Social and Cultural Life, [w:] Gombin…

[27] J. Szczepański, op.cit, s. 225 – 240.

[28] APP, AmG, sygn. 573.

[29] Pierwszy Powszechny Spis Ludności RP z dn. 30 IX 1921 r.; Województwo warszawskie, Warszawa 1927. Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Województwo warszawskie, Warszawa 1937 r.; J. Kazimierski, Dzieje Gostynina w latach, 1918 – 1939, [w:] Dzieje Gostynina..., s. 496 – 497.

[30] E. Bergman, Ludność w miasteczkach Mazowsza w XIX i XX w., [w:] Mazowieckie miasteczka na przestrzeni wieków, pod red. A. Stawarza, Warszawa 1999, s. 100.
[31] APP, AmG, sygn. 706.
[32] Skorowidz miejscowości II RP, Warszawa 1925, s. 26 – 34. Najwięcej Żydów zamieszkiwało wówczas gminę Czermno – 132 osoby (157 wyznawców judaizmu) oraz gminę Łąck – 25 Żydow (64 mozaistow). Dla Dobrzykowa i Szczawina liczby te wynosiły odpowiednio: 5 (42) i 0 (16).
[33] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 15.
[34] http://www.zchor.org Na stronie internetowej pani Ady Holzman zamieszczona jest lista nazwisk osób, które wyjechały w latach 1892 – 1924 do Ameryki.
[35] Pinkas Hakehilot, s.13.
[36] M. Ringel, Ustawodawstwo Polski odrodzonej o gminach żydowskich, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej, T. II, s. 244. Rozporządzenie zostało ogłoszone w Verordnungbslatt für das Generalgouvernement Warschau Nr 453 (1916 poz.184).
[37] Dz.Pr.P.P. 1919 nr 14 poz.175.
[38] Dz.U.1927 nr 91 poz. 818.
[39] Dz.U.1928 nr 52 poz. 500.
[40] Uzupełnieniem tych aktów były akty wykonawcze – rozporządzenia Ministra WRiOP w sprawie wyborów do organów gmin z dn. 24 X 1930 r. (Dz.U. 1930 nr 75 poz. 592) oraz z dn. 7 VII 1936 r. (Dz.U. 1936 nr 52 poz.418), rozporządzenie Ministra W.R. i O.P. w sprawie wyboru rabina i podrabinów z dn. 24 X 1930 r. (Dz.U 1930 nr 75 poz.593), a także dwa rozporządzenia Ministra W.R i O.P. w porozumieniu z Ministrem Spraw Wewnętrznych i Ministrem Skarbu w sprawie gospodarki finansowej gmin żydowskich z dn.20 IX 1932 r. (Dz.U. 1932 nr 89 poz. 752) oraz z dn. 24 III 1937 r. (Dz.U. nr 28 poz.211). Wykaz aktów wykonawczych opracowany na podstawie Internetowego Systemu Informacji Prawnej Kancelarii Sejmu RP, http://isip.sejm.gov.pl
[41] Trzy działy następne (II, III i IV) mówią o gminach wielkich i Radzie Religijnej oraz o stowarzyszeniach wyznaniowych. Patrz także M. Ringel, op.cit., s. 242 – 248; J. Tomaszewski, Niepodległa Rzeczpospolita, [w:] Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce..., s.187 – 199.
[42] Dz.U. nr 52 poz. 500.
[43] M. Rozenblum, op. cit., [w:] Gombin; s. 60, APP, AmG, sygn. 687.
[44] APP, AmG, sygn. 687.
[45] Zbiory Towarzystwa Miłośników Ziemi Gąbińskiej; patrz aneks 1(Zawiadomienie o zmianie miejsca zamieszkania rabina Nuty Nutkiewicza).
[46] E. Ringelblum, Kronika getta warszawskiego. Wrzesień 1939 – styczeń 1943, Warszawa 1983, s. 459.
[47] M. Rozenblum, op.cit.
[48] APP, AmG, sygn. 687.
[49] APP, AmG, sygn. 564, patrz aneks 2 (Wykaz członków Wyznaniowej Gminy Żydowskiej w Gąbinie w 1923 r.).
[50] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 14.
[51] APP, AmG, sygn. 687. Na polecenie starosty sprawą zajął się magistrat, jednakże zachowała się jedynie odpowiedź zarządu, iż faktycznie protestujący nie zgodzili się na przedstawiony rozkład składki, który jednak został zatwierdzony większością głosów.
[52] APP, AmG, sygn. 687. W odpowiedzi magistrat poinformował starostę, że już następuje ściąganie podatków.
[53] Ibidem.
[54] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 15.
[55] APP, AmG, sygn. 572. W 1929 r. zarówno zarząd gminy żydowskiej jak i ksiądz dziekan prosili o rozszerzenie obszaru cmentarzy o teren pomiędzy nimi należący do magistratu. Obie prośby zostały odrzucone przez władze miejskie.
[56] APP, AmG, sygn. 562; Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 14. Prawdopodobnie mowa tu o "Talmud Tora" i tradycyjnym chederze.
[57] M. Rozenblum, op.cit.

[58] J. R. Rothbart, op. cit, s. 17- 18; H. Greenbaum, My Shtelt Gombin. Reminescences of a lost world, [w:] Gombin, s. 32 – 34.

[59] APP, AmG, sygn. 704. Pełny wykaz liczby mieszkańców wg ulic i wyznań z 14 VI 1933 zamieszczone jest w aneksie 3 (Zestawienie liczby ludności według ulic i wyznań w Gąbinie w 1933 r.).

[60] H. Greenbaum, op. cit., s. 35 – 36. Obok Polaków i Żydów mieszkały w Gąbinie jeszcze rodziny niemieckie i niewielka grupka Rosjan, którym jednak ze względu na wspólny trzon chrześcijański łatwiej przychodziło porozumienie.

[61] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 41.

[62] A. Hafftka, Żydowskie stronnictwa polityczne w Polsce odrodzonej, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej, T II, s. 253; J. Tomaszewski, op.cit,. s. 150.

[63] A. Hafftka, Żydowskie stronnictwa..., s. 252.

[64] H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek, Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce 1918 – 1945, Lublin 2000, s. 167 i następne; A. Hafftka, Żydowskie stronnictwa..., s. 261 i nastepne. Histadrut powstała w 1916 r i dzieliła się początkowo na dwie frakcje: Al. Hamiszmar (Na Straży, radykalna, działająca na terenie byłego zaboru rosyjskiego) oraz Et Liwnot (Czas Budować, szukająca porozumienia z władzami państwa i niektórymi partiami polskimi). W latach trzydziestych od Histadrut oderwali się rewizjoniści, którzy w kilka lat później także się podzielili.

[65] Hitachduth próbował połączyć ideę stworzenia socjalistycznego państwa izraelskiego w Palestynie, ale w drodze ewolucji z ideą odrodzenia życia narodowego w diasporze możliwego dzięki rozwojowi kultury hebrajskiej w ramach autonomii narodowej. Początkowo nie odgrywała dużej roli w życiu politycznym Polski, zdobywając wpływy wśród młodzieży i inteligencji w latach trzydziestych.

[66] J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 153.

[67] Do odłamu robotniczego obie partie Poalej Syjon zalicza A. Hafftka; J. Tomaszewski także zwraca uwagę na ich lewicowy charakter.

[68] A. Hafftka, Żydowskie stronnictwa...., s. 268.

[69] J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 231.

[70] Poalej Syjon – Lewica była ugrupowaniem radykalnie lewicowym, głoszącym hasła rewolucji wszystkich narodowości, uspołecznienia środków produkcji oraz współpracy w jednej organizacji robotniczej. Popierała jednocześnie utworzenie państwa żydowskiego w Palestynie, zaś w diasporze walczyła o autonomię kulturowo – narodową, nadanie gminom świeckiego charakteru, a także uznanie jidysz za język narodowy Żydów polskich.

[71] W skrócie partia ta nosiła nazwę Poalej Syjon – Prawica i ze względu na swe umiarkowane poglądy społeczne i hasła solidarności społecznej popularność zdobyła wśród rzemieślników i inteligencji.

[72] A. Hafftka, Żydowskie stronnictwa..., s. 249 – 285; J. Tomaszewski, op.cit., s. 143 – 155.

[73] Dokładne określenie preferencji wyborczych nie jest możliwe, gdyż niekiedy partie żydowskie stawały do wyborów w blokach z innymi ugrupowaniami mniejszościowymi lub polskimi o zbliżonych poglądach, czego przykładem może być Blok Mniejszości Narodowych w 1922 r., w skład którego wchodziły ugrupowania mniejszości niemieckiej, większość białoruskich, TRNŻ (Tymczasowa Rada Narodowa Żydów), Aguda i Hitachdut. Politycy żydowscy działali poza tym w innych partiach jak PPS lub kandydowali z ramienia różnych ugrupowań lub bloków jak BBWR.

[74] Statystyka wyborów do Sejmu Ustawodawczego, pod red. L. Krzywickiego, „Miesięcznik Statystyczny, T. II., 1920, cz. 1, s. 13.

[75] Statystyka wyborów do Sejmu i Senatu odbytych w dniu 4 i 11 marca 1928 roku, Statystyka Polski, T. X., Warszawa 1930, s. 14. Część głosów żydowskich mogła rozproszyć się także na ugrupowania polskie, z którymi Żydzi zawiązywali porozumienia jak Aguda z BBWR czy PPS mający w swych szeregach mozaistów. (J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 228).

[76] Statystyka wyborów do Sejmu i Senatu z dn. 16 i 23 listopada 1930 roku, Statystyka Polski, seria C, z. 4, Warszawa 1935, s. 13.

[77] APP, AmG, sygn. 540; J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 259 – 260.

[78] APP, AmG, sygn, 559. Wśród założycieli Związku Syjonistycznego Bnej Sjon byli: Aleksander Farba, Mojżesz Glikzeliger i Abram Zamość.

[79] Pinaks Hakehilot, s. 14. Women International Zionist Organisation.- Miedzynarodowa Kobieca Organizacja Syjonistyczna powstała w 1920 r. w Londynie. W Polsce działała przez cały okres miedzywojenny i wchodziła w skład Swiatowej Organizacji Syjonistycznej w Polsce. Głównym zadaniem WIZO w pierwszym etapie funkcjonowania było szkolenie zawodowe kobiet ze szczególnym naciskiem na rolnictwo oraz umiejętności przydatne przy osiedlaniu się w Palestynie. Poza tym organizowała szkolnictwo zawodowe oraz walczyła o emancypację kobiet, jednocześni aktywizując kobiety na polu gospodarczym, wspierała przy tym rozwój sportu wśród dziewcząt oraz opiekowała się łodzieżą. (H. Cała, H. Węgrzynek, G, Zalewska, Historia i kultura Żydów polskich. Słownik, Warszawa 2000, s. 368).

[80]Ibidem, s.14. Wszystkie trzy organizacje należały do ruchu syjonistycznego i za główny cel stawiały sobie zachęcanie i przygotowywanie młodzieży żydowskiej do wyjazdów do Palestyny i stworzenia własnego państwa.

[81] M. Rozenbaum, op cit. Chasydzi przychodzili bardzo wcześnie do małej synagogi, by studiować pisma w czasie kiedy inni Żydzi się modlili. Często dochodziło na tym tle do konfliktów, gdyż przeszkadzali oni modlącym się.

[82] APP, AmG, sygn. 539. Radni zostali wybrani podczas zebrania w Bejt Midrasz pod przewodnictwem rabina Złotnika, zwolennika syjonistów.

[83] APP, AmG, 540.

[84] APP, AmG, sygn. 562. Radnymi żydowskimi byli: ortodoksi – Moszek Josek Boll, Josek Luksemburg, Henoch Żurkowski, i Abram Icek Żychliński (wszyscy byli kupcami); bundyści – Icchak Mosze Chaja (garbarz), Majlech Tadelis (kamiennik) i Abram Dawid Tober (subjekt); do żadnej partii nie należeli ławnik Manasze Sztolcman (kupiec) oraz Marek Wolfowicz (kupiec).

