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Microhistories of Exclusion

Jews and non-Jews, Local Government, and Urban Space in the Polish Town, Lubartów 1918–1943

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INTRODUCTION

> "In connection with Lubartów's past, it would be appropriate for the administrative authorities to restore the town's original name: Lewartów, under which it was known for 200 years since its foundation, as it was only in the Saxon era that it was renamed Lubartów"
>
> "Yet both the ancient Lublin and the young Lubartów were founded on the historically pre-Piast ethnically Polish land."[1]

This call from Leon Białkowski, director of the State Archives in Lublin and dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the Catholic University of Lublin in 1930s,[2] refers to the time of the Piast dynasty, the first rulers of Poland – and aims to prove Lubartów's ethnically Polish origins. Białkowski call was somehow paradoxical, since the name of Lewartów was still in use among its Jewish residents, as indicated by the title of the Lewartów Yizkor Buch published in Paris in 1947.[3] The long history of Lubartów's Jews was also known to the town's Jewish residents themselves.[4] The continuity of residence of Jewish families from the interwar period, such as the Perec family, can be dated back as far as the mid-17th century,[5] and the *Kehillah* had been probably organised a hundred years earlier.[6] Even Zofia Rościszewka, the author of the book where Białkowski's call appears, states:

"Part of the significant population, ethnically foreign, were Jews in Lewartów. It seems that they appeared soon after the town was founded and their number was constantly increasing."[7]

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[1] Leon Białkowski, in Zofia Rościszewska, *Lewartów (Lubartów) w latach 1543-1643* (Lublin: Prace Seminarium Historycznego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1932), 3-4. The name Lewartów originated from the coat of arms of Firlej family, which presented a white leopard. The name Lewart is taken from the German (*Lebhart*) or Czech (*Lewhart*). Aleksander Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Kraków: Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, 1927), 295.

[2] *Słownik biograficzny archiwistów polskich* (Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 1988), 37–39.

[3] Baruch Tshubinski (ed.), *Hurbn Levertov. A matseyve Levertov un Levertover kdoyshim* (Paris: Aroysgegebn fun di fraynṭ fun Leṿerṭoṿ, 1947).

[4] Ibid., 93.

[5] Robert Kuwałek and Paweł Sygowski, "Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Lubartowie," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 12:1 (2000), 51-52.

[6] Ibid., 47.

[7] Rościszewska, *Lewartów (Lubartów) w latach 1543-1643*, 35-26. Zofia Rościszewka was a student of Leon Białkowski.

Jewish presence in Lubartów/ Lewartów was not only long-standing, but also strong. Since the 19th century, Jewish residents formed the majority of the town's population[8] and they made up the majority of the town's registered population, until the mid-1920s.[9] In the 1930s, Jewish permanent residents of Lubartów were still far more likely to be born in Lubartów than the Christians.[10]

The concept of the ethnic purity of Lubartów to which Białkowski refers is a projection of a nationalist mindset already deeply rooted in interwar Poland.[11] This discourse of exclusion in relation to the established position of Jewish residents and Jewish institutions in Lubartów creates a tension that is largely the subject of my thesis. I examine this tension primarily from the point of view of local inter-group and individual social relations and hierarchies, at the level of power and administrative practices, and coexistence in the space of a medium-sized town in interwar Poland and during the war in the General Government created by the Germans. However, I would like to begin by clarifying my relationship to the subject of this research by explaining how I came to the town of Lewartów/Lubartów.

Through Archives to Lubartworld

I would have never taken up research on Lubartów if not for Claire Zalc and her project; she was the one who chose Lubartów as a place for the investigation. The initial choice of location was due to the connection with the family story of George Perec and the place Lubartów occupies in his writing. Already before we met, Claire Zalc had known that the size of the town and the general characteristics of the population are appropriate for collective research exploring the links between migrations and the Holocaust, which she planned to conduct. It remained uncertain, however, if Lubartów could be researched on the basis of the existing archives.

This is how the project started for me, with a trip to Lubartów and Lublin Archives in autumn of 2017. In the Lublin Archives we, Claire and I, found very promising sources, including the interwar residents' register that assured Claire about her choice of the place of investigation.

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[8] Kuwałek and Sygniewski, "Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej," 54.
[9] I elaborate on the town demography in the 1920s in Chapter 1.
[10] 74% of the Jewish residents registered in Lubartów between 1932 and 1939 were born in Lubartów, compared to 49% of Christians (Roman Catholics, Evangelical, and Orthodox Christians). Register of permanent residents, 1932-1940s. APL, AML, 39-48.
[11] Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other. The image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Learned to Hate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Grzegorz Krzywiec, *Polska bez Żydów Studia z dziejów idei, wyobrażeń i praktyk antysemickich na ziemiach polskich początku XX wieku (1905–1914)* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2017).

For me, as important as this finding was the experience of collective researching. I had done some archival work before, mostly as a hired researcher, but after several days of intense work I realised that there is still much to learn, and that archives offer much more than I had ever expected.

Then Claire Zalc succeeded with her grant application for the Lubartworld project. My work in the Lubartworld project initially involved inputting the residents' register from the 1930s.[12] The hours spent working with the source, discussing the methodology of conducting the inputting with the team taught me to be sensitive to this type of source, to keep a critical attitude towards categorisation, and to treat this register not only as a carrier of information but as a distinct quality. In short, it made me realise their research potential.

I had never planned to become a scholar or to prepare a PhD thesis; thus, I kept my strong reservations when Claire Zalc first asked if I intend to apply to become a PhD student within the Lubartoworld project team which already included Virginie Durand *ingénieure d'études* from CNRS as a project administrator and Thomas Chopart as post-doctoral researcher, specialised in anti Jewish violence and Jewish migration from Central Eastern Europe. In November of 2019, I became a PhD candidate within the Lubartworld project.

For several years I remained the only Polish native speaker and the only Poland-based member of the Lubartworld team which later expanded with Anton Perdoncin, sociologist of emigrations and labour specialising in quantitative studies in social science as research fellow, and Adèle Sutre, geographer and historian, also specialised in emigration studies as post-doctoral researcher.[13] I believe this position strongly influenced my development. As a team member, I could benefit and learn from collaboration with my colleagues from different backgrounds, and I benefited enormously from our meetings and collaboration; however, being the only person not speaking French and based in Poland created a sense of isolation, intensified by Covid restrictions, and made it hard sometimes to get more involved. I believe this dichotomy could also be sensed in my thesis.

[12] I was the coordinator of this collective effort with Karolina Grzegorczyk, Anna Hanotte-Zawislak, Emilia Majczak-Faroult and Tymoteusz Skowroński. We wrote an article which is an account of the experience and reflections of our collective effort to input the Lubartów permanent residents' register. Tymoteusz Skowroński et al., "Retour d'expérience sur la saisie collective d'une source administrative: le registre de population de Lubartów, Pologne, 1932," *Genèses*, 125:4 (2021), 112-134.

[13] Later two more PhD candidates joined our team: Gabrielle Escaich who mastered quantitative methods, and Tymoteusz Skowroński involved in research on administrative sources.

Given the research interests of the team members, the research master plan for the entire project, my interest in the archives as well as my language skills, it was clear that my thesis would concentrate on the social life of Lubartów in the first half of the 20th century and that the Polish archives would form the main corpus. However, it took some time until the concept for my thesis crystallised, which required further archival research, readings, and discussions with Claire Zalc and other team members, a considerable amount of time and experimentation.

Lubartów, a town in interwar central Poland

Lubartów was located in the heart of interwar Poland, some 30 kilometres north of Lublin and 150 south-east of Warsaw (Map 1) with a population of over 8,000 in the late 1930s.[14] It was founded in the 16th century as a private town of the Firlej family due to its location on a trade route.[15] Back then, the town's economy also benefited from the proximity of the Wieprz River, a tributary of the Vistula. The grain produced in the area was transported via the river to Gdańsk and then further to Western Europe. Lubartów remained a private town until 1866, when the town was part of the Russian Partition of Poland (since 1815). Due to the collapse of European empires after World War I, and as a result of further reconfigurations in the Eastern Central Europe,[16] in the first half of the 20th century the inhabitants of Lubartów lived in five different states. My thesis focuses on two periods, when Lubartów became part of the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939) and when it was part of German-occupied Poland (1939-1944).

[14] Register of Lubartów permanent residents, 1932-1940s. APL, AML, 39-48.
[15] Elżbieta Przesmycka, *Przeobrażenia zabudowy i krajobrazu miasteczek Lubelszczyzny* (Wydawnictwo Politechniki Lubelskiej, Lublin, 2001), 163-191.
[16] Rita Aldenhoff-Hübinger Rita, Catherine Gousseff, Thomas Serrier (eds.), Europa Vertikal. Zur Ost-West-Gliederung im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert**,** (Les verticales de l'Europe. Sur la division Est-Ouest au XIXe et XXe siècle) (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016); Gousseff, Catherine, *Exchanging Peoples: How Borderlands became the Soviet boundary between Ukrainians and Poles (1944–1947)* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2025).



Map 1. Lubartów and the Lubartów county (red) in Second Polish Republic. Source: Institute of National Remembrance (IPN).

Lubartów was centred around Lubelska Street which crossed the entire town, leading from the glassworks, the only large factory in interwar Lubartów,[17] to the 18th-century palace and parish church at the other end of town. In the 1920s, Lubelska remained one of the few paved streets in Lubartów. In the mid-1930s it was further improved, so that it took on the character of a town promenade. The county offices and courts were placed along Lubelska Street, as well as the second church in the town at the Capuchin monastery. On Lubelska Street were the tallest buildings in Lubartów, a town with mostly single-storey and one-storey houses. Particularly prominent was the three-storey "Derecki's skyscraper," the tallest building in town, belonging to a bus operator. Slightly further up towards the Market Square was a site belonging to the *Kehilla*, with a 19th century synagogue adjacent to Lubelska Street (Photograph 1, Map 1).[18] A large part of the plot was occupied by an old cemetery, no longer in use between the wars. It

[17] Henryka Podleśna, "Z dziejów huty szkła w Lubartowie," *Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartowska* 12 (1993), 87-92.
[18] Robert Kuwałek and Paweł Sygietyński, "Z dziejów społeczności," 53.

was replaced by a new one, away from the town centre, on Cicha Street.[19] The mikvah building stood on the other side of Lubelska Street. From the *Kehilla'*s lot it was only a few dozen metres to the Market Square.



Photograph 1. Lubelska Street with a view on the Parish Church, first on the left the synagogue building; further on the left near the edge of the street, Gdala Perec's hotel. late 1930. Source: Fotopolska. eu.

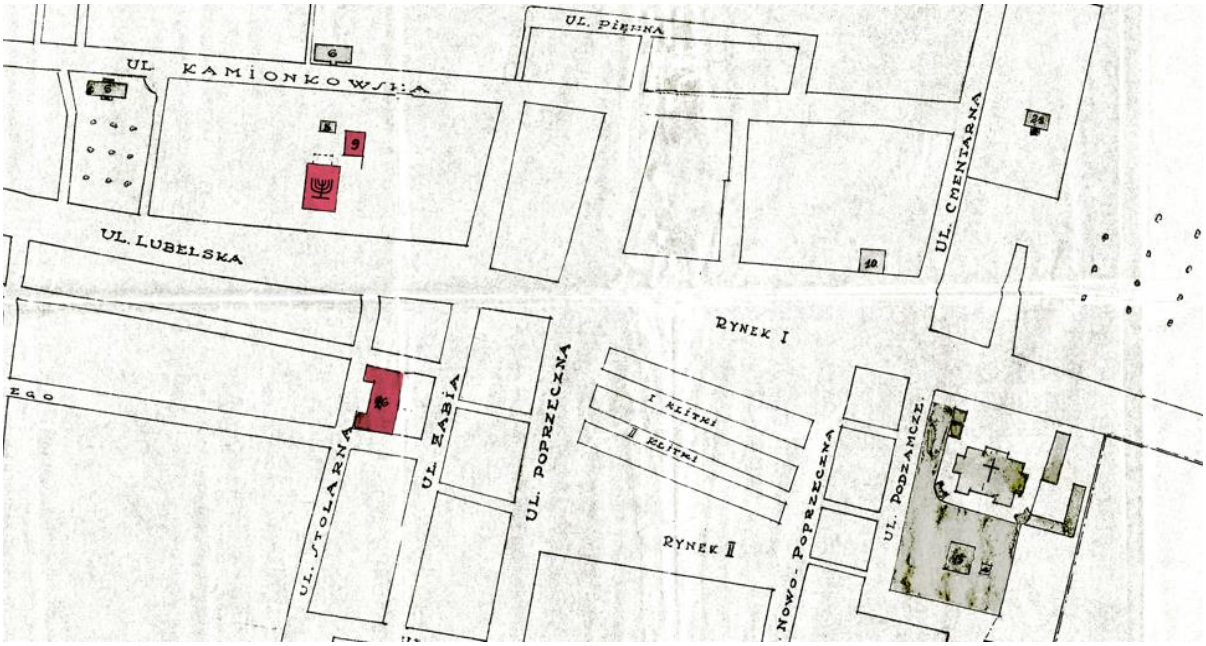
A walk along Lubelska street allows one to get to know the town from its most exposed perspective, at the same time pointing out the important characteristics of Lubartów. The town was not large and could easily be crossed on foot. It was a county town, a fact which influenced the power structure in the town itself and strengthened the town's links with the surrounding areas. It was established as a market town and so the Market Square (Rynek) continued to be a local centre of trade. Finally, interwar Lubartów was a town where Christians and Jews lived.[20]

The horizon of my research was set by Lubartów. This is largely due to the research scope of the entire project, but also to my own decisions and the research method adopted. The potential opening could have had two dimensions. The first one stemmed from pre-war and wartime

[19] Claire Zalc and Franciszek Zakrzewski, "Tentatives d'épuisement de non-lieux: les cimetières juifs de Lubartów, Pologne," *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 215:1 (2022), 151-189

[20] We (the Lubartworld team) have created an online visualisation of Lubartów which allows to explore the town and learn about its social composition. https://visualizing-lubartworld.org/.

emigration, forced displacement, flight, and the *Aktionen* during the war period: I could have followed the individuals and groups. This part of the history of the Lubartowians has been and is being studied successfully by other members of the Lubartworld team, as are the transnational links of Lubartowians.[21] A second option, in keeping with my focus on Polish archives, would be to widen the perspective to the county at large, in line with the method of the Holocaust research team, who in the two-volume *Polish Center for Holocaust Research*, showed the fundamental importance of the dynamics between the provincial town and the surrounding villages for the "third phase" of the Holocaust.[22] By widening the field of research I would perhaps gain a greater understanding of the dynamics between the villages and Lubartów, but the depth of my insight into the internal dynamics could be lost. Now, after several years of work, I know that I am more comfortable with micro-historical practices, and that I can achieve better results by narrowing and deepening the field of observation.



Map 1. Map of the Lubartów centre. Synagogue, house of prayer, and ritual bath in red, 1925. Source: APL, UWL-WSP, 895.

[21] Thomas Chopard, "Fuir la Pologne et survivre à la Shoah en Union soviétique," *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 69:3 (2022). Claire Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, Gabrielle Escaich, The Dynamics of Mobility and Immobility in the Face of Danger: Polish Jewish Migrations during the 1930s from Below, *Journal of Migration History*, 2023, 9 (3), 323-355; Claire Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, Gabrielle Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement. Migrations et persécutions à Lubartów, 1939-1945," *Annales de Démographie Historiques*, 145/1, 2023, 97-102. Adèle Sutre, *Nouer, dénouer, renouer les liens entre Lubartów et New York (1920-1950) Des géographies familiales entre dispersion et solidarités* [to be published]. Claire Zalc and Thomas Chopard, *The transnational making of collective experience. The Lubartów Memorial Book, Paris, 1947, a political gesture.* [to be published].

[22] *Dalej jest noc*, Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), vol. I and II, (Centrum Badań and Zagładą Żydów: Warsaw, 2018).

Population under examination

The specification of the group to be analysed was the subject of our team discussions from the beginning of the project, as the initial decisions would affect the team's work for years to come. They were of fundamental importance, especially in the context of the planned quantitative work. The dilemma concerned the inclusion of non-Jews from Lubartów in the research and, consequently, their inclusion in the created databases. Eventually the largest database includes all Lubartów registered residents without distinction as to religion.

Since I planned to study relations between Jews and non-Jews and cover the entire town population, this decision enabled me to form many of my research questions. During further work, the scope of the population I studied evolved accordingly to questions posed. When examining the distribution of power in Lubartów, I addressed all the people involved in the electoral process; when dealing with the Market Square, I was interested in the people living in the Market Square and the interactions within the space; when researching social care, I included all the people who applied for help, whether they were registered or not. During the war the definition of "town residents" became more complicated due to the population movements. Periodically in Lubartów deportees made up about a third of the total population and half of all Jews in the town. I decided to include them in my thesis, even those who remained in the town for short periods, like Jewish refuges from Slovakia transported to Lubartów in April and May of 1942, less than half a year before the Second *Aktion*, when almost all Jews remaining in Lubartów were transported to death camps or murdered in the town.

Social groups in Lubartów

I study the inhabitants of Lubartów through the prism of social groups and group boundaries.[23] The first impulse for the study of group relations was for me to overcome the image of extreme separation between Jews and non-Jews as well as address the fundamental role of ethnic and religious distinctions in the process of social grouping in Lubartów. Inspiration came from scholarship broadly dealing with the *shtetl*, rejecting the image of isolated ethnic communities in small towns and perceiving towns with mixed population as places of interethnic interaction or even integration where networks of connections and reliance functioned.[24] Following this

[23] Frederick Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference*, ed. Frederick Barth (Bergen, 1969), 9–38. Pnina Werbnen, "Intersectionality and situationism. Towards a (more) dynamic interpretation of Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" in Thomas H. Eriksen and Marek Jakoubek (eds.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today. A Legacy of Fifty Years* (London: Routledge, 2018), 117-132.
[24] Adam Teller, "The Shtetl as an Arena for Polish Jewish Integration in the Eighteenth Century" and Anna Orla-Bukowska, "Maintaining Borders, Crossing Social Relationships in the Shtetl", *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 17

approach, I tried to identify places and moments where rigid inter-ethnic divisions were overcome.

Initially, I assumed that the result of my research would be to point to areas where group affiliation was not determined by religion or ethnicity. In the beginning, my research apart from the space of the Market Square and the local authorities included the school, the glassworks, social organisations, and political parties with particular focus on the actions of the local communists. In line with the assumptions made, my research brought moderate results, indicating the enormous scale of separation between the two groups.[25] It was only with time that I recognised that the importance of my research was not necessarily to point out instances of crossing ethnic group boundaries. By focusing on areas of intergroup interaction, I could identify the forces that bring groups together, as well as those that mobilise and reinforce intergroup divisions. This approach also allows me to gain insights into the internal differentiation of groups.

Naming the groups, use of categories

During my first visit to the Lublin Archives, I recognised as Jewish one of Lubartów residents, as indicated from his name and surname. This caused some reluctance on the part of Claire Zalc, who thoroughly had studied the concept of "onomastic anti-semitism."[26] Disparity of perspectives was present with us for a large part of the project's duration, and posed one of the greatest methodological challenges for my research. From the beginning, I recognised the ethical side of the issue, as "pointing out" was, and still is, an anti-Semite strategy used for exposing Jews. However, I believed that there were situations in which information concerning a person's origins, not apparent from the sources, could be relevant to the interpretation of one's behaviour or the behaviour of others towards him. Not to mention that the name could affect the ways in which a person is perceived, and thus, their social functioning and potentially, self-identification. At present, however, I am closer to a position of extreme caution when identifying. Ultimately, in the case of quantitative research, the situation leaves me in no doubt, there is no reason to impose a religious or ethnic categorisation that has not been attributed in

(2004), 25–40 and 171–196; Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Shtetl. New evaluation* (New York University Press, 2007) and Israel Bartal, Scott Ury, "Between Jews and Their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750," *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry*, 24 (2012), 3–30.

[25] It is also one of the biggest results of the quantitative aspect of our project https://visualizing-lubartworld.org/chapter-1/17.

[26] Claire Zalc, *Denaturalized. How Thousands Lost Their Citizenship and Lives in Vichy France* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 99-101 and 104-107.

the source. Investigating why some information is missing could be an important research question for understanding the nature of the source, administrative practices, and categorisation methods.[27] With a qualitative approach, on the other hand, some room for nuance remains; rather than pointing to a particular identification, one can focus on the individuals' actions and the social context in which they functioned.

The experience of working with registers has taught me to respect source categories and it is these that I most often use when referring to the groups under study. I mobilise categorise in a flexible manner that reflects my understanding of how they were employed in the sources.[28] In this respect, there is an advantage to a micro-historical approach that allows for an in-depth contextual reading of the socially functioning categories. Categorisation according to religion (*wyznanie*) is one of the most commonly used in administrative source that I mobilised – in the residents' registers, on IDs' applications or in police reports. It is also the most important for my research, as it allows me to identify individuals and groups. In regard to ethnic groups in Lubartów, the two most common distinction used in sources are Jew-Catholic and Jew-Christian.[29] Both pairs of categories are applied in my work contextually according to the composition of the group to which they refer as well as, in selected situations, the self-identification of individuals and groups. It means that the same person could be categorised in different sources as a Catholic or as a Christian depending on time and context, which I follow. This is the reason why, I chose not to consistently use one of the two categories, Christians and Catholics. In relation to the war period, on the other hand, I apply to the inhabitants of Lubartów the distinction between Jews and non-Jews, which, in my opinion, best reflects the logic of inter-group communal divisions in the reality of the Nazi occupation.

Time frame

The time frame of my thesisis 1918-1943, and corresponds closely to the research questions I pose. It is shifted in relation to the Lubartworld project chronology that spans between 1920 and 1950. The shift from 1920 to 1918 is in accordance with the emergence of a new Polish state, one of several in Eastern Central Europe after the First World War, that was the realisation

[27] Claire Zalc and Anton Perdoncin, „Jews, Catholics and the others. Interpreting missing information on confession in 1930s Poland." To be published.
[28] Claire Lemercier and Claire Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities: An Introduction* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 61-71.
[29] Of course, the Christian category is broadened than Catholic and include Orthodox Christians and Evangelists. This two group accounted for less than 0,5 % of Lubartów residents in the 1930s. Register of permanent residents, 1932-1940s. APL, AML, 39-48.

of long-standing national aspirations.[30] In Lubartów two months after the disarmament of the Austrian occupation troops,[31] decision to organise elections for the Town Council was made at in late December of 1918. The electoral process that followed discriminated against Jewish residents and led to their exclusion from participating in the governance of the town. At the same time, the period before 1920 was a marked with social tensions and unrest - in early 1919 there was an attempt to organise a pogrom in the town. These events are at the heart of my narrative about inter-ethnic relations in the town.

My thesis also covers the period of war and the Holocaust in Lubartów. From 1939, Lubartów was located within the borders of the Lublin District of the General Government created by the Germans in the occupied territory of Poland. At the beginning of November 1939, the vast majority of Jewish residents were transferred to other towns in the district, leaving around 800 Jewish residents in the town out of more than 3,000 before the war. In the following years, Lubartów became a place of mass relocation of Jewish and non-Jewish deportees. The Jews living in Lubartów were subjected to genocidal policies, and their living conditions steadily worsened due to the concentration in the town centre. In April 1942, the Germans organised the first *Aktion*, as a result of which about 800 Jewish residents were taken to extermination camps. The remaining Jews in the town, together with Slovak refugees, were murdered in the town or transported to extermination camps in October 1942. By January 1943, several dozen Jewish residents working for the Germans remained in Lubartów.

With regard to the war, I address the attitude of the local authorities towards the Jewish residents of Lubartów and their participation in the implementation of anti-Jewish policies, as well as spatial segregation, ghettoisation and residential contacts between Jews and non-Jews. The murder of most of the Jews living in Lubartów left no continuation for either of these topics. In the records I have collected and testimonies I approached, no information on the participation of the municipal authorities in activities related to the searching or reporting Jews in hiding was found. The majority of Jews from Lubartów that survived the second *Aktion*, as in other towns of the General Government, sought rescue outside town.[32] From the level of local government,

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[30] Włodzimierz Borodziej, Maciej Górny, *Nasza wojna. Tom 2. Narody 1917-1923* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B/ GW Foksal, 2018); Paul Gradvohl, "Des luttes fratricides à la gloire de l'injustice subie: grande guerre et petites guerres dans la mémoire Hongroise du premier conflit mondial," *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 228:4 (2007), 71-80.

[31] Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.), *Lubartów w dziejach. Od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd Miasta Lubartów, 2018), 396. Stanisław Wiśniewski, "Lubartów i okolice w 1918," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 14 (2000), 52.

[32] *Dalej jest noc*, op. cit; Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień… Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Jan

village heads had a greater role to play in helping or reporting Jews in hiding than municipal authorities.[33] Thus, in a sense, the geographical frame I have adopted limits the time frame. In regard to the second part of my work devoted to Market Square, with the second *Aktion*, the Jewish presence in the Market Square ended. The wartime fate of Jewish property was also concluded. By the first months of 1943 Jewish-owned houses on Market Square were either occupied or demolished.

The extending my research to the post-war period would more likely maintain a unified perspective of analysis. In Lubartów, as in many towns and cities in post-war Poland, a group of Jews returned briefly, anti-Jewish violence occurred, there were trials to recover seized properties.[34] Lubartów's Jews both joined in the rebuilding of Jewish life in Poland and emigrated from the country - they were affected by the same processes and dilemmas as in the rest of the country.[35] Although some of these relate to the power and urban space issues I have been studying, particularly attempts to reclaim property, I have not chosen to extend the timeframe. Since I believe that my research adds to understating of the complexity of the process of occupying and seizing Jewish-owned property, I intend to continue it in the future by extending to post-war period. I decided not to do it in my thesis because it would require a lot of time and effort to study another group of sources and to include in the research contexts of post-war Poland and the new social order in Lubartów.

Exploring continuities and discontinuities in interethnic and interreligious relations

A key objectivity of my work was to link the interwar period and the war as equivalent elements of analysis. The pre-war perspective on the war and the Holocaust is instrumental in identifying continuities and discontinuities in interpersonal and intergroup relationships. A similar

Grabowski, *Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007.

[33] Tomasz Frydel, "*The Polish Countryside as a Gray Zone: Village Heads and the Meso Level of the General Government, 1939-1945*," East European Politics and Societies, 37:1 (2023), 202-228.

[34] David Engel, "Patterns of Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland, 1944–1946," *Yad Vashem Studies* 26 (1998), 43–85; Łukasz Krzyżanowski, *Ghost Citizens: Jewish Return to a Postwar City* (Harvard University Press: 2020).

[35] Audrey Kichelewski, *Ocalali. Żydzi polscy po Zagładzie*, (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2021); Natalia Aleksiun, *Dokąd dalej? Ruch syjonistyczny w Polsce (1944-1950)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2002); Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska i Feliks Tych (eds.), *Następstwa zagłady Żydów. Polska 1944-2010* (Warszawa Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2011); Kamil Kijek, "Between Ethnic Democracy, Authoritarianism and Violence: Inter-War Experiences and Jewish Socio-Political Stances in Early Post-War Poland," *Contemporary European History* (2025), 1-18.

assumption was recently made by Omer Bartov and Agnieszka Wierzcholska,[36] who emphasized how pre-war multi-ethnic relations played their part in installing and maintaining the Nazi order and largely shaped the trajectory of the persecuted group. While both books are an important reference for me, in my practice however I will be looking for greater consistency in the choice of material and perspective on events of the two periods.

In Bartov's book about Buczacz, a multi-perspective narrative relating to the pre-war period using local administration records and the accounts of representatives of many ethnic groups, turned into a collective portrait of the perpetrators and mechanisms of the anatomy of genocide, written from the perspective of the Nazis administrative and judicial records and, to a lesser extent, the trajectory of survival. Additionally, the trajectories of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Buczacz are approached as if in isolation from the Holocaust narrative, so that the communal dimension of experience is not clearly articulated.

The structure of Agnieszka Wierzcholska's book is closer to my proposal. In addition to a general picture of prewar interethnic relations, Wierzcholska devotes a detailed study to local government and schools in pre-war Tarnów. Wierzcholska's thoughtful and well documented analysis of the course of the war and the Holocaust, however, is not a direct continuation of the pre-war narrative; the connection to the interwar findings is largely contextual and theoretical, rather than empirical.

The way the subject is addressed in both books, the lack of strict continuity at the level of observation and the sources used, led me to question whether, and by mobilising what kind of sources and tools it is possible to conduct a narrative to address more directly the existence of continuity or discontinuity in intergroup relations in diverse communities confronted with events that undermines the social order.

Sources and methods

In collecting the sources, it was important to identify a corpus which would allow for the continuing observation. For the one part of my thesis, surviving registers and censuses that often were continued throughout the interwar and war period, make it possible to maintain

[36] Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018); Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko-żydowskiego miasta Tarnów 1918-1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2023). A similar perspective was also adopted by earlier monographs: Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews and Ukrainians 1919-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) and Rosa Lehmann, *Symbiosis and Ambivalence. Poles and Jews in a Small Galician Town* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001).

observation within the same area of Lubartów, namely Market Square, to follow the changes in the social structure and the shifting patterns of intergroup segregation. For the other part, a rich collection of local administration sources from Lubartów bridge the inter-war political marginalisation of Jews in local government, local discriminatory policies and the role local government played in implementing Nazi policies during the war.

My methodology for using databases developed during collective work on the residents' register. Although my attempts to learn the language of coding and conducting more complex quantitative research have been largely unsuccessful, I gained the courage to extensively use databases, to do simple coding, or to cross reference variables and match databases.[37] To these methods I owe a large part of my results. This initial experience also helped me appreciate, and make conscious use of, the registers I found at a late stage of my work concerning the registration of tenats in flats belonging to Jews during the war. These and other datasets enable to freely shift the scale of the analysis from the entire Lubartów populations to groups and individuals and vice versa. The change of scale could be accompanied by shifting and careful framing of the observed areas. This was particularly beneficial for addressing the models of segregation and concentration on Lubartów Market Square (Chapters 4 and 6). For Holocaust inquiry created datasets additionally allow to follow persecuted individuals and group trajectories, also to recognise the social determinants of persecution (Chapter 3).[38] Finaly, in the context of research spanning 25 years datasets make it possible to bridge interwar period with war and Holocaust by examining local social dynamics through the prism of pre-war contacts and social hierarchies.

Despite the benefits of working on the registers, a pivotal moment in my research came when I realised that I could take a different approach to the other members of the Lubartworld team. I decided to abandon my attempts at coding and turn to non-nominal sources. I focused on searching the archives of local institutions, mainly municipal office, county office, and police records. In addition to the materials used by other researchers such as local newspapers, starosts' reports or minutes of town council meetings, I reached for the less-used resources of the town board, which show how Lubartów was administered on a day-to-day basis. They make it

[37] Claire Lemercier and Claire Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities: An Introduction* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019).
[38] Pierre Mercklé, Claire Zalc, "Peut-on modéliser la persécution?: Apports et limites des approches quantifiées sur le terrain de la Shoah," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, 73 (4), 923–957. Nicolas Mariot and Claire Zalc, "Reconstructing Trajectories of Persecution: Reflections on a Prosopography of Holocaust Victims," in Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttmann (eds.), Microhistories of the Holocaust (Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 85-112.

possible to address the question of how certain groups of citizens were discriminated against and excluded, and to see the significance of practical administrative work. Among other sources, I also studied registers of organisations, political parties and unions which are crucial for understanding the logic behind social grouping processes in Lubartów.

My approach to administrative documents is based on very close reading. Two points seem vital to my approach. Firstly, that these documents have a history: their examination must take into account the context of creation, including the people involved, the purpose and method as well as stages of their production. This context makes it possible to decipher the complex power relations behind the documents, both within the administrative hierarchy and in the relationship between officials and town residents.[39] The inhabitants of Lubartów did not remain passive in this relationship, as the documents largely reflect their actions, initiatives and strategies (requests for support, appeals, etc.).[40]

Careful reading of documents also means respect to the material complexity of the sources. I pay particular attention to all kinds of interference, changes in handwriting and tools used, notes on the margins, crossings out and underlining.[41] This dimension of reading often adds another layer of understanding of the strategies adopted by the person involved in producing, passing, or receiving the documents. It can not only change the understanding of administrative actions but also challenge the image of offices and administration as a centrally managed machine operating according to uniform guidelines and logic, as well as show the limitations of administrative forms and categorisations.[42]

Another group of sources I use are accounts of Jewish and non-Jewish Lubartów residents that covers both, interwar and war period. They include early testimonies collected by the Jewish Historical Commission or memoirs published in Lubartów Yizkor Buch as well as video

[39] Claire Zalc, *Denaturalized. How Thousands Lost Their Citizenship and Lives in Vichy France* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press).
[40] Simona Cerutti et Massimo Vallerani, "Suppliques. Lois et cas dans la normativité de l'époque moderne," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques. Revue électronique*, 13 (2015); Didier Fassin, "La supplique. Stratégies rhétoriques et constructions identitaires dans les demandes d'aide d'urgence," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 55:5 (2000), 955-981; Asquer Enrica et Ceci Lucia (eds), *Scrivere alle autorità. Suppliche, petizioni, appelli, richieste di deroga in età contemporanea*, Rome, Viella, 2021.
[41] Claire Zalc, "Discretionary Power in the Hands of an Authoritarian State: A Study of Denaturalizations under the Vichy Regime (1940–1944)," *The Journal of Modern History*, 4 (2020), 821-822. Anya Bernstein and Elizabeth Mertz (eds.), "Symposium on Bureaucracy: Ethnography of the State in Everyday Life," special issue, *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 34:1 (2011), 6-7. Sylvain Laurens, "Les agents de l'État face à leur propre pouvoir. Éléments pour une micro-analyse des mots griffonnés en marge des décisions officielles," *Genèses*, 72 (2008), 26-41.
[42] Morgane Labbé, "La statistique d'une minorité sans nom : les « Tutejsi » dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres" in Paul Bauer, Christian Jacques, Mathieu Plésiat, Máté Zombory (eds.), *Minorités nationales en Europe centrale. Démocratie, savoirs scientifiques et enjeux de représentation* (Prague: CEFRES, 2011), 131-153.

interviews with Jewish survivors recorded between the 1980s and 2000s. I juxtapose them with the accounts of non-Jewish Lubartów residents, from different intuitions, mostly video interviews from the Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka- Teatr NN" collection and audio interviews from the USHMM recorded in Lubartów in 2011. These accounts provides different perspectives on the social reality and interethnic contacts in Lubartów. With regard to the war, using interviews and accounts of Jews and non-Jews I address the question of the communal dimension of the Holocaust in Lubartów.[43] Maps and photographs add another perspective on social relations in Lubartów. They are used to illustrate issues related to spatial segregation in town and the communal live in public space. The photographs come mainly from local collections in Lubartów.

Thesis structure

My dissertation is divided into two parts corresponding to two areas of observation of interethnic and interreligious relations in Lubartów. Both parts cover the pre-war and wartime periods; the break in chronology in the thesis serves to emphasise the search for continuity and discontinuity in these two selected areas. In both cases I focus on understudied aspects, such as the continuity in patterns of segregations in small towns or ethicising waste in interwar Poland.

The first part concerns local government. At the beginning, with regard to interwar Lubartów, I address the methods of selecting local government and the restrictions on participation in the electoral process (Chapter 1) and the consequences of distribution of power in local government on local policies with social care as a case study (Chapter 2). The last chapter of the first part is focused on the issue of the relationship between the discriminatory attitude of the municipal authorities in the pre-war period and their participation in the implementation of anti-Jewish policies during the war.

The second part focuses on the Lubartów Market Square. First, I examine the residential structure of the interwar Market Square, interethnic residents relations and the ownership structure of the Market Square (Chapter 4). Then I raise the question of the setting of interethnic boundaries on the Market Square through the prism of waste, anti-Semitism and physical violence against Jews. The last chapter (Chapter 6) concerns residential changes in the Market

[43] Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: personal accounts of the destruction of Buczacz, eastern Galicia, 1941-1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of empires: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420. Anna Wylęgała, "Late Bystander Testimonies in East Galicia: Between Memory, Identity, and Loyalties," *East European Politics and Societies*, 37:1 (2023), 272-297.

Square during the war, addresses the issues of the ghettoisation of Jews in Lubartów, and the fate of properties belonging to Jewish owners.

PART I. LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF LUBARTÓW, 1918–1943

CHAPTER I. THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF INTERWAR LUBARTÓW

INRODUCTION

> "The elections attracted much interest from the population. In front of the premises of the Election Committees, until the counting of the votes was completed, which took place at 2 a.m., crowds stood waiting for the election results. Of the total number of eligible voters, 79,9 per cent of Christians and 84,2 per cent of Jews took part in the elections."[44]

24 April 1927 was a historic day for interwar Lubartów. On this day, the first and only popular vote for the local government took place. The pre-election period was marked by excitement and widespread mobilisation.[45] After the previous council, elected without voting in 1919, spent eight years in office, the citizens of Lubartów had the opportunity to elect their own representatives. The election took place less than a year after the May *coup* of 1926, before the pro-government camp in Lubartów took control of the electoral process, as they did in 1934 and 1939. As the only one to take place between the wars, the 1927 elections provide a unique insight into the logic of intergroup divisions in interwar Lubartów, including the roles of ethnicity and religion in the formation of political factions and in the voters' mobilisation. In addition, the close examination of the mechanics of electoral processes in Lubartów, either in 1927 or in the case of three other non-voting elections, help to address the issue of electoral chances of different groups.

In this chapter, I examine the restrictions on access to local government in Lubartów resulting from the legal framework, administrative actions, and local political dynamics—the ways in which power in local government was distributed in Lubartów. Who was represented in the government? What factors determined the distribution of power in Lubartów? Were the conditions for participating in the electoral process equal for all groups? In a broader sense, these are questions about the equality of Lubartów citizens and the forms of exclusion from the civic community.

[44] County Chief report, 25 April 1927. UWL-WSP, 1652, 26.
[45] "The elections, held on the 24th of this month, were preceded by a series of pre–election meetings and rallies, which of course must have escalated national and political relations". Starost report, 26 April 1927, APL, AML, 1842, 21.

The "national minorities" within the new Polish state

Although it was not at all obvious, the newly established Polish state was founded on the values of tolerance—as a republic based on the principle of equality of citizens regardless of gender, social position, nationality, and religious denomination, with the additional guarantee of personal freedom, freedom of speech, assembly, and religion, as well as the right to use one's native language in public life.[46] In the early years of independence, various political forces questioned the citizenship of people who did not declare their affiliation with the Polish nation. So did state administrative actions and procedures.[47] Nevertheless, Jews formally became equal citizens under international treaties. They also became equal citizens under the Citizenship Act.[48] Finally, they were recognised as equal citizens in the Constitution.[49] This was an unprecedented situation for the Jewish residents of Poland, especially those from the Russian partition.

At the same time, Jews became a "national minority", which was also a novelty compared to the pre-war reality of multi-ethnic monarchies.[50] Thanks to the efforts of many leaders of the Jewish community in Poland, they were recognised as a nation like any other. As a result, they obtained international guarantees of their civil and collective national rights, including those relating to education and cultural autonomy.[51] However, being a minority also meant existing in a relationship with the majority, also understood in ethno-national terms.

The establishment of the Second Polish Republic, like that of other countries in Eastern Central Europe, on the ruins of the Romanov, Habsburg, and Ottoman empires, was the realisation of national aspirations dating back to the 19th century, which had been made possible by World War I. Referring to these newly-established states, Rogers Brubaker introduced the category of the nationalising state.[52] The nationalising state is based on the belief in the existence of a "core

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[46] Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, *Odzyskany śmietnik, Jak radziliśmy sobie z niepodległością w II Rzeczypospolitej?* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2023), 47.
[47] Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Żydzi w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016), 100–105. Keely Stauter–Halsted, "Violence by Other Means: Denunciation and Belonging in Post–Imperial Poland, 1918–1923," *Contemporary European History*, 30 (2021), 32–45. Of course, the important context here is anti–Semitism and the violence in which Polish soldiers participated. William W. Hagen, *Anti–Jewish Violence in Poland, 1914–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
[48] Ustawa z dnia 20 stycznia 1920 o obywatelstwie Państwa Polskiego, Dz.U. 1920 nr 7 poz. 44.
[49] Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 32–37.
[50] Włodzimierz Borodziej, Maciej Górny, *Nasza wojna. Tom 2. Narody 1917–1923* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B/ GW Foksal, 2018), 395.
[51] Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe*, 35–37.
[52] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 79–106.

nation", defined in ethno-national terms, which has an inherent exclusive right to the state: "the polity exists as the polity *of* and *for* the core nation."[53] In interwar Poland, ethnic Poles constituted the "core nation." Minorities, including Jewish citizens, regardless of their attitude toward the state in which they lived, never gained full acceptance for their belonging to the state. In the reality of a nationalising state, there was no question of full respect for their rights, even the right for cultural autonomy.

The tension between participation in civic society and belonging to a minority was at the heart of the political existence of Jews in interwar Poland. As residents of a modernising state with a developed and increasingly professional administrative, legislative, and supervisory apparatus, Jews could not, and for the most part did not want to, renounce their citizenship, just as they could not renounce their minority status.[54] One of the core strategies of the state authorities and the administrative apparatus to resolve this tension was to abandon civil equality, to discriminate against, exclude, and differentiate between, citizens.[55] How did exclusion mechanisms operate at the local government level? Were they among the strategies used to organise communal life by local governments?

Rogers Brubaker notes that nationalising ideologies and actions were internally justified by a sense of injustice and discrimination suffered in the past from other nations and ethnic groups.[56] Certainly, this was a deeply rooted sentiment in inter-war Poland, which formed the ethno-nationalist perception of alien groups as threat, Jews among them. Joanna Michlic and others demonstrated the fundamental importance of anti-Jewish prejudices for the construction of Polish national consciousness.[57] From the late nineteenth century, the myth of the Jew as a stranger served to build national unity and socio-political mobilisation and was particularly intensified during the Second Polish Republic. According to this myth, the actions taken by Jews were contrary to the political, social, economic and cultural interests of ethnic Poles. The Jew as other and as a threat constitutes this myth. "In terms of its structure the myth consists of

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[53] *Ibid.*, 84.
[54] On modernity and the state. Max Weber, *On Law in "Economy and Society"*, (E. Shils and M. Rheinstein, trans.), Max Rheinstein (ed.), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 354. Piotr Sztompka, *The Sociology of Social Change* (Oxford: Wiley–Blackwell, 1993), Chap. 5.
[55] Ezra Mendelsohn, "Interwar Poland: Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews?" in Chimen Abramsky *et al*., (eds.), *The Jews in Poland*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1986), 130–139. Emanuel Melzer, *No Way Out: The politics of Polish Jewry 1935–1939*, (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997).
[56] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed.*
[57] Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other. The image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 16. About the ideological roots and early political uses of this myth see: Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Learn to Hate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Grzegorz Krzywiec, *Polska bez Żydów Studia z dziejów idei, wyobrażeń i praktyk antysemickich na ziemiach polskich początku XX wieku (1905–1914)* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2017).

a network of concepts and themes usually expressed in a narrative form. The basic concept on which the ethno-nationalist representation of the Jew is based is the notion of the Jew as the other whose qualities and social actions stand in opposition to the qualities and social actions of ethnic Poles. This representation assesses Jewish actions and qualities as antagonistic to the political, social, economic, and cultural (religious) well-being of ethnic Poles; thus, the Jew and the Pole are incompatible with each other."[58] In this perspective, there was no room for an inclusive vision of citizenship, and the nationalising state was the only solution that guaranteed security and prosperity for ethnic Poles.

The relations between Jews and the newly founded Polish state have a well-established periodisation corresponding, in essence, to the political periodisation of the Second Polish Republic: with 1918–1921 as a period in which the existence of the Polish state was confirmed, with the simultaneous construction of the foundations of the Polish state system; for Jewish citizens, it was a time of hope for equal rights, but also a time of doubt resulting from anti-Semitism and deadly violence; 1921–1926 as a period of unstable parliamentary democracy with the growing dominance of Polish nationalists; 1926–1935 as a period of Piłsudski's authoritarian rule, giving hope for an improvement in the relationship between "minorities" and the state; and after 1935, when the government and the state openly adopted a nationalist and xenophobic course.[59] This classic periodisation primarily reflects countrywide dynamics and changes in the central government apparatus. With regard to the municipal authorities of Lubartów, I address the impact of these changes on the political dynamics in Lubartów, on changes in the hierarchy of power by studying electoral process and the distribution of power in Lubartów (chapter 1), and on the proceedings and actions of the elected municipal authorities (chapter 2). To what extent did national politics resonate locally and does the classic periodisation apply to the realities of the province?

Interwar Lubartów was not a place that received particular attention from the state authorities, nor was it included in any of the major state projects of the Second Polish Republic.[60] It was located in central Poland, far from the areas covered by international negotiations, outside the

[58] Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*, 16.
[59] Similarly, Kenneth Moss reconstructs the leading periodisation. His book is one of the more successful attempts at dismantling it. Moss does so from the perspective of the experiences, strategies of various Jewish groups in Poland. Kenneth B. Moss, *An Unchosen People. Jewish Political Reckoning in Interwar Poland* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2021), 5.
[60] Grzegorz Piątek, *Gdynia obiecana. Miasto, modernizm, modernizacja 1920–1939* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2022); Kathryn Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge: A Polish Borderland in the Interwar World* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2021), 343.

zone of conflict over the future shape of Poland.[61] If the Polish state was to remain on the map of Europe after 1918, Lubartów had to be part of it: from the very beginning Lubartów was integrated with the Polish state.[62] The establishment of Polish rule in central Poland proceeded differently than in many border regions, such as the Eastern Borderlands to the east from the Lublin region. There, the incorporation of territories into the Polish state was a kind of "civilisation project," a long-term and multidirectional effort of integration involving the democratisation, modernisation, and ethnic reorientation of the region and its inhabitants.[63] Was state pressure less present in Lubartów, and did internal social dynamics and intergroup hierarchies play the most important role in the emergence of local authorities? What did the process of establishing a new political order in Lubartów look like?

Local government autonomy in the Second Polish Republic

Strong local government became one of the founding principles of the Second Polish Republic when the new Polish state was established after World War I. [64] First and foremost, following the example of Western European countries, it was believed that local government could be a tool for modernisation, enabling underdeveloped regions of Poland, including the former Kingdom of Poland, where modern conveniences such as sewage systems and electricity were not yet widespread, to catch up.[65] Local government was instrumental because the regional challenges in the vast territories of the Second Polish Republic, pieced together from three empires, required an individual approach. At the same time, there was a conviction that it was necessary to create a uniform political framework for the local government which until the mid-1930s had functioned on different principles depending on the partition. In the view of the political elite of independent Poland, a strong and unified local government was to be a tool for

[61] Although the Red Army did not reach Lubartów, in August of 1920 the town's authorities were preparing for a potential occupation.
[62] The comparison with Eastern Borderlands is not accidental in this context, since the interwar authorities of Lublin perceived Lublin and the Lublin region as a centre that would undertake the "great mission" of "carrying Polish culture to the east," meaning Eastern Borderlands. "You will be convinced that Lublin is the flesh and bone of the Polish state," as Jan Turczynowicz, chairman of the Lublin City Council, said in 1925. Quote after Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge*, 71.
[63] Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge*.
[64] Regina Pacanowska, "Państwo wobec samorządów. Od zmiany w systemie finansów komunalnych do ustawy scaleniowej z 1933 r." in Andrzej Piekara and Zygmunt Niewiadomski (eds.), *Samorząd terytorialny: zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne: praca zbiorowa* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1998), 88.
[65] Jan Żarnowski, *Polska 1918–1939. Praca. Technika. Społeczeństwo*, (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1999), 281–282. Aleksander Zawadzki, *Finanse samorządu terytorialnego w latach 1918–1939* (Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1971), 80. In 1923 in Lubartów, there were no sewers, no water supply system, no gas network or public bath. The power plant was not opened until the 1930s. Survey of the Union of Polish Cities, 19 July 1923. APL, AML, 57–61.

integrating the inhabitants of all lands by educating a new type of Polish citizen, and local government activists were to co-create the state elite.[66]

Self-government in interwar Poland was implemented at three levels: provincial, county, and communal-municipal in the case of Lubartów.[67] The legislative body in Lubartów was the Town Council (Rada Miasta), elected via general elections. The Town Board (Zarząd Miasta), together with the mayor and deputy mayor, was elected by town councillors. The election of the mayor additionally required approval by government authorities. The county chief or starost (starosta), who headed the county authorities, unlike the mayor, was a government official appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs.[68] The county office operated in Lubartów. It was the county chief, together with the county department, who supervised the municipal government, with the Minister of Internal Affairs being the next instance of control. The supervisory authorities had the power to remove the mayor (or alderman) from office and invalidate a municipal legal act after proving a misconduct.

The self-government setup ensured that municipal and city authorities were formally independent of state influence, with all power derived directly or indirectly from elections. Due to this, they remained resistant to government pressure for the longest time after the May *coup* of 1926, when power in the state was centralised and detached from democratic legitimacy. Even after coming under stricter supervision by central authorities, municipal self-government in the Second Polish Republic had a fundamental impact on the lives of residents. Its tasks were defined as early as 1919: they "concern[ed] the material welfare, spiritual development and health of the inhabitants" and included the administration of the town and its resources, the care for poor, the planning and management of investments, the protection of health, the tax policy of the town, the dealing with housing issues and the support of education and cultural

[66] Hubert Izdebski, "Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczpospolitej," in Andrzej Piekara and Zygmunt Niewiadomski (eds.), *Samorząd terytorialny. Zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne* (Wydawnictwo Prawnicze: Warszawa, 1998), 75–76. Michał Strzelecki, "Samorząd jako instytucja wychowania społecznego w polskiej myśli politycznej II Rzeczypospolitej," in Grzegorz Radomski (ed.), *Samorząd w polskiej myśli politycznej XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2006), 101–129.

[67] Robert Stawicki, *Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczypospolitej – zarys prawno–historyczny* (Warszawa: Kancelaria Senatu, 2015), 9–14. In practice, in the majority of voivodeships, including Lublin, local self–government has not been established.

[68] More about the position of county chiefs in relation to municipal and county governments. Janusz Mierzwa, *Starostowie Polski Międzywojennej. Portret zbiorowy* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica," 2012), 217–342.

institutions.[69] In practice, municipal authorities carried out a number of costly tasks largely from sources of income independent of the state.[70]

Jewish residents in local governments of the Second Polish Republic

In studies on local government in the Second Polish Republic, particular attention was paid to city councils as places where the democratic postulate of intergroup dialogue in shaping local policies was implemented, and where representatives of different groups had the opportunity to articulate their needs. It was noted that local government served municipal interests, resolved current issues, and undertook initiatives for the benefit of all residents, regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliation.[71] The method of selecting councillors through proportional elections, with a significant percentage of "national minorities," including Jewish citizens, gave groups other than ethnic Poles an influence that they did not have in the national parliament. In the 1930s, in the face of changes in the national electoral system and the boycott of elections by opposition parties, local government, although subject to restrictions and strict supervision, remained the only forum for the articulation of political interests for many social and political groups, including those representing national minorities.[72]

The activities of Jewish councillors and board members went beyond the narrowly understood concern for Jewish interests, which was reflected, for example, in their work in municipal committees, where interethnic and interreligious cooperation served to resolve specific issues. This cooperation also resulted from the non-heterogeneous nature of ethno-religious groups. Selected studies show that when forming electoral blocs and occupying positions in city councils, ethnic affiliation could be secondary to class interests or the defence of democratic self-government.[73] Tarnów presents perhaps the most spectacular example of interethnic and

[69] Dekret o samorządzie miejskim z dnia 4 lutego 1919 r., Dz.Pr.P.P. 1919.
[70] This includes, among other things, municipal tax revenues and income from municipal property and enterprises (e.g., slaughterhouses, market halls, and cinemas). The municipal authorities conducted their own financial policy, but the annual budget had to be approved by the supervisory authority.
[71] Hanna Kozińska-Witt, Marcos Silber, "Introduction," in *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 10 (2011): *Jewish Participation in Municipal Self–Administrations in East–Central Europe* (special issue), 119; Alina Cała, *Żyd – wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła*, (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Wydawnictwo Nisza, 2012), 343. Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*. *Życie i śmierć polsko–żydowskiego miasta. Tarnów 1918–1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austera, 2023), 93. Hanna Kozińska–Witt, "Jews in Cracovian municipal council in the Polish Second Republic (1918–1939). Some general remarks," *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia*, 14 (2016), 145–146. Hanna Kozińska-Witt, "Przerwane tradycje? Żydzi w wielkomiejskich samorządach Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Kraków, Poznań i Warszawa," *Teksty Drugie*, 5 (2013), 127–140.
[72] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 94.
[73] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 115–153, 205–208. Ryszard Szwed, *Samorządowa Rzeczpospolita 1918–1939* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, 2000), 125–127.

interreligious cooperation: within bourgeois blocs and between the socialist parties Bund and PPS, as well as within the pro-government bloc in the 1930s.

Agnieszka Wierzcholska pointed out that the politicisation of ethnicity in the municipal government of Tarnów did not occur until the second half of the 1930s, along with a wave of anti-Semitism. Ethnic divisions had not played a major role before, and this was not changed by the shift to a less democratic electoral system in 1933. The emergence of the pro-government bloc after the 1926 *coup d'État* and the centralisation of local politics further served to weaken ethnic divisions.[74] Marcin Urynowicz, who studied the presence of Jews in the local government of Kozienice, a town in central interwar Poland, presents a completely different perspective.[75] Despite a number of matters being resolved through cooperation between all councillors, ethnicity was the main dividing line throughout the interwar period, both in the formation of electoral blocs and in the appointment of municipal committees. In Kozienice, "municipal issues," such as city taxes and commercial practices, were also a source of dispute between Jewish and Christian councillors.[76]

The differences between the functioning of local government in various towns and cities resulted from numerous factors, including size and social structure of the place, and political traditions. Regional differences were also significant. Local governments in the Eastern Borderlands, where interethnic tensions also involved the Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and local populations ("tutejsi") and the pressure to become Polish was greater than in other parts of the country, were an arena for negotiations between different ethnic groups, periodically serving to ease tensions.[77] There were also clear differences between the former partitions, which resulted from historical experiences and legal framework. In Galicia, unlike in the Kingdom of Poland, elected local authorities with Jewish participation had a long tradition, which was part of the program of autonomy and citizenship for the inhabitants of the empire, and Jewish residents had even held the offices of mayors there.[78] The continuity of municipal government in the former Austrian partition was not based solely on tradition. While awaiting nationwide local government reform, the same municipal councils were maintained, selected on the basis of

[74] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 92–210.
[75] Marcin Urynowicz, *Żydzi w samorządzie miasta Kozienice w okresie międzywojennym 1919–1939* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2003).
[76] Urynowicz, *Żydzi w samorządzie*, 107–128.
[77] Wacław Wierzbieniec, "Lwów, Przemyśl, and Rzeszów: Jewish Representation in Municipal Self–Governments," in *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 10 (2011): *Jewish Participation in Municipal Self–Administrations in East–Central Europe* (special issue), 255–272.
[78] Wierzbieniec, "Lwów, Przemyśl, and Rzeszów," 255–256. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 96–97, 99–101. Hanna Kozińska–Witt, "Jews in Cracovian municipal," 146–147.

undemocratic electoral laws from the Austrian partition period, with individual councillors representing less prosperous residents co-opted.[79] Thus, in many cities of former Galicia, the old ruling elite remained in place for many years; in Kraków, the first elections were not held until 1931.[80]

In contrast, in the former Russian partition, the change was truly revolutionary. Until World War I, there was no elected local government in the municipalities; the only experience came from the brief period of occupation of these lands by the Central Powers during World War I. In Lubartów, the first elections were organised by the Austrian authorities based on an undemocratic electoral system that favoured the wealthier residents of the town. The electoral law for the former Kingdom of Poland land from the beginning was democratic in nature—all citizens of the Republic aged 21 and over, who had been residents of the municipality for six months, could vote in the municipal council elections, each vote had the same weight, and representation in the council was proportional.[81] This representation had great emancipatory potential for groups in difficult economic situations and with low social status who constituted the majority of the urban population. Was this really the case? Did constitutional principles and legal frameworks protect all groups from exclusion from participation in the process of establishing local authorities?

With regard to the position of Jews in local governments Jerzy Tomaszewski concluded: "The extent of Jewish representation in local government bodies depended primarily on the number of Jews in municipalities and counties, as well as on the various political arrangements."[82] According to recent findings, these "various political arrangements" may have been more important than previously thought. It was noted that the representation of Jews in some cities was lower than the population ratio would suggest, particularly with regard to appointments as mayors.[83] However, even those researchers who noticed the disproportion between the size of

[79] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 97. Kozińska-Witt, "Jews in Cracovian municipal," 147. Kozińska-Witt, "Broken Traditions? Jewish Presence on the City Councils of Kraków, Poznań, and Warsaw, 1919–1939," *Polin Studies in Polish Jewry*, 29 (2007), 184–187.
[80] Ibid., 208.
[81] Dekret o wyborach do Rad Miejskich na terenie b. Królestwa Kongresowego, Dz.U. 1918 r. nr 20, poz. 58.
[82] Tomaszewski, *Żydzi w II Rzeczypospolitej*, 39. Ryszard Szwed, one of the historians of local government in the Second Polish Republic, reiterates this point even more so: "The number of Jewish councillors in local governments depended primarily on the number of residents of Jewish origin living in the city." Ryszard Szwed, *Samorządowa Rzeczpospolita 1918–1939*, 123–124. Szwed's argument is based on calculating the ratio of the number of councillors in the Second Polish Republic to the number of Jews living in the country, which is a very weak basis for his conclusion.
[83] Urynowicz, *Żydzi w samorządzie*, 155. With regard to Galicia, Wacław Wierzbieniec noted that under the Second Polish Republic, Jews had a much weaker position in local government than they had had under the partitioning powers, even in areas where they constituted the majority of the population—which he attributed to

religious and ethnic groups and their representation in municipal authorities did not comprehensively address this issue. My goal is to take a close look at the local government election process in Lubartów, examine how power was distributed, and address all of the "various political arrangements" which Tomaszewski mentioned.

Given the fundamental role of local authorities in social relations in the towns of the Second Polish Republic, their influence on the lives of residents, and their role as a tool for articulating group interests, my work focuses on analysing the functioning of local government of Lubartów. I begin with the electoral processes, the manner and circumstances of the appointment of authorities, which resulted in the composition of the Council and Board of Lubartów (chapter 1). In the next step, I analyse the decisions and actions of the local authorities in Lubartów, descending to the level of everyday administrative practices (chapter 2). In this way, I shed light on the entire cycle of local government operation, with the citizens of Lubartów at the beginning and end of it.

I will highlight internal factors that may influence the electoral process, such as the attitude of the local government and local hierarchies, intergroup relations, and the electoral attitudes of residents. How do these factors intertwine with nationwide trends, changes in central government, transformations in the concept and shape of local government, and anti-Semitic sentiments? In particular, I will focus on ethnic and religious divisions and their role in the distribution of power, while also taking intra-group divisions into account. The question of Jewish participation in local government is also a question of citizenship. On the one hand, it concerns the application of equal and fair participation rules in local government; on the other hand, it concerns a sense of belonging to an institutionalised town community. Could Jewish citizenship in Lubartów be exercised through participation in the electoral process and co-governance of the town—and was it indeed exercised?

Sources

The course of the election campaign, the public mood accompanying the elections, and above all, the election results were a concern for authorities at all levels. My research therefore covers the records of the town, the county, and, to a lesser extent, the Lublin voivodeship. These records provide an understanding of how the electoral process was planned and carried out. They also allow us to trace the dynamics of mutual relations between representatives of

economic competition and the pressure to assimilate. In works devoted to the Austrian partition, the appointment of ethnic Poles as mayors is most often explained by the traditional division of functions in local government.

authority at various levels. Public administration was involved in various ways, which included influencing the course and outcome of the electoral process. Much of the information exchanged between officials came from police reports. This mainly concerns reports sent by county chiefs in Lubartów to the voivode (district governor) in Lublin. All these records help gain better understanding of the logics of group divisions in Lubartów, which were fundamental in the formation of electoral blocs and building public support. Resident registers and lists of members of political, social, and professional organisations are also helpful in deciphering the complex political and social mosaic of interwar Lubartów. Most of the materials I mobilised were produced or collected by administrative authorities and the police, and as such they represent the public officials' and policemen's perspective in particular. The way these officials perceive and describe social and political reality of Lubartów, and how they imagined it, constitutes an additional dimension of my analysis. Additionally, I mobilised a group of leaflets from the 1927 campaign, that provide an insight of programs and electoral strategies of competing list.

PART 1. THE TIME OF TRANSITION. ESTABLISHING EXCLUSION IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF LUBARTÓW

The fight for a (dis)approval of the elections results. Lubartów Jews without representatives in the local government

The first democratic elections to the Lubartów Town Council in the Second Republic were cancelled on 18 February 1919, in response to protests raised by representatives of Lubartów Jews.[84] Edward Nazarewicz, Deputy People's Commissar (*komisarz ludowy*) in Lubartów,[85] who signed the decision, acted on the basis of a complaint submitted by the Jewish Electoral Committee (Żydowski Komitet Wyborczy), headed by Józef Federbusz, cheder teacher in Lubartów and since the early 1920s the only Jewish teacher in public schools in Lubartów,[86] Henoch Frydlender, a fabric merchant from 12 Rynek I street and the head of the Jewish *Kehilla* in the 1930s,[87] and Szaja Finkielsztajn. All three appeared at the Commissariat's office on 6 February to ask for a decision on the election protest they had made five days earlier to the

[84] Ruling on the invalidation of elections to the Municipal Council of Lubartów, 18 February 1919. APL, AML, 72. Pages in the file not numbered.
[85] People's Commissariat corresponds to the later County Office. Janusz Mierzwa, "Politycy czy urzędnicy? Rzecz o starostach Lubelszczyzny lat 1918–1920," *Pamięć i sprawiedliwość*, 2 (2021), 239–251.
[86] Chronicle of the second public school in Lubartów, 1925–1940s, 198–199. Lubartów Regional Museum.
[87] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 6 March 1934. APL, AML, 106, 241.

Main Election Commission (Główny Komitet Wyborczy).[88] Although the content of the protest remains unknown, due to the extensive records on the organisation of the elections, the matter to which the Jewish Election Committee objected is clear.

The outcome of the 1919 elections to the Town Council in Lubartów was *de facto* determined eight days before the voting date, when on 14 January 1919 the Main Electoral Committee closed the electoral roll. Only 748 people were registered themselves for the voting, *i.e*. about 1/7 of the Lubartów population at that time and about 1/4 of all eligible to vote.[89] The list included Christians alone, with the exception of three families: the Finkelsztajns, the Garfinkiels and the Hajnsdorfs residing on the Market Square, a total of 11 people, out of more than 3,000 Jews constituting more than half of the town's inhabitants.[90] The Jewish Electoral Committee, established on 5 January 1919, blamed this situation on the way in which the elections were organised and the poor distribution of information to public, as well as the unrealistic requirements placed for voters registration. Jewish committee raised its objections in a letter to the Main Electoral Committee responsible for organising elections in Lubartów.[91] The Main Electoral Committee on 31 December 1918 published an announcement on 50 posters placed around the town,[92] in which it informed the inhabitants in Polish of its establishment and of the hours and place of its office. In the announcement, however, as the board members of the Jewish Electoral Committee noted, the Main Electoral Committee "did not mention that: 1) eligible citizens should sign up for the electoral lists; 2) the deadline for signing up; 3) the need for voters to identify themselves".[93]

> "The Jewish Electoral Committee, due to the fact that the Main Committee has only one office which, in addition, is open only 4 hours daily, considers the eight-day period from the 1st to the 9th of this month to be absolutely insufficient to enrol all the local eligible citizens (about 6,000), especially when the latter have to present an identity card, which a

[88] Letter of the People's Commissioner on the complaint of the Jewish representatives, 6 February 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[89] Electoral roll, 14 January 1919. APL, AML, 72. Documentation from 1927 states that there were 3278 eligible voters in January of 1919. Current political composition of the representation of local government enacting bodies in the Lublin Province, 27 January 1927. UWL-WSP, 1650, 130–131.
[90] The closest figures are from 1921, when the state census was made: 3269 declared Jewish faith while 2833 identified themselves as Christians, including 2825 Roman Catholics. *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej opracowany na podstawie wyników pierwszego powszechnego spisu ludności z dnia 30 września 1921 r. i innych źródeł urzędowych. T. 4, Województwo Lubelskie* (Warszawa, 1925), 53.
[91] Appointment of the Principal Electoral Committee, 5 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[92] The posters were printed in the printing house of Srul Rajchnudel, who also supplied the Main Committee with paper and pencils. Receipts issued by Srul Rajchnudel, 31 December 1918. APL, AML, 72. Rajchnudel himself was among the founders of the Jewish Election Committee. Letter of the Jewish Electoral Committee on registration, 5 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[93] Memorial of the Jewish Electoral Committee, 8 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.

> considerable part of the voters do not have at all, and which often takes as long as the above-mentioned period for enrolling in the voters' lists.
>
> Thus, by failing to inform citizens of the formalities required to obtain the right to vote, the Main Electoral Committee has made it difficult for citizens to participate in elections at all, and the Jewish population, which has not yet been entered on the voters' lists, is completely deprived of the right to vote."[94]

In the conclusion of the memorandum, the Jewish Electoral Committee "as a representative of the entire local Jewish population, 60% of the total number of local residents", protests against the Main Electoral Committee that ignored the Jewish population by not appointing any Jewish representatives to the committee or to the Appeals Committee (*Komitet Reklamacyjny*). Using its mandate, the Jewish Committee demanded, among other things, "that the deadline for signing up for the electoral lists be adjusted by the Main Electoral Committee" and "that the Jewish Electoral Committee have the right to process the appeals of Jewish voters, because only in this way will the Jewish population have the opportunity to take part in the elections to be held."[95] In response from the 10 January, the Main Electoral Committee stressed the fact that all its actions comply with the electoral regulations, the legality of the appointment of committee members, and that voters can only register with the Main Electoral Committee.[96]

10 January was the last day for voters' registration.[97] Four days later, the Main Committee accepted the only submitted list of councillor candidates consisting of Christians alone, which was publicly announced.[98] The Jews, who had no chance of being elected and felt that they voting right were violated, did not submit their list. On 16 January, two days before the scheduled elections, the Ministry of the Interior ordered the "postponement of the vote for further consideration"[99] without giving any reason. As a result, the Main Committee withheld the results of the election until 23 January, when the Interior Ministry ordered the announcement of the appointment of the new council, which was made up of candidates from the only registered list.

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[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid*. During the complaint period following the announcement of the lists, citizens of the city could add to the list.
[96] Minutes of the meeting of the Main Electoral Committee, 10 January 1919. APL, AML, 72. The content of the letter is known only from its copy in the minutes; the letter addressed to the Jewish Electoral Committee has not survived.
[97] *Ibid*.
[98] Minutes of the meeting of the Main Electoral Committee, 14 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[99] Minutes of the meeting of the Main Electoral Committee, 17 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.

Despite the complaints of the representatives of the Jewish Electoral Committee and the decision of 18 February by the Commissariat to invalidate the elections, the Ministry of the Interior continued to stand by the legality of the electoral process. This was confirmed, in April 1919, by a letter from the deputy minister, a member of the Socialist Party (PPS), Józef Beck.[100] The deputy minister, at the request of Jan Raczyński representing the Christian candidates, overturned the decision to cancel the election, pointing out that the entire process had been carried out in accordance with the law. Referring to the articles of the electoral regulations, he argued, the Main Electoral Committee had not unjustifiably denied anyone the right to be on the voters' list; that the only submitted list of candidates was valid; and that the Electoral Committee was not obliged to publicly announce the rules for compiling the voters' lists and for the rules submitting lists of candidates.

The deputy minister's arguments could not be overturned easily; the elections were conducted in accordance with the decree and the electoral regulations in force.[101] This by no means takes away the legitimacy of the objections of the Jewish Electoral Committee, upheld by the People's Commissar, relating to unequal conditions for participation in the elections, discriminating against Jews. What was the reason for this discrimination? To what extent was the entire situation due to the peculiarity of the moment in which the elections were to be held, the transition from the occupation administration to the administrative order of the newly formed Polish state, and the chaos caused by the vagueness of certain procedures? Was this particular moment intentionally exploited by local election organisers to restrict certain groups' access to vote?

Administrative chaos as an instrument of power and exclusion

The 1919 municipal elections occurred during a particularly difficult period in relations between Jewish and Christian inhabitants. Although the situation in the territories of the former Kingdom of Poland was not as violent as in Galicia, there were assaults on Jews, accusations of Bolshevik sympathies thrown against Jews, as well as accusations of their collaboration with the retreating occupation authorities.[102] The starost (county chief) of the Lubartów district, whose function was equivalent to the former People's Commissar, Karol Zalewski, reported

[100] Letter from the Deputy Minister of the Interior Ministry to the District Government Commissioner, 23 April 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[101] Dekret o wyborach do Rad Miejskich na terenie b. Królestwa Kongresowego. Dz.U. 1918 r. nr 20, poz. 58.
[102] Konrad Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2005), 347–413.

several pogroms attempts in the Lubartów region in 1919, all but one nipped in the bud.[103] "Lubliner Tugblat", the largest Yiddish newspaper in the region, reported on attacks on Jews in Lubartów. On 14 May and 18 May recruit-peasants from Serniki near Lubartów tried to organise a pogrom in town, stopped by the army and the police.[104] The tense situation escalated with the pauperisation of the population and difficulties in provisioning, which also led to accusations against Jews engaged in trade.[105] Economic competition formed yet another front side. The starost reported that grocery associations (*stowarzyszenia spożywcze*) were conducting an effective battle against Jewish shops in the district.[106] In Lubartów itself, the "Jedność" Grocery Association (Stowarzyszenie Spożywcze "Jedność") had been operating since 1916, established with the intention of competing against Jewish trade.[107] In Lubartów as in the whole Lublin region, all these factors increased the isolation of Jews and Christians, and the growth of distrust and mutual dislike was evidenced by the already mentioned local government elections of late 1918, in which ethno-nationalist tendencies prevailed.[108]

Social unrest certainly influenced the electoral process at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919. Formal possibilities for excluding Jews from the electoral process were provided by the administrative chaos of the transitional period in Lubartów. The decision to organise elections for the Town Council was made at the end of December 1918, less than two months after the disarmament of the Austrian occupation troops of Lubartów,[109] when the new local administration was being formed.[110] The confusion over the elections was strengthened by the fact that in the same month, *i.e*. December of 1918, "by virtue of the legal rights and powers granted by the Provisional People's Government of the Polish Republic, in accordance with the will manifested by the citizens of the town of Lubartów" the People's Commissioner, Stanisław Krzewski, on the 2 December announced the names of 21 newly elected town councillors, all Christians.[111] Thus, the Town Council appointed in January of 1919 were not the first after Poland's declaration of independence. The former one, however, had been elected according to

[103] "In one case (Michów) 11 shops were looted before the arrival of a more substantial police force." Annual report of the county starost, March 1919–April 1920. APL, UWL-WSP, 1836, 11.
[104] During the first attack windows in several Jewish houses were broken. "Farhit far a pogrom in Lubartów" ("Security against a pogrom in Lubartów") in: Lubliner Tugblat of 25 May 1919 (Sunday), n°118, 3.
[105] Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie,* 347–413.
[106] Annual report of the county starost, March 1919 – April 1920. APL, UWL-WSP, 1836, 37.
[107] Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie*, 393.
[108] Ibid..
[109] Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.), *Lubartów w dziejach. Od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd Miasta Lubartów, 2018), 396. Stanisław Wiśniewski, "Lubartów i okolice w 1918", *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 14 (2000), 52.
[110] Janusz Mierzwa, *Politycy czy urzędnicy? Rzecz o starostach Lubelszczyzny lat 1918–1920*, 239–251.
[111] Ordinance on the establishment of a new government of the town of Lubartów, 2 December 1918. APL, AML, 71, 98.

Austrian electoral rules, which means that the elections were unequal, as voters were grouped into curiae according to their form of employment, property status, or education, which was disadvantageous for Jews.[112] Due to the electoral law applied, this council was to have a limited term: "the newly appointed municipal council will hold office until the government establishes a new electoral law based on broad democratic principles and elections are held on the basis of this law."[113]

The course of the 1918 vote itself remains a mystery; no lists of candidates or reports from the elections period have survived, even the date remains unknown. It is therefore unclear why no Jews were elected to the new council, even though they represented the majority of the town's population and were included in the electoral lists of all the curiae.[114] The electoral process was stretched from May to December of 1918 and was marked by the administrative changes of the period. At the beginning the Austrian Imperial-Royal District Command in Lubartów was in charge, but later, it was the Polish District Department. This also brought about personal changes in the position of the election commissioner, with Włodzimierz Olszewski being appointed as the third and final commissioner, and priest Józef Wisłocki, one of the candidates, as his deputy.[115] The voting itself must have taken place after the Polish Military Organisation (POW) had taken full control of the town in early November of 1918, and after the newly-established Polish Regency Council (Rada Regencyjna) had taken over the Austro-Hungarian occupation zone, including Lubartów, on 3 November that year.[116] Thus, it can be concluded that the elections took place by force of momentum, the procedure that had begun many months earlier being brought to a conclusion on the 2 December with the announcement of the list of newly nominated councillors.

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[112] "Dziennik Rozporządzeń c. i k. Zarządu Wojskowego w Polsce" 1918, Part V. Ordinance of the 5th of March 1918 relating to the electoral law for the 33 cities. APL, AML, 71, 5–14. The curial system was disadvantageous for Jewish voters, who were mostly clustered in one group comprising those engaged in trade and commerce. Electoral roll for the Municipal Council, 28 May 1918. APL, AML, 71, 28–84. Konrad Zieliński states that under the Austrian occupation, the requirement to speak and write in Polish was maintained in the 1918 election, as in earlier municipal elections of 1916. However, this is not confirmed in the electoral regulations. Konrad Zieliński, *Stosunki polso–żydowskie*, 381.

[113] Ordinance on the establishment of a new government of the town of Lubartów, 2 December 1918. APL, AML, 71, 97.

[114] In some towns of the former Kingdom of Poland, voting did not take place at all. In Włoszczowa and Opoczno there was an agreement between Jewish and Christian candidates, which was certainly not the case in Lubartów. In most cases in the Lublin region, however, the elections were accompanied by inter–group tensions, and among Christians as well as Jews, candidates with ethno–national agenda achieved great success. Kondrad Zieliński, when discussing the course of the 1918 municipal elections in the territories of the former Kingdom of Poland, does not mention any case similar to Lubartów, where Jews did not participate in the elections. Zieliński, 381–383.

[115] Letter from the voivodeship office to the magistrate of Lubartów, 2 November 1918.

[116] Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.), *Lubartów w dziejach*, 396.

The 1918 voters' lists were drawn up by the magistrate. At the request of individuals and electoral committees, the Appeals Committee, which included representatives of the Jewish Electoral Committee, could add additional persons to the voters' lists or cross out the names of those on it.[117] All residents included on the lists were issued with identity cards entitling them to participate in the elections.[118] The process of preparing for the 1918 municipal elections thus differed significantly from that of January 1919, a fact of which the Jewish representatives were apparently unaware. As before, they set up a committee and also demanded that their representatives be included in the Appeals Committee, following the procedure of a few months earlier. However, the Jewish Electoral Committee as well as the Appeals Committee were not grounded in the new electoral regulations. What is more, the obligation for voters to register themselves based on documents certifying their age and identity was a reversal of the procedure in force on the occasion of previous elections, when it was the magistrate who had prepared the voters' lists.

According to a memorandum from the Jewish Electoral Committee, Lubartów Jews did not know how the voters registration process was organised until the 6 January, when representatives of the Committee visited the office of the Main Electoral Committee, *i.e*. a few days before the closing of the voters' lists. The difficulties in getting involved in the electoral process was also due to its brevity: the voting was supposed to take place in 23 days after it had been decided upon. In practice, information about the start of the electoral procedure did not reach the public until 18 days before the scheduled voting. The information, as already mentioned, did not explain the course of the electoral process and did not inform about the dates of its stages,[119] which was also in contrast to the procedure of a few months prior, when the notices informed about the entire registration process up to the delivery of voter identity card.[120]

The position of the Jewish residents in the election procedure in Lubartów was additionally weakened by their complete political marginalisation. Jews were not represented in the outgoing town council, they did not work in the magistrate's office,[121] nor were they included in the nominations of the members of the Main Election Committee—they therefore had no

[117] Ordinance of the 5th of March 1918 relating to the electoral law for the 33 cities, paragraph 8. APL, AML, 71, 5–14.
[118] Summons from the magistrate's office of the town of Lubartów to collect voter ID cards, 9 October 1918. APL, AML, 71, 95.
[119] The demanding election procedure may have been the reason why the number of voters on the lists was also low among Christians.
[120] Notice on the display of voters' lists, 19 August 1918. APL, AML, 71, 85.
[121] Request from the Magistrate's officials and watchmen for a raise, 11 February 1919. APL, AML, 72.

insight into the organisation of the elections. The judge of the local court in Lubartów, Antoni Suchodolski, was appointed as chairman of the Main Election Committee, in accordance with the election regulations, and he in turn completed the rest of the committee on his own.[122] Among the 4 members of the committee, there was Julian Stępiński, numbered 6th on the Christian candidates list,[123] Tadeusz Miduch, the husband of Stanisława, number one on the same list,[124] and Władysław Biedrzycki, brother of Zofia, "9" on the list.[125] The participation of Jews in the elections, much less their victory, was therefore not in the personal interest of the members of the Main Election Committee. Although the expectations of the Jewish Election Committee, basically aimed at stopping the election process and modifying its rules, were beyond the competence of the Main Committee, the attitude of the Committee members indicates a lack of will to make the elections more equal for all citizens of the town.

Doubts about the non-partisanship of the members of the Main Committee are raised not only by the content of the correspondence with the Jewish Electoral Committee, but also by the delayed replies to the inquiries in a very tight election schedule. Indeed, the reply to the first letter of 5 January was not sent until 9 January, the day after another letter from the Jewish Electoral Committee raising its objections about electoral discrimination had been sent.[126] The attitude of the Main Committee raises additional suspicions due to the corrections in the dates of receipt of the first letter from the Jewish Committee dated 5 January 1918. Both on the letter itself and in the minutes of the Main Election Committee meetings, the date was initially recorded as 7 January, two days after the letter was written, and later changed to 8 January.[127] It is possible that the manipulations were done in a period when the validity of the election was being controlled, and that by changing the dates the Main Election Committee wanted to cover its delay in responding to the letter from the Jewish Committee.[128]

The manipulations of dates or the delay in responding to the Jewish Committee had very little impact on the electoral process. However, they add to the more general picture of alienation of the Jewish residents in Lubartów, the disregard for their basic rights, exclusion from organising elections, the denial to inform and the unwillingness to cooperate with Jewish representatives.

[122] Election Regulations for Municipal Councils, 18 December 1918, Art.2 and Art.4.
[123] List of candidates for councillors and deputies to the Town Council, 14 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[124] Register of permanent residents, late 19 century–1932. APL, AML, 22, 64–65.
[125] Register of permanent residents, late 19 century–1932. APL, AML, 12, 5–6 and 132–133.
[126] Memorial of the Jewish Electoral Committee, 8 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[127] Letter of the Jewish Electoral Committee, 5 January 1919. APL, AML, 72. Minutes of the meeting of the Main Electoral Committee, 9 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.
[128] Minutes of the meeting of the Main Electoral Committee, 10 January 1919. APL, AML, 72.

The exclusion of Jews from participating in the electoral process was facilitated by external circumstances, primarily the unclear electoral regulation, which imposed high requirements on those wishing to vote, with limited time to meet these requirements. Polish as the only language of communication with citizens on the matters of election added another dimension of exclusion. To sum it up, the access for Jewish residents to local government institutions in Lubartów was unequal and limited from the very beginning.

Jewish representatives did not remain passive in the face of the injustice they encountered. They opposed the integrated Christian elite of the town, who had taken over the organisation of the electoral process and actively restricted the right of Jewish residents to participate in voting. Despite the support for their protest on the part of the authorities directly supervising the elections, they failed to invalidate the elections. Importantly, the intervention of the central authorities was needed to approve the election results and local electoral committee strongly pursued this.[129] In consequence, the local government managed to maintain model of operation that excluded Jewish representatives. Given the demographics of 1919, allowing Jewish residents to vote in accordance with their constitutional rights could have completely overturned the balance of power in the town. The fear of allowing Jewish representatives into the municipal government and the struggle to maintain the Christian majority in Lubartów remained a common concern for authorities at all levels in the years that followed.

PART 2. SECURING THE CHRISTIAN MAJORITY IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BETWEEN 1919 AND 1927

Preventing Jewish residents of Lubartów from participating in elections secured the government in the town in the hands of the Christian elite. At the same time, it did not remove the essential factors that created a sense of threat, primarily the demographic advantage of Jewish residents and their will to participate in elections and municipal authorities. The analysis of the subsequent years of the municipal government, particularly the mayor, as a period in which efforts were made to prevent the loss of the Polish majority in the municipal government. The governing authorities had all the cards in their hands, as the exclusion of Jews at the local level coincided with that at the provincial and national levels. Public officials at various levels used

[129] The records shows that the Main Electoral Committee preferred to deal with the District Court in Lublin rather than with the People's Commissar office that supervised the legality of the elections. Correspondence between the People's Commissar and the Main Electoral Committee, 6–7 February 1919. APL, AML, 72.

various tools of power at their disposal to prevent the loss of power to representatives of the Jewish residents of Lubartów.

Stretching the term of government to the limit

The Municipal Council of 1919 was elected for a three-year term until 1922. However, under the law of 30 March 1922, the term of office could have been extended by administrative decision until a new electoral law was established.[130] In Lubartów it lasted until 1927. As a result, for eight years the Jewish residents of Lubartów, the majority of the town's population, had no influence on the municipal governance "which concern[ed] the material welfare, spiritual development, and health of the inhabitants" and included administration of the town and its resources.[131]

The extension of the term of office in many towns of the former Congress Kingdom led to the shrinking of the council to such an extent that it required administrative action, as was the case in Lubartów. [132] On 26 November 1926, Mayor Władysław Śliwa announced at a meeting of the Town Council that, as the Council had been depleted by more than 10% of its members, he would have to order a by-election on the basis of the candidates list from the previous elections. This was not possible as the list was already completely exhausted. Therefore, new candidates had to be submitted. The mayor gave the councillors another option: "If the town council considers it more advisable to dissolve the council altogether, a decision should be taken today, and the authorities should be asked to hold new council elections."[133]

In accordance with the mayor's recommendation, the Town Council considered,

> "that the complete dissolution and resignation of the present Town Council is not advisable until a new electoral law for town councils is provided by the legislative bodies, that it would be more reasonable and in accordance with the needs of the town economy and the wishes of the local population to hold supplementary elections by acquiring 7 councillors and 12 deputies".[134]

[130] Act of 30 March 1922 on the extension of the term of office of self-government bodies on the territory of the former Russian partition, Journal of Laws 1922 no. 28 item 225.
[131] Decree on municipal self-government, 2 February 1919, Dz.Pr.P.P. 1919.
[132] In some cases, the commissar board was appointed by the supreme authorities. Izdebski, "Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczpospolitej," in Andrzej Piekara and Zygmunt Niewiadomski (eds.), *Samorząd terytorialny. Zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1998), 76–77.
[133] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 26 November 1926. APL, AML, 105, 32–33.
[134] *Ibid*.

The Council therefore recommended that a new election be held from among new candidates; on the 3 December of 1926 mayor Śliwa requested the starost to announce a supplementary election.[135] Councillors argued that it would be better to wait with the dissolution of the governing Town Council until a new electoral law for Municipal Councils was established. The resolution of the council did not meet with the approval of the supervisory authorities, so the council was forced to dissolve at a meeting on 18 March 1927. The last resolution of the outgoing council referred to the planned elections:

> "With regard to the welfare of the town and society, and with reference to Article 66 of the Decree of the Head of State of 4 February 1919 on Municipal Self-Government, [the Council] unanimously resolves: 1) Knowing that a large number of Christian citizens of the town of Lubartów will be leaving in April for masonry work in the remotest parts of the Republic, urges the responsible authorities to order new elections for the town council no later than 20-24 April, as setting the election date at a later time will cause irreparable damage to society."[136]

The struggle to maintain Christian unity

"Irreparable harm to the public" would have resulted from fewer Christians participating in the elections. This posed the threat of loss of power for the Christian majority in the Town Council. Preventing such scenario was the common concern of the county chef and the mayor, as well as many prominent Christians in Lubartów in 1927. Not only high participation, but also an agreement across the social and political spectrum was needed to maintain power in the hands of Christians under the existing proportional representation system:

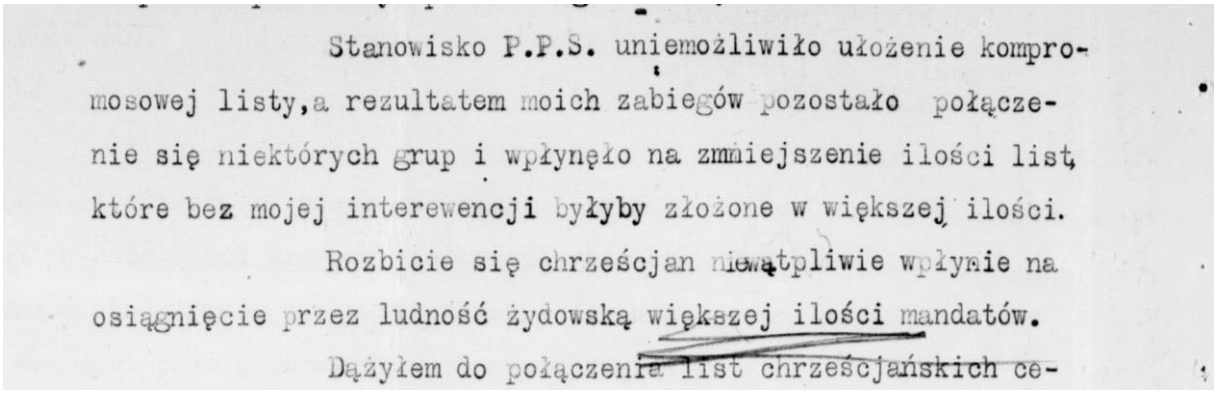
> "The Christian population, fearing that the Council would be taken over by Jews, showed an inclination to form a common list, which was also adopted at one of the pre-election meetings. The actual mistake was that the compilation of a single list occurred too early and, as a result, ambitious individuals dissatisfied with their omission had enough time to subject the list to comprehensive criticism and to exploit any tactical confusion to break up the compromise list".[137]

The starosta of Lubartów himself took an active part in saving unity among Christians:

> "I would like to mention that on my return from Lublin, having found a split among the Christians, I made efforts to reconcile individual groups, to create a compromise list (...)

[135] Mayor letter to the starost, 3 December 1926. APL, AML, 73.
[136] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 18 March 1927. APL, AML, 105, 39.
[137] County Chief report, 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 32.

> The position of the P.P.S. [Polish Socialist Party] made it impossible to arrange a compromise list, and the result of my efforts remained the unification of some groups and affected the reduction of the number of lists which would have been submitted in greater numbers without my intervention. The breaking up of the Christians will undoubtedly influence the Jewish people to achieve more seats [last three words repeatedly underlined; Photograph 1]."[138]



Stanowisko P.P.S. uniemożliwiło ułożenie kompro-
mosowej listy,a rezultatem moich zabiegów pozostało połącze-
nie się niektórych grup i wpłynęło na zmniejszenie ilości list,
które bez mojej interewencji byłyby złożone w większej ilości.
Rozbicie się chrześcjan niewątpliwie wpłynie na
osiągnięcie przez ludność żydowską większej ilości mandatów.
Dążyłem do połączenia list chrześcjańskich ce-

Photograph 1. Report of the starost of Lubartów to the governor of Lublin, 19 April 1927. Underlining probably made in the governor's office. Source: APL, UWL-WSP, 16.

The report indicates that the starost tried to justify the situation and show that it occurred with no fault of his own, or even against his efforts. He was well aware of the attitude expected of him by the governor (*wojewoda*), and was trying to live up to these expectations. The issue of a Christian majority has become a common concern for local authorities at all levels.

Christian unity, also called Polish unity, or rather the danger of its breakdown and loss of control over local government institutions, also became a tool for mobilising the electorate and a weapon in the political struggle in Lubartów. The Polish Election Committee for the Repair of the Town Economy (Polski Komitet Wyborczy Naprawy Gospodarki Miasta), loyal to Marshal Piłsudski and in favour of his Sanacja camp's vision of politics free of factionalism, threw accusations from its election posters:

> "You all know very well how much work it took to create a single national list of candidates for the Town Council of our town, even a child understands that the breakdown of Polish unity—it is the loss of a few Christian seats, it is the handing over of the town government into foreign hands. But the parties did not want to understand this, they closed their eyes to the common good and a terrible and extremely harmful thing happened: **The parties broke up Polish unity in Lubartów!** [bold original]."[139]

[138] County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 15.
[139] Leaflet of the Polish Electoral Committee for the Repair of the Town Economy, 16 April 1927, National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim.

In another leaflet, in addition to accusations of "causing damage to the Polish society of the town of Lubartów to satisfy one's party ambition", there were allusions referring to the lack of accountability of the councillors of the previous term of office: "And is it possible to elect to the town council people who can leave the town at any time after all, then you are already giving all power into non-Polish hands".[140]

The anti-Semitic belief that Jews in power posed a threat was normalised in the election campaign by the pro-government camp in Lubartów. It was entirely consistent with the concerns of the county chief and the provincial governor. Administrative correspondence indicates that they both were unanimous in their diagnosis of the situation and the stakes of the election. The electoral situation in Lubartów could have slipped out of the hands of the guardians of Polish unity, so it was necessary to mobilise all available resources.

Zagrody Lubartowskie case. Space as an instrument of power

The fears of Christian elites about Jewish representatives in power, the creation of a sense of threat by stigmatising Jews and excluding them from the local community, insinuations about their alienation and un-Polishness were nothing new in Lubartów. They had been at the core of consideration about self-government since at least the early 1920s. In November 1922, Władyslaw Śliwa as mayor of Lubartów reported his concerns about the domination of Jews in the town to the starost, arguing the necessity of annexing the adjacent areas to the town:

> "In this case [of extending Lubartów's boundaries] the Town Council fully trusts the opinion of the district department, but must point out that the incorporation of Zagrody will give an advantage to the Christian Catholic population in self-governing matters, whereas at present the non-Christian population, as a result of the constant influx into towns, maintains a majority and may yield negative results in the development of the self-governing life of ~~Poland~~ town."[141]

The authorities of Lubartów had made efforts to enlarge the town a few months earlier, in April 1922.[142] At that time the discussed area was inhabited by 598 people, including 6 of the Jewish

[140] Leaflet of the Polish Electoral Committee for the Repair of the Town Economy, 22 April 1927, National Library, DŻS IA 6c5.
[141] Letter of the Mayor Śliwa and the Magistrate to the Starost office, 30 November 1922. APL, AML, 50, 35.
[142] Summoning a city council meeting, 9 April 1919. APL, AML, 72.

faith,[143] while in Lubartów there were 3209 Jewish and 3037 Roman Catholic inhabitants.[144] The quoted argument relating to religious composition was only used by the magistrate after the governor rejected the earlier argument of the Lubartów magistrate,[145] emphasising the links between the inhabitants and the area of Zagrody Lubartowskie and the town.[146] The same argument was used by the county assembly at the end of 1922:

> "It is also impossible to underestimate the circumstance that the inclusion of the village of Zagrody in the town will strengthen the Polish element, which will be of serious importance in the municipal economy of the town and in the interests of the state."[147]

And in July 1923 by the Lubartów Town Board:

> "With the incorporation of Zagrody Lubartowskie into the town, the Polish element in the town will be strengthened by the suburban element, which will be of serious importance in the town's self-governing economy and in the interests of the state, to which authoritative factors [superior authority] should pay close attention."[148]

In of the examples a characteristic mode of argumentation is used in which the issues of the population's composition are raised at the end of the letter, as if interjected, when in fact, they were of primary importance. In his letter of November 1924, Władysław Śliwa used the same

[143] List of areas of Łuck projected to be incorporated into the town of Lubartów, 6 April 1922. APL, AML, 50, 23. The list takes into account the number of inhabitants, so presumably those recorded in the permanent population registers. It also took into account the areas that were not eventually incorporated into Lubartów. The population of the eventually incorporated Zagrody Lubartowskie, Lubartów Pokościelny and Zagrody–Pałac was 407, including 6 people of the Jewish faith. According to the national census from the end of September 1921, 409 people residing in these areas including 17 people of the Mosaic faith. *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej opracowany na podstawie wyników pierwszego powszechnego spisu ludności z dnia 30 września 1921 r. i innych źródeł urzędowych. T. 4, Województwo Lubelskie* (Warszawa, 1925), 56–57.

[144] Letter of Mayor Śliwa to the County Department regarding the area and population of the town of Lubartów, 10 April 1922. APL, AML, 50, 24. These data do not correspond to the 1921 census data, according to which 2833 Christians, including 2825 Roman Catholics, and 3269 people of Mosaic faith, were present in Lubartów on 30 September 1921. *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej,* 53. The large difference between the two is probably due to the fact that a large part of Lubartów's population was absent at the time of the census due to seasonal work away. This is particularly true of the masons in Lubartów, who were exclusively Christian.

[145] Letter of the Governor of Lublin to the Starost of Lubartów rejecting of the extending of Lubartów territory, 15 July 1922. APL, AML, 50, 26.

[146] Minutes of the meeting of the County Department, 25 February 1921. APL, AML, 50, 9. The rejection of the initial application also made the magistrate's earlier arguments more concrete. It was emphasised, inter alia, that the Zagrody Lubartowskie lies in the immediate vicinity of Lubartów and provides an opportunity to solve the housing crisis in Lubartów, have an increasingly urban character in terms of development and because of the changing profile of the residents, including clerks, merchants and craftsmen, who use the services offered in the town, such as schools, shops and a cinema. The minutes of the meeting of the Town Board of Lubartów, 31 July 1923. APL, AML, 53, 2 and 4. Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 2 August 1922. APL, AML, 112, 112–116. Issue of clerks' and craftsmen's colony, 29 July 1922. APL, AML, 52, 25.

[147] Extract from the minutes of the County Department, 9 December 1922. APL, AML, 53, 4.

[148] Extract from the minutes of the Town Board meeting of 31 July 1923. APL, AML, 53, 2.

mode again, but this time the interjection dominates over the rest of the letter, and the anti-Jewish argumentation takes on new dimensions:

> "It should be mentioned that a quicker handling of this matter by the higher authority is desirable for a number of reasons, first and foremost it will be of prime importance to the town as it will strengthen the town with a purely Polish-Christian element (*żywioł czysto polsko-chrześcijański*), which will give an advantage in future town council elections to the national element (*narodowy żywioł*), for it will create in it a sense of compact strength, against the ~~foreign nationality~~ non-Christians ~~element~~, currently equal in number, and prematurely grouping together in cites and towns to create an advantage ~~in future~~ ~~self-government~~ in future new city councils."[149]

Mayor Śliwa directly linked the issue of the annexation of Zagrody to the elections and the threat of non-Christian populations gaining an advantage in the town council. In doing so, he reaches into the reservoir of Polish nationalism, from where he draws his rhetoric of a confrontation of national elements and using national-religious categories.[150] He attributes to "the Jews," understood as others, the agenda of taking over cities and towns. He thus makes the annexation of the Zagrody *de facto* an act of national-Christian self-defence against the Jewish threat.[151] In this perspective, the issue of the annexation of Zagrody goes beyond the locality: it is no longer about Lubartów, but the Polish-Christian self-government in general is now at stake, or in other words, the "state interest".

The last cited letter from Mayor Śliwa, dated November 1924, was intended to speed up the procedure for incorporating suburban areas into Lubartów. The governor had already informed the public about the planned extension of Lubartów's boundaries, to a slightly lesser extent than the magistrate had requested a year earlier.[152] Work progressed at a slow pace, perhaps further slowed down by an administrative decision to extend the term of office of the governing Lubartów Town Council. It was not until a few years later, on 15 February 1927, that the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the exclusion of the village of Zagrody Lubartowskie, Lubartów Pokościelny, and the former farmstead of Zagrody Lubartowskie from the rural municipality of Łuck and its incorporation into Lubartów as of 1 April 1927. The

[149] Letter from Władysław Śliwa to the Chairman of the District Department of 13 November 1924. APL, AML, 53, 5.
[150] Zygmunt Balicki, *Egoizm Narodowy Wobec Etyki: z dodatek Charaktery a Życie Polityczne* (Lwów: Towarzystwo wydawnicze we Lwowie, 1914). Roman Dmowski, Myśli nowoczesnego Polaka, Warszawa 1989.
[151] Joanna Beata Michlic*, Poland's Threatening Other;* Brian Porter*, When Nationalism Learn to Hate.* Grzegorz Krzywiec*, Polska bez Żydów.*
[152] Letter from the governor to the starost of Lubartów, 13 November 1923. APL, AML, 50, 44.

population growth took place 16 days before the local elections and on the last day for the magistrate to prepare the voters' lists for the Town Council.[153] 264 residents of the newly incorporated areas were on the lists. Their address of residence were defined as "Zagrody".[154] All of it indicates that the organisation of the elections and the incorporation of the suburban areas into Lubartów were precisely synchronised.

The register of the residents of Zagrody, submitted by the Łuck Municipal Council to the magistrate in Lubartów, shows that in 1927 there was only one non-Christian family living in Zagrody, the Zylbermints, who were not on the electoral roll. 199 votes of the Zagrody inhabitants were, thus, cast entirely or almost entirely for the Christian lists, which was of paramount importance given the final election result. The participation of the inhabitants of Zagrody was even more substantial for the results if one takes into account electoral system of proportional representation, which rewarded the lists with the highest number of votes, and the fact that the Christian votes were distributed among four lists, with two Jewish lists.[155]

Incorporating areas with Christian populations also took place in other cities and town in interwar Poland.[156] The most comprehensive studies concern the Volhynia region, where the process was organised from above as part of the Polish state's colonisation project and covered several cities. In this case, the process took place in the early 1930s and was intended to change the composition of local authorities, as Jews had already been sitting on city councils and boards. In Lubartów, the initiative was preventive in nature and came from below, with Mayor Śliwa, who was relentless in his efforts, playing the leading role. The state authorities accelerated their actions only in early 1927, when the municipal elections were approaching.

Registration and counting as an instrument of power

It is impossible to say whether the number of Lubartów residents eligible to vote corresponded to the numbers of Jews and Christians in the town. According to data compiled by the magistrate

[153] Within the period of 10 days from the announcement of the election by Mayor Wladysław Śliwa, at the request of the governor, 23 March 1927. APL, AML, 74, 5.
[154] List of voters to the Town Councils, 1 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 238–279.
[155] So called D'Hondt method or Jefferson method. Michel Balinski and H. P. Young. "The Jefferson Method of Apportionment." *Siam Review* 20 (1978), 278–284.
[156] Marcin Kącki, *Białystok. Biała siła, czarna pamięć* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2019), 56. Samuel Kassow, "The Shtetl in Interwar Poland," in Katz Steven T. (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 137. Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge*, 121–122. It could be argued that the conclusion about the dominant role of central authorities may largely result from Ciancia's research perspective and selection of sources.

in October 1925, *i.e*. a year and a half before the election, there were 6409 people living in Lubartów ("the number of inhabitants"), 3234 Jews, fewer than Christians, of whom there were 3227 Catholics, by one person.[157] This means that in almost two and a half years, starting from April 1922, the period preceding the territorial development of Lubartów, the number of Jews increased by only 25, comparing to 190 Catholics.[158]

In addition to the incorporation of areas adjacent to the town, an increase in the number of Christians in the 1920s may also be due to increase to employment at the glassworks. In June of 1922, 28 workers, mainly foremen from different areas of the country, were working in the newly founded glassworks, in February 1925—as many as 131, while in October 1926, almost six months before the elections, there were 176 workers.[159] The majority of the workers at the steelworks were Catholics from outside of Lubartów, often arriving with their families. However, not all of them registered for permanent residence in Lubartów, some can be found on the list of temporary residents of the town,[160] others commuted to work from nearby towns.[161] Only 30 steelworkers and 34 members of their families were on the voters' lists for the Town Council.

According to the Decree on Elections to Municipal Councils the town mayor was obliged to prepare a voters' lists.[162] The electoral regulations do not specify the basis on which the lists were to be compiled. In the case of Lubartów, and probably everywhere else, registers of permanent residents were used.[163] These kept the records of the changes in the population and contained all the information needed for voters' lists: first and last name, age, occupation and the street of residence of each person. Moreover, according to the existing legislation, the register of permanent residents was one of the bases for the recognition of Polish nationality.[164]

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[157] List of settlements comprising the municipality of Lubartów, 10 October 1925. APL, AML, 179.
[158] Report about Lubartów population and territory, 10 April 1922. APL, AML, 50, 24, see above. The lower increase of Jewish residents might be due to emigration of Jewish residents in early 1920.
[159] Report on the protest in glass factory, 7 June 1923. APL, UWL-WSP, 281, 2; Report on the protest, 6 February 1925. APL, UWL-WSP, 281, 9; Report on the protest, 18 October 1926. APL, UWL-WSP, 281, 20.
[160] When the election took place in 1927, 39 glass factory workers lived in Lubartów as non–permanent residents. APL, AML, 55.
[161] Adam Osikowski, „Lubartowska huta szkła we wspomnieniach jej robotników," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 5 (1964), 152.
[162] Dekret o wyborach do Rad Miejskich na terenie b. Królestwa Kongresowego. Dz.U. 1918 r. nr 20, poz. 58.
[163] Register of permanent residents, late 19 century–1932. APL, AML, 12–13, 22–33. The register, probably established at the end of the 19th century, was kept until 1932 when another one was started. See Franciszek Zakrzewski, "The Lubartów population register of 1932", The 1932 population register – Lubartworld. The population register of Zagrody Lubartowskie was handed over to the magistrate of Lubartów on 8 April, during a meeting at the Łuck municipality office. Later the register was incorporated into the residents register of Lubartów. Protocol from the meeting in the Łuck municipality, 8 April 1927. APL, AML, 50, 67. It means that the list of voters of Zagrody had to be prepared before the official annexation of the areas.
[164] Act of 20 January 1920 on citizenship of the Polish State, Journal of Laws 1920 no. 7 item 44, Art. 2.

However, it was not possible to verify the length of residence in the commune on resident-register basis, on which participation in the elections depended. In the case of the 264 residents of Zagrody Lubartowskie, who were added to the voters' list two weeks before the elections, the requirement of six months' residence in the commune did not apply, although the electoral legislation does clarify the mode of operation in the case of town expansion. In the realities of the changing state administration, and in the absence of clear rules on town citizenship, the mayor and his subordinate magistrate had considerable freedom in drawing up the voters' list, which could have affected the final results.

The two voters' list of April 1927 included a total of 3752 town residents with no religious distinction. On the 1st of April, the lists were sent to the two electoral commissions appointed to conduct the elections in Lubartów, where they were checked. Several corrections were made to the lists, including typing errors, incorrect street names, occupations and, finally, the removal from the list of Jan Dulakowski, who had been deprived of his citizen's rights for a crime he had committed.[165] Further verification of the lists could be carried out by adult citizens, to whom the lists were made publicly available.[166] They had the right to appeal, but only Szmul Hersz Libman, a Jewish merchant living at 278 Stolarna Street, made use of it.[167] His absence from the list can be explained by the fact that his date of birth, according to the population register, was 5 April 1906.[168] His 21st birthday, which gave him the right to vote, therefore fell between the creation of the voters' lists and the voting. He was registered on 7 April, two days after his 21st birthday.

The example of Libman provides additional evidence of an initiative of a Jewish town resident whose right to vote was restricted: this time the protest was individual and the motion approved, and a as a result Szmul did cast his vote. His case however makes one wonder about the scale of the inaccuracies in the electoral rolls, even more so if we examine how the list of voters was compiled. Taking only the Libman family as an example, it becomes apparent that there are

[165] Józef Dulanowski, a 29-year-old baker, was one of three citizens of the town who, despite fulfilling all three conditions, was deprived of the right to vote, along with Ignacy Przestępski, a 50-year-old labourer, and Stefan Ton, a 28–year–old labourer. All three were convicted and disenfranchised, Przestępski by 1989, the other two in the first half of the 1920s. Register of persons deprived of the right to vote, 1 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 122. In addition to those judicially deprived of their rights, the decree also banned the election of "persons maintaining saloons and public houses." Already in 1919, the provision on owners of saloons was removed; owners of brothels, however, continued to be deprived of their election rights. No such case was recorded in Lubartów in 1927.
[166] Signature of the notice and printing bills.
[167] Additions to the electoral roll, 7 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 349.
[168] Register of permanent residents, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 24, 6–7. In the register, two dates of birth are given: 23 March 1906 according to the Julian calendar, in force in the Russian Empire and 5 April 1906 commonly used in the Kingdom of Poland and in the Second Polish Republic. https://genealogicznie.pl/podwojne–datowanie–w–aktach–metrykalnych–jak–czytac/.

many more inaccuracies. Szmul Hersz's parents were made five years younger in the electoral roll than they were in the residents' register.[169] Szmul's father's name was changed from Mordko (Мордко) to Motel, and the source of income listed in the census as "income" (заработок) was changed to "trader" (handlarz). In the case of Hersz himself, "worker" (работник) was replaced by "merchant" (kupiec). Inaccuracies or errors, assuming that they are not the result of deliberate action, can be due to two reasons: inattention on the part of the clerk in the case of dates or names, and inconsistency between the categories used in the register and the census, but also the time gap between both sources, in case of profession. They may also indicate that the register was not the sole basis for the electoral roll. Nonetheless, even regardless of these issues of individual inaccuracies, it is important to ask to what extent the content of the register itself and the manner in which it was used may have served to restrict the right to vote and, consequently, the extent to which this may have influenced the electoral process and the outcome of the election.

Time as instrument of power

The schedule of the electoral process proved to be essential. The elections in Lubartów were held according to an individual calendar, and the date was the earliest of all the towns in the Lublin voivodeship.[170] Only four days after the dissolution of the municipal council in Lubartów, *i.e*. on 22 March 1927, the provincial governor (*wojewoda*) set the date for the beginning of the electoral process "for 24 March of this year, whereby public holidays shall not cause any delay in the beginning or end of the terms set forth in the regulations".[171] The schedule made it possible for the inhabitants of Zagrody to be included on the electoral roll on the closing date for registration. At the same time, the schedule had to take into account the seasonal work journeys of the masons. As stated in the Town Council's last resolution in March 1917, voting should be scheduled "no later than 20–24 April," as it was feared that the masons might leave the town and "a large number of Christian citizens of the town" would not take part in the elections.[172]

Of the 196 bricklayers (masons) on the electoral roll, 173 voted, more than 88% of those entitled to vote. The high turnout went hand in hand with the high number of masons on the candidates'

[169] Electoral roll, APL, AML, 74, 319. Register of permanent residents, late 19 century–1932. APL, AML, 24, 6–7. The same date appears in the 1932 register APL, AML, 46, 230–231.
[170] Elections to municipal councils in Lublin Province were held between May and September. APL, UWL-WSP, 1692.
[171] Resolution of the provincial governor w setting the date for elections to the municipal council in Lubartów, 22 March 1927. APL, AML, 74, 1.
[172] See above.

lists, with as many as 32 on the three Christian lists.[173] Since the 18th century, masonry has been a traditional profession in Lubartów, almost exclusively practised by Christians.[174] With a proportional representation electoral system in force, and the votes for Christian candidates split between the four lists, the outgoing council's fears that the Jews would gain a majority in the absence of masons were well founded.

The preparations for the 1927 elections were very different from those of 1919. Although the election process was still primarily the responsibility of the Christians, this time both election committees included a representative of the Lubartów Jews. The way in which the election committees communicated with the town's inhabitants improved. Information about the subsequent stages of the election was published on posters, but only in Polish. In addition, the voters' registration procedure was simplified compared to previous elections, and all registered lists were admitted to the elections. The elections were held on time, voters voted for individual lists, writing down the number of the list they supported in words or numbers, which made it easier for people with little or no knowledge of Polish to vote. According to the reports of the election commissions, there was only one case of a blank ballot being cast, while none of the four invalid votes were rejected due to the inability to read the writing.[175] No one raised any objections to the preparation of the elections or the voting itself. Thus, the available materials from the magistrate's office indicate that democratic elections were held in Lubartów on Sunday 24 April 1927, as established by the law in force.

Conclusion—the "Polish majority" doctrine

The electoral process in Lubartów can serve as an illustration of how the nationalising state works on local level.[176] The belief in the supremacy of a "core nation" that has an inherent right to the government were deeply rooted in the local government institutions and officials who mobilised the resources available to implement these measures since the very beginnings of the Polish state. Securing Christian local authorities could be achieved through administrative decisions and efficient coordination of authorities at all levels. The optics of the local, municipal, and district authorities on the issue of ethno-religious or ethno-national composition of Lubartów is close to the doctrine of the "Polish majority," on which the nationalists based

[173] List of candidates for Municipal Councillors, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 17–20.
[174] Józef Lulek and Karol Staruch, "Z życia cechów rzemieślniczych," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 5 (1964), 138–139. The authors point out that wives also travelled with the masons, as cooks. The 1930s register of residents included 282 people, of whom 280 were classified as Roman Catholics, 1 as a Jew and one with no stated religion.
[175] Minutes of the election committee's meetings, 24 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 282 and 361.
[176] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, 79–106.

their parliamentary campaign in 1922.[177] The doctrine became firmly rooted in public discourse at the end of 1922, on the occasion of the election of the President by Parliament and the turbulence surrounding the nomination of Gabriel Narutowicz, elected with the support of the representatives of Bloc of National Minorities (Blok Mniejszości Narodowych) against the nationalist candidate. Narutowicz was killed in his first days in office. Initially the Polish majority doctrine was understood in relation to the state government, but it also found its application in relation to local authorities. At the time when the fate of Zagrody Lubartowskie was at stake, leaders of right-wing parties signed the Lanckorona Pact on 17 May 1923, that resulted with a new government shortly thereafter. The fourth point of the pact stated that "Polish influence in local government would be secured in municipal, district, and provincial electoral laws."[178] As the Lubartów example shows, thinking about self-government in ethno-national terms was already deeply rooted at the local level at that time. Actually, as Lubartów records demonstrated, it had been present even before Narutowicz's assassination.

PART 3. SEEKING FOR REPRESENTATION OF THE LUBARTÓW CITIZENS

The 1927 elections: voting and results

The preparations for the 1927 elections were very different from those of 1919. Although the election process was still primarily the responsibility of the Christians, this time both election committees included a representative of the Lubartów Jews. The way in which the election committees communicated with the town's inhabitants improved. Information about the subsequent stages of the election was published on posters, but only in Polish. In addition, the voters' registration procedure was simplified compared to previous elections, and all registered lists were admitted to the elections. The elections were held on time, voters voted for individual lists, writing down the number of the list they supported in words or numbers, which made it

[177] The ethnic nationalism of the Right that referred to 'national unity' and rejected others, was the most accessible political ideology in the early 1920s. The doctrine of the Polish majority, which was its practical extension, postulated the maintenance of government in the hands of representatives of the ethnically understood Polish nation. Influenced by the assassination of President Narutowicz and subsequent events, the doctrine of the 'Polish majority' left its mark on the attitudes of the entire political class, including the Left, which feared to oppose it. Paweł Brykczyński, *Primed for Violence: Murder, Antisemitism, and Democratic Politics in Interwar Poland,* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 120–144, 153–159, 257–260.

[178] Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1980). The Lanckorona Pact was signed by the Endencja (ZLN—People's National Union), Christian democracy and the right-wing faction of the People's Party, PSL Piast. Leaders of all these groups in the early 1920s declared their willingness to limit the political rights of Jews, due to their privileged position over ethnic Poles. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other*, 118–19.

easier for people with little or no knowledge of Polish to vote. According to the reports of the election commissions, there was only one case of a blank ballot being cast, while none of the 4 invalid votes were rejected due to the inability to read the written numbers on the ballot.[179] No one raised any objections to the preparation of the elections or the voting itself. Thus, the available materials from the magistrate's office indicate that democratic elections were held in Lubartów on Sunday 24 April 1927, as established by the law in force. Due to the lack of clear restrictions on forming electoral lists and participating in voting, the 1927 local elections in Lubartów provided a valuable perspective on the social complexity of the town. They could be used as a case study for observing how citizens of Lubartów grouped together in the process of drawing up electoral lists and casting a ballot. Elections resulted with in a turnout of over 80% and the new council with a very complex composition (Table 1). As far as composition is concerned, the elections brought about a complete change, none of the outgoing councillors was granted an extension of their term of office.

Councillors were voted from six lists of candidates. Two of these grouped Jewish residents of Lubartów, previously absent from the local authorities. In addition, two new political forces appeared on Lubartów's political scene, the pro-government Democratic Club appearing under the banner of the Polish Electoral Committee for the Repair of the Municipal Economy and Workers' Unity representing the glassworks employees. As has already been demonstrated, ethnic-religious affiliations were politicised in Lubartów from the very first days of the Polish rule. In the 1927 elections they became the basic criterion for the division of electoral lists.[180] The characteristics of the lists, as perceived by the starost, were as follows:

"List No. 3 under the name of Bourgeois Non-Partisan List of Permanent Residents of the Town, Property Owners. (...) It is the result of the merging the original lists of 1. property owners 2. tenants and 3. food associations members, this list does not include merchants.

List No. 4 Proposed by the Democratic Club circle in Lubartów with candidates from different social groups.

Workers' Unity list number 5 was founded by glassworks workers, PPS-Left.

List number 6 of the Polish Socialist Party was brought by the district PPS Committee.

[179] Minutes of the election committee's meetings, 24 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 282 and 361.
[180] In regard of separate lists of candidates Lubartów was not very different from the rest of the Lublin region. Only in Dubienka and Ostrów Siedlecki, single lists were registered that included both Jewish and non-Jewish candidates. In both cases the deal was made between different Christian groups and the single Jewish group: Orthodox Jews in Dubienka and Zionists in Ostrów Siedlecki. Results of Town Councils elections, 6 August 1927. AAN, Urząd Wojewódzki Lubelski (UWL), 270/IV–1, 358.

(...)

Two Jewish lists were submitted, namely:

List No. 1 around which poorer people, shopkeepers and small shopkeepers are concentrated

List No. 2 grouping orthodox, serious, and wealthy elements."[181]

In the optics adopted by the starost, the logic of divisions between Christian candidates and groups was determined in Lubartów by political and professional affiliations as well as residential issues. Jewish candidates, on the other hand, were grouped according to material status and social position, also source of income. In addition to a general characteristic of the candidates lists, the starost prepared profiles of the individual candidates, including information on the age and occupation of each candidate.[182] On another list, compiled the day after the vote, he additionally provided political affiliations and criminal records of the newly elected councillors.[183] The information on both lists does not always match. These two lists, confronted with other sources, notably the starost's reports from the election period and the three registers of social organisations, parties, and trade unions compiled by the starost office in the second half of the 1920s,[184] enabled the public to place the candidates and newly elected councillors within the social landscape of Lubartów.

The order of the candidates on the list was essential for the councillors' nominations. This was due to the electoral law, which involved voting for lists and not individual candidates. Consequently, voters had limited influence over the composition of the council. For this and other reasons, the lists of candidates or councillors should not be seen as a mirror of the electoral groups in Lubartów. However, highlighting some of the characteristics of the lists will help illustrate the internal structure of the groups, the complex relationship between groups, interrelationships and hierarchies in Lubartów, as well as notice groups who were deprived of representation in the town authorities.

List number and name	Votes	Councillors	Deputies
1	1001 (33%)	8	4
2	454 (15%)	3	1

[181] County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 15–16.
[182] County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 17–20.
[183] County Chief report, 25 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 28–29.
[184] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 90–92.

3—Bourgeois Non-Partisan List of Permanent Residents	755 (25%)	6	3
4—Polish Committee for the Repair of the Urban Economy	358 (12%)	3	1
5—Workers' Unity	234 (8%)	2	1
6—Polish Socialist Party	271 (9%)	2	1
TOTAL	**3073**	**24**	**10**

Table 1. 1927 elections results in Lubartów. Source: Starost report, 25 April 1927, APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 23.

List number 3: Bourgeois Non-Partisan List of Permanent Residents

Of the "Christian lists," the most successful was list number 3, which introduced 6 councillors (Table 1). Their result was due to the formation of a broad alliance in which even groups with seemingly contradictory interests such as property owners (*właściciele nieruchomości*) and tenants (*lokatorzy*) took part. Ownership of real estate was used by the starost's office as one of the basic characteristics of Christian candidates, in addition to age and occupation.[185] The information referred to owners renting flats which could be their sole or additional source of income.[186] Renting a property, like being a tenant, was a common experience for the majority of Lubartów residents.[187] On this ground, an alliance could have been formed that crossed ethno-religious barriers. For example, in Łęczna, the second town in the district of Lubartów in the second half of the 1920s, there was a Tenants' Association with 200 members from "different social groups", with a mixed Christian-Jewish composition of the board.[188]

Despite the difficult housing situation in Lubartów,[189] neither landlords nor tenants established formalised groups. This does not mean, however, that they did not cooperate to defend the interests of their own group. The most serious tensions on the landlords-tenants line took place in the early 1920s, when tenants complained about the inflated rents[190] while landlords protested

[185] County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 16–20.
[186] In the case of candidates owning and not renting property, this information was omitted.
[187] It is difficult to estimate how many inhabitants of Lubartów were in each of these groups. The most accurate calculation based on the 1932 register of inhabitants, five years after the elections, according to which, at the time the register was compiled in July 1932, there were 813 house owners in Lubartów (368 Jewish and 429 Roman Catholics), each of whom occupied a different single apartment. Given that there were around 1700 flats in Lubartów at the time, there were slightly more rented than owned flats.
[188] Register of organisations and unions in the Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90.
[189] Town Council meeting protocol, 27 February 1922. APL, AML, 104, 119. For this reason, as early as in June of 1921, the authorities planned to create a special housing fund to provide loans for the construction or finishing of houses, which did not materialise. Town Council meeting protocol, 30 June 1921. APL, AML, 104, 77–78.
[190] Town Council protocol, 21 November 1924. APL, AML, 104, 99.

against rent regulations and arrests for violating the Tenants Protection Act of 1914.[191] In reaction, the Town Council set up a committee for rental matters with three representatives of the landlords and three of the tenants, with one Jewish representative on each side. One of the landlords' representatives at the time was Franciszek Poznański, second on the list number 3, one of 14 property owners on the same list (out of 23 candidates) and one of three owners elected to be councillors.

The grocery associations members constituted another group within coalition. Grocery associations (*stowarzyszenia spożywcze*) not only supplied their members with goods but also organised trade. In the 2nd half of the 1920s they were the most numerous social organisations in both the town and the county. The number of members of the "Jedność" Grocery Association (Stowarzyszenie Spożywcze "Jedność") operating in Lubartów was estimated by the district authorities at 1,000 in the second half of the 1920s.[192] A member on the board of the "Jedność" association was the aforementioned Franciszek Poznański. In the orbit of the list number 3 was also the Lubartów-based District Association of Grocery Societies (Okręgowy Związek Stowarzyszeń Spożywców), which had 4,561 members throughout the district. Among the main organisers of List 3 was the president of the association, Edmund Monastyrski.[193] Both associations might have been represented on the list by farmers, including number 3: Ignacy Magierka, an alderman (*ławnik*) on the outgoing town board.[194]

The grocery associations were often formed in Poland with a clear agenda of strengthening Christian trade over Jewish trade and as tool to free suppliers from contracts with Jews.[195] It is not surprising, therefore, that the 'national composition' of the two organisations in question, was described in the county office register as "purely Polish". It is also not surprising that among the organisers of list number 3, apart from Monastyrski, were two members of the county board in Poland's leading nationalist formation, the People's National Union (Związek Ludowo-Narodowy—ZLN): the president of the ZLN Józef Łaszcz,[196] and Andrzej Targoński

[191] The worsening situation of the landlords and the consequent exacerbation of the conflict was largely due to hyperinflation; with a weakening currency, it became impossible to maintain properties at regulated rents, which was to further discourage the building of new houses and exacerbate the housing crisis. The issue of rents and tenant–landlord relations was not subsequently addressed by the Municipal Council. Town Council meeting protocol, 27 February 1922. APL, AML, 104, 116.
[192] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90. In 1927 there were 1100 members in the cooperative.
[193] County Chief report, 16 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 16.
[194] In 1932 there were as many as 540 farms in Lubartów, the vast majority of which, 474, were very small, up to 2 hectares. Only 3 farms had an area larger than 10 hectares. In the vast majority, the owners had other occupations and cultivation was either for the needs of the household or was an additional source of income.
[195] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[196] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 91.

judge and vice-president of the ZLN listed at number 4. The strategic alliance of the ZLN in Lubartów with various interest groups was due to the weak national movement in the town, which under its own banner would have had no chance of success in the elections.

The ZLN did not establish a separate municipal branch in Lubartów, it operated throughout the county, which was reflected in the number of members—before its dissolution in 1928, the county office estimated that there were 921 in the county, and only 50 in Lubartów.[197] This was also reflected by the distribution of the ZLN's influence. It controlled several boards of the Farmers' Circles (Kółka Rolnicze) and Rural Youth Circles (Koła Młodzieży Wiejskiej).[198] The nationalist in the county also controlled the "Sokół" Gymnastic Society, with the Lubartów branch of 80 members[199] that was dissolved in the late 1920s. Despite the small number of Lubartowians associated with the ZLN, three councillors with ZLN affiliation sat in the Town Council until the 1927 elections, as did mayor Władysław Śliwa.[200] It should be remembered, however, that they were nominated without a vote, as only one list of candidates was accepted in 1919. Since 1927, Andrzej Targoński was the only ZLN councillor.[201]

In addition to the groups that consituted the third list put forward by the starost, bricklayers should be mentioned. 12 of them were on list number 3. As it was said, they were a powerful professional group made up exclusively of Christians, almost two hundred of them being on the electoral roll in 1927.[202] The leader of list number 3, Adam Miduch, was a mason, as well as the fifth candidate Józef Miąc. They both sat on the board of the Union of Construction Workers in Poland (Związek Robotników Budowlanych w Polsce), operating in Lubartów since 1919.

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[197] *Ibid*. In the parliamentary elections of March 1928, the Catholic–National List, fielded by the National Democrats, received 180 votes, while in the district it received 1845 votes. Lubartów County parliamentary elections results, March 1928. AAN, UWL, 270/II/2, 5.

[198] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90, several pages.

[199] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90–91. Unions and associations during the elections, 1928. APL, UWL-WSP, 220. In Lubartów there was a paramilitary National Guard, a militia of the National Democracy. However, the only information about concerns its dissolution in May 1927, when it was outlawed by the Sanacja government. Weekly County Chief report**,** 1 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 11.

[200] Town Council composition, January 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1650, 130–131.

[201] His presence among candidates served the competition to expose a list number 3 as nationalist. PPS and the Polish Electoral Committee for the Repair of the election posters, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim. This is also how the strategy of the nationalists was unmasked in the reports by the starost: "The above situation [the breakdown of the Christian bloc–FZ] was undoubtedly exploited by the right wing, caused the merger of the projected lists of property owners tenants and grocery associations members by introducing this compromise list of their candidate together with persons more comfortable for the line." 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 33.

[202] In 1932 the magistrate estimated the number of masons at 280, of whom only 30 were registered with a craft card. Register of entrepreneurs, APL, AML, 441.

In December of 1927, eight months after the elections, they formed a separate trade union of masons in Lubartów.[203]

Interestingly, the union was left-wing oriented, with Miąc sympathising with the outlawed Communist Party of Poland (Komunistyczna Partia Polski–KPP), while Miduch was associated with the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna–PPS). Among the nominated councillors from the list no. 3 was another "PPS sympathiser", Józef Mazurkiewicz, a cooper and property owner, a long-time PPS activist.[204] It is difficult to provide a definitive answer as to why all three opted to run on a list organised by national activists rather than on one of the left-wing lists. One explanation is that the list number 3 offered a better chance of electoral success, and all three were given high positions on it.[205] Another possible motivation was their disappointment with the PPS's electoral strategy, which reportedly led to a split in Christian unity.[206] Paradoxically, the personal success of these three candidates also benefited the left-wing agenda, compensating for the PPS's poor election result.

List number 3 was the result of a broad social compromise between groups with not always consistent interests, and the political sympathies of the candidates crossed the divisions prevailing in national politics. The very first voting in the election of the Town Board showed that the list was being used as an electoral vehicle and it was not meant to form a lasting alliance.

List number 4: Polish Committee for the Repair of the Urban Economy by the Democratic Club

The Democratic Club's electoral strategy of the Polish Committee for the Repair of the Urban Economy (Polski Komitet Wyborczy Naprawy Gospodarki Miasta) was similar to that adopted by the bourgeois list committee—emphasising non-partisanship, which was reflected in the neutral name of the list, and the all-citizens nature of the list, which was to be confirmed by the inclusion of candidates from various backgrounds. What characterised the Democratic Club's list, apart from the high number of 36 candidates, was its mercantile character and the presence of clerks and bank employees not found on other lists. Two of the three places that guaranteed

[203] Weekly county Chief report, 14 December 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 173.
[204] Before the First World War, Mazurkiewicz had been a member of the PPS militant organisation in Lubartów and was sent to penal servitude for 15 years for his activities. He returned to Lubartów in 1922 and rejoined the PPS. Police report about Mazurkiewicz, 11 August 1922. AAN, Komenda Powiatowa Policji Państwowej w Lubartowie (KPPPL), 281/IX–2, 1–2.
[205] This was also how the matter was presented by the PPS in a pre-election leaflet, claiming that the left-wing candidates on the 3rd list "smashed our lists because of this urge to become councillors". PPS leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim.
[206] County Chief report, 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 32.

nomination were allocated to merchants, the list leader Franciszek Racki and Jan Marzęta (Marzenta). The latter sat on the board of the Association of Merchants Polish, whose president was Stanisław Derecki, 4th on the Club's list, in 1927 elected deputy councillor. Marzęta also sat on the board of the Democratic Club,[207] an organization which Derecki entered in 1928.[208] Club president Seweryn Lange came last on the candidates list. His presence, like that of the owner of the largest pharmacy store in Lubartów on Rynek I Street, Wilhelm Pic de Replonge, also a member of the board of the Democratic Club, served primarily to strengthen the list's prestige.[209]

The last place on the list that gave a councillor nomination was taken by state official (*urzędnik państwowy*), 26-year-old Wacław Filipowicz, the youngest of the councillors, a "supporter of the Democratic Club" and secretary of the Association of Treasury Office Employees.[210] The president of the same association was Stanislaw Culicki, organiser of the Democratic Club's election campaign.[211] The list of the Democratic Club, despite the fact that it brought together people of various professions—in addition to those already mentioned, there were farmers, masons or a gardener—established a clear hierarchy professions with only those affiliated with the Democratic Club to be nominated councillors.

Local government elections in Lubartów took place in a transitional period before the Piłsudski camp took full control over the country, and at the beginning of the process of the formation of the pro-government Sanacja bloc of social and political organisations in Lubartów. The Democratic Club in Lubartów was the vanguard of this bloc. It was initiated by activists from Lublin, where the pro-Piłsudski intelligentsia began to group together starting from late May of 1926.[212]A month later, the Lublin governor registered the Democratic Club branch in Lubartów.[213] From the very beginning, the club had an elite group with clerks and merchants, which confirms the composition of the Club's board. Christian merchants were a relatively small group in Lubartów, with association having only 14 members.[214] The commercial activity

[207] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s–early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[208] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92. The Merchants' Association actively agitated for a pro–government BBWR campaign for the March 1928 parliamentary elections. County Chief report, 25 April 1928. APL, UWL-WSP, 220, 199.
[209] Wilhelm de Replonge was one of the few inhabitants of Lubartów to be identified as a "courtier" under the heading "Origin (social status)" of the Register of inhabitants. APL, AML, 22, 60–61.
[210] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 91.
[211] Ibid..
[212] Stanislaw Michajłow, "Klub Demokratyczny w Radzie Miejskiej Lublina (1927–1929)", *Rocznik Lubelski*, 31–32 (1989–1990), 229–234
[213] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[214] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90–91.

in Lubartów was mainly carried out by Jews,[215] grouped within the separate association. Among clerks, on the other hand, it was Christians who constituted the vast majority in Lubartów. The residents register of Lubartów records at least 91 officials/clerks (*urzędnicy*) in July 1932,[216] the vast majority of 85 categorised as Roman Catholics.[217] The size of this professional group was due to the fact that Lubartów was the county headquarter but also the economic and financial centre of the region with institutions employing "private clerks."[218]

The Democratic Club in Lubartów, in the first period of its existence, brought together exclusively Christians, its "national composition" being described in the organisation's register as "purely Polish".[219]According to reports from the Lubartów starost, during the election campaign the Club led the effort to unite Christian candidates.[220] After the failure of the joint list, the Democratic Club presented itself as the sole defender of the interests of Lubartów's Christians, while attacking all candidates of rival "Christian lists," accusing them of putting party interests above concern for maintaining Polish unity in the face of the threat of Jews taking over.[221]

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[215] Of the 396 merchants (*kupcy*), traders (*handlarze*) and shopkeepers (*właściciele sklepu*) recorded in the population register in mid–1932, 348 (88%) were identified as Jewish and 46 (12%) as Roman Catholic. When we take those identified only as merchants, the proportions do not change significantly: of the 140 merchants, 112 (80%) were categorised as Jews and 27 (19%) as Catholics. The distinction between merchants and traders in the register is unclear and does not relate either to the way of doing business (both merchants and traders are sometimes additionally identified as shopkeepers) or to the category of products traded. The register of Lubartów permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 39–48.

[216] This group represents persons whose status was in no doubt, and does not include those identified simply as clerks (*urzędnicy*), not specifying if public or private.

[217] This group also included two Jews, employed by the magistrate. In the Lubartów magistrate's office, the only non–Catholic clerk was Estera Olbergowa, a Jewish office worker (*kancelistka*) employed since 1928. APL, AML, 187. Pages in the file not numbered.

[218] The term inconsistently used by the magistrate and the district office to describe the occupation of clerks in private enterprises, most often referred to bookkeepers and bank cashiers. According to the register of Lubartów's inhabitants, only 8 residents held the profession of private clerk (*prywatny urzędnik*), 4 of them being bookkeepers (*buchalter*). At the same time, seven other bookkeepers were not identified as private clerks. This double identification could also concern the same resident. Adam Lipski, a candidate for councillor on the Democratic Club list and later mayoral candidate, functions as a clerk (*urzędnik*) on the list of candidates submitted to the Magistrate, and this is also how he was referred to on the electoral notice with the list of all running candidates printed by the Main Electoral Committee. 14 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 28 and 20 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 32. The district office, on the other hand, describes Lipski on the electoral lists as a bank bookkeeper (*buchalter w banku*). 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 19. From 1923 Adam Lipski worked as a bookkeeper in the Cooperative Bank in Lubartów. 7 October 1930. APL, AML, 64, 45.

[219] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90, 1.

[220] County Chief report, April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 31–33 and 37.

[221] Election leaflets of the Polish Electoral Committee for the Repair of the Urban Economy, April 1927, National Library. Interestingly, List No. 3 of the Christian Electoral Committee of the Bourgeois Non-Partisan List accused the committee of the same thing. Electoral leaflet of the Christian Electoral Committee of the Non-Partisan Bourgeois List, State Archive in Lublin, APL, UWL-WSP, 2348, 3. The PPS, on the other hand, exposed the hypocrisy of the Democratic Club who, while denying any partisanship, created party structures in the town. PPS leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim.

List number 6. The Polish Socialist Party

The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was one of two political parties, along with the ZLN, which had its representation in the outgoing Town Council—*i.e*. three councillors. The 1927 elections, however, found the PPS in Lubartów in a clear crisis, deprived of organisational structures both in the town and the county.[222] A further setback for the PPS socialists occurred in the mid-1920s when the party's national structures split, resulting in left-wing activists leaving and forming the PPS-Left.[223] In Lubartów, the newly formed party, which was a cover for the outlawed KPP, took over[224] influence in the town's only factory, the glassworks. As pre-election efforts to gain the workers' support for the PPS list were unsuccessful,[225] it was decided to confront the Workers' Unity list. Therefore, the glassworks were presented in PPS propaganda as the headquarters of Bolshevik agents threatening Lubartów.[226] An attempt to build an alliance with the tenants in opposition to the list of property owners also failed.[227] The starost of Lubartów, clearly averse to the PPS, explained the campaign failures by the incompetence of party leaders unfamiliar with the local relations.[228]

In search for voters, the PPS appealed to the working people (*lud pracy*) and defined its social position primarily in opposition to the other lists.[229] However, Alfred Pogonowski, the leader of the PPS list did not necessarily match the working people's profile, as he worked as a district doctor. Starost described him as a "PPS sympathiser", in the late 1927 he became a president of the newly established PPS Club in Lubartów.[230] Due to staff shortages, the PPS was forced to reach for candidates not affiliated with the party, as in the case of Aniela Miduchówna, a 27-year-old teacher described as a "non-partisan, sympathiser of the Democratic Club", also present on the Club's list in high fifth position. Eventually, Aniela Miduchówna was nominated

[222] Report of the chief of state police of the Lubartów district to the Regional Political Police Office in Lublin, 30 July 1926. AAN, KPPPL, 281/IX–2, 5. Elsewhere, sources mention the existence of a district circle of the PPS, but this is not confirmed in the registers of organisations operating in the town and district. Weekly county Chief report, 7 December 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 163.
[223] Józef Kowalski, *Trudne lata. Problemy rozwoju polskiego ruchu robotniczego 1929–1935* (Warszawa: PWN, 1966).
[224] Report of the chief of state police of the Lubartów district to the Regional Political Police Office in Lublin, 30 July 1926. AAN, KPPPL, 281/IX–2, 5.
[225] County Chief report, 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 32.
[226] "Do not follow the voice of the steelworks, which, under the guise of proletarian slogans, wants to bring about the rule of the five-pointed star of Bolshevism over the city." PPS leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim.
[227] County Chief report, 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 32.
[228] In his opinion, the inability to build alliances and the weakness of the PPS was to lead to the failure of the creation of a Christian bloc in Lubartów. This was because PPS activists were afraid of being marginalised. 28 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 31–32.
[229] PPS leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim.
[230] Weekly county Chief report, 7 December 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 163.

as deputy councillor from the PPS list. As for the professional characteristics of the PPS candidates, a wide representation of craftsmen stood out, 10 out of 14 candidates, with only 1 on the leading position. Nevertheless, no board member of the Association of Polish Craftsmen (Związek Rzemieślników Polskich) jointed the PPS list. It seems that Christian craftsmen, apart from masons, were a scattered and poorly organised group in Lubartów, with only 30 of them joining the union.

List number 5: Worker's Unity

The basic characteristics of the Workers' Unity list was that it was built on a more homogeneous professional base then the other list. The core of the list were the glassworks employees—five out of eight candidates on the list, and almost all of the voters that submitted the list with candidates.[231] Most of the glass workers who stood for election as well as those who signed the list lived in the workers' house on the factory premises on 150 Lubelska Street. All those elected from the workers' list were of communist beliefs, two as members of the PPS-Left and one of the KPP.[232] All of them were board members of the Glass Workers' Trade Union branch (Oddział Związku Zawodowego Robotników Przemysłu Szklanego) operating in the glassworks. The list leader Zygmunt Milewicz was the union's secretary, while Mieczysław Grambur, 3rd on the list, joined the board at the beginning of 1927, when the union underwent a reorganisation resulting from a split in the PPS and following the establishment of a PPS-Left cell in Lubartów.[233] Kazimierz Jóźwiak, a tailor who was second on the Workers' Unity list, leading activist of illegal KPP in the region, was among the initiators of the establishment of a local PPS-Left committee in Lubartów.[234]

Shortly before the 1927 elections, the communist movement in the district was weakened by the banning of the Independent Peasants' Party (Niezależna Partia Chłopska) by decree of the Minister of the Interior in March and the subsequent arrests.[235] The legalisation of its activities and the seizure of the influence in the glassworks, were a strategy to revive the movement.[236] The police estimated that at the time of the local elections the PPS-Left cell had only 24 members grouped mainly around the Glass Workers' Trade Union. However, the electoral

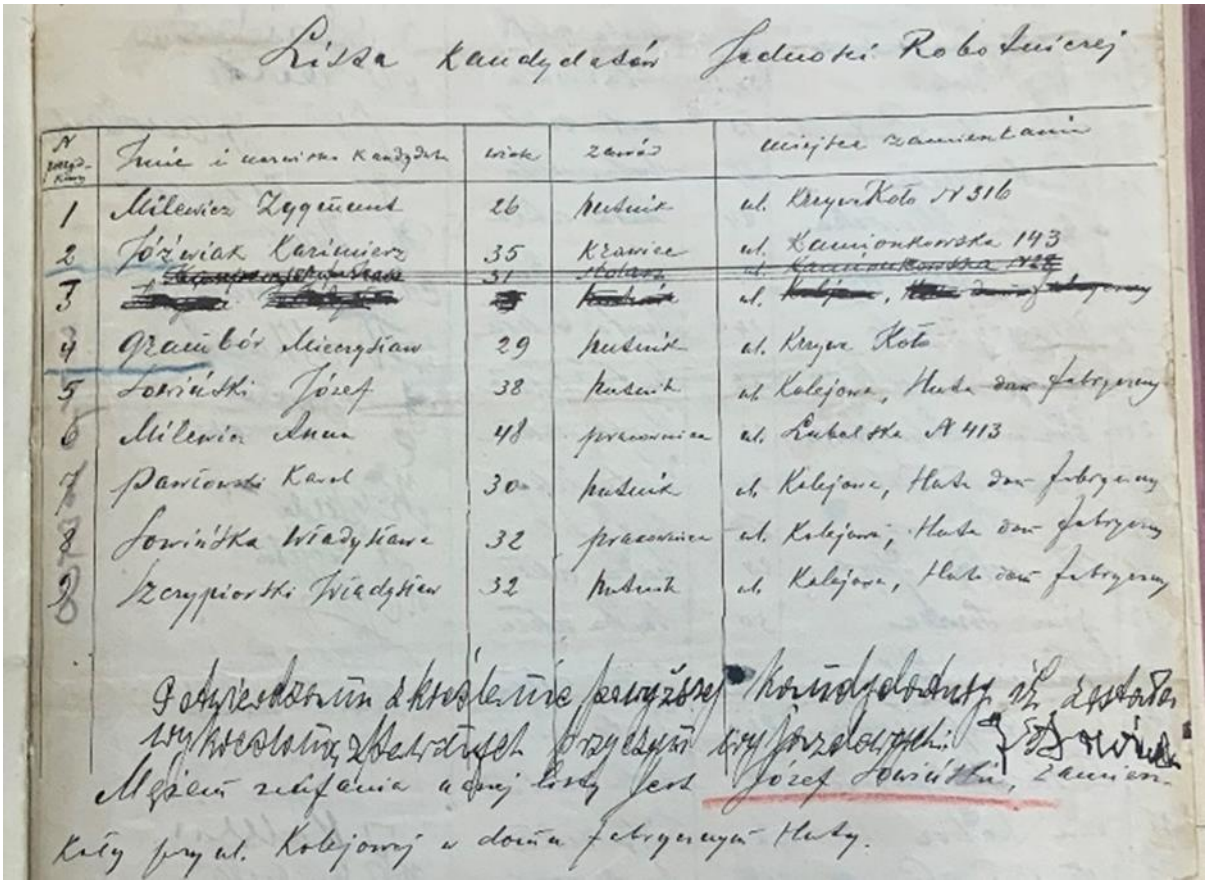
[231] The list of Workers' Union candidates to Town Council submitted to electoral commission. APL, AML, 74, 203–204.
[232] County Chief report, 25 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 27.
[233] County Chief report, 27 February 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1842, 8.
[234] Report of the chief of state police of Lubartów district to the Regional Political Police Office in Lublin, 30 July 1926. AAN, KPPPL, 281/IX–2, 5.
[235] Stanisław Giza, *Kalendarz wydarzeń historii ruchu ludowego 1895–1965* (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1967), 97.
[236] Weekly voivod report, July 1927. AAN, UWL, 270/IV–1, 214.

agitation of the Workers' Unity list made it possible to broaden the electorate to include previously passive factory workers.[237]

The case of Karpenszyft and the Besser couple. Crossing religious and ethnic boundaries in Lubartów politics

The Workers' Unity list originally included nine, not eight, candidates (Photograph 1).[238] Nevertheless, the name of the number 3 candidate on the list with supporters' signatures submitted to the electoral commission, has been thoroughly blurred so that it cannot be read. The candidate worked in the glassworks and dwelled in the worker's house at 150 Lubelska Street. Above the blurred name, a second name was overwritten, then also removed, this time with several long cross-outs done with a pen, making it possible to decipher the personal details (Photograph 1).[239] Icek-Hersz Karpenszyft was a member of the board of the Union of Craftsmen of the Republic of Poland (Związek Rzemieślników Rzeczypospolitej) that united Jewish craftsmen. Icek was the last candidate on the third position on the Workers' Unity list; his candidature was not replaced by another. The preservation of the list with cross outs indicates that changes were made to the list after or during the collection of supporters' signatures. In order to preserve the legality of the candidacies, Józef Sowiński, plenipotentiary (*mąż zaufania*) of the list noted: "I confirm that the above candidature has been deleted for the important reasons of departure." It is not clear to which candidature Sowiński's note refers. It is however very likely that Karpenszyft did not leave Lubartów. The electoral roll with a tick next to the name indicates that less than two weeks after the registration of the Workers' Unity candidates, Icek-Hersz Karpenszyft was still in Lubartów and took part in the vote.[240]

[237] Voivod report about PPS-Lewica, July 1927. AAN, UWL–Wydział Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego (UWL-WBP), 270/VIII–1, 168.
[238] The list of Workers' Union candidates to Town Council submitted to electoral commission. APL, AML, 74, 203.
[239] The same person that was later included in the register of residents as Icek–Hersz Karpenszyft, born in 1895, a trader (*handlarz*) of Jewish faith living at 26 Kamionkowska Street. Perhaps Icek before becoming a tradesman had worked as a carpenter as his father. Register of permanent residents, APL, AML, 40, 103.
[240] Electoral roll, 1 April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 254.



Lista kandydatów Jednolitej Robotniczej

Nr porządkowy	Imię i nazwisko kandydata	Wiek	Zawód	Miejsce zamieszkania
1	Milewicz Zygmunt	26	ślusarz	ul. Bryn Koło Nr 316
2	Jóźwiak Kazimierz	35	krawiec	ul. Kamionkowska 143
3	[illegible]	31	[illegible]	ul. [illegible]
4	Grajbór Mieczysław	29	ślusarz	ul. Bryn Koło
5	Sowiński Józef	38	ślusarz	ul. Kolejowa, Huta dom fabryczny
6	Milewicz Anna	48	praczownica	ul. Rabsztyka Nr 413
7	Pawłowski Karol	30	ślusarz	ul. Kolejowa, Huta dom fabryczny
8	Sowińska Władysława	32	praczownica	ul. Kolejowa, Huta dom fabryczny
9	Szczypiorski Władysław	32	ślusarz	ul. Kolejowa, Huta dom fabryczny

Do wyżej podanych kandydatów do Rady Miejskiej w Lubartowie przyczyniamy się i popieramy ich kandydaturę. Mężem zaufania naszej listy jest Józef Sowiński, zamieszkały przy ul. Kolejowej w domu fabrycznym Huty.

Photograph 1. The list of Workers' Union candidates to Town Council submitted to electoral commission. Source: APL, AML, 74, 203.

The presence of Ick-Hersz Karpenszyft on the Workers' Unity list could have broken the homogeneous ethno-religious segregation among candidates for councillors. It is, of course, no coincidence that the case concerned the list of the communist milieu. There are more examples from the Lublin region of Jewish candidates included on the communist list.[241] In Lubartów, however, the small group of communist activists in the pre-elections period, as seen by the local police, was exclusively Christian.[242] The milieu of the factory workers, from which the candidates and voters of the Workers' Unity list mostly recruited, was also almost exclusively Christian. Karpenszyft was an exception in this one-dimensional image of extreme religious segregation, but not the only one.

Among the 43 Lubartów residents that signed the Union's Workers list of candidates was one Jewish couple, Jenta and Srul Besser.[243] Srul worked as a storekeeper at the glassworks, the

[241] For example, in Biała Podlaska. AAN, UWL, 270/IV–1, 358.
[242] Silhouettes of communist activists in the district. County Chief report about PPS-Lewica, July 1927. AAN, UWL-WBP, 270/VIII–1, 151–155. Weekly county Chief report, 15 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 20. The most active communist activists in the district were in Michów, where both Jews and Christians were involved in activities. Police report about communist activities, 1926. AAN, KPPPL, 281/IX–2, 10, 25–27.
[243] Register of permanent residents, APL, AML, 43, 76.

Besser family lived in the employees' house. Their signatures are the only traces of Jewish residents supporting Christian candidates in local government election in Lubartów.[244] There might have been more Jewish voters, since the Union's Workers was the only faction trying to reach out for them during the election campaign. The last of the election demands on the party's posters postulated the equality of languages in municipal administration[245] and some of the election prints were written in Yiddish.[246] Addressing Jewish residents of Lubartów and Lubartów County was part of the political strategy of local communists prior to the dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland, when most activists, including Jewish ones, were arrested in Lubartów. During this period, agitation was also conducted in Yiddish.[247]

Two "Jewish lists" crossing political and professional divisions

Characteristics of Jewish candidates and councillors provided by the starost differed from those of Christians. Firstly, with regard to the former, the starost omitted information about the property owned, as if it was not significant. Perhaps this indicates that Jews in Lubartów did not group themselves based on residential status, as in the case of the Christians, who initially created separate lists of tenants and property owners, or that the starost was not aware of the existence of such divisions among the Jews. The errors he made in attributing political affiliations to Jewish councillors demonstrate that the starost had much less insight into Jewish social life than in the case of Christians.

Of the 11 Jewish councillors and five deputies, only two in the starost's list were categorised as non-partisan, and only one as a supporter instead of a political party member. And indeed, Jews were much more involved in political parties than Christians in Lubartów.[248] Nevertheless, the starost's information cannot be taken for granted, as in at least a few cases it does not match that recorded in the organisations' registers. For instance, Jankiel Montal, president of Agudat Israel, the ultra-Orthodox party,[249] as well as Icek Bejman, secretary of the same party,[250] were recorded by the starost as members of Mizrachi, Orthodox Zionist party.[251] They were both on the first list and were the only members of the Agudat board among the candidates for

[244] Although they might have signed the list before crossing out Karpenszyft's name.
[245] Workers' Unity election leaflet, April 1927, National Library, DŻS IA 6c5.
[246] These did not survive.
[247] Police reports about communist actions in the Lubartów county, 1922–1937. AAN, Komenda Powiatowa Policji Państwowej w Lubartowie, 281, IX–2, 37–45.
[248] According to the county registers, in the mid–1920s Mizrachi had 100 members, Agudas Israel registered as an Organisation of Orthodox Jews had 125, while the Zionist Union had 30 and the Jewish People's Party had 20.
[249] Rafał Żebrowski, "Aguda Jisroel" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*. https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=19289.
[250] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s–early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[251] Natalia Aleksiun, "Mizrach" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*. https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=19220.

councillor, which encouraged a conclusion that the Orthodox party was represented on the first list. However, such a clear link is contradicted by the fact that the leader of the 2nd list was the chairman of the *Kehilla* board in Lubartów, Szmul Rubinsztajn, where he represented the Orthodox group.[252]

Mizrachi, the second strongest Jewish party in Lubartów in the 1920s, also stood between the lists. In the party board, Mosze Joel Feldman, organiser of list number 1,[253] and Icek Holcman, plenipotentiary of the second list, sat together.[254] The situation is further complicated by the presence on both lists of the merchant Chaim Lerche, another member of the Mizrachi board, and Symcha Sztern, a member of the board of the Jewish Gymnastic Society "Bar Kochba" (Żydowskie Towarzystwo Gimnastyczne „Bar Kochba") affiliated with the Mizrachi.[255] Overall, of the 36 Jewish candidates, 18 on each list, the names of four are repeated on both lists. In addition to those already mentioned, places on both lists were occupied by Dawid Lipa Olberg, president of the Jewish People's Party (Żydowskie Stronnictwo Ludowe),[256] mistakenly described as non-partisan,[257] and locksmith Jankiel Krochmalnik, the only one linked by the Starost with the Poale-Zion Right (Poalej Syjon Prawica), Socialist Zionist group that centred in Lubartów around the Perec library.[258] This institution was headed by 33-year-old Dawid Perec, the only "Bund supporter" among all candidates, elected as a councillor from the 6th place of the 1st list.[259]

The lists of candidates and councillors crossed with the political parties' boards composition indicate that party affiliation, as it was recorded by the county officials, was not essential in the grouping of Jewish candidates on the lists. The case is similar with the professions of the Jews running for the council: both lists were dominated by merchants; 3/4 of the first list and half on the second list were merchants. The numerous representation of merchants on the lists is not surprising, given that they were the most numerous professional group among the Jews in Lubartów, and the union of small merchants in Lubartów (Związek Drobnych Kupców

[252] Report on the *Kehilla* election, 5 September 1924. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 20.
[253] County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 16.
[254] List of candidates, April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 196.
[255] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90. Symcha Sztern is identified in the list of councillors as a Zionist, not a Mizrachi.
[256] Rafał Żebrowski, "Fołkiści" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*. https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=18389.
[257] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90–91.
[258] Natalia Aleksiun, "Poalej Syjon–Prawica" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*. https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=16356. County Chief reports, 1928. APL, UWL-WSP, 220.
[259] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 91. Despite its relatively low position on the list, Perec was to be one of the main organisers of the number 1 list.

Żydowskich) numbered 270 members according to the starost's estimates.[260] The union's 3-person board included Froim Akiersztajn, the leader of the first list, and 65-year-old Hersz Kirszenberg, placed on distant 13 place on the same list.[261] The strong relationship between the first list and the merchants union may have been an explanation for the electoral success of the first list, which won more than twice as many votes as the second list.

Craftsmen, the second largest unionised group of Jews in Lubartów, played no significant role on either list; there were three on the first list and only one on the second, Jankiel Krochmalnik, the aforementioned locksmith from Poale Zion Right, who ran as candidate of both lists at the same time. Krochmalnik was an activist from the Craftsmen's Association (Związek Rzemieślniczy), the larger of the two unions in Lubartów, with an estimated 100 members.[262] The remaining places on both lists were filled by candidates from various professions. The second list, due to the smaller number of merchants and craftsmen, was more diverse in regard of members professions. Jankiel Perl, a sