

“AN UNFINISHED STORY”: GENEALOGY OF THE KIELCE POGROM VICTIMS (SELECTED PROBLEMS AND NEW RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES)¹

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Abstract: The article examines the usefulness of the genealogical method in research on the Kielce pogrom. An analysis of the stories of individual people – victims of the pogrom will reveal a broader background of this tragic event. In the text, we will also try to answer some important research questions. Is the list of victims complete? Does it include the names of people who did not, in fact, perish during the pogrom? In addition, the article presents new research areas within the described issues.

Classic genealogy supplies basic information on an individual, their descent, their job or profession, and their social status. This reflects only the most basic approach to its potential, however. In fact it has a lot in common with the methods used in philosophy and cultural anthropology,² and even the results of historical research can be enriched commensurably with the application of genealogy.

¹ This text offers a development of the conclusions articulated in Joanna Tokarska-Bakir’s book *Pod klątwą. Portret społeczny pogromu kieleckiego* (Cursed: A social portrait of the Kielce pogrom), and it should be read together with this work. The English translation of *Cursed* penned by Ewa Wampuszyc will be published next year by Cornell University Press (co-edited by the USHMM).

² Aside from their selection and analysis of sources (particularly in classic genealogy and the anthropological method), they also share a name: they are all described by the term “genealogical method.” Regarding Jewish genealogy as an independent historical subject of study see Kamila Klauzińska’s PhD thesis of 2012, “Współczesna genealogia Żydów polskich” (supervisor: Dr hab. Leszek Hońdo), as well as her articles: “A modern approach to the genealogy of Polish Jews: Zduńska Wola as a test case,” *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia: Studia z Historii Kultury i Religii Żydów*, vol. 5 (2007): 39–51; “‘Landsmanszaft’: na marginesie badań nad żydowską społecznością genealogiczną,” in: *W krainie metarefleksji: księga poświęcona profesorowi Czesławowi Robotyckiemu* 2015: 464–482.

Michel Foucault, from his critical reading of Nietzsche and his conception of genealogy, distinguished between two areas of its significance: the first (*Herkunft*) related to “descent” and the second (*Entstehung*) to “emergence,” “arising.” This classification was rooted in Foucault’s need to refute the form of talking about beginnings, the history of development, and linear genesis in which “source” and “beginning” were inextricably bound up together. Foucault linked “descent” with the notions of heritage and the body: “Genealogy, as an analysis of descent, is thus situated within the articulation of the body and history. Its task is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history’s destruction of the body.”³ “Emergence,” on the other hand, means arising, “the principle and the singular law of an apparition”: the event and moment when a thing assumes at once form and meaning. “Emergence is thus the entrance of forces; it is their eruption, their leap from the wings to center stage [...]”⁴ If we treat the scene of knowledge as a setting which, by virtue of its invisible space off-stage and its concealed side (in Foucault’s metaphor the space “in the wings”), provides the circumstances and conditions for a certain phenomenon to emerge, then we must also include that space in the wings in our research.⁵

The method used in anthropology to establish the nature of the family connections between people was developed towards the end of the nineteenth century by William H.R. Rivers.⁶ To Rivers, genealogy was something scientifically verifiable, free of errors of memory and ambiguities. His method was based on gathering systematized information on the basis of irrefutable assumptions on the connections between blood relations.⁷ He saw the genealogical method as above all a rapid way of obtaining reliable data on the systems of kinship which play such a fundamental role in researching social and ritual structures. The genealogies thus obtained could be of use in studying the laws regulating the descent of individuals and property inheritance, migration (through data on the places of residence of members of successive generations), the ways in which names were passed on within families, biological issues, family size, gender balance, and child mortality.⁸

How can we implement the broad concept of the genealogical method in research into the Kielce pogrom? It will enable us to find the “space in the wings” of which Foucault wrote, and this shift away from the centre of events to their peripheries will equip us with tools enabling us to gain a better understanding of the drama that played out on 4 July 1946 in Kielce. The point of departure for the analysis performed here is the list – meaning the fifth and final list as discussed in the appendices – of the pogrom victims discussed in the appendices to Joanna Tokarska-Bakir’s book *Pod kłatwą. Portret*

³ Foucault 1980: 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*: 149–150.

⁵ Weigel 2016: 317–318.

⁶ Rivers developed his genealogical method in the course of his research into the culture of the peoples inhabiting the islands in the Torres Strait in 1898–1899, and the south Indian Todas (*The Todas*, 1906). He summarized his genealogical research conception in the work *Kinship and social organisation* (Studies in Economic and Political Science, no. 36, 1914).

⁷ Stanisz 2013: 35.

⁸ Rajewski 2000: 131–132.

spoeczny pogromu kieleckiego (Cursed: A social portrait of the Kielce pogrom).⁹ This text offers a development of the conclusions articulated in that work, made possible by the application of the genealogical method.

We will focus above all on the individual stories of victims and survivors of the pogrom. Recreating not only their occupation-era and post-war fates but also their pre-war histories will be a way to showcase the broader historical context. An analysis of this breadth will help to answer a number of questions that continue to challenge scholars of the pogrom. Is the list of victims complete? Does it include the names of people who did not, in fact, perish during the pogrom? Also of significance are matters relating to the territorial background of the Jews living in Kielce after 1945. The resolution of this issue will enable us to test the much-touted thesis of the putative "outsider" status of the Jewish Poles who had taken up residence in the shelter at 7/9 Planty Street in Kielce. We will examine these and other potential areas for research opened up by the genealogical method in greater detail in the sub-chapters that follow.

A word on Jewish genealogy

Jewish genealogy is one of the field's most developed areas. The lively interest in individual and private genealogical searches among Jews first emerged in the USA in the later 1970s. One of its precipitating impulses was the television series *Roots. The Saga of an American Family*, based on the book by Alex Haley.¹⁰ That same year Dan Rotenberg published the first self-help manual for American Jews wanting to research their family roots, and in New York the first Jewish genealogical periodical was launched: *Toledot: The Journal of Jewish Genealogy*.¹¹ Before long local genealogical societies were springing up all over the United States. This rise in interest in the search for ancestors was also visible in Israel. In 1971 the scientific society for genealogical research Moreshet Beit Saba/Society for Jewish Family Heritage was founded. Jewish genealogy continued to develop in the 1980s. From 1981 Jewish genealogy societies organized international conferences, holding seminars and workshops.¹² In the late 1980s the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (IAJGS) was founded in the

⁹ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 446–461, incl. the commentary preceding the list. There are at least five lists of pogrom victims: the first was that drawn up by the Joint in July 1946 (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, file no. 350/54, fol. 44 (see *Ibid.*). The second list was drawn up by the Kielce Landsmanschaft in Israel (*Ibid.*); it was on the basis of this list that an inscription was added to the grave of the pogrom victims in the Jewish cemetery in Kielce on the 70th anniversary of the Kielce pogrom. The third list is that featuring on the funeral flyer printed by Ikhud in 1946 (*Ibid.*). The fourth list was also published in July 1946, by the weekly periodical *Dos Noye Lebn* (no. 23 of 12 July 1946 and no. 24 of 19 July 1946, see *Ibid.*). The fifth and final list, compiled by the authors of this article, was based on extant reports on the post-mortem examinations conducted directly after the pogrom (*Ibid.*), which are held in the Archive of the Institute for National Remembrance in Warsaw, Poland, under file no. AIPN Ki_41_520, vol. 1, Part 2.

¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roots:_The_Saga_of_an_American_Family.

¹¹ At present one of the leading periodicals addressing issues related to Jewish genealogy is *AVOTAYNU. The International Review of Jewish Genealogy*.

¹² In 2018 another conference of this nature was held in Warsaw.

United States, and today it is an umbrella organization bringing together more than 75 genealogical societies in various countries.¹³

Nowadays, an important role in Jewish genealogy is played by the many websites devoted to this topic. These sites typically have extensive databases which their users can access to search for their ancestors in the comfort of their own homes. One of the first of these was JewishGen, established in 1987. JewishGen is now the biggest site of its kind in the world, boasting more than 30 million records in its indexed database. Since 2003 JewishGen has been part of the New York Museum of Jewish Heritage: A Living Memorial to the Holocaust.¹⁴ Another major platform in the world of Jewish genealogy is Jewish Records Indexing-Poland (JRI-Poland). The originator of this project was Stanley Diamond (now its executive director); together with Steven A. Zedecki and Michael Tobias he founded JRI-Poland in early 1995. At present, JRI-Poland's databases contain over 5 million indexed records from 550 Polish cities, towns, and villages (including places now in other countries, primarily Ukraine).¹⁵

The above are only a few of the very many websites and databases that can be accessed in a quest for one's ancestors. Other significant entities worthy of mention at this point include the Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names,¹⁶ and the Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database.¹⁷ The former is an initiative of the Yad Vashem Institute, and the latter of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Another important institution is the Bad Arolsen Archives – International Center on Nazi Persecution,¹⁸ whose collections include documents from many German concentration camps, many of which are also accessible online in its internet database.¹⁹

Further indication of the potential inherent in genealogical research and the interest in investigations of this sort is the development of genetic genealogy. Genetic tests can reveal secrets encoded in our DNA regarding the background of our ancestors, which can help us to find relations scattered across the globe, and this has been the major contributor to the increasing popularity of genetic testing among Jews who lost family members in the Holocaust.

Naturally, there are many more types of dedicated websites and discussion groups than those mentioned above, far too many to discuss in an article of this length.²⁰ Even this brief overview of existing databases, however, gives some idea of how many routes and possibilities are available for research into Jewish genealogy.