[85] APP, AmG, sygn. 540.

[86] J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 148.

[87] APP, AmG, sygn. 562. Chaja i Tober ukryli się przed policją, zaś Tadelis został aresztowany.

[88] M. Guyer, The Socjal and Cultural Life, [w:] Gombin, s. 51. Autor wspomina że wraz z trzema radnymi został także aresztowany bundysta Sztokhammer. Jednym z miejsc docelowych emigrantów gąbińskich stało się wówczas Detroit w USA, gdzie udał się także Guyer.

[89] APP, AmG, sygn. 566, 571. W składzie władz miejskich ponownie zasiadł Abram Gips, co wywołało protesty chrześcijańskiej ludności Gąbina, która odwołała się do Wydziału Powiatowego w końcu 1928 r., gdyż żydowski radny był już kilkakrotnie zawieszany, także w roku 1926. Na polecenie starosty magistrat zawiesił Gipsa w czynnościach radnego i ponownie skierował sprawę przeciwko niemu do sądu.

[90] APP, AmG, sygn. 704, 705.

[91] APP. AmG, sygn. 561.

[92] J. Tomaszewski, op.cit., s. 168 – 169. Szerzej na ten temat: A. Tartakower, Zawodowa i spółdzielcza struktura Żydów w Polsce odrodzonej, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce Odrodzonej, T. II., s. 363 – 394.

[93] APP, AmG, sygn. 697.

[94] A. Hafftka, Żydowski stan rzemieślniczy w Polsce odrodzonej, [w:] Żydzi w Polsce odrodzonej, T. II., s. 560 – 561.

[95] APP, AmG, sygn. 564. Wykaz zawodów został sporządzony przez Zarząd gminy Żydowskiej w grudniu 1926 r., choć wykaz rzeźników sporządzony przez kierownika rzeźni w pół roku wcześniej zawiera 26 nazwisk, w tym 25 żydowskich.

[96] APP, AmG, sygn. 692.

[97]APP, AmG, sygn. 706, Wykaz cechów zamieszczony jest w rozdziale I (tabela 2).

[98] APP, AmG, sygn. 703.

[99] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 13.

[100] APP, AmG, sygn. 706.

[101] H. Reifl, The Public Work, [w:] Gombin…

[102] APP, AmG, sygn. 564.

[103] Ibidem.

[104] Księga Adresowo – Handlowa, Warszawa – Bydgoszcz 1925, [w:] Gombiner Jewish Surnames in a Polish Business Directory of the 1920s, 1997, s. 5 – 11. Wśród zakładów przemysłowych występują tu także fabryczka octu Finkelsteina, młyn motorowy M. Bera oraz piwiarnie Ch. Aurbacha oraz Brotmana., patrz aneks 4 (Fragment Księgi Adresowo – Handlowej z 1925 r. dotyczący Gąbina).
[105] APP, AmG, 562.
[106] APP, AmG, sygn 697.
[107] Księga Adresowo – Handlowa, s. 5 – 11; patrz aneks 4 (Fragment Księgi Adresowo – Handlowej z 1925 r. dotyczący Gąbina).
[108] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 249.
[109]APP, AmG, sygn. 705, Ibidem, s. 248.
[110] APP, AmG, sygn. 699.
[111] APP, AmG, sygn. 692.
[112] APP, AmG, sygn.706.
[113] APP, AmG, sygn. 559. liczebnik "drugie " w nazwie towarzystwa odnosi się zapewne do faktu istnienia wcześniej Towarzystwa Pożyczkowo-Oszczędnościowego założonego w 1902r. przez chrześcijan. W wykazie stowarzyszeń z 1923 znajduje się notatka, iż Drugie Towarzystwo przestało funkcjonować w lutym 1918 r. (sygn. 564)
[114] H. Reifl, op. cit.
[115] Ibidem, S. Rafael, A Sacred Task, [w:] Gombin… Emigranci w USA z Gąbina jeszcze przed I wojną światową organizowali datki dla organizacji samopomocowych w rodzinnym mieście. W 1920 r zawiązali w Netwark Komitet Pomocy Gąbinowi, który zdobywał pieniądze m.in. z Jointu na cele charytatywne w Gąbinie. W latach trzydziestych powstały oddziały komitetu w Chicago i Detroit.
[116] H. Reifl, op. cit.
[117] Ibidem.
[118] M. Fuks, Żydzi polscy. Dzieje i kultura, Warszawa 1986, s. 85 – 86.
[119] J. M. Rothbart, Fishele Lehrer and his Secular School, http://www.zchor.org
[120] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 213, 222 – 224.
[121] H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek, op. cit., s. 177
[122] Ibidem, s. 178; J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 242.
[123] H. Chałupczak, T. Browarek, op. cit., s.177.
[124] APP, AmG, sygn. 469, 667
[125] http://www.zchor.org , zbiory TMZG.
[126] APP, AmG, sygn. 667.
[127] APP, AmG, sygn. 669
[128] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 263. W latach trzydziestych szkoła żydowska była szkołą nr 2.
[129] J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 243.
[130] APP, AmG, sygn. 540. Przewodniczący odpowiedział protestującemu, że nie może zakazać funkcjonowania szkoły żydowskiej w niedziele, gdyż nie dostał takiego rozporządzenia, ale sprawę katolickiej stróżki zakomunikuje władzom szkolnym i zbada sprawę.
[131] APP, AmG, sygn. 668; J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 263.
[132] APP, AmG, sygn. 562. Na podstawie posiadanych materiałów nie udało się ustalić liczby chederów w Gąbinie.
[133] M. Fuks, op. cit., s. 84; J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., 242.
[134] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 14.
[135] J. Tomaszewski, op. cit., s. 247.
[136] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 15.
[137] H. Browarek, T. Chałupczak, op. cit., s. 180 – 181, M. Fuks, op. cit., s. 88 – 89, J. Tomaszewski, op.cit., s. 245 – 247.
[138] APP, AmG, sygn.559; M. Guyer, op. cit.
[139] M. Guyer, op. cit.

[140] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 14; APP, AmG, sygn. 680. Makabi (Makkabi - młot) była syjonistyczną żydowską organizacja sportową nawiązującą do tradycji Judy Machabeusza. Pierwsze kluby tej organizacji powstały już na początku XX w. W latach dwudziestych rozpoczął się proces scalania indywidualnych grup w organizację krajową zakończony w 1929 r. powołaniem Związku Żydowskich Towarzystw Gimnastycznych i Sportowych w Polsce „Makabi". Stowarzyszenie Wychowania Fizycznego Morgensztern (Jutrzenka) podlegało Bundowi, zaś Hapoel Poalej Syjon-Prawicy. Lewicowe grupy sportowe wraz z „Gwiazdą" podległą Poalej Syjon - Lewicy należały od 1925 r. do Związku Robotniczych Stowarzyszeń Sportowych będących pod wpływami PPS. (A. Cała, H. Węgrzynek, G. Zalewska, op. cit., s. 211).

[141] W. Maintczik, The Sport Associacion in Gombin, [w:] Gombin... Autor podaje skład drużyny w poczatkach lat dwudziestych: Szmaja Maintczik, Herszek Stolczman, Ignesz Stolczman, Motel Pelka, Dawid Toyber, Abrahamele Stolcman, Israel Moshe Zolna, Icze Szreks, Dawid Hodys, Zelig Rochberger, Szmulik Luszinski i Zeidman Benyamin. W rezerwie wówczas grali:, Gerszon Klinger, Mendel Kilbert, Dan Tayfeld, Reuven Tayfeld, Szimon Toyber. W późniejszym okresie talentem wyróżniał się bramkarz Benjamin Chaja.

[142] Jest to radosne święto na cześć wydarzeń związanych z powstaniem Szymona Bar-Kochby przeciwko Rzymianom. W tym dniu Żydzi zabierają dzieci do lasu lub parku, gdzie bawią się łukami. (http://www.jewish.org.pl).

[143] Ibidem, "New-free" – "strong-faithful".

[144] Ibidem

[145] Pinkas Hakehilot, s. 16; M. Holtzman, Ha'Shomer Ha'Tzayir, http://www.zchor.org

[146] "Taking out the youth to the woods and into nature, and free them from the heavy burden of Jewish seclusion in the Diaspora." Gąbińscy skauci wzorowali się na English Boy Scouts Movement of Pawel Baden oraz German Youth Movement "Wonder Vogel".

[147] APP, AmG, sygn. 738. Świetlica i biblioteka istniała także w 1937 r. przy Szkole Powszechnej Nr 2 przy ul. Poniatowskiego (obecnie Warszawska). Świetlica szkolna czynna była pięć dni w tygodniu, odwiedzało ją przeciętnie około czterdziestu osób w wieku 7 – 14 lat. (APP, AmG, sygn. 737, 738).

[148] J. Szczepański, op. cit., s. 266; Księga Adreswo – Handlowa, Warszawa – Bydgoszcz 1925, s. 7, patrz aneks 4 (Fragment Księgi Adresowo – Handlowej z 1925 r. dotyczący Gąbina).

Chapter 3

[1] D. Dąbrowska, Zagłada skupisk żydowskich w „Kraju Warty" w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej, „Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego", 1955, nr 13 – 14, s. 122.

[2] J. Kazimierski, op. cit., s. 117; Pinkas Hakehillot, s. 12.

[3] D. Dąbrowska, op. cit., s. 125.

[4] J. Borysiak podaje, że rabinem był wówczas Natan Nutkiewicz, jednakze wyjechał on do Rypina w 1933 r, zaś jego miejsce zajął rabin Unger. (zbiory TMZG; M. Rozenblum, op.cit.). Osoba Natana Nutkiewicza pojawia się także w „Notatkach z getta warszawskiego" w Archiwum Ringelbluma jako rabin z Rypina. Zgodnie z informacjami tam zawartymi został on zastrzelony przez Ukraińca podczas ucieczki z transportu do Treblinki. (E. Ringelblum, Kronika getta warszawskiego. Wrzesień 1939 – styczeń 1943, Warszawa 1983, s. 459).

[5] J. Borysiak, Prześladowania i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w Gąbinie. W 50 rocznicę likwidacji getta, „Notatki Płockie", 1992, nr 4, s 37.

[6] Ibidem, s. 37; Sz. Datner, op. cit., s. 71.

[7] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940 – hitlerowski terror w Gąbinie, http://jerzyjedrzejkiewicz.webpark.pl/str01

[8] Idem, Prześladowania...., 37.

[9] D. Dąbrowska, op. cit., s. 128.

[10] Pnkas Hakehillot., s. 15; Zbiory TMZG.

[11] A. Eisenbach, Hitlerowska polityka zagłady Żydów, Warszawa 1961, s. 238.
[12] Zbiory TMZG.
[13] T. Prekerowa, Zarys dziejów Żydów w Polsce w latach 1939 – 1945, Warszawa 1992, s. 42 – 43.
[14]Ibidem.
[15] A. Eisenbach, op. cit. s. 243 – 245; T. Prekerowa, op. cit, s. 44 – 45. Brak pensji powodował szerzenie się korupcji, powszechnym zjawiskiem stały łapówki i kombinatorstwo, co zwiększało różnice społeczne, a tym samym rozbijało poczucie jedności wśród wyznawców mozaizmu.
[16] Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, sygn. 210/333; patrz aneks 5 (Raport Żydowskiego Komitetu Pomocy w Gąbinie do American Join Distribution Commettee w Warszawie z 22 XII 1940 r.).
[17] J. Borysiak, Rok 1940...: Rok 1941...
[18] Zbiory TMZG.
[19] ŻIH, sygn. 210/333.
[20] Ibidem; patrz aneks 5 (Raport Żydowskiego Komitetu Pomocy w Gąbinie do American Join Distribution Commettee w Warszawie z 22 XII 1940 r.).
[21] Ibidem.
[22] J. Borysiak, Prześladowania..., s. 37.
[23] Rejestr miejsc..., s. 33.
[24] J. Borysiak, Prześladowania..., s. 37; R. Greenbaum – Dinerman, Survived as an „Arayan", [w:] Gombin, s. 68.
[25] Pinkas Hakehillot., s. 15; Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 170.
[26] ŻIH, sygn. 210/333; patrz aneks 5 (Raport Żydowskiego Komitetu Pomocy w Gąbinie do American Join Distribution Commettee w Warszawie z 22 XII 1940 r.).
[27] Pinkas hakehillot, s. 15.
[28] Zbiory TMZG.
[29] Zbiory TMZG.
[30] D. Dąbrowska, op. cit., s. 168, (tabela nr 11).
[31] ŻIH, sygn. 210/333; patrz aneks 5 (Raport Żydowskiego Komitetu Pomocy w Gąbinie do American Join Distribution Commettee w Warszawie z 22 XII 1940 r.).
[32] R. Greenbaum – Dinerman, op. cit., s.
[33] J. Borysiak, Prześladowania..., s. 37.
[34] H. Krzewińska, Zagłada gąbińskich Żydów, „Notatki Płockie", 2000. nr 4, s. 20.
[35] Rejestr miejsc..., s. 33. Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich ustaliła, że 12 IV 1942 r. członkowie Waffen – SS zastrzelili w remizie strażackiej kilkunastu chorych Żydów, których tożsamości nie ustalono.
[36] J. Borysiak, Prześladowanie..., s. 38. Autor wspomina, że w owych dniach „od strony placu w nocy dobiega płacz i zawodzenie kobiet i dzieci".
[37] Ibidem.
[38] Ibidem.
[39] H. Krzewińska, op. cit., s. 20.
[40] D. Dąbrowska, op. cit., s. 135; A. Eisenbach, op. cit., s. 294, 300. W maju 1942 r. Greiser w piśmie do Himmlera, zawiadamia, że w niedługim czasie jego rozkaz będzie wykonany.
[41] A. Eisenbach, op. cit., s. 294 – 296.
[42] W. Bednarz, Obóz straceń w Chełmnie nad Nerem, Warszawa 1946, s. 10. Autor podaje definicje obozów straceń, zgodnie z którą były to „obozy, których jedynym celem było natychmiastowe tracenie więźniów, niemal bezzwłocznie po przybyciu. Jak gdyby ciągle czynna maszyna śmierci." Najczęściej występowały one w dokumentach niemieckich pod „nic nie mówiącym terminem: np. Arbeitslager lub Sonnderkommando".
[43] D. Dąbrowska, op. cit., s. 136.
[44],A. Cała, H. Węgrzynek , G. Zalewska, op. cit., s. Autorki podają liczbę zamordowanych w Chełmnie na około 200 – 250 tys. Inni naukowcy we wcześniejszych badaniach przyjmowali liczbę około 310 tys. zabitych (Obozy hitlerowskie ..., s. 129, E. Serwański, Obóz zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem, Poznań

[45]W. Bednarz, op. cit., s. 12.

[46] Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 129.
[47] E. Serwański, op. cit., s. 37- 38.
[48] W. Bednarz, op. cit., s. 19.
[49]Ibidem, s. 24. Autor podaje ,że świadkowie wspominają o czwartym aucie, ale odnosi się do tej informacji sceptycznie.
[50] Ibidem, s. 25. Nie ustalono dokładnie składu gazu wpuszczanego do środka, ale w czasie badań Bednarza świadkowie zeznali, że do obozu „nadchodziły systematycznie jakieś balony i butle z niewiadomymi chemikaliami".
[51] Ibidem.
[52] W. Bednarz, op. cit., s. 27 – 28. Dzienną liczbę mordowanych autor ustalił na podstawie znalezionych tabliczek z numerami ewidencyjnymi, które dostawały ofiary przed śmiercią.

[53] E. Serwański, op. cit., s. 53 – 55.
[54] W. Bednarz, op. cit., s. 21.
[55] Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 129.
[56] E. Serwański, op. cit., s. 56 – 57.
[57] Ibidem, s. 61; W. Bednarz, op. cit., s. 37; Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 130.
[58] Pinkas hakehillot, s. 15 – 16.
[59] Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 170.
[60] Ibidem, s. 140. Średnio umierały w Czarnkowie trzy osoby dziennie. W czasie likwidacji obozu 600 więźniów zostało wywiezionych do lasu w Kazimierzu Biskupim i tam zastrzelonych przez Niemców. Druga grupa została rozstrzelana na pobliskim cmentarzu katolickim, zaś pozostali Żydzi zostali skierowani do Śleszyna.
[61] http://www.zchor.org , Pamiętnik rabina Aaronsona „Zwoje z domu niewoli" zamieszczony jest w jego książce „Alei Merorot" (Karty goryczy), Bnei Brak 1996. Fragmenty pamiętnika znajdują się na stronie pani Ady Holtzman, są to głównie listy z nazwiskami, patrz aneks 6 (Wykazy osobowe z obozu w Koniniespisane przez Rabbiego Aaronsona).

[62] Ibidem. Z dat umieszczonych przez Aaronsona obok nazwisk „męczenników" wynika, iż są to grupy ludzi wysłanych w pięciu transportach: 9 kwietnia, 11 i 19 maja, 8 lipca i 26 września; patrz aneks 6.
[63] Ibidem. Nazwiska siedmiu samobójców podaje Theo Richmond, autor niepublikowanej w Polsce książki „Konin a quest", Vintage 1996, której fragment zamieszczony jest na stronie internetowej pani Holtzman. Tam także znajduje się wspomnienie Shmulka Mottela z Gostynina, uczestnika tych wydarzeń, który podaje jeszcze nazwisko Tabaczyńskiego (Tabacznika) i Szlomo Michalskiego. Ben Guyer pisze natomiast, że część samobójców otruła się, w tym Filip Kranz ze starszyzny czy Neidorf oraz twierdzi, że w powstaniu zginęło jedenastu Żydów (M. Guyer, In the gombiner ghetto and in Nazi camps, [w:] Gombin, s. 49 – 50.
[64] Patrz aneks 6 (Wykazy osobowe z obozu w Koniniespisane przez Rabbiego Aaronsona).
[65] B. Guyer, op.cit., s. 50.
[66] A. Greenbaum, Saved by a Peasant Family, [w:] Gombin, s. 57.
[67] Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 202.

[68] http://www.zchor.org .Nazwiska pochodzą ze zbiorów Shoa Holocaust Museum in Washington, patrz aneks 7(List of Prisoners from Gombin in Auchwitz, USHMM databases).
[69]Ibidem. Według tych danych rodzina Temersonów zginęła w Auschwitz; fragment z „Hall of Names" podaje także nazwiska dwóch osób zamordowanych w Treblince. Są to: Mania Wolfowicz i Mordechaj Wolfowicz; patrz aneks 8 (Partial list of victims from Gombin, Poland, commemorated in the „Hall of Names" at Yad Va'shem).
[70] B. Guyer, op. cit., s. 51- 53.
[71] Obozy hitlerowskie..., s. 372.
[72] Wśród ocalonych są: Szlomo Frankel, Albert Greenbaum, Rosa Greenbaum – Dienerman, Ben Guyer i Abraham Zeideman.
[73] Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy, t.1., Listy o zagładzie, oprac.

Ruta Sakowska, Warszawa 1997, s. 65 – 70.

[74] H. Krzewińska, op. cit., s. 22.

[75] Pinkas Hakehillot, s. 17.

[76] A. Greenbaum, op. cit., s. 56 –58.

[77] R. Greenbaum - Dienerman, op. cit., s. 69 -70.

[78] A. Greenbaum, op. cit., s. 58 – 66.

[79] R. Greenbaum – Dienerman, op. cit., s. 67 – 78.

[80] J. Jasińska, op. cit.,(aneks, Wspomnienia Szlomo Frankiela). Frankiel wspomina: „Pewnego razu (niemiecki pracodawca – przyp. wł.) zapytał mnie „Żydzie jesteś głodny" i ukradkiem podał mi bochenek chleba. To był jednorazowy przypadek. Niemiec ten dodał, żebym był ostrożny co do tego bochenka, gdyż ujawnienie tego grozi jemu i mnie śmierć. Bochenek ten zabrałem oczywiście do domu ku radości całej rodziny."

[81] Ibidem.

[82] A. Zeideman, Survived in Soviet Russia, [w:] Gombin, s. 86. "Our first impression of Brest – Litwovsk was shattering. People walked about in the streets without fear or hindrance. Jewish children, clutching books, were on the way to school; business establishments were poen. Soldiers promenadedon the sidewalks, engaging passerby in friendly conversation. It seemed incredible that only a few kilometersseparated us from the gehenna, where the Nazis stalked their prey like animals, where each and every Jew had a death sentence hanging over him."

[83] A. Zeideman, op. cit., s. 83 – 95.

[84] B. Guyer,op. cit., s. 48. "It was not a work camp but a gehenna."

[85] B. Guyer, op. cit., s. 45 – 55.

[86] J. Frenkl, Gombin children in the Nazi camps,[w:] Gombin..., s. 81. "The Four Jewish children swinging on the gallows – this was the picture greeting the Frenkl brothers on their arrival at the hell known as Guttenbrum".

[87] Ibidem. s. 79 – 82.

[88] Na pomniku widnieją napisy w trzech językach: polskim, angielskim i hebrajskim: „Ziemia uświęcona jest prochami ponad 2000 Żydów z Gąbina, mężczyzn, kobiet, starców i dzieci, których wiosną 1942 r. w Chełmnie zamordowali w samochodach – komorach gazowych niemieccy naziści. Zwłoki ofiar spalili w tym mieście. / „Któż uczyni moją głowę źródłem wody, a oczy moje fontanną łez, bym mógł dniem i nocą opłakiwać zabitych Córy Mojego Ludu?" Jeremiasz 8 w 23 / Nigdy nie zapomną tej potwornej zbrodni rozsiani po świecie potomkowie ofiar z 1999 r."

[89]http://www.gombin.org

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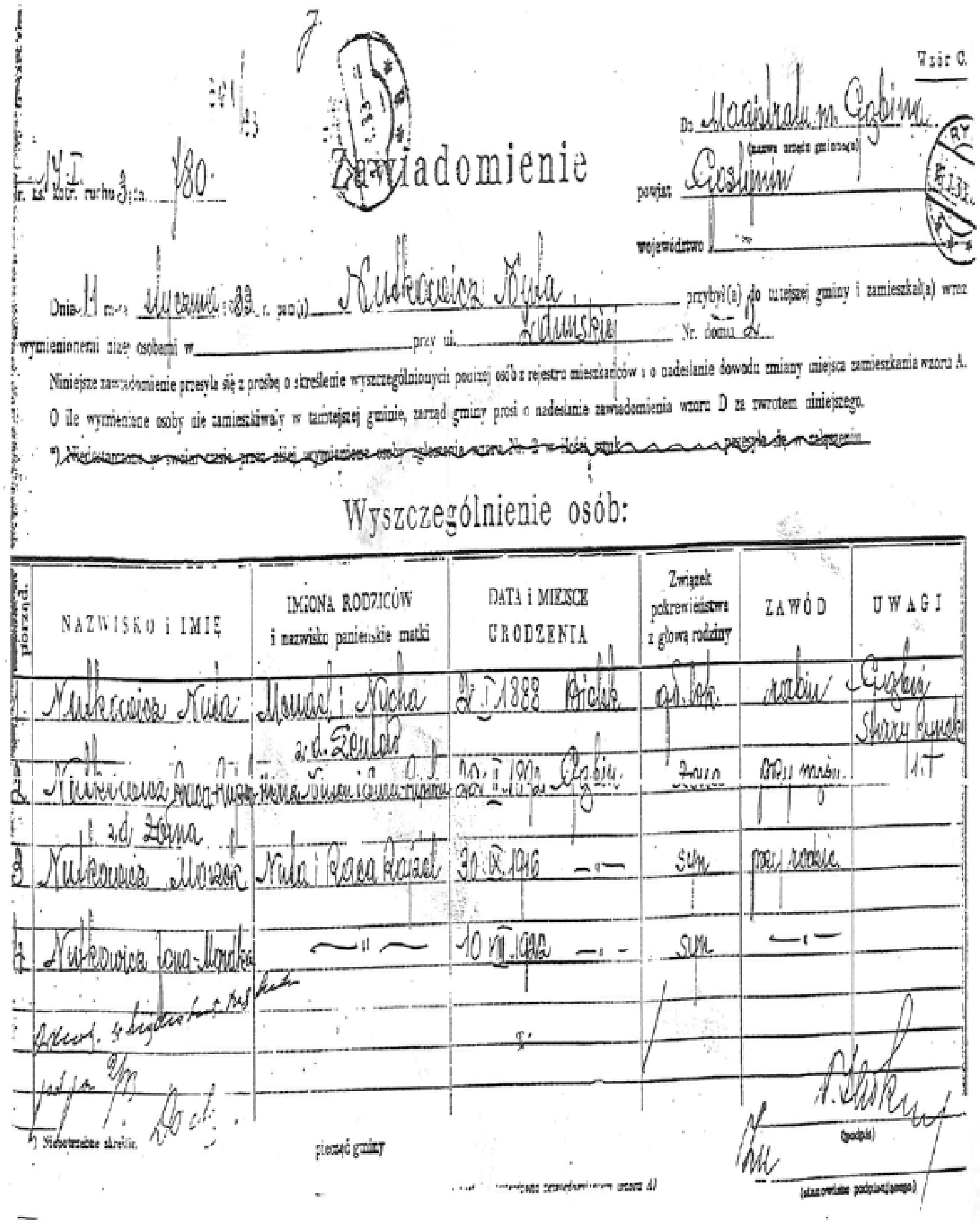
Appendixes

Appendix 1: Notification of the change of the place of residence of the rabbi Nuta Nutkiewicz



Wzór C.

Do Magistratu m. Gąbina (nazwa urzędu gminnego)

powiat Gostynin

województwo

Nr. ks. kontr. ruchu ludn. 180

Zawiadomienie

Dnia 11 m-ca stycznia 1933 r. pan(i) Nutkiewicz Nuta przybył(a) do tutejszej gminy i zamieszkał(a) wraz wymienionemi niżej osobami w ________ przy ul. Żytomierskiej Nr. domu 2.

Niniejsze zawiadomienie przesyła się z prośbą o skreślenie wyszczególnionych poniżej osób z rejestru mieszkańców i o nadesłanie dowodu zmiany miejsca zamieszkania wzoru A.

O ile wymienione osoby nie zamieszkiwały w tamtejszej gminie, zarząd gminy prosi o nadesłanie zawiadomienia wzoru D za zwrotem niniejszego.

Wyszczególnienie osób:

L. porząd.	NAZWISKO i IMIĘ	IMIONA RODZICÓW i nazwisko panieńskie matki	DATA i MIEJSCE URODZENIA	Związek pokrewieństwa z głową rodziny	ZAWÓD	UWAGI
1.	Nutkiewicz Nuta	Mendel i Rycha z d. Zeidel	1888	głowa	rabin	Gąbin Stary Rynek
2.	Nutkiewiczowa	[illegible]	1890 Gąbin	żona	przy mężu	
3.	Nutkiewicz Moszek	Nuta i Rasa	30 IX 1916	syn	przy rodzic.	
4.	Nutkiewicz Jona-Mordka	"	10 VII 1922	syn	"	

pieczęć gminy

(podpis)

(stanowisko podpisującego)

*) Niepotrzebne skreślić.

Appendix 2: Board members of the Jewish Religious Community, Gąbin 1923

Surname and first name	Status (age)
Rabbi Nutkiewicz Nuta	Chairman (34)
Grinberg Eljasz	Deputy chairman (47)
Bielawski Hersz Zalman	Member (50)
Brzeziński Abram	Member (46)
Gips Abram Lajb	Member (43)
Goldsztejn Moszek	Member (47)
Holcman Haskril	Member (65)
Kilbert Majer	Member (54)
Krant Szymon (in America)	Member (50)
Łaski Tobjasz	Member (44)
Opatowski Kasriel	Member (53)
Pełka Izrael	Member (57)
Rozen Izrael	Member (52)
Siekierka Icek	Member (46)
Sochaczewski Abram Elje	Member (52)
Szapiro Izoel Dawid	Member (50)
Szocher Pinkus	Member (66)
Tadelis Majlech	Member (38)
Tober Abram (in Warsaw)	Member (36)
Wolfowicz Abram	Member (48)
Wojdysłowski Liber	Member (52)
Żychliński Moszek	Member (61)
Żychliński Szlama	Member (37)

Appendix 3: Residents by streets and religious groups, Gąbin 1933

Street name	Catholics	Jews	Evangelicals	Others	Total
May 3 Avenue	28	3		1	**32**
Browarna	10	9			**19**
Ciasna	19	159	1		**179**
Garbarska	97	169			**266**
Gostynińska	137	50	38		**225**
Ks. J. Poniatowskiego	292	84	9		**390**
Kościelna	9				**9**
Krótka	7	25			**32**
Kutnowska	115	548	25		**688**
Kościuszki	33	8	15		**56**
Kilińskiego	590	342	10		**942**
November 11 St	213	59	21		**293**
Ogrodowa	35	8	21		**64**
Pl. Marsz. Piłsudskiego	179	53			**232**
Płocka	166	186	18		**370**
Poprzeczna	123	3			**126**
Północna	77	22	4		**103**
Rogatki Gostynińskie	148		24		**172**
Rogatki Żychlińskie	103		19		**122**
Rogatki Czermińskie	192				**192**
Rogatki Lipińskie	33				**33**
Stary Rynek	44	604	10		**658**
Tylna		121			**121**
Trakt Kamiński	141	11	7		**159**
Kielniki	84				**84**
Przydatki	103				**107**
Golonka and Gajówka	43		4		**47**
Total	**3025**	**2469**	**226**	**1**	**5721**

Appendix 4: Business Directory, Gąbin 1925

GABIN.

Miasto (z przedmieść.: Kielniki, Golonka, Piaszkówka, Przydatki), pow. Gostynin, siedziba sądu pok., sąd okr. Płock, 5777 mieszk. (16 km) Łąck, linja kol. Kutno-Płock Gąbin Gostynin. Magistrat. 1 kat., 1 ew., 1 synag. Ambulatorjum miejskie, elektrownia miejs., rzeźnia miejs. Zw. kupców, zw. rzemieślników, zw. zawodowy pracowników miejskich, cechy: szewców, rymarzy, rzeźników, stelmachów, stolarzy. Targi: co czwartek. Młyny, garbarnie. Cegielnia i torfiarnia miejska.

Ville (faubourgs de Kielniki, Golonka, Piaszkówka, Przydatki), distr. de Gostynin, siège de la just. de paix, trib. d'arr-t Płock, 5 777 habit. ✕ (16 km) Łąck, ligne de Kutno-Płock Gąbin Gostynin. Municipalité. 1 cath., 1 prot., 1 synag. Ambulance municipale, usine électrique municipale, abattoir municip. Assoc.: des commerçants, d'artisans, assoc. profess. des employés de communes, corpor.: des cordonniers, bourreliers, bouchers, charrons, menuisiers. Marchés: jeudi. Moulins, tanneries, Briqueteries et tourbière municipales.

Burmistrz (Maire): Stefan Kęsicki.

Straż ogniowa ochotn. Komendant (Corps des pompiers volont. Commandant): Franc. Pietrzak.

Lekarze (médecins): Dziewrzepolski A. dr. — Korzyński K. dr.

Adwokaci (avocats): Pietrzak Fr. (obr. sąd.).

Notarjusze (notaires): Maciejko Mar.

Akuszerki (sages-femmes): Kalmus F. — Królikowska M.

Apteczne składy (drogueries): ✕Moszczewski E. — Rewczyn E.

Apteki (pharmacies): ✕Barchwic R.

Banki (banques): ✕Bank Ludowy, Sp. z o. o.

Bednarze (tonneliers): Szymański L.

Blacharze (ferblantiers): Łaski A. — Łaski M. — Łaski T. — Łaski W. — Zielonka N.

Frenkiel Sz.

Budulec (bois de construction): ✕Gips i Wolfowicz — ✕Żurkowski H.

Bydło — handel (march. de bestiaux): Bell A. — Bell M. — ✕Gostyński J. — Holcman G. — Monczyk N. — ✕Pytel J. — Witkowski A.

Cegielnie (briqueteries): Brzeziński A. — ✕Cegielnia Miejska.

Cieśle (charpentiers): Urbański J.

Cukiernie (confiseurs): Szwarc M. — Tober D.

Drób (volailles): Opatowski J.

Ekspedytorzy (expéditeurs): Szwarc.

Elektrotechniczne artykuły (appareillage électrique): Hodys A.

Elektrownie (usines d'électricité): Elektrownia Miejska.

Farbiarnie (teinturiers): Weigt W.

Farby (couleurs): Zamość J.

Felczerzy (barbiers - chirurgiens): Samulewicz E. — Samulewicz M.

Fotograficzne zakłady (photographes): Zandman Ch.

Fryzjerzy (coiffeurs): Osera L. — Tajfeld H.

Galanterja (merceries): Boczko Ch. — Frydland G. — Grinbarg M. — Opatowski R. — Prawda F. — Szapiro S. — ✕Tadelis A. — Tyber J. — Wigdorowicz J. — Wolfowicz A. — Wolfowicz L. — Wolfowicz, Borysiak S. — Wyspa S.

Garbarnie (tanneries): Borenc K. — Gleksin M. — Harsztok E. — Łaszczyński T. — Szneider F.

Garncarze (potiers): Jędrzejowski S.

Hafciarnie (broderies à la main): Elgiert.

Introligatorzy (relieurs): Frenkiel M.

Jadłodajnie (restaurants): Krause H. — Milgrom G. — Sztolle A. — Temerson M.

Jaja (oeufs): Bar J. — Fried A. — Tyber J. — Wyrobek A.

Kamasznicy (tiges pour chaussures): Bibergal J. — Bibergal M. — Hesler M. — Zamość L.

Kamieniołomy (carrières de pierres): Sztelle L.

Kasy pożyczk.-oszczędn. (caisses d'empr. et d'épargne): ✕„Jedność Ludowa", Spółdz. z n. o. — ✕Kasa Spółdzielcza, Sp. z o. o.

Kaszarnie (fabr. de gruaux): Walman C.

Kinematografy (cinémas): „Polonja", wł. Grinbaum J.

Klej (colle forte): Wajcman M.

Kolonjalne artykuły (épiciers): ✕Frydland Sz. — ✕Grynbaum J. — ✕Holcman R. — ✕Kott L. — ✕Łaszyński S. — Rozen I. — ✕Tyber M. — Wróbel A. — Wróbel H.

Kołodzieje (charrons): Gralewski W. — Tomosik J. — Wojno A.

Konfekcja (confections): Goldman G. — Holcman D.

Konie — handel (march. de chevaux): ✕Mańczyk M.

Kooperatywy (coopératives): ✕„Gąbinianka", Stow. Spoż. — ✕Powszechna Spożywcza Spółdzielnia Robotnicza w Warszawie, oddz.

Kosmetyczne artykuły (produits de beauté): Zyg N.

Kowale (forgerons): Kupiecki W. — Leśkiewicz T. — Leśkiewicz L. — Podczaski A.

Krawcy (tailleurs): Brzeziński A. — Finkielsztajn I. — Fryszler M. — Kerber R. — Kon Sz. — Kroj R. — Kutkowski S. — Lurje Ch. — Łask J. — Łęcki — Pelka I. — Perczak A. — Pytel E. — Rozenberg M. — Tatarka M. — Tatarka S. Topiel M. — Żołna M.

Księgarnie (librairies): Eichel A. — Księgarnia P. Macierzy Szkolnej.

Kuchenne naczynia (articles de cuisine): Motaliński Ch.

Kuśnierze (pelletiers): Matys H.

Malarze (peintres): Odra — Pluta J. — Tober S.

Manufaktura (tissus): Borysiak S. — Frydman M. — ✕German J. — ✕Gips J. — Goldberg M. — ✕Goldszmidt B. — Grynberg E. — ✕Jarlicht M. — Mróz L. — ✕Siekierka I. — ✕Wigdorowicz J. — ✕Wolfowicz A. — ✕Wolfowicz M.

Goldberg I. — Siekierka I. — Szapiro Ch.

Maszyny do szycia (machines à coudre): Frenkiel Sz.

Maszyny rolnicze (machines agricoles): ✕„Rolnik", Spółdz.

Meble (meubles): Rozenblum Sz.

Mleczarskie zakłady (laiteries): ✕Sp. Mleczarska w Kamieniu.

Młyny (moulins): Bar M. (mot) — Binkowski W. — Fott P. i Bodo D. (mot) — Puczkowski L. — Sarnowski W. i Puczkowski A. (mot).

Murarze (maçons): Glezer Bcia. — Walburg F. — Żuchowski S.

Muzyczne instrumenty (instruments de musique): Grynberg N.

Mydło (savons): Frenkiel M.

Nabiał (crémiers): Szwarc M.

Nafta (pétrole): Szajnbom A.

Nasiona (graines) ✕„Gąbinianka", Nasiona — nawozy — chemikalja J. C. Ulrich-Warszawa.

Nawozy sztuczne (engrais chimiques): ✕„Rolnik", Spółdz.

Nierogacizna — handel (march. de porcs): Szymański F.

Obuwie (chaussures): Bar A. — Milgrom W.

Ocet — fabr. (fabr. de vinaigres): Finkelstein. — Sztollo H.

Ogrodnicze zakłady (horticulteurs): Kazaniecki W.

Olejarnie (huileries): Stupaj M. — Szczawiński E.

Piekarze (boulangers): Etyngier Z. — Gelbert A. — Hazen L. — Liberman Sz. — Poliński W. — Rogoziński G. — Rojewski K. — Rojewski M. — Rojewski Z. — Rozenfeld A. — Wist H. — Zielonka Sz.

Piwiarnie (brasseries): ✕Aurbach Ch. — Brotman. — Lizak J.

Piwo — hurt (bières en gros): Kuczyński F.

Powroźnicy (cordiers): Klinkowstein P. — Żelazo T.

Prośb i tłumaczeń biura (pétitions et traductions): Hirszberg A. — Kerber Ch.

Restauracje (restaurants): ✕Gaciński J. — Kwiatkowski J. — Szojna A. — Wajs B.

Rolnicze artykuły (produits agricoles): ✕„Rolnik", Spółdz.

Rolnicze narzędzia (instruments agricoles): Sztelle H.

Rowery (bicyclettes): Hodys A.

Różne towary (articles divers): ✕Kółko Rolnicze — Sklep Miejski.

Rymarze (bourreliers): Kwiatkowski L. — Majewska — Menge O. — Ogniewski J. — Ropsa J.

Rzeźnicy (bouchers): ✕Bohl A. — ✕Bohl M. — Gaciński I. Bar M. — Kaliński Sz.

Samochodowa komunikacja (transports automobiles): Bar M. — Kaliński H. — Stupaj G. I.

Skóry (cuirs): Frydland Sz. — Gelbert B. — Gnat J. — Gurkiewicz E. — Kerber L. — Rak S. — Żychliński Mordko — Żychliński M.

Spirytualja (spiritueux): Go[illegible] — Hirszberg S.

Spożywcze artykuły (comestibles): Bar Sz. — Borensztejn Ch. — Frajzyngier M. — Frenkiel Bin. — ✕Frenkiel Br. — Frenkiel G. — ✕Gielbert — Holcman M. — Kobus — Mine M. — Pindek M. — Sanicka R. — Zając I. — Zajdeman Ch.

Borensztajn E. — Górkier F. — Manczyk R. — Szydłowska M. — Wand M.

Stolarze (menuisiers): Godlewski J. — Płażewski L. — Słowikowski W. — Stypulski T.

Studnie — budowa (foreurs de puits): Pietrzak P.

Szewcy (cordonniers): Kalmus J. — Matusiak S. — Rutkowski J. — Śpiewak P.

Szkło i porcelana (verreries et porcelaines): Bibergal M. — Libfeld A.

Ślusarze (serruriers): Frenkiel M. — Rozen Sz.

Tapicerzy (tapissiers): Ogniewski J.

Tartaki (scieries): ✕Sznajder F., Gips A. i Wolfowicz A.

Technicy dentystyczni (mécan. dentistes): Samulewicz M.

Tkacze (tisseurs): Jarlicht J.

Tokarze (tourneurs): Gill I. — Wilczyński W.

Torf — eksploatacja (exploit. de tourbières): Magistrat.

Trykotaże (articles en tricot): Sztelle A.

Tytoniowe wyroby (tabacs): ✕Lubrański Sz. — Łuszyński H. — Sztaleman I. — Temerson H.

Wędliny (charcutiers): Dyszkiewicz H. — Fortuna — Lendzion M. Bachman L. — Stypulski T.

Węgiel (charbons): Bohl M. — Jankowski I. — Tuber W.

Wiatraki (moulins à vent): Gersztenkorn H.

Zboże (grains): ✕Fuks Sz. — Glikzeligier M. — Kerber H. — Laideman Ch. — Tabue E. — Wróbel H. — Wyspa I.

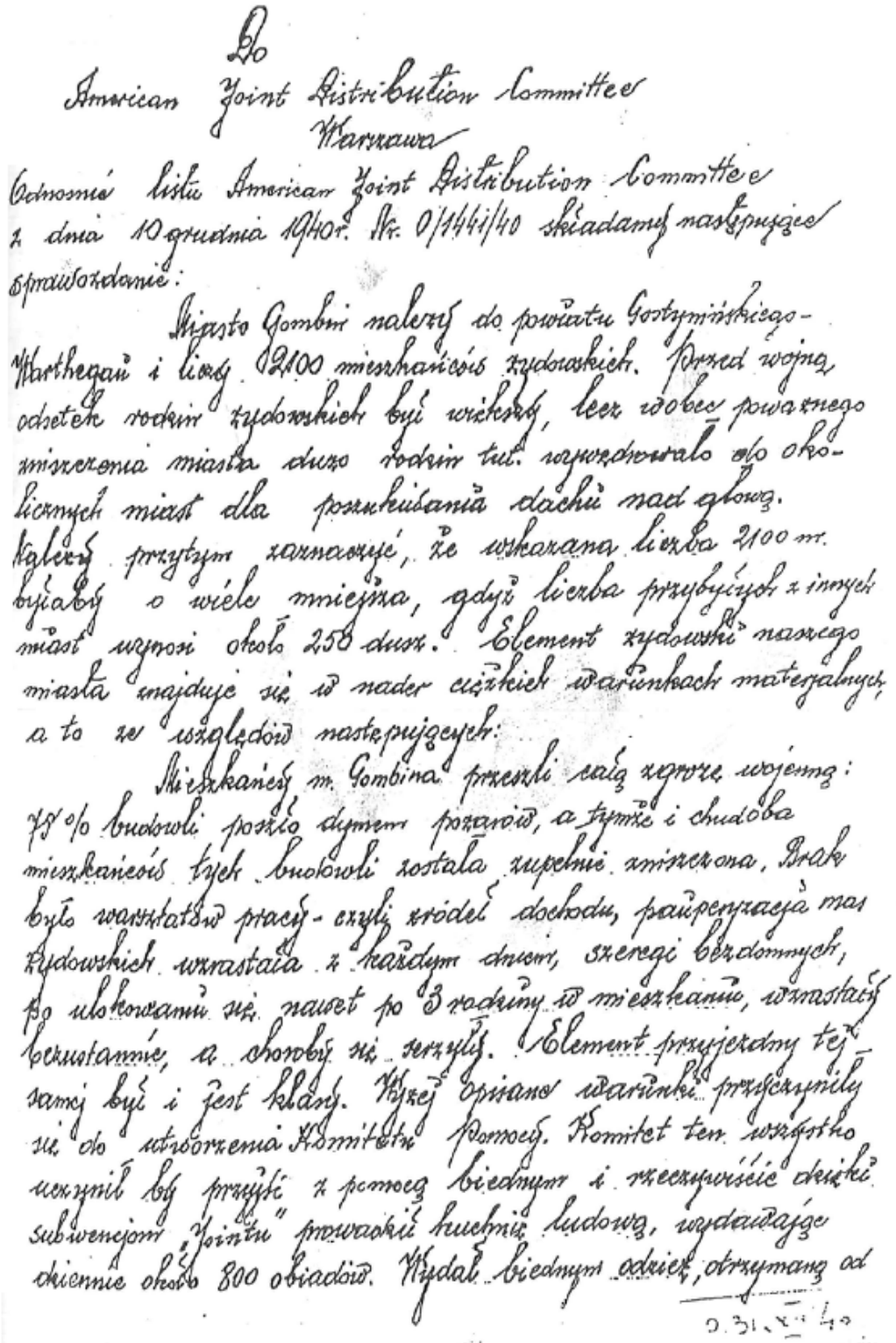
Zduni (fumistes): Pakorski Z.

Zegarmistrze (horlogers): Goldsztajn Sz. — Rabinowicz B. — Śpiewak N.

Żelazo (fers): Ciajak M. — Jankowski I. — ✕Szczawiński M. — Sztajeman E. — ✕Sztaleman J. — ✕Wolman G.

Prusznis P.

Appendix 5: Report of the Jewish Help Committee of Gąbin to the American Joint Distribution Committee in Warsaw, December 22 1940



Do
American Joint Distribution Committee
Warszawa

Odnośnie listu American Joint Distribution Committee z dnia 10 grudnia 1940r. Nr. 0/1141/40 składamy następujące sprawozdanie:

Miasto Gombin należy do powiatu Gostynińskiego - Warthegau i liczy 2100 mieszkańców żydowskich. Przed wojną odsetek rodzin żydowskich był większy, lecz wobec poważnego zniszczenia miasta dużo rodzin tut. wyprowadziło się do okolicznych miast dla poszukiwania dachu nad głową. Należy przytym zaznaczyć, że wskazana liczba 2100 m. byłaby o wiele mniejsza, gdyż liczba przybyłych z innych miast wynosi około 250 dusz. Element żydowski naszego miasta znajduje się w nader ciężkich warunkach materjalnych, a to ze względów następujących:

Mieszkańcy m. Gombina przeszli całą zgrozę wojenną: 75% budowli poszło dymem pożarów, a tymże i chudoba mieszkańców tych budowli została zupełnie zniszczona. Brak było warsztatów pracy - czyli źródeł dochodu, pauperyzacja mas żydowskich wzrastała z każdym dniem, szeregi bezdomnych, po ulokowaniu się nawet po 3 rodziny w mieszkaniu, wzrastały bezustannie, a choroby się szerzyły. Element przyjezdny tej samej był i jest klasy. Wyżej opisane warunki przyczyniły się do utworzenia Komitetu Pomocy. Komitet ten wszystko uczynił by przyjść z pomocą biednym i rzeczywiście dzięki subwencjom "Joint-u" prowadzi kuchnię ludową, wydającą dziennie około 800 obiadów. Wydał biednym odzież, otrzymaną od

D. 31.XII.40

tegoż „Jointu", prowadził dożywkę dla biednej dziatwy, a wreszcie prowadził akcję sanitarną wśród ludności żydowskiej i w tym celu jeszcze dotychczas utrzymuje felczera, a w swoim czasie utrzymywał ośrodek izolacyjny dla chorych-zakaźnych. Otrzymany od „Jointu" list z dnia 10 czerwca 1940 r. № 0/709/4.. upoważniający nas do zaciągnięcia miejscowych pożyczek na cele akcji zapomogowej i że takowe pokryje, wiele nam dodał otuchy i energii dla dalszej pracy. Zaciągnięto pożyczki, lecz takowych w całości już nie zdołano spłacić, albowiem American Joint Distribution Committe w Warszawie zaprzestał pracy swojej na terenie Rzeszy (pismo z dnia 5 sierpnia 1940 r. № 0.993/40.) Nie bacząc na to Komitet i nadal byłby kuchnię ludową z miejscowych ofiar prowadził, gdyby praca obowiązkowa na rzecz miasta nie stałaby się specjalnym ciężarem. Otóż Władza zarządziła usunięcie gruzów i przeprowadzenie różnych prac miejskich bez wynagrodzenia. Codziennie do tej pracy staje około 200 mężczyzn i 50 dziewcząt. W tym celu Komitet utrzymuje stałych robotników, korzystających z minimalnej zapłaty. Zapłata ta zostaje pokryta przez ludność żydowską drogą składki tygodniowej. Składka ta jest ciężarem dla ofiarodawców zaś pracownikom ulżenia nie przynosi, gdyż nawet nie starczy na pokrycie strat powstałych z tytułu zniszczenia odzieży i obuwia przy pracy. Obciążenie ludności składką na prowadzenie kuchni prócz składki na rzecz pracy jest niemożliwem. Dlatego też nasi pracownicy chodzą i wracają z pracy głodni. W tych warunkach dawanie im bezpłatnej gorącej strawy, zziębniętym całodzienną pracą na mrozie, byłoby nakazem chwili!

jednakże nie siedzimy z założonymi rękoma. Staramy się ulżyć niedoli naszych biednych i w tym celu od czasu do czasu wydajemy produkty, a mianowicie: mąkę, mączkę, olej-jadalny, kaszę i chleb oraz zapomogi pieniężne. Biednych chorych kierujemy do felczera lub miejscowego doktora, a wydatki z tego tytułu pokrywamy z funduszów Komitetu. Całej ludności żydowskiej naszego miasta dokonano szczepionkę przeciwtyfusową, posługujemy się apteczką „Tozu", a ostatnio przeprowadzono akcję mieszkaniową.

Wreszcie zwracamy się do American Joint Distribution Committee z uprzejmą prośbą o łaskawą pomoc w akcjach dalszego:

1/ uruchomienia kuchni ludowej i dożywiania dla biednej dziatwy;

2/ odzieżowej

3/ żywnościowej /uzyskania tłuszczów i inn. art. żywnościowych/

i 4/ sanitarnej

Do uskutecznienia powyższych celów konieczny jest nam budżet miesięczny w ramach Mk. 5000.

Gombin, d. 22.XII.1940.

Jüdisches Hilfskomitee in Gabin

Vorsitzender: [signature]

Sekretär: M. Zajdeman

Kassierer:

[signatures]

Appendix 6: Rabbi Aaronson's lists of persons from the Konin-Czarnków forced labor camp

From Rabbi Aaronson's book *"Alei Merorot", Secret Diary: Scrolls from the Slavery House* (written in the Konin camp)

List of Konin-Czarnków forced labor camp inmates who were sent as "sick" to Chelmno Death Camp
Source: Rabbi Aaronson: pages 323-32, Ada Holtzman, http://www.zchor.org/KONCHEL.HTM

Date of Transp	SURNAME	Given Name	Marital Status	Born	Town of Origin
8.7.42	ADAMCZIK	Jecheskel	Married	1900	Sanniki
11.5.42	ALTERMAN	Jerachmiel	Single	1923	Gombin
8.7.42	BEL	Cwi	Married	1903	Gombin
8.7.42	BER	Jeszayahu	Married	1883	Gombin
11.5.42	BIBEK	Josef	Married	1888	Gombin
11.5.42	BIEBERGAL	Mordechai	Married	1887	Gombin
8.7.42	BORENSZTEJN	David	Single	1913	Jaksice
8.7.42	BRECHNER	Chaim	Married	1903	Jaksice
19.5.42	BRESLER	Fiszel	Married	1896	Gostynin
11.5.42	BROCHOCKI	Szmuel	Married	1890	Sanniki
11.5.42	BRODZIAK	Cwi	Single	1914	Gostynin
19.5.42	BRODZIAK	IsraelMoshe	Single	1923	Gostynin
19.5.42	BRODZIAK	Israel	Single	1916	Gostynin
19.5.42	BRYL	Chajm	Married	1900	Gombin
19.5.42	BURENSZTEIN	Gdaliahu	Single	1913	Gostynin
8.7.42	CHAIMOWICZ	Mendel	Married	1882	Sanniki
19.5.42	CHAJA	Simcha	Married	1897	Gostynin
19.5.42	CIEK	Jakob	Married	1883	Gombin
19.5.42	COHEN	Josef	Married	1904	Gombin
8.7.42	COHEN	Jissachar(Sascher)	Married	1892	Sanniki
19.5.42	DANCYGER	Moshe	Married	1893	Gostynin
19.5.42	DANCYGER	Szabtai Arie	Married	1886	Gostynin
8.7.42	DANCYGER	Rafal(Folie)	Married	1891	Gostynin
11.5.42	DZYK	Aron	Single	1917	Gombin
8.7.42	ERDBERG	Mendel	Single	1905	Gostynin
8.7.42	FISZBEIN	Neta	Married	1900	Gombin
19.5.42	FREITAG	Jehoszua	Married	1905	Poddebice
19.5.42	FRENKEL	Iochak	Single	1922	Gombin
11.5.42	FRIEDMAN	Nachum	Married	1886	Gombin
8.7.42	FUKS	Szlomo	Single	1914	Gombin
8.7.42	GARDOM	Simcha	Married		Sanniki
19.5.42	GERSZT	Jechiel	Single	1905	Gostynin
8.7.42	GIZLER	Jakob	Single	1910	Gostynin
19.5.42	GLANC	Iochak	Single	1894	Gostynin
11.5.42	GLICENSZTEJN	Moshe	Single	1912	Jaksice
11.5.42	GOLD	Moshe	Married	1892	Sanniki
11.5.42	GOLDBERG	Lajb	Married	1906	Gombin
19.5.42	GOLDBERG	IsraelMordechai	Married	1881	Gostynin
8.7.42	GOLDMAN	Israel	Single	1923	Gombin
8.7.42	GOLDMAN	Gdaliahu	Married	1893	Gombin
8.7.42	GOLDMAN	Eliezer(Lajzer)	Married	1878	Sanniki
19.5.42	GOLDSTEIN	Jona	Married	1911	Gostynin
19.5.42	GREENBAUM	Szaul	Single	1925	Poddebice
11.5.42	GREENBAUM	Jehoszua	Married	1896	Gombin
9.4.42	HELC	Cwi	Married	1879	Sanniki
19.5.42	HERCBERG	Zeew	Single	1901	Jaksice
9.4.42	HODYS	Lajb	Married	1886	Gombin
8.7.42	HOLCMAN	Simcha	Married	1890	Jaksice
19.5.42	ICZKOWICZ	Josef	Single	1925	Gostynin
19.5.42	ICZKOWICZ	Abraham	Married	1893	Gostynin
19.5.42	JABLONSKI	Cwi	Married	1899	Gostynin
11.5.42	JAKOBOWICZ	Iochak	Married	1892	Jaksice
26.9.42	JARLICHT	Jakob Josef	Married	1892	Gombin
8.7.42	KAC	Moshe	Married	1888	Sanniki
11.5.42	KAL	AbrahamMeir	Married	1876	Gombin
8.7.42	KAMPINSKI	Natan	Married	1885	Gombin
11.5.42	KARMICA	Szmuel	Married	1897	Jaksice
19.5.42	KELER	MosheDow	Single	1908	Gostynin
8.7.42	KNOPMACHER	Jakob	Married	1914	Gombin
9.4.42	KOJNCMAN	Lajb	Married	1909	Gostynin
8.7.42	KOWALSKI	Mendel	Single	1923	Gombin
8.7.42	KOWENT	Szaul	Married	1894	Gostynin
9.4.42	KRASNI	Israel	Married	1882	Sanniki
19.5.42	KREICER	Michael	Single	1926	Gostynin
19.5.42	KREICER	Moshe	Married	1911	Gostynin
19.5.42	KRUSZINEWSKI	Mendel	Married	1888	Gostynin
11.5.42	LAKS	Szmaja	Single	1923	Gombin
8.7.42	LASKI	Meir	Married	1888	Gostynin
11.5.42	LASKOWSKI	Jechiel	Married	1883	Sanniki
9.4.42	LASMAN	Yehuda Lajb	Married	1895	Gombin
8.7.42	LICHTENSZTEJN	Hanich	Married	1877	Gombin
19.5.42	LIEBFRYND	Lajb	Single	1911	Gombin
11.5.42	LUSZINSKI	Zeev	Married	1885	Gombin
8.7.42	LUSZINSKI	Natan	Married	1883	Gombin
26.9.42	MANCZIK	Szmaja	Single	1917	Gombin
8.7.42	MARKOWICZ	Szmuel	Married	1912	Gombin
9.4.42	MOJNE	Jechiel	Widower	1868	Gombin
19.5.42	MOSZKOWICZ	Simcha Szimek	Married	1918	Gostynin
11.5.42	MUCNI	Aharon	Married	1875	Gombin
8.7.42	NEIMAN	Zeev	Married	1882	Gostynin
19.5.42	OJDIT	Szmuel	Married	1906	Gostynin
11.5.42	OPTOWSKI	Israel	Married	1892	Gombin
9.4.42	ORBACH	Moshe Lajb	Married	1896	Gombin
8.7.42	PELC	Jakob	Married	1895	Gombin
8.7.42	PELKA	Moshe	Married	1891	Gombin
19.5.42	PINCZEWSKI	Moshe	Married	1891	Gostynin
11.5.42	PIOTREKOWSKI	Szlomo	Married	1906	Poddebice
8.7.42	PIOTREKOWSKI	Zelig	Married	1907	Gostynin
19.5.42	PLOCER	Simcha	Married	1891	Sanniki
11.5.42	PODDEMBSKI	Moshe	Married	1906	Poddebice
11.5.42	PODDEMBSKI	Kojfman	Married	1889	Poddebice
8.7.42	PODDEMERSKI	Abraham Josef	Married	1893	Poddebice
11.5.42	PRINC	Jakob	Married	1907	Gostynin
9.4.42	PRINTZ	Neta	Single		Gostynin
19.5.42	PRZIGODA	Josef	Single	1917	Gostynin
19.5.42	PRZIGODA	Lajb	Married	1886	Gostynin
19.5.42	PRZIGODA	Zalman	Single	1933	Gostynin
8.7.42	PUNDAK	Iochak	Married	1891	Gombin
8.7.42	RAWICZKI	Mendel	Married	1907	Poddebice
19.5.42	REDZNOWER	Szmuel	Single	1916	Gostynin
19.5.42	REMMER	Moshe	Married	1894	Gostynin
11.5.42	ROZENBLUM	Dawid	Married	1881	Gombin
9.4.42	ROZENTHAL	JakobKuba	Single	1917	Jaksice
11.5.42	RUSAK	Cwi	Married	1904	Gombin
8.7.42	RUSAK	Jechiel	Married	1883	Gostynin
11.5.42	SANNICKI	Moshe	Married	1906	Gombin
8.7.42	SCWARC	Iochak	Married	1896	Gombin
19.5.42	SPEKTOR	Josef	Married	1884	Gostynin
11.5.42	SPIEL	Meir	Married	1882	Gombin`
8.7.42	SZAMPANIER	Jechiel	Married	1900	Poddebice
9.4.42	SZAPIRA	Szlama	Married	1902	Gombin
19.5.42	SZATAN	Israel	Married	1905	Gostynin
11.5.42	SZWFRAN	Fawisz	Married	1886	Sanniki
19.5.42	TABECZNIK	Moshe (Muszke)	Single	1914	Gostynin
19.5.42	TEMPLINSKI	Jakob	Married	1888	Jaksice
11.5.42	TIGER	Lajb	Single	1925	Poddebice
19.5.42	TIGER	Baruch Mordechai	Single	1911	Gostynin
8.7.42	TIGER	Lemel	Married	1901	Gombin
19.5.42	TRIWANOWSKI	Michael	Single	1909	Gostynin
19.5.42	TRIWANOWSKI	ChaimBaruch	Married	1887	Gostynin
19.5.42	TRIWANOWSKI	Moshe	Single	1923	Gostynin
8.7.42	WASERMAN	ChamJosef	Married	1894	Gostynin
19.5.42	WEISMAN	Jechiel	Married	1901	Gombin
8.7.42	WIDAWSKI	Aharon	Married	1890	Poddebice
11.5.42	WITISLAWSKI	Jakob	Married	1875	Gm
11.5.42	WOLKOWICZ	Iochak	Married	1895	Gombin
11.5.42	WRUBLE	Eliahu	Married	1877	Gombin
19.5.42	YASZAN	Cwi	Married	1905	Gostynin
19.5.42	YASZAN	Szlomo	Single	1923	Gostynin
19.5.42	YASZAN	Aharon	Married	1883	Gostynin
19.5.42	ZAJAC	Aharon	Married	1891	Gostynin
26.9.42	ZAJAC	Jehoszua Melech	Married	1887	Gombin
19.5.42	ZEIDMAN	Simcha	Married	1879	Gostynin
8.7.42	ZIGER	Gerszon	Married	1908	Gostynin
11.5.42	ZILBERBERG	Mendel	Married	1892	Gostynin
19.5.42	ZISERMAN	Abraham	Married	1910	Gostynin
11.5.42	ZOLNA	Elchanan	Single	1908	Gombin
19.5.42	ZONENSZTEJN	Szalom	Single	1926	Gostynin
19.5.42	ZONENSZTEJN	Abraham Iochak	Married	1920	Gostynin
19.5.42	ZYCHLINSKI	Gdaliahu	Married	1907	Gostynin

Transport from Konin-Czarnków forced labor camp to Andrzejwo near Lodz 24.2.1943
List not published in the book "Alei Merorot", was given to Ada Holtzman by Rabbi Aaronson's son.
Source: Ada Holtzman, http://www.zchor.org/TRANSPOR.HTM

SURNAME	Given Name	Marital Status	Town of Origin
ALTMAN	Lajb	-	Gombin
AMZEL	Hersz	Single	Gombin
ASAWSKI	Pinchas	Married	Gostynin
BAJZER	Juda	Married	Gostynin
BATCZKA	Shlomo	Married	Gombin
BEKAS	Mosze	Married	Gombin
BER	Jakob	Married	Gombin
BER	Hersz Lajb	-	Gombin
BERKOWICZ	Moshe	-	-
BERKOWICZ	Mordechai	-	-
BIWRAWSKI	Abram	Single	Jaksice
BIWRAWSKI	Szymon	Single	Jaksice
BLAUSZTEJN	Moshe	-	-
BOCIAN	Eliezer	Single	Gombin
BOK	Benjamin ("Benek"	Single	Jaksice
BOLL	Fajvysz	Single	Gombin
BOLL	Zelig	Single	Gombin
BOLL	Zalman	Married	Gostynin
BOLL	Mordechai	Married	Gostynin
BOLL	Abram Aba	Single	Gostynin
BORENSZTEJN	Szmuel	-	-
BORENSZTEJN	Jakob	-	-
BRESSLER	David Szlomo	Married	Gostynin
BRESSLER	Abram Jakob	Single	Gostynin
BWAST	Eliahu	Married	-
CHAJMACZKI	Hillel	-	-
CZARKA	Lajb	Married	Gombin
CZERNIEWSKI	Mordechai	Married	Sanniki
CZERNIEWSKI	Meir	Married	Sanniki
DREJWICZ	Mendel	Married	Gombin
EDELSTERN	Mosze	-	Gombin
FALC	Aleksander	Single	Gombin
FINKELSZTEJN	Eliezer	Single	Gombin
FISZBOJM	Icchak	-	Gostynin
FRAJLICH	Chaim	Married	Jaksice
FRYDE	Jakob	-	-
FRYDE	Moshe	-	-
GELBERT	Mendel	Single	Gombin
GLAGOWSKI	Isser	Married	Gostynin
GOLD	Mordechai	-	-
GOLDMAN	Gerszon	Married	Gombin
GOLDSTEIN	David	Single	Gombin
GOLDSTEIN	Aron	Single	Gombin
GOLDSTEIN	Baruch	Single	Gombin
GOLDSTEIN	Lajbus	Single	Gombin
GRODNICKI	Moshe	Single	Jaksice
GROYBARD	Lajvel	Married	Gombin
GRYNBERG	Ber	Single	Gombin
GRYNBERG	Szymon	Single	Gombin
HAMBURGER	Reuwen	-	Gombin
HODYS	Lajb	-	Gombin
HODYS	Szmuel	-	Gombin
HODYS	Juda	-	Gombin
HYMEL	Shlomo	-	Gombin
IZBICZKI	Lajb ("Leon")	Married	Jaksice
JARLICHT	Hersz	Single	Gombin
JASKULKA	Simcha	Married	Sanniki
KALASZINSKI	Lajb	Single	Poddebice
KAMPEL	Icchak	Married	Gostynin
KAWKA	Szlomo	Married	Gostynin
KELLER	Laen	Married	Jaksice
KELMER	Mosze	-	-
KENIGSZTOK	Jakob	Married	Gostynin
KIRSZ	Josef	Married	Gostynin
KIRSZBOJM	Daniel	Married	Sanniki

SURNAME	Given Name	Marital Status	Town of Origin
KLINKAOWSTEIN	Zyskind	-	Gombin
KNOBEL	Jakob	Single	-
KUKURDZA	Abram	Single	Gombin
LASKI	Aron ("Adasz")	Single	Gostynin
LASKOWSKI	Moshe	-	Gombin
LASMAN	Moshe	-	-
LASMAN	Jakob	-	-
LEWI	Moshe Berl	-	Gostynin
LUSZINSKI	Jakob	Married	Gombin
MAJDAT	Hersz	Married	Gombin
MAJNCZIK	Szlomo	Married	Gombin
MASZMAN	Jakob ("Kuba")	Single	Jaksice
MENCHE	Hersz	Single	Poddebice
MITTELPUNKT	Mordechai	Single	Gombin
MOTTEL	Binem	Married	Gostynin
MOTTEL	Szlomo Son Of Isa	Married	Gostynin
NASZELSKI	Hersz	-	-
NEJMAN	Moshe	Single	Jaksice
NOWAK	Abram	Married	Gombin
PITTERMAN	Abram	-	Gombin
PITTERMAN	Zalman	-	Gombin
PODEMBSKI	Abram	Single	Poddebice
PYNCZEWSKI	Baruch	Married	Gostynin
PYNCZEWSKI	Jakob ("Kuba")	Single	Gostynin
RAK	Henach	Married	Gombin
ROSENFELD	Aron	Married	Gombin
ROZENBERG	Moshe	-	-
RUSSAK	Eliezer	-	-
RYSTER	Wolf	-	-
SLAMA	Jehoszua	Married	Sanniki
STEFN	Jecheskiel	Married	Sanniki
STRZIZA	Josef	Married	Gostynin
SZKLAREK	Abram	Single	Gombin
SZLOMOWICZ	Juda	-	-
SZPYWAK	Jakob	-	Gombin
SZTCZIEGEL	Abram Mosze	Married	Sanniki
SZTCZIEGEL	Szlomo	-	-
SZTCZIEGEL	Simcha	Married	Sanniki
SZTCZIEGEL	Lavlek	-	-
SZTCZIEGEL	Israel	Married	-
SZTIGLIC	Icchak	-	Gombin
TADELIS	Jakob	Single	Gombin
TANDAWSKI	Icchak	Single	Gostynin
TATARKA	Zalman	Single	Gombin
TATARKA	Lajb	Single	Gombin
TATARKA	Mer	-	Gombin
URBACH	Machel	-	-
WEICMAN	Icchak	-	Gombin
WOICESLAWSKI	Icchak	-	Gombin
WOICESLAWSKI	Hersz	Single	Gombin
WOICESLAWSKI	Natan	Single	Gombin
WOICESLAWSKI	Fiszel	-	Gombin
WOICESLAWSKI	Abram	-	Gombin
WOLMAN	Shlomo	Married	Gombin
WRUBLE	Mendel	Single	Gombin
WRUBLE	Bynem	Single	Gombin
ZALCMAN	Meir	Single	Gombin
ZANDBERG	Hersz	-	Jaksice
ZELIG	David	Single	Jaksice
ZELONKA	Sender	-	-
ZOLNA	Daniel	-	-
ZOLNA	Jehoshua	-	-
ZYCHLINSKI	Abram	Married	Gombin
ZYCHLINSKI	Israel Jeoshua ("S	Single	Gostynin

Inmates who died in the Konin-Czarnków forced labor camp and were buried in the Catholic cemetery of Konin, 1941-1943
Source: Ada Holtzman,
http://www.zchor.org/KONDEAD.HTM

SURNAME	Given Name	Marital Status	Born	Town of Origin
AJZIK	Szlomo	Married	1897	Gostynin
AKAVIA	? Father			Osmolin
AKAVIA	? Son			Osmolin
ALTERMAN	Azriel	Married	1891	Gombin
BER	Szaja	Married	1890	Gombin
BLAMBOJM	Abraham	Married	1879	Gombin
BOCZKO	Zeew	Single	1922	Gombin
BRISTOWSKI	Lipa	Single	1928	Gostynin
CIMERMAN	Chajm Morde	Married	1906	Gostynin
DZJEDZIC	Meir Szmuel	Married	1878	Gombin
DZYK	Nathan	Married	1885	Gombin
ERDBERG	Moshe	Single	1919	Gombin
FEINZILBER	Josef	Single	1914	Gostynin
FILIPSON	Chuno		1919	Zychlin
FRENKEL	Abraham			Gombin
FUKS	Szmuel	Married	1884	Gombin
GELBERT	Nahum	Married	1905	Gombin
GOLDBERG	Nachum	Married	1884	Gostynin
HODYS	Icchak		1886	Gombin
HOLCBERG	Cwi	Married	1894	Sanniki
JAKOBOWICZ	Zew	Single	1922	Jaksice
KAMLAZH	Feiwisz	Married		Gombin
KAZMIERSKI	Lajb		1895	Sanniki
KERBER	Meir	Married	1904	Gombin
KLEINOT	Getzel			Gostynin
KNOPF Dr.	Hans			Berlin
KOT	Moshe	Single	1920	Gombin
KOWENT	Icchak	Single	1911	Gostynin
LASKI	Moshe	Married	1891	Gombin
LASMAN	Eliezer (Lajze	Married	1913	Gostynin
LEWKOWICZ	Josef	Single	1911	Gostynin
LIPSZIC	Szlomo	Married	1891	Gombin
MARKOWICZ	Katriel	Married	1903	Jaksice
MICHALSKI	Shlomo		1918	Gostynin
MOTIL	Jakob Lajb	Married	1893	Gostynin
MUNCZEK	Lajb	Married	1899	Gombin
NEUDORF	Abraham	Married		Plock
NUSENOWICZ	Abraham	Married	1897	Gostynin
NUSENOWICZ	Zalman			Gostynin
POZNANSKI	Chaim	Single	1907	Gombin
PYTROKOWSKI	Dawid		1910	Poddebice
RAK	Moshe Jakob	Married	1909	Gostynin
REJZMAN	Jechiel Meir	Married	1902	Sanniki
ROGOZINSKI	Wolf			Gombin
ROGOZINSKI	Abraham			Gombin
ROZENHOLC	Lajb	Single	1923	Sanniki
SEIF	Abraham			Gostynin
SZCZAWINSKI	Melech	Married	1899	Gombin
SZYMBAUM	Abraham	Married	1893	Gombin
SZINIAK	Szimon	Single	1918	Poddebice
SZLANG	Moshe	Married	1909	Gombin
SZUREJN	Josef	Married	1891	Gostynin
TABACNIK	Abraham Aharon		1920	Gostynin
TIBER	Jakob	Married	1886	Gombin
TIBER	Gerszon	Married	1896	Gombin
TIBER	Jechiel Meir	Married	1889	Gombin
WEJCNER	Abraham	Married	1890	Gostynin
WIDAWSKY	Chaim Cwi	Married	1894	Poddebice
WIKSEL	Abraham	Single	1923	Poddebice
WOLMAN	Lajbisz		1901	Gombin
WROBLE	Sender (Alek:	Married	1907	
ZIELONKA	Philip Fiszel (	Married		
ZIGER	Rewen	Married	1897	Gombin

Inmates in the Konin-Czarnków forced labor camp who were still alive on 7.8.1943
(Rabbi Aaronson: "Alei Merorot" pages 330-331)
Source: Ada Holtzman,
http://www.zchor.org/KONLIVE.HTM

SURNAME	Given Name	Town of Origin
AARONSON	Jehoszua Mosze	Sanniki
ALTMAN	Jakob	
BER	Josef	
BER	Mechel	
BIBERGAL	Meir	
BLAWAT	Hersz	
CHAIMOWICZ	Chaim	
CHAJA	Eliahu	
DAWICZKI	Rafal Moshe	Jaksice
GRYNBOJM	Jakob	Gombin
JAJAC	Chaim	
JAKOBOWICZ	Moshe	Gostynin
JASZON	Josef	Gostynin
KAMLAZH	Fajwisz	Gombin
KARASZEWICZ	Meir Zelig	Gombin
KELLER	Szlomo	Gostynin
KIRSZENBAUM	Wolf	Sanniki
KIRSZENBAUM	Jakob	
KIRSZENBAUM	Chaim	
KLAJNOT	Gecel	Sanniki
KNISTER	Meir	Jaksice
KNOBEL	Jeszayahu	
KNOBEL	Jecheskiel	
KNOPF	Hans	Berlin
KRASANI	Moshe (Max)	
KUTNOWSKI	Ziskind	Gostynin
KWIAT	Chaim	
LAJB	Dawid	Gombin
LASKI	Mendel	
LASKI	Szmuel	
MAJDAT	Arie	Gombin
MICHALSKI	Hersz	Gostynin
MICHALSKI	Abraham	
MICHALSKI	Szlomo	
MOTIL	Abraham Hersz	Gostynin
MOTIL	Gerszon	
MOTIL	Jakob	
MOTIL	Szmuel	Gostynin
NAJDORF	Abraham	Gombin
NUSSINEWICS	Zalman	Gostynin
PINCZEWSKI	Szmuel Wolf	Gostynin
PITEL	Zalman	Sanniki
ROBINSOHN	Noach	Gombin
ROBINSOHN	Binjamin	
ROZENBERG	Szlomo	Gombin
ROZENBERG	Lajb	
SEIF	Abraham	Gostynin
STRIKOWSKI	Chaim	Gostynin
SZATAN	Melech	
SZCZIGEL	Jehoszua	Sanniki
TABACZNIK	Abraham Aron	Gostynin
ZAJAC	Chaim Son of Moshe	
ZAJDMAN	Hersz Natan	
ZAKLIKEWSKI	Jakob	Gostynin
ZANDMAN	Meir	Gostynin
ZIELONKA	Fiszel (Philip)	Gombin
ZIGER	Jechiel Josef	
ZOLNA	Abraham	

Appendix 7: Gombin Jews imprisoned in Auschwitz, May 1942 - Oct. 1944

Source: Database of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (Washington DC): Haftlingspersonalbogen (prisoner registration forms) from Auschwitz concentration camp, Ada Holtzman, http://www.zchor.org/gomausch.htm

Miolla, Szmul
Born in Schrottersburg September 12, 1909
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gabin
Occupation: Carpenter
Father's Name: Miolla, Dawid
Mother's Name: Klopman, Rojza
Spouse's Name: Gelbert, Rojza
Arrest date: November 27, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3616

Pytel, Wolf
Born in Gombin September 20, 1902
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gombin
Occupation: Tailor
Father's Name: Pytel, Efraim
Mother's Name: Kukurydza, Gitla
Arrest date: November 26, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3643

Cymalinski, Szlama
Born in Gombin June 25, 1924
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gombin
Occupation: Worker
Father's Name: Cymalinski, Abram
Mother's Name: Gostynska, Gitla
Arrest date: November 26, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3537

Etinger, Molses
Born in Gombin November 20, 1912
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gombin
Occupation: Plumber
Father's Name: Etinger, Szmul
Mother's Name: Bauman, Chana
Spouse's Name: Halow, Hinda
Arrest date: November 30, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3542

Goldszlak, Simon
Born in Gombin June 14, 1897
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Lodz
Occupation: Barber
Father's Name: Goldszlak, Jakob
Mother's Name: Liberman, Chana
Spouse's Name: Silberman, Dwojra
Arrest date: November 25, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3569

Nowak, Fiszel
Born in Brzezina November 07, 1913
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gombin
Occupation: Worker
Father's Name: Nowak, Chil
Mother's Name: Goldstein, Chaja
Spouse's Name: Schnbaum, Ruda
Arrest date: November 27, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3626

Markiewicz, Jakob
Born in Gabin May 04, 1918
(Auschwitz Haftlingspersonalbogen -- Reel 6)
Residence: Gabin
Occupation: Worker
Father's Name: Markiewicz, Michule
Mother's Name: Werman, Sura
Spouse's Name: Rozenberg, Chewet
Arrest date: November 27, 1941
Arrival date: August 28, 1943
Form: 3618

Appendix 8: Partial list of Gombin Holocaust victims, commemorated in the "Hall of Names" at Yad Vashem

Source: Ada Holtzman, http://www.zchor.org/YAD.HTM

FAMILY NAME	FIRST NAME	FATHER'S NAME	AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	DEATH PLACE	YEAR
BAIBOK	HERSH KHAIM		67	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BAUMAN	CHANA	HERSH LEIBISH		GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
BAUMAN	CYWJA	MORDEKHAI	29	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
BAUMAN	ELA	HIRSH LEIBISH	12	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
BAUMAN	GOLDA ITA	ELIAHU	36	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
BAUMAN	HERSZ LAIB - LAIBY	MORDEHAI		GOMBIN WAR P		1941
BAUMAN	TZVIA	MORDEHAI		GOMBIN WAR P		
BOCZKO	GOLDA	ISRAEL	42	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	HERSHEL	YEKHIEL	20	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	ISRAEL	YEKHIEL	8	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	KHANA	ISRAEL	45	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	RAJZEL	YEKHIEL	14	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	YEKHIEL		52	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BOCZKO	ZALMAN	YEKHIEL	16	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
BRZEZINSKI	DAVID MICHAEL			GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
BRZEZINSKI	GENIA	DAVID MICHAEL		CHELMNO P		
BRZEZINSKI	HINDE	DAVID MICHAEL		GOMBIN WAR P	RUS	
BRZEZINSKI	RAKHEL	ISRAEL		GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
FRENKIEL	DINAN	MORTCHELE		GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKIEL	HERCHEL LEIBE	JANKIEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKIEL	JANKIEL			GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	ABRAHAM	ISRAEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	CHAVA	ISRAEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	CHAYA			GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	HERSZ	ISRAEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	ISRAEL			GOMBIN WAR P		
FRENKL	YETTA	ISRAEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
FUTERMAN	ABRAHAM	YEHOSHUA		GOMBIN WAR P		
GOLDMAN	GERSHON	ISRAEL	52	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
GOLDMAN	ISRAEL	GERSHON	21	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
GOLDMAN	RAIZEL	GERSHON	18	GOMBIN WAR P	GOMBIN WAR P	1942
GOLDMAN	ROZA		48	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
HOLZMAN	ANDZIA	YOSEF	14	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	AVRAHAM YTZHAK	ELIAHU	40	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1943
HOLZMAN	CHANA CHANELE	HERSZ LEIZER	6	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	CHANA CHANELE	MOSHE AHARON	6	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	ELIAHU	ISRAEL BARUKH	11	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	ELIAHU	AVRAHAM YTZHAK	2	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	ESTER			GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	HERSZ LEIZER	ELIAHU	33	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	ISRAEL BARUCH	ELIAHU	38	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	JOSEF LEIB	ELIAHU	39	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	LEA			GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	MIRL			GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	MOSHE AHARON	ELIAHU	33	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
HOLZMAN	SHEINA	YOSEF	10	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	
HOLZMAN	YOSEF LEIB	ELIAHU	38	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1943

FAMILY NAME	FIRST NAME	FATHER'S NAME	AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	DEATH PLACE	YEAR
KON	BRAINA	HERSH KHAIM	43	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
KOT	RAZLEN	JOSEF	50	GOMBIN WAR P		
LAKS	BENJAMIN		52	GOMBIN WAR P	DACHAU G	1942
LAKS	FAJGA	HANOCH	50	GOMBIN WAR P	DACHAU G	1942
LAKS	SHAMAI	BENJAMIN	18	GOMBIN WAR P	DACHAU G	1942
LAKS	YOCHEVET	BENJAMIN	24	GOMBIN WAR P	DACHAU G	1942
LITVIN	CHAVA	JIDEL		GOMBIN WAR P		
LITVIN	ISAAC	MOJSHE		GOMBIN WAR P		
LITVIN	MAJER	MOJSHE		GOMBIN WAR P		
LITVIN	MOJSHE			GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
LITVIN	MORDECHAJ	MOJSHE		GOMBIN WAR P		
LITVIN	RIVKA	MOJSHE		GOMBIN WAR P		
LUBRANECKI	HELEN		47	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
LUXENBURGH	FAIGA FEIGA	ELIAHU	43	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1941
LUXENBURGH	YEHEZKEL			GOMBIN WAR P		
PERCZAK	TOBA	MOSCHE		GOMBIN WAR P		
PIURO	ABE		42	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
PIURO	ADELA	YOKHANAN	40	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
PIURO	FISHEL	ABA	15	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
PIURO	HAYA	ABA	17	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
SHAPIRO	ABRAM	MOISHE MENDL	8	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
SHAPIRO	MOISHE MENDL		39	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
SHAPIRO	ZISL	HERSH KHAIM	35	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
SPIEWAK	CHAVA	NAFTALI	15	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
SPIEWAK	LEAH	NAFTALI	16	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
SPIEWAK	NAFTALI	JIDEL	49	GOMBIN WAR P	GOMBIN WAR P	1942
SPIEWAK	RUCHEL	YECHEZKIEL	44	GOMBIN WAR P	GOMBIN WAR P	1942
SPIEWAK	YECHEZKIEL	NAFTALI	22	GOMBIN WAR P		1942
STUPAI	ESTER	IOSIF ARIE	12	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
STUPAI	GITELE	HERSH KHAIM	40	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
STUPAI	HINDE	IOSIF ARIE	15	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
STUPAI	IOSIF ARIE		45	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
TEMERSON	CHAYA HAIA		71	GOMBIN WAR P	AUSCHWITZ P	1942
TEMERSON	ISAAC	MOISE	31	GOMBIN WAR P	AUSCHWITZ P	1942
TEMERSON	MANIA	MOISE	33	GOMBIN WAR P	AUSCHWITZ P	1942
TEMERSON	ROSE	MOISE	34	GOMBIN WAR P	AUSCHWITZ P	1942
UNGER	SARA			GOMBIN WAR P		
UNGER	ZALMAN	JAAKOW	47	GOMBIN WAR P		
VESPA	AVRAM MOSHE			GOMBIN WAR P		
WOLFOWICZ	AWRAHAM			GOMBIN WAR P	GOMBIN WAR P	
WOLFOWICZ	MALA			GOMBIN WAR P	GOMBIN WAR P	
WOLFOWICZ	MANIA	ICHAK	34	GOMBIN WAR P	TREBLINKA P	1942
WOLFOWICZ	MORDECHAJ MARC	ZELIK	50	GOMBIN WAR P	TREBLINKA P	1942
WYGDOROWICZ	MOJSHE			GOMBIN WAR P	GABIN WAR P	1942
WYGDOROWICZ	RYVKA	MOJSHE		GOMBIN WAR P	GABIN WAR P	1942
WYGDOROWICZ	SARAH	JIDEL		GOMBIN WAR P	GABIN WAR P	1942
ZELENKA	AZRIEL IDE	HERSH KHAIM	34	GOMBIN WAR P	CHELMNO P	1942
ZIELONKA	FISHEL BAER PHILIP			GOMBIN WAR P	KONIN LOD	1943