¹³ Trzciński 2009: 67.

¹⁴ <https://www.jewishgen.org/>.

¹⁵ <https://www.jri-poland.org/index.htm>.

¹⁶ <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/index.html?language=en>.

¹⁷ https://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_advance_search.php.

¹⁸ Until 21 May 2019 this institution operated under the name of the International Tracing Service.

¹⁹ <https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/>.

²⁰ Nonetheless, a number of others are also worthy of note: cemetery.jewish.org.pl (for information on surviving tombstones in Jewish cemeteries in Poland); sfi.usc.edu/ (which holds oral history collections, chiefly interviews with Holocaust survivors); and straty.pl (an internet database on human losses and victims of occupation-era repressions). Others which must also be mentioned are the large genealogical platforms such as www.familysearch.org; www.ancestry.com; www.myheritage.pl; and www.geni.com.

Sources in genealogical research

The first and most important category of sources in state archives is that of civil registries of births, marriages, and deaths. Among the Jews in the Polish lands these life events first began to be registered at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Following the establishment of the Duchy of Warsaw, French legislation, including the Napoleonic Code, was imposed in the Polish territories, and with it government offices and civil registries.²¹ This system remained in force until 3 November 1825, when it was repealed by an ordinance of the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland; from then on civil registries for non-Christians (Jews and Muslims) were kept by mayors or their subordinate officials.²²

The State Archive in Kielce (APK) currently holds many civil registries for the synagogue districts in the former Kielce voivodship.²³ For Kielce itself there is extant documentation for the years 1869–1916. All other materials (from the years 1917–1941) are still held in the Civil Registry Office (Urząd Stanu Cywilnego) in Kielce, pursuant to the Act on civil registry files.²⁴

The second major category of sources for genealogical research is documentation connected with population records. Among the many types of such sources are permanent population records, registers of residents, army recruitment lists, electoral rolls, applications for personal identification documents and passports (many of which also have photographs attached), school records, tax registers, and lists of property owners. As in the case of the civil registries, the Kielce archives also hold a great many documents of these types. Of invaluable significance for the analysis conducted for the purposes of this article were the Kielce electoral rolls for the parliamentary (Sejm) elections for the interwar period. These enabled us to establish the exact residential addresses, birthdates, and professions of many of the Jews who perished during the Kielce pogrom.

A further group of materials in this field comprises court documents and notarial and mortgage papers. Of especial value are post-war materials from magistrates' courts and public prosecutors' offices. In many cases these enable us to reconstruct the wartime vicissitudes of whole families and establish the post-war addresses of survivors. Other valuable sources include notarial files and documents amassed in mortgage registers. The former group, aside from contracts for the sale of real property, also includes testaments and prenuptial agreements, which constitute an additional source of information on the history of individuals' ancestors. Mortgage registers, in turn, supply material on the history of the buildings in which particular families lived.

The state archives are, of course, not the only institutions which hold information of value for genealogical and historical research. In the case of Jewish genealogy, precious material is also to be found in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. The documentation held there is of assistance above all in efforts to reconstruct the wartime vicissitudes of Jewish families, their methods of survival, and the post-war histories of those who

²¹ Ustawa Konstytucyjna Księstwa Warszawskiego z dnia 7 lipca 1807 roku: XLIV–XLV.

²² Postanowienie Namiestnika Królestwa Polskiego z dnia 3 listopada 1826 roku: 15–28.

²³ These are divided into 40 archival fonds, which correspond to the individual towns where the synagogue districts operated.

²⁴ Ustawa z dnia 28 listopada 2014 r..

survived. For research of this nature, materials held in Poland's Institute of National Remembrance may also be of use.

Naturally, this brief overview of the sources used by genealogists does not exhaust the matter, but it does give an indication of the range of sources available to researchers (and their clients) seeking information on families.

A far broader background

Without any attempt to establish the histories of the people on it, any list of the victims of the Kielce pogrom remains simply that: a collection of names. A more detailed investigation into the post-war residents of the tenement at 7/9 Planty Street bestows a human dimension on this list: names are claimed by their owners, people of all walks of life, many of whom had survived the occupation by a miracle, and met death where they least expected it: in their own home. Owing to the restrictions on space, in this article we shall focus on just a few examples, but these will clearly illustrate the potential of genealogical methods for broadening the historical context of the Kielce pogrom.

Genealogy enabled us to check a number of details from the life of Dr Seweryn Kahane, chairman of the Jewish Committee in Kielce after the war.²⁵ Among the information commonly circulated about him is that he was born in 1909 and came from Lwów (now Lviv, Ukraine). In fact, however, there is limited truth in the received version of these details. Kahane was born on 29 November 1908 in Rzeszów. His father was Dr Wilhem Kahane, an attorney practising in the town, and his mother was Klara Fenny, née Menkes. His parents were indeed from Lwów, where they had married on 25 February 1906. In Rzeszów the family lived at 7 Mickiewicza Street.²⁶ All this information was supplied by a single document, Seweryn Kahane's birth certificate.

There is much more information to be gleaned about the pogrom victims if we know where to look, however. One example which illustrates this is the story of Izrael Josek Rączka.²⁷ His family had had links with the minor town of Bodzentyn for several generations (see Appendix 1. Family tree of Izrael Josek Rączka). Izrael's parents were Szlama Icek Rączka and Ruchla, née Wajngort, from Opatów, another small town around 20 miles from Bodzentyn. His father had had a gaiter-making atelier, and his mother was a housewife. His father's workshop may have been in the house that he owned at 15 Opatowska Street.²⁸

Izrael was the only son of Szlama and Ruchla, who also had three daughters, Liba Cymła (born between 1914 and 1921), Ałta Chaja (b. 10 November 1922 in Bodzentyn), and Gitla (b. 10 July 1928 in Bodzentyn). All the children attended the public school in Bodzentyn. A juxtaposition of the names of Szlama and Ruchla's children with the

²⁵ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 31–34, 194–195, 200–202, 204–205, 328–330, 399–400, 741–743, 755–756, etc.

²⁶ APR, Urząd Metrykalny Izraelicki w Rzeszowie fonds, file no. 72, Księga urodzeń za 1909 r., Akt urodzenia 281. Seweryn Kahane.

²⁷ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 457.

²⁸ APK, Akta gminy Bodzentyn fonds, file no. 2499, Rejestr mieszkańców osady Bodzentyn. Vol. 2, ffol. 197–198.

information supplied by their family tree offers a clear reflection of how they had inherited their names from their ancestors. Izrael was named after his paternal grandfather; the eldest daughter, Liba Cymla, was given her names after two of her great-grandmothers (one maternal and one paternal); Alta Chaja bore the name of her paternal grandmother. This was a widespread custom among the Ashkenazi Jews, though it is important to be aware that only names of deceased relatives were used.

Izrael Josek Rączka's entire family perished during the war. After the war, he went to Kielce, where he took up residence in the tenement at 7/9 Planty Street. In January 1946 Izrael set about trying to reclaim his family's property in Opatowska Street in Bodzentyn. His plenipotentiary in this process was the attorney Antoni Marian Krzacowski. The court verdict which bestowed ownership of part of this property on Izrael Rączka was published in February 1946.²⁹ A further decision in this case was issued in April 1946.³⁰ Supporting documents in the case were the declarations of presumption of death of both of Izrael's parents. Two court cases were held to adjudicate this issue, although they produced strangely divergent versions of the circumstances of the death of Szlama Rączka and his wife Ruchla. The records of the first court case state that Izrael's father died of typhus on 15 May 1942 in Bodzentyn and that Ruchla Rączka was shot dead during the liquidation of the ghetto in September 1942.³¹ The materials appended to the files of the second case, however, state that Szlama Rączka died on 25 January 1941 in Bodzentyn, and Ruchla on 10 May 1942, also in Bodzentyn.³² Another detail worthy of emphasis is that among the witnesses in both cases was Abram Zylberberg (aged 39, a baker, resident at 20 Focha Street in Kielce). Moreover, the claim for the second case was filed in September 1946 (two months after the Kielce pogrom). Both claims were allegedly filed by Izrael Rączka and are furnished with his signature. A comparison of the two, however, invites the conclusion that they were not signed by the same person. Does this mean that we must suspect falsification and that someone impersonated Izrael Rączka after his death in the pogrom for material gain? Or did Izrael perhaps not die on 4 July 1946 after all, and was his name on the list erroneously? At this point in time we are not able to answer these questions. This is a matter with ramifications for the credibility of the list of the victims of the Kielce pogrom, an issue which is discussed more broadly below.

Another example of the sort of analysis facilitated by the genealogical method is the story of the Rozenkranc family, who before the war had been the owners of a tile factory at Legionów Avenue, Kielce. Herszel, his wife Fajgla, and their children lived

²⁹ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 379, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Izraela Joska Rączki przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu w Kielcach o sprowadzenie w posiadanie, Postanowienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Kielcach z dnia 26 lutego 1946 r., fol. 23.

³⁰ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 453, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Izraela Joska Rączki przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu w Kielcach o sprowadzenie w posiadanie, Postanowienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Kielcach z dnia 18 kwietnia 1946 r., fol. 11.

³¹ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2025, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Izraela Joska Rączki o stwierdzenie zgonu Szlamy Icka and Ruchli małżonków Rączka, Protokół przesłuchania świadków z dnia 8 czerwca 1946 r., ffol. 4–5.

³² APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2506, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Izraela Joska Rączki o stwierdzenie zgonu jego rodziców Szlamy Icka and Ruchli Rączków, Protokół przesłuchania świadka z dnia 2 października 1946 r., ffol. 3–4.

at 5 Hipoteczna Street until 1935, when they moved to a house closer to their factory.³³ Despite owning a factory, in the 1920s the family was mired in serious financial difficulties. In his application for a concessionary-rated passport for his invalid wife, Herszel Rozenkranc wrote:

While I am the proprietor of a tile manufactory, I am at present in extremely straitened financial circumstances, since owing to the stagnation in the construction industry, and hence a complete lack of orders, the manufactory has been idle for several months now [...]; for the reasons cited [...] not only do I not have any income from the tile manufactory, but it is ruining me in material terms.³⁴

As we learn from other documents, Fajgla Rozenkranc suffered from gallstones and had been “taking the waters” in Karlsbad (now Karlovy Vary in the Czech Republic) for many years. The passport application also includes a photograph of her. Almost the entire Rozenkranc family perished in the extermination camp in Treblinka. Its only member to survive the war was Izrael Chil (b. 17 November 1907), who, like many other surviving Jews, found a home in the hostel-refuge in Planty Street. As early as in July 1945 he succeeded in reclaiming both his family home at Legionów Avenue³⁵ and the tile factory itself. This was mentioned by his wife Miriam Rozenkranc in her witness statement made during the second Kielce investigation in 1996:

When we lived in Kielce [...] my husband reclaimed his factory. At that time nobody was getting their factories back because the system was communist, but the trade union and the director, who had worked in the factory for about thirty years, made a request to the authorities that my husband be given his factory back, because without him it wouldn't be possible to recommission it.³⁶

Incidentally, it is also worth noting that the Rozenkrancs, who after the war lived at 82 Sienkiewicza Street, were important eye-witnesses to the Kielce pogrom. Miriam, who watched from a first-floor window as events unfolded, saw more than one person murdered, among them Izaak Prajs, son of the proprietors of the Hotel Polski, who had returned to Kielce at the end of the war in a Polish Army uniform.³⁷

The court files also contain information on how Kielce's Jews had managed to survive the Holocaust. In one court case, Rachela Grosfeld described her struggle for survival in detail.³⁸ In November 1941 Rachela fled the Jewish district and made for the district

³³ APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2437, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1938 r. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód wyborczy Nr 9, fol. 8.

³⁴ APK, Starostwo Powiatowe Kieleckiego I fonds, file no. 1348, Podanie Herszla Rozenkranca do Starostwa Kieleckiego z prośbą o wydanie ulgowego paszportu zagranicznego dla jego żony Fajgli Rozenkranc, 2.09.1924, fol. 34.

³⁵ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 101, Akta z powództwa Izraela Chila Rozenkranca przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu oddział w Kielcach o przywrócenie posiadania, Postanowienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Kielcach z 28 lipca 1945 r., fol. 19.

³⁶ Kielce pogrom case prosecutor's files proper, S58/01/Zk, vol. 9, ffol. 292–309, quoted in: Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 2: 182.

³⁷ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 275ff.

³⁸ Ruchla AKA Rachela Grosfeld, b. 10 June 1910 in Kielce, the daughter of Jakub Icek and Chaja Perla, née Bergier. See APK, fonds Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Kielcach, file no. 78, Akta stanu cywilnego urodzeń, małżeństw and zgonów za 1910 r. Akt urodzenia Nr 155. Ruchla Grosfeld.

of Pakosz, where before the war her family had owned a large swathe of land known as Kolonia Bergierówka. She planned to lease the plots or sell them off in order to obtain money to live on. A couple called Bandura expressed an interest in buying the land. In exchange, they promised Rachela Grosfeld³⁹ food, specifically hot meals and bread. For about a month after these conditions were agreed, Rachela received food rations at irregular intervals, though she had to sign for every portion of food she received on a special sheet of paper, on which the prices of the food were also listed. According to Rachela Grosfeld's statement, the aid from the Banduras ceased as soon as the sale contract for the plot was drawn up. It was backdated, and the Banduras had managed to procure some pre-war stamps to lend the document the semblance of authenticity. Thereafter all food aid for Rachela halted, and she was never admitted to the Banduras' house again.⁴⁰

After the war Rachela Grosfeld filed a claim to have the contract rendered null and void. In the end the judge rejected the Banduras' explanations, and ruled that the plot in question, part of the Kolonia Bergierówka, be restituted to its pre-war owner. Among the extant case documentation is the sale contract described above, which was drawn up in December 1941. The detailed depositions of the parties to the case and their witnesses also form part of the documentation.⁴¹

Verification of the list of victims

As well as its typical uses in reconstruction of the histories of individuals or families, genealogy also supplies us with instruments and additional arguments for analysis of one of the most important issues connected with the Kielce pogrom: the victim list. Despite the abundance of sources, previous scholars of the Kielce pogrom, including the historians processing the outcomes of the second Kielce investigation at the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, have not done enough in this regard.

As mentioned above, there are at least five lists of pogrom victims in existence. In all, 52 names are mentioned. The identities of 33 of the people on the lists were confirmed in records of visual identification of the bodies, while 18 records refer to bodies not identified. In view of the incomplete documentation, it is impossible to establish the number of victims of the pogrom definitively and to verify their identities beyond doubt. All the above-mentioned lists include some names added as a result of human error. This cannot come as a surprise, however, if we take into account the shock and panic that reigned in the aftermath of the pogrom. The rapidity with which the investigations were undertaken was not conducive to their precision, which is visible in the slapdash records of the body identifications conducted in the two swelteringly hot days that preceded the funeral of 7 July 1946.⁴²

³⁹ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 468, 645.

⁴⁰ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 218, Akta z powództwa Racheli Grossfeld przeciwko S. and H. Bandurom o uznanie umowy za nieważną, Wniosek Racheli Grosfeld do Sądu Grodzkiego w Kielcach, 20 August 1945, ffol. 1–2.

⁴¹ See the full case files for the case described above.

⁴² Body identification reports in AIPN, Ki_41_520, vol. 1, Part 2.

The first person whose name in all certainty should never have been on the list of victims of the Kielce pogrom is Apolonia Sowińska.⁴³ She was born Estera Rubinowicz on 10 January 1916, the daughter of Efraim Rubinowicz and Rywka, née Klajnberg.⁴⁴ Estera's father was a butcher, and from at least 1921 the family lived in Kielce at 124 Piotrkowska Street.⁴⁵ A detail worthy of note is that that part of Piotrkowska Street was inhabited predominantly by Catholics. One family living in the immediate vicinity of the Rubinowiczes was Jan and Józefa Sowiński and their children, who had a flat in the house at 118 Piotrkowska Street.⁴⁶ Whether or not it was her love for her neighbour Edward Sowiński that prompted Estera Rubinowicz to have herself christened and to convert to Catholicism, we do not know.⁴⁷ But convert she did: On 30 June 1934 she was baptized in the Holy Cross parish in Kielce, taking the names Apolonia Zofia, and the sacrament was administered by Fr Karol Jamrozy.⁴⁸ Shortly afterwards, on 14 October 1934, Apolonia Zofia Rubinowicz married Edward Sowiński, in the same Kielce church, Holy Cross.⁴⁹ Apolonia Sowińska survived the war on the "Aryan" side, and the secret of her Jewish past never came to light. After 1945 she remained in Kielce, although she and her husband had moved and were now living at 28 Piramowicza Street. Neither before nor after the war had Apolonia Sowińska ever lived in the tenement at 7/9 Planty Street.

All the other members of her family, on both the Rubinowicz and Klajnberg sides, perished during the occupation. Before the war, Apolonia's grandfather Zelman Klajnberg had owned property in Bodzentyn. In 1948 Apolonia Sowińska filed a claim with the magistrates' court in Kielce for recognition as the owner of this property. Pursuant to a decision dated 13 July 1948, the court recognized her as the sole heir to the real property left by the Klajnberg family. The case files feature Apolonia Sowińska's signature in several places, and her certificates of baptism and of marriage to Edward Sowiński are also appended to the documentation.⁵⁰ In view of all these facts, it must be assumed that Apolonia Sowińska's name was included on the list of victims in error.

Another person who should not be on the list of Kielce pogrom victims is Eliaz Pinkus Albirt.⁵¹ Some of the details of his life are revealed by documents found in the

⁴³ See Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 447, 458, 758.

⁴⁴ See the marriage certificate of Edward Sowiński and Apolonia Zofia Rubinowicz appended to the court case Sp. 222/48. See APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 6273, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Apolonii Sowińskiej o stwierdzenie praw do spadku po Zelmanie i Jentli małżonkach Klajnbergach, 1948 r., fol. 3.

⁴⁵ APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2418, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 14, fol. 11.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, ffol. 10–11.

⁴⁷ See Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 458, note 2657. See also Akta w sprawie z wniosku Apolonii Sowińskiej o stwierdzenie praw do spadku w Bodzentynie po dziadkach, Zelmanie and Jentli, małżonkach Klajnbergach, z 1948, APK, file no. 222/48, file no. 6273, which include her certificate of baptism, dated 1934. See also her deposition dated 9/9/1969 regarding the period of the war: "The Jews were hostile towards me because I had converted to the Roman Catholic religion and married a Pole"; AIPN, DS_21_68, ffol. 186–188.

⁴⁸ See Estera Rubinowicz's certificate of baptism appended to the court case Sp. 222/48. See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 6273, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Apolonii Sowińskiej o stwierdzenie praw do spadku po Zelmanie i Jentli małżonkach Klajnbergach, 1948 r., fol. 4.

⁴⁹ See Edward Sowiński's marriage certificate, *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ See the case files for court case no. Sp. 222/48.

⁵¹ See Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 447, 451.

Bad Arolsen archives. Eliaz was born on 2 August 1905 (or 1910) in Kielce.⁵² His father was the merchant Hersz Lejb Albirt and his mother Sura, née Zylberyng. The family lived in their own house at 63 Piotrkowska Street in Kielce.⁵³ Before the outbreak of the war Eliaz moved to Skarżysko-Kamienna, where he worked as a carpenter. The above-mentioned documentation indicates that he lived in a house at 10 Piłsudskiego Street. After the war broke out, Eliaz Albirt was interned in a labour camp that served the Hasag armaments factory in Skarżysko-Kamienna, where he remained until May 1944. At that point he was deported to Buchenwald concentration camp, where he saw liberation.⁵⁴ His daughter Sara (b. 13 October 1931 in Kielce) also survived the war. The same set of documents also yields some information about Eliaz's wife Hanka, née Najman (b. 10 July 1919 in Kraków) and his son Harry (b. 1 February 1947 in Frankfurt).⁵⁵ However, it is hard to see how Hanka could have been Sara's mother (owing to the small age difference); it thus seems likely that Eliaz Albirt's first wife perished in the war.

In the summer of 1945 Eliaz Albirt returned to Kielce and attempted to reclaim his family's property in Piotrkowska Street. During his time there, he stayed in the tenement at 7/9 Planty Street.⁵⁶ The court case adjudicating the property restitution took place in September 1945 and the court ruled in Eliaz Albirt's favour. Shortly thereafter he sold the property that was returned to him to Tadeusz and Stanisława Sewerzyński for 150,000 zloty; the contract of sale was drawn up on 29 September 1945 in the attorney's office of Lucjan Jaksy Maleszewski in Kielce.⁵⁷ This is the last document testifying to Eliaz Albirt's presence in Kielce. At no time thereafter does his name feature in court cases or attorney's documents of any sort. How long did he remain in Kielce, then, and was he even in the tenement house at 7/9 Planty Street at the time of the pogrom? These are questions we have no way of answering. In all certainty in 1947–1951 he was living with his family in Frankfurt am Main,⁵⁸ and in the early 1950s he applied for an immi-

⁵² The documents referring to Eliaz Pinkus Albirt held in the Bad Arolsen archives give two differing dates of birth. See e.g.: Eliaz Pinkus Albirt KL Buchenwald Haftlings-Personal-Karte (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/5419992/?p=1&s=Eliaz%20Albirt&s_lastName=asc); and the D.P. questionnaire for Eliaz Pinkus Albirt (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/78870770/?p=1&s=Albirt%20kielce&s_lastName=asc).

⁵³ APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2441, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 13, fol. 26.

⁵⁴ International Refugee Organization (IRO) resettlement registration form for Eliaz Albirt (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/78870770/?p=1&s=Albirt%20kielce&s_lastName=asc).

⁵⁵ Eliaz Albirt Application for assistance PCIRO (Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization) (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/78870770/?p=1&s=Albirt%20kielce&s_lastName=asc).

⁵⁶ See Eliaz Albirt's claim filed with the Kielce Magistrates' Court. See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 208, Akta z powództwa Eliazka Pinkusa Albirta przeciwko TZP w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1945 r., fol. 1.

⁵⁷ APK, Akta notariusza Lucjana Jaksy Maleszewskiego fonds, file no. 20, Repertorium akt Lucjana Jaksy Maleszewskiego, nr. 1–436 za 1935 r. oraz nr 8–518 za 1945 r., ffol. 219–220. At this point it should be noted that the contract of sale of the property by Eliaz Albirt itself is not extant, but the entry concerning the transaction was identified in Maleszewski's file ledger mentioned above.

⁵⁸ There can be no doubt that the Eliaz Pinkus Albirt who returned to Kielce in the summer of 1945 and the Eliaz Pinkus Albirt living in Frankfurt in 1947–1951 was the same person. This certainty is confirmed further by a comparison of the signatures of the person figuring in the court files and the person to whom the abovementioned materials in the Bad Arolsen archives refer – they are identical.

gration visa to Canada.⁵⁹ All this means that the pogrom victim who was identified as “Albirt AKA Albert, aged 35–40,” and, according to the mortuary body identification report was killed with a shot in the back,⁶⁰ was not the Eliazsz Albirt profiled above.

These are not the only doubts surrounding the identities of those named on the list of victims of the Kielce pogrom. For instance it also seems unlikely that the name of Pola (Pesa), also known as Paulina Gutwurcel, should figure on it. Her body is not named in the identification reports of the pogrom victims’ bodies. We also know that on 7 July 1946 “Pola Gutwurcel, office worker,” made a deposition in the Kielce Voivodship Office for Public Security (WUBP) regarding the course of events.⁶¹ Nowhere does it mention that she sustained any injuries.

According to the court files, Pola was born on 14 December 1919 in Warsaw,⁶² the daughter of Abram and Sura, née Epsztajn.⁶³ Before the war the Gutwurcel family moved to Kielce, to the Epsztajn family home⁶⁴ at 21 Żelazna Street. Pola survived the war, as did her mother, Sura. They returned to Kielce together, where they went to live in the Jewish hostel at 7/9 Planty Street. In May 1946 Sura Gutwurcel filed a claim with the magistrates’ court in Kielce for the restitution of the property at 21 Żelazna Street, which had been the property of the Epsztajn family before the war. The case was examined over the next month, and a verdict recognizing Sura Gutwurcel as the proprietor of the house was issued on 19 June 1946.⁶⁵

The names of the two women feature in two further cases, both of which, significantly, took place after 4 July 1946. A week after the Kielce pogrom, on 11 July 1946, Sura Gutwurcel applied to have one Lejbuś Wajnsztajn officially presumed dead.⁶⁶ In this application she still gives her registered address as the tenement at 7–9 Planty Street in Kielce. Then in September 1946 Pola Gutwurcel filed a request with the court for official confirmation of her own date of birth. At this time she was living in the tenement house at 20 Focha Street in Kielce.⁶⁷ What happened after that? It is highly probable that Pola Gutwurcel moved to the “reclaimed lands” (the western swathe of present-day Poland

⁵⁹ See the documentation of Eliazsz Pinkus Albirt held in the Bad Arolsen archives.

⁶⁰ AIPN Ki_41_520, vol. 1, Part 2, fol. 22.

⁶¹ It was taken by a WUBP officer, Józef Mazur. Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 2: 169–170.

⁶² However, the archival documentation also includes a different date of birth for Pola Gutwurcel. Data from the electoral roll for the 1935 parliamentary (Sejm) elections indicate that she was born on 14 December 1913. See: APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2439, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 11, fol. 28. This latter date is probably the more likely. After the war the practice of “taking years off their lives” was common among the Jewish survivors. Something similar may have occurred in this case.

⁶³ See: Wniosek Poli Gutwurcel do sądu grodzkiego w Kielcach z prośbą o ustalenie jej daty urodzenia. APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2390, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Pauliny Gutwurcel o ustalenie aktu jej urodzenia, 1946 r., fol. 1.

⁶⁴ The siblings of Sura Gutwurcel (née Epsztajn) co-owned the property.

⁶⁵ See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 495, Akta sprawy cywilnej Sury Gutwurcel przeciwko Okręgowemu Urzędowi Likwidacyjnemu w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r.

⁶⁶ See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2197, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Sury Gutwurcel o stwierdzenie zgonu Lejbusia Wajnsztajna, 1946 r.

⁶⁷ See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2390, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Pauliny Gutwurcel o ustalenie aktu jej urodzenia, 1946 r.

that was annexed from Germany after World War II); her name figures in documents in the Kamienna Góra branch of the State Repatriation Office (PUR).⁶⁸

It would also be fair to question whether the body of Lejzor Charendorf was correctly identified. Above all, it is important to note that there were at least two individuals with this name living in Kielce before the war. Moreover, the available documentation indicates that both of them survived the war. The "older" Lejzor was born in Kielce in 1899 and was the son of Chaim and Adela Chaja. Before the war he was an upholsterer and lived at 29 Piotrkowska Street.⁶⁹ The wartime vicissitudes of this Lejzor Charendorf may be retraced from the documentation in the Bad Arolsen archives, which indicate that he was a prisoner in Dachau concentration camp and saw liberation there.⁷⁰ Whether he returned to Kielce we do not know.

The "younger" Lejzor Charendorf was also born in Kielce,⁷¹ on 3 February 1924, the son of Rafał and Zeld, née Korman. Before the war the family lived at 8 Kilińskiego Street. Nothing is known of what became of him during the war. What we do know is that this "younger" Lejzor Charendorf returned to Kielce and stayed in the tenement at 20 Focha Street. He was relatively active, if the number of court cases with his participation is any indication (four in all).⁷² What is important for us here, moreover, is that all of those cases were brought after 4 July 1946. In September 1946 Lejzor Charendorf, together with Izaak Bruk, applied to the court to have evidence secured.⁷³ In October he filed (in two separate cases) for confirmation of his parents' marriage and the reproduction of their marriage certificate,⁷⁴ and also to have them presumed dead.⁷⁵ It is thus possible to state in all probability that the "younger" Lejzor Charendorf survived the Kielce pogrom and in the autumn of 1946 was still in the city.

In the body identification report for "Lejzor Charendorf" the deceased was described as a man aged approximately 35–40.⁷⁶ This description would fit the elder of the two Lejzor Charendorfs, for whom we have evidence. In this case, however, we have no proof that, although he survived Dachau and the war, he ever returned to Kielce at all. He is

⁶⁸ See PUR indexes: http://stg-wroclaw.pl/wyszukiwarka-pur?cont=lists&ccname=Rejestr_PUR.

⁶⁹ See: APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2443, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg Nr 24. Obwód Nr 15, fol. 17.

⁷⁰ See the Bad Arolsen archives database, which is accessible at: https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/10005996/?p=1&s=Charendorf%20Lejzor&s_lastName=asc.

⁷¹ APK, Rada Szkolna Miejska w Kielcach fonds, file no. 41, Spis dzieci urodzonych w latach 1913–1925, t. I, 1926 r., fol. 5.

⁷² See the inventory of the Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069) and the files nos.: 633, 2468, 2563, 2564.

⁷³ See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2468, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Izaaka Bruka and Lejzora Charendorfa o zabezpieczenie dowodów, 1946 r.

⁷⁴ See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2563, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Lejzora Charendorfa o ustalenie aktu ślubu Rafała vel Refuela i Zeldy małżonków Charendorf, 1946 r.

⁷⁵ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2564, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Lejzora Charendorfa o stwierdzenie aktów zgonu jego rodziców Rafała vel Rafuela i Zeldy małżonków Charendorf, 1946 r.

⁷⁶ Cf. Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 64: "Another dubious association of a body with an identity is that of Lejzor Harendorf, aged 47, whose age in the body identification report was assessed at 35–40. In his deposition made with the Shoah Foundation, his acquaintance Carl Langer says that Harendorf had been a business partner of his father in Częstochowa and had gone to Kielce to find out whether anyone from his family had survived [199]. He had been a prisoner in Auschwitz, where he had lost his toes."

not mentioned in any of the court cases, or in any notarial papers. Lejzor Charendorf “the younger,” on the other hand, was just 22 in 1946, and it therefore seems unlikely that he could have been mistaken for a 40-year-old. Moreover, he must have been known to the surviving Jews who returned to Kielce. Some were registered at the same address as him, at 20 Focha Street; others gave evidence in cases he brought to court, and must therefore have known that he was not killed in the pogrom. Whose body, then, was identified as that of “Lejzor Charendorf” and for which Lejzor Charendorf was he taken? This is another question without an answer.

Another person whose presence on the list of the Kielce pogrom victims must give cause for doubt is Szlama Rajzman. He was born on 26 June 1909 in the village of Korczyn, near a place called Łopuszno. His parents were Josek and Chaja, née Charenczowska.⁷⁷ The Rajzman family was relatively wealthy. They were the proprietors of a 33-hectare manor farm known as Ludwików Pawłowszczyzna, in the Łopuszno district,⁷⁸ and they also owned a number of properties in Kielce, including three wooden cottages and a brick house at 11 Okrzei Street,⁷⁹ and some buildings on Szpitalna Street.⁸⁰

The documentation we amassed (chiefly court files) indicates that Szlama Rajzman was the only member of his family to survive the war. After its end he also stayed in the tenement house on Planty Street in Kielce. As early as in the autumn of 1945 he filed his first claims for restitution of his family’s property⁸¹ with the Kielce magistrates’ court.⁸² In the majority of these cases, all of which he won, he was represented by the attorney Zenon Wiatr, resident at 11 Sienkiewicza Street in Kielce. What gives grounds to doubt his death in the pogrom is that some of these claims were filed by his lawyer after 4 July 1946. One of these concerned the properties at 11 Okrzei Street. Moreover, this document states that at that point Szlama Rajzman was living at 20 Focha Street in Kielce.⁸³ Is it possible, then, that Zenon Wiatr, who also defended three of those charged with participating in the Kielce pogrom, Biskupska, Szcześniak, and Pruszkowski,⁸⁴ abused the proxy conferred on him and acted in his own interests after Szlama Rajzman’s death? If

⁷⁷ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 1495, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Szlamy Rajzmana o ustalenie aktu jego urodzenia, fol. 1.

⁷⁸ APK, Wojewódzki Urząd Ziemski w Kielcach fonds, file no. 602, Sprawy sądowe o wprowadzanie w posiadanie gruntów opuszczonych. Zobacz dokumentacja związana ze sprawą z wniosku Szlamy Rajzmana, ffol. 37–49.

⁷⁹ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 589, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Szlamy Rajzmana przeciwko Okręgowemu Urzędowi Likwidacyjnemu w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r., fol. 1.

⁸⁰ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 205, Akta sprawy cywilnej Szlamy Rajzmana przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu Oddział w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1945 r., fol. 1.

⁸¹ In 1945–1946 Szlama Rajzman had filed claims in a total of 18 court cases (including for restitution of real property, securing of evidence, and official presumption of the deaths of his relatives).

⁸² See the court cases brought by Szlama Rajzman, currently held in the Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069). See files no.: 205, 344, 589, 1208, 1246, 1306, 1331, 1354, 1374, 1447, 1488, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1514, 1575, and 1602.

⁸³ APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 589, Wniosek do Sądu Grodzkiego w Kielcach adwokata Zenona Wiata, zam. w Kielcach, przy ul. Sienkiewicza 11, pełnomocnika Szlamy Rajzmana, zam. w Kielcach, przy ul. Focha 20 w sprawie przeciwko Okręgowemu Urzędowi Likwidacyjnemu w Kielcach w imieniu którego działa Prokuratoria Generalna R.P. zespół w Kielcach, 23 VII 1946 r., fol. 1.

⁸⁴ Transcript of the trial before the Supreme Military court in the field, in Kielce on 9, 10, and 11 July 1946, of 12 defendants charged with participation in the anti-Jewish violence in Kielce on 4 July 1946.

so, what happened to the properties at 11 Okrzei Street restituted to Rajzman? Given that we found no evidence that they were sold, it is hard to answer these questions.

The story of Manes Ajzman

A new name on the list of victims in the book *Pod klątwą* is that of Kiwa Liberbaum (no. 23).⁸⁵ As Kiwa's body was not recognized by his friend Rózia Kolersztajn until several days after the funeral of the pogrom victims, there is no identification report for him in the materials relating to the first Kielce investigation, since the identifications concluded on Sunday 6 July 1946. In view of Rózia's testimony that Kiwa Liberbaum had come to Kielce on 4 July 1946 "to settle some matters of property in security," we may assume that he was killed in the region of the railway station or somewhere along Sienkiewicza-Focha Street, where the Securities Office was.⁸⁶

Today we are also able to shorten the list of anonymous pogrom victims by one, and add to the names established that of Manes Ajzman, son of Lejba and Chana, née Kochman, who was born in 1914 in Rejowiec, in the district of Chełm. We owe this to Prof. Julian Kwiek, who gave us access to documents that he found in the Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance (AIPN).⁸⁷ The report on the verdict of a case heard by the Magistrates' Court states that on 11 March 1949 Pesia Ajzman, née Szlajen, aged 30, unemployed, resident of Kłodzko, filed for confirmation of the death of her husband. She submitted an attestation of their marriage in Włodzimierz Wołyński dated 13 October 1939. The Ajzmans spent the war in the USSR, and returned in May 1946 (which is confirmed by a repatriation certification issued in Buchara, dated 2 May 1946). A few weeks after their arrival in Kłodzko, Manes made a trip to his hometown of Chełm. Pesia Ajzman testifies that "on his return journey, in the morning of 4 July 1946, at Kielce railway station, during the Jewish pogrom, he was pulled off the train by unidentified witnesses and murdered." Four days later he was buried in Pakosz along with the other pogrom victims, which means that in the body identification records his body is one of the eighteen listed as anonymous.

Jakub Szlejen and Wolkomir Fajwel, who were present at the hearing, witnessed the death of Manes Ajzman. Szlejen, brother of Pesia, a year younger than her and a manager at the Kłodzko leatherwear works, testified that on the fateful day they were travelling through Kielce when "the train was attacked by over a dozen people armed with rifles and revolvers, some of them in military uniforms. Shortly thereafter the assailants dragged a number of people of Jewish nationality off the train, among them Manes Ajzman, who was travelling in the next car, and shot them all." This witness did not see the moment of the execution itself, as he was hiding under a bench, but when things had

Source: Jewish Historical Institute in Poland (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce): Sprawozdanie stenograficzne z procesu pogromu kieleckiego, Kielce 1946, typescript, after: Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 2: 720.

⁸⁵ Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 445.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 307.

⁸⁷ AIPN, Wr 61/595.

quietened down somewhat, he looked out of the window and saw the body of Manes Ajzman lying by the carriage:

Further away lay other people who had been murdered, eight of them. [...] As the remaining Jews in the carriages were afraid to leave the train, and shortly afterwards the train left the station, the bodies remained where they were and were then buried in a common grave in the Jewish cemetery in Kielce. The entire incident took place around 9–10 in the morning.

Similar testimony was given by Wilkomir Fajwel, a gaiter maker from Kłodzko, who at the last moment took cover underneath the train. He adds that as well as firearms the assailants were also carrying sticks.⁸⁸

What other uses for genealogy are there?

This analysis and identification of errors in the lists of the Kielce pogrom victims shows to what extent the methods and sources employed by genealogists can contribute to traditional historical research. It does not exhaust their potential, however. Genealogy can also be useful in attempts to challenge the widely-held view that most of the Jews living in Kielce after the war were “territorially alien”: there by chance, as one stage on their repatriation odyssey.

As mentioned above, the long list of the pogrom victims (including all those cited on all the lists) runs to 52 people.⁸⁹ If we subtract from this total the six whom we know to have been born outside Kielce voivodship,⁹⁰ the three murdered on trains,⁹¹ the 11 not identified with any certainty (for most of whom only a surname has been mooted), and the two not circumcised,⁹² we are left with 31 (presumed⁹³) victims for whom we have fuller details. Of that number, at least 27–52% of the total number of pogrom victims on the list – definitely came from Kielce voivodship (in its pre-war boundaries), and many of them had lived in the city of Kielce itself before 1939. These suggestions

⁸⁸ We should also add that it was Julian Kwiek who drew our attention to the first documented mention of the participation of the National Armed Forces (NSZ) formation in the Kielce pogrom. This was post-surrender debrief statement no. 16658, made by Wiktor Bobrowski, son of Adam, b. 8 September 1916 in Nowe Święciany, Wilno voivodship, a demobilized corporal of Anders’ Army, and from September 1945 an NSZ partisan in the Jędrzejów region. In it we read, i.a.: “[after May 1946] we moved to the region around the city of Kielce, and there we took part in the pogrom of the Jews. That was in the month of July 1946. In the Kielce region we scattered, because we were being hunted down,” AIPN Ka 04/801/1. This issue requires further research.

⁸⁹ It is also important to remember that it is highly likely that some people figure on the list twice. For instance Rachela Zonberg is the same person as Rachela Sonberg, also known as Zander.

⁹⁰ These were Seweryn Kahane, Fajwel Zoberman, Frania Szumacher, Izaak Prajs, Boruch Dajcz, and Abram Adler.

⁹¹ Aside from Manes Ajzman, these were Dawid Józef Gruszka and Szmul Rembak, who were killed at the station in Koniecpol, which before 1939 lay within the boundaries of the Kielce voivodship. See Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 207, 307, 446.

⁹² These were two males mentioned in the body identification reports, Jan Jaworski (Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 755, note 2630), and one Niewiarski, forename unknown (possibly Stanisław), see *Ibid.*: 36, 64, 114, 206, 222, 234–237, 407, 446–447, 456, 604–607, 675, 684, 688, 756.

⁹³ In the sub-chapter above we showed that at least some of the names were included in the lists as a result of human error, while in fact the individuals in question did not perish in the Kielce pogrom.

are confirmed by the data in the table below, and the notes which form an integral part thereof.

Tabl 1. Pogrom victims originally from the pre-war Kielce Voivodship

No.	Given name and surname	Parents' given names and mother's maiden name	Date of birth	Place of birth
1.	Juda Moszek Ajzenberg ⁹⁴	Chil and Chaja Sura Krigsztajn	15.07.1920	Chmielnik
2.	Eliasz Pinkus Albirt	Hersz Lejb and Sura Zylberyng	2.08.1905 (or 1910)	Kielce
3.	Izaak Bruk ⁹⁵	Szama and Rajzla Kokotek	?	Kielce
4.	Hersz Dawid Fajnkuchen ⁹⁶	Uszer Symcha and Estera Łaja Cecerska	17.05.1897	Kielce
5.	Rywka (Regina) Fisz	Abram Światowy and Blima Wajngort	13.08.1912	Nowy Korczyn
6.	Abram (Adam) Fisz	Moszek Szymon and Rywka (Regina) Światowa	4.06.1946	Kielce
7.	Berek Frydman	Moszek and Kajla	1894	Kielce
8.	Bajla Gertner ⁹⁷	Izrael Dawid and Rykla Grynglas	20.01.1929 ⁹⁸	Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski
9.	Pola Gutwurcel	Abram and Sura Epszajn	14.12.1913 (or 1919)	Warsaw

⁹⁴ Moszek Judka Ajzenberg's wife Rachela also survived the war. After its end, on 29 May 1945, their son Eliasz was born. The Ajzenberg family went to live in Chmielnik, where Moszek Judka attempted to reclaim his parents' property in Rynek Street (the case was decided in his favour four days after his death). In her claim to have her husband presumed dead, Rachela Ajzenberg testified that on the fateful day (4 July 1946) her husband was in Kielce on business. His body was apparently identified by Mieczysław Kwaśniewski, who indeed, along with his wife, Fajga Kwaśniewska (née Nirenberg), testified in the case. See: APK, Prokuratura Generalna w Kielcach fonds, file no. 3, Ajzenberg Moszek Judka – stwierdzenie zgonu, Postanowienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Chmielniku, 7 May 1947, fol. 1; APK, Prokuratura Generalna w Kielcach fonds, file no. 1700, Ajzenberg Moszek – o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, Postanowienie Sądu Grodzkiego w Chmielniku, 8 July 1946, fol. 6.

⁹⁵ On the basis of the court cases brought by Izaak Bruk we can deduce that his family came from Kielce. Izaak (together with Lejzor Charendorf "the younger") was attempting to recover part of the property in Bodzentyńska Street. See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2468, Akta sprawy cywilnej z wniosku Izaaka Bruka and Lejzora Charendorfa o zabezpieczenie dowodów, 1946 r.

⁹⁶ Before the war the Fajnkuchen family had lived in the tenement at 19 Focha Street. See: APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2420, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód 16, fol. 9.

⁹⁷ The Gertner family came from the Rembów borough (now the Raków borough) in the Staszów district. Before the war, however, they had lived in Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski at 13 Iłżecka Street. APK, Akta miasta Ostrowca Świętokrzyskiego fonds, file no. 174, Książka meldunkowa urodzonych Ostrowieckiego Okręgu Bożniczego 1918–1930, fol. 609. The name Bajla Gertner also figures in the Yad Vashem database; her file was sent in by Miriam Feldman. See: <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=7179364&ind=15>.

⁹⁸ Akt urodzenia zarejestrowany z opóźnieniem w 1936 r. Patrz: APK, sign. 570, Raptularz urodzonych Okręgu Bożniczego w Ostrowcu Św., akta za lata 1936–1942, Akt urodzenia 108/1936.

10.	Lejzor Charendorf “the younger”	Rafał and Zelda Korman	3.02.1924	Kielce
11.	Lejzor Charendorf “the elder”	Chaim and Adela Chaja	1899	Kielce
12.	Szmul Karp ⁹⁹	Lejbuś and Jacheta Sztajnkeler	20.12.1916	Kielce
13.	Hersz Lejb Kersz ¹⁰⁰		28.08.1909	Chęciny (?)
14.	Szmul Kersz ¹⁰¹			
15.	Kiwa Liberbaum	Aron and Ruchla Rozenbaum	6.06.1916	Szydłowiec
16.	Mendel Mikułowski ¹⁰²	Abram Ejzyk and Chana Matla Boruchwat	9.02.1912	Chmielnik
17.	Moszek Morawiec ¹⁰³	Herszel and Klura Bekerman	10.11.1913	Stopnica
18.	Szulim Płótno	Mordka Szmul and Dwojra Działoszycka	1917	Chęciny (?) ¹⁰⁴
19.	Estera Proszowska ¹⁰⁵	Jakow and Hilda	1890	Praszka

⁹⁹ Before the war the Karp family had lived in Kielce at 42 Nowy Świat Street. In November 1945 Chaja Sura Karp, Szmul’s sister, recovered the house, which she and her brother then sold to Waclaw and Eugenia Soboń for 100,000 zloty. See: APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 306, Akta z powództwa Chaji Sury Karp przeciwko Wojewódzkiemu Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1945 r.; APK, Akta notariusza Stanisława Markiewicza w Kielcach fonds, file no. 1, Akta notarialne za 1946 r., Akt notarialny nr 3, fol. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Most of the members of the Kersz family came from Chęciny. Before the war Hersz Lejb had lived at 12 Kozia Street in Kielce. See APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2445, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1938 r. Okręg Wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 17, fol. 5. After the war Hersz Lejb Kersz figures as a witness in many cases heard by the Kielce magistrates’ court.

¹⁰¹ The electoral roll for the interwar period has an entry for a cobbler Chaim Szmul Kiersz, born in 1909. In 1935 he lived at 3 Starowarszawskie Przedmieście Street. See APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2421, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935 r. Okręg Wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 17, fol. 12.

¹⁰² After the war Mendel Mikułowski recovered a property in Białogon which had been owned before the war by his half-brother Moszek Mordka Mikułowski. See: APK Kielce, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 450, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Moszka Mendla Mikułowskiego przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu oddział wojewódzki w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r., ffol. 24–25.

¹⁰³ Before the war Moszek Morawiec lived in Kielce at 10 Zagnańska Street. See: the Bad Arolsen archives: collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/10211281/?p=1&s=morawiec%20moszek&s_lastName=asc.

¹⁰⁴ Mordka Szmul Płótno and Dwojra Działoszycka were married in Chmielnik on 14 January 1902. See: APK, Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Chmielniku fonds, file no. 48, Akta urodzeń, małżeństw and zgonów za 1902 r. Akt małżeństwa nr 1. Mordka Szmul Płótno and Dwojra Działoszycka. The Płótno family, however, came from Chęciny and it was probably there that Szulim was born. In the registry ledgers from Chmielnik (for 1917–1941) there are no certificates for the name “Płótno.”

¹⁰⁵ The information file found in the Yad Vashem database indicates that Estera Proszowska was the wife of the physician Władysław Proszowski. Before the war they had lived in Kielce. The file was sent to Yad Vashem by Roza Bugajer. See: <https://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?language=en&itemId=1018504&ind=32>.

20.	Szlama Rajzman	Josek and Chaja Charenzowska	26.06.1909	Korczyn (near Łopuszna)
21.	Izrael Josek Rączka ¹⁰⁶	Szlama Icek and Ruchla Wajngort	22.10.1923	Bodzentyn
22.	Chilel Sokołowski	Szmul and Gitla Gola	15.02.1916	Kielce
23.	Symcha Sokołowski	Judka and Pesla Ickowicz	1923	Kielce
24.	Apolonia Sowińska (Estera Rubinowicz)	Efroim and Rywka Klajnberg	10.01.1916	Kielce
25.	MojżeszSztunke ¹⁰⁷			
26.	Naftali Tajtelbaum ¹⁰⁸		1925	Kielce (?)
27.	Menasze Tajtelbaum	Hersz Ber and Czarna Szajnfarb	1.12.1909	Kielce
28.	Rachela Zander	Moszek and Bajła	1929	Strzemieszyce

Source: APK, Akta miasta Kielce fonds, file no. 2441, Spis wyborców do Sejmu 1935. Okręg wyborczy Nr 24. Obwód Nr 13, fol. 26; APK, Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Kielcach fonds, file no. 58, Akt urodzenia nr 121. Hersz Dawid Fajnkuchen; APK, Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Nowym Korczynie fonds, file no. 70, Akt urodzenia 92. Rywka Światowa; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2594, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Moszka Szymona Fisza o ustalenie aktu urodzenia jego syna Abrama Fisza, 15.10.1945, fol. 1; APK, Akta miasta Ostrowca Świętokrzyskiego fonds, file no. 174, Książka meldunkowa urodzonych Ostrowieckiego Okręgu Bożniczego za lata 1918–1930, fol. 609; Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Chmielniku (Chmielnik Registry Office), Księga urodzeń, małżeństw i zgonów za 1913 r., Akt urodzenia nr 109. Mendel Mikułowski; APK, Akta gminy Bodzentyn fonds, file no. 2499, Rejestr mieszkańców osady Bodzentyn. Vol. II, ffol. 197–198; Central Database of Shoah Victims’ Names; Arolsen Archives database; APK, Rada Szkolna Miejska w Kielcach fonds, file no. 41, Spis dzieci urodzonych w latach 1913–1925, vol. I, 1926 r., fol. 5; Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 450, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Moszka Mendla Mikułowskiego przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu oddział wojewódzki w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 1495, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Szlamy Rajzmana o ustalenie aktu jego urodzenia; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 470, Akta w sprawie cywilnej Chilela Sokołowskiego przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu oddział w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r.; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 3211, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Bolesława Wyporskiego o ustalenie aktu urodzenia Symchy Sokołowskiego, 1947 r.; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 373,

¹⁰⁶ For more details on the Rączka family, see the sub-chapter entitled “A far broader background.”

¹⁰⁷ After the war there is evidence that one Majer Sztunke, b. 10 May 1909 in Kielce, the son of Berek and Hinda, née Frydman, went to live in Kielce. He most certainly did not perish in the Kielce pogrom, however; in 1947 he was living in Łódź. See the court cases brought by Majer Sztunke, APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file nos.: 515, 5372, 6173. It is also worth mentioning that the name “Sztunke” seems to be practically unique to Kielce.

¹⁰⁸ The cousin of Menasze Tajtelbaum, see Tokarska-Bakir 2018, vol. 1: 61, 194, 288, 329, 446–447, 459–460, 554, 601, 605, 696, 740, 759. The Tajtelbaum family came from Łopuszno, but in the interwar period most members of the family were living in Kielce.

Akta w sprawie cywilnej Menasze Tajtelbauma przeciwko Tymczasowemu Zarządowi Państwowemu w Kielcach o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r.; APK, Rada Szkolna Miejska w Kielcach fonds, file no. 41, Spis dzieci urodzonych w latach 1913–1925, vol. I, 1926 r., fol. 139; APK, Prokuratura Generalna w Kielcach fonds, file no. 3, Ajzenberg Moszek Judka – stwierdzenie zgonu, 1947 r.; APK, Prokuratura Generalna w Kielcach fonds, file no. 1700, Ajzenberg Moszek – o wprowadzenie w posiadanie, 1946 r.; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 2468, Akta sprawy cywilnej z wniosku Izaaka Bruka and Lejzora Charendorfa o zabezpieczenie dowodów, 1946 r.

Closer analysis of the data in this table reveals that the view of the “territorial alien” status of the people killed in the pogrom is not confirmed in the source base.

At this point it would also be worth stressing that a similar analysis may be undertaken for all the Jews who were in Kielce in 1945–1946 (or, to take a broader perspective, until 1950). The primary source base for such research would be the files of post-war court cases stored in the State Archive in Kielce in the fonds titled “1069 Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach.” This collection contains the files of the approximately 2,000 cases (from 1945–1950) brought by Jews. Among the supplementary sources to this documentation would be materials of the Public Prosecutor General (Kielce branch) and Kielce District Court. It would also be worth drawing on sources held in the databases of the Institute of National Remembrance, the Jewish Historical Institute (including survivor registration forms), and many internet platforms. What would we gain from such an analysis? With all certainty it would help us to answer the question of how many Jews actually were living in Kielce in 1945–1946 (1950). We would also gain information about their lives before the war, how they survived the occupation, their post-war addresses, and many other details about their private lives.

The genealogist’s craft may also be of use in checking the given names and surnames of the Jews in Kielce after 1945. In the specialist literature these individuals tend to feature under first names and (more rarely) surnames that they assumed during the war (while in hiding on the “Aryan side”) or even after the cessation of hostilities. The best example of this practice, which, it must be said, was widespread among Jewish survivors, was Leopold Jaźwicki. He was born on 15 March 1925 in Kielce as Lejbuś Jaźwic, the son of Mejloch Jaźwic and Sura née Praga. Before the war the family lived at 17 Sienkiewicza Street.¹⁰⁹ It was more common for Jews to change only their given names, however. Below are a few examples:

1. Regina Fisz – real name Rywka Fisz (née Światowa)
2. Marian Fisz – real name Moszek Szymon Fisz
3. Adam Fisz – real name Abram Fisz
4. Ewa Meppen/Mappen – real name Chawa Meppen (née Zylbersztejn)
5. Pola vel Paulina Gutwurcel – née Pesa Gutwurcel
6. Hanna Alpert – real name Chana Alpert (née Bryks)
7. Henryk Kanar – real name Henoch Kanar

¹⁰⁹ APK, Rada Szkolna Miejska w Kielcach fonds, file no. 41, Spis dzieci urodzonych w latach 1913–1925, vol. I, 1926 r., fol. 50; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 1834, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Lejbusia Jazwica o stwierdzenie zgonu jego ojca Majlocha Jazwica, 1946 r.; APK, Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach fonds (fonds no. 1069), file no. 1833, Akta w sprawie cywilnej z wniosku Lejbusia Jazwica o stwierdzenie zgonu jego matki Sury Jazwic, 1946 r.

Without knowledge of their real first names, the quest for information about them dating from before the war would have been much harder, and in some cases even impossible.

What else can genealogy offer scholars of the Kielce pogrom? With all certainty there is at least one more immensely important benefit: the chance to make contact with living relatives of the Kielce Jews – not only those who returned or went to Kielce after the war, but also pre-war residents who later emigrated to many other countries. The memory of the town of their forebears is still alive among these people: the descendants of Jews who came from the pre-war Kielce voivodship have formed a closed group on Facebook called Descendants of Jewish Kielce voivodship,¹¹⁰ which at present has 611 members. The Kielce pogrom is a recurring topic of discussion in this forum. In private conversations its members share the reminiscences of their ancestors,¹¹¹ personal documents, and other materials. Without a doubt, these source have the potential to considerably broaden the background to the events that played out in Kielce on 4 July 1946.

A further potential supplement to the materials obtained via these channels is the oral history base amassed as a result of the interviews with survivors conducted by many institutions all over the world. In this category, too, the issue of the Kielce pogrom is a recurring topic. On one site alone, that of the USC Shoah Foundation – The Institute for Visual History and Education, there are 160 interviews which include the phrase “the Kielce pogrom.”¹¹²

* * *

The analysis conducted in this article on a category of historical sources that is not among the more typical shows how much information there is still to be established with regard to the Kielce pogrom. The most important issue is probably the bid to establish a definitive list of the victims and to compile a catalogue of the people who were actually murdered on 4 July 1946. We believe that the information we have brought to light in this text represents an important step in this direction.

Another matter that remains to be resolved is the establishment of the actual number and pre-war roots of the Jews who were living in Kielce after the end of World War II.¹¹³ As things stand, it would be feasible to risk the statement that the majority of the Jews who were in the city after 1945 had also had connections with the city or at least the wider voivodship before 1939. One indication that this is probably the case is the number of court cases regarding restitution of real property. An important point to note in this context is that we are not referring only to documentation from the magistrates' and

¹¹⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1505575009655818/>.

¹¹¹ At this point, however, it is worth noting that many of these people know almost nothing about the history of their ancestors who survived the Holocaust. Suppression of this “lost life” is a very common psychological mechanism among the survivor generation. This is hardly surprising, given the trauma that they experienced during the occupation. In view of this fact we need to be aware that memory of the Kielce pogrom and its dissemination among survivors and their descendants may be a significant research issue at the psychological and sociological levels.

¹¹² <http://vhaonline.usc.edu/quickSearch/resultList>.

¹¹³ At this point we should mention that we have started work on researching a list of the Jewish survivors who were living in Kielce after the end of World War II.

district courts in Kielce, or to cases examined by the public prosecutor. The search should be widened to include files from all the magistrates' courts in the Kielce voivodship concerning post-war cases brought by Jews. The first instance for such cases was the magistrates' court with jurisdiction over the location of the property in question, and not over the claimant's place of residence. Thus if someone living in Kielce after the war was attempting to reclaim a property in Chmielnik, the case files should be sought in the archives of the Chmielnik magistrates' court.

Common to most of the pogrom victims is a relatively high degree of activity in the Kielce magistrates' court in connection with their attempts to recover property which had belonged either to them or their immediate relatives before the war. There can be no doubt that these Jews' initiatives in this field may have contributed to the increase in unrest and antipathy among the city's residents, some of whom had taken wilful possession of formerly Jewish properties.

Another interesting and still unresolved issue which has been addressed on several occasions is that of illegal attempts to reclaim property. The organizational chaos that reigned immediately after the end of the war was conducive to the formation of informal criminal groups which operated through frontmen to take control of abandoned properties in order to promptly sell them. As yet we do not know the scale of such operations, but on the basis of the testimonies cited above we can categorically state that they did take place in the Kielce voivodship.¹¹⁴

Translated by Jerzy Juruś

ABBREVIATIONS

AIPN – Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej

APK – Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach

APR – Archiwum Państwowe w Rzeszowie

ŻIH – Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Warszawie (the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw)

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sign. Ka 04/801/1; Ki_41_520, vol. 1, Part 2, Wr 61/595.

APK

Akta gminy Bodzentyn

¹¹⁴ One example of this is a case from the magistrates' court in Stopnica. Majer Cecerski (vel Ciecierski) testified that an unknown person had assumed the identity of his relative Dawid Rozencwajg in order to take possession of a property left by his family. See APK, Sąd Grodzki w Stopnicy fonds, Spis zdawczo-odbiorczy nr 3. Sprawy o stwierdzenie zgonu za 1948 r., file no. 5, collection 7, Sprawa z powództwa Majera Cecerskiego o stwierdzenie zgonu Dawid Rozencwajga, Podanie Majera Cecerskiego do Sądu Grodzkiego w Stopnicy, 25 January 1948, ffol. 13–15.

Akta miasta Kielce
Akta miasta Ostrowca Świętokrzyskiego
Akta notariusza Lucjana Jaksy Maleszewskiego
Akta notariusza Stanisława Markiewicza w Kielcach
Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Kielcach
Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Chmielniku
Akta Stanu Cywilnego Okręgu Bożniczego w Nowym Korczynie
Prokuratura Generalna w Kielcach
Rada Szkolna Miejska w Kielcach
Starostwo Powiatowe Kieleckiego I
Sąd Grodzki w Kielcach
Sądu Grodzkiego w Stopnicy
Wojewódzki Urząd Ziemski w Kielcach
APR
Urząd Metrykalny Izraelicki w Rzeszowie
ŻIH

Transcript of the trial before the Supreme Military court in the field, in Kielce on 9, 10, and 11 July 1946, of 12 defendants charged with participation in the anti-Jewish violence in Kielce on 4 July 1946 (Sprawozdanie stenograficzne z procesu pogromu kieleckiego, Kielce 1946), typescript, after: Tokarska-Bakir, *Pod kłótnią*, vol. 2, p. 720.

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Eliasz Pinkus Albirt KL Buchenwald Haftlings-Personal-Karte (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/5419992/?p=1&s=Eliasz%20Albirt&s_lastName=asc); and the D.P. questionnaire for Eliasz Pinkus Albirt (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/78870770/?p=1&s=Albirt%20kielce&s_lastName=asc).

International Refugee Organization (IRO) resettlement registration form for Eliasz Albirt (https://collections.arolsen-archives.org/en/search/people/78870770/?p=1&s=Albirt%20kielce&s_lastName=asc).

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ANNEX

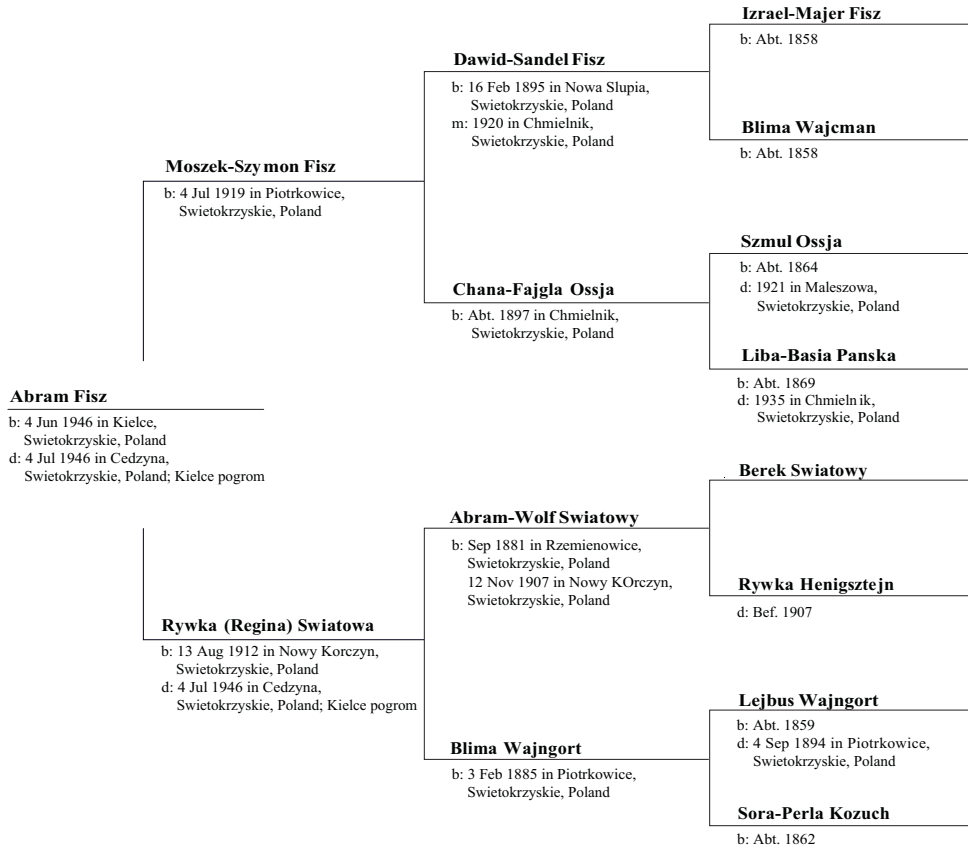


Figure 1. Pedigree chart for Abram (Adam) Fisz.

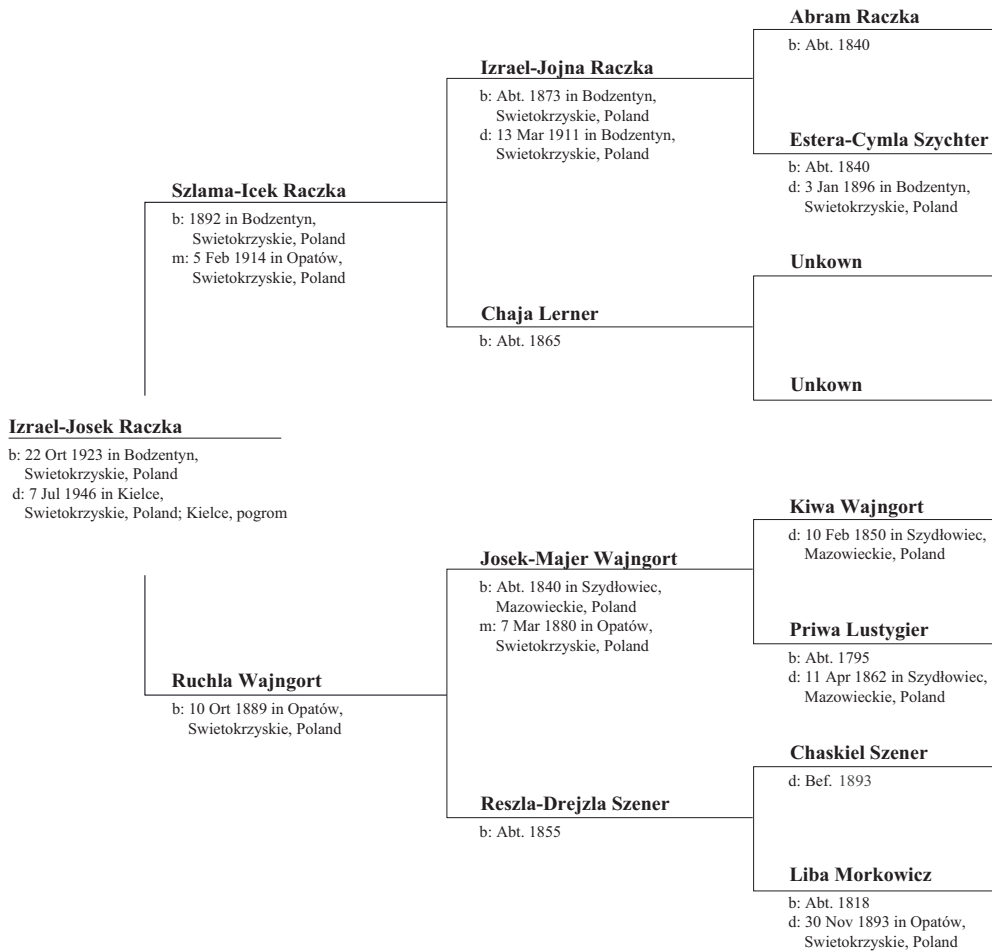


Figure 2. Pedigree chart for Izrael-Josek Raczka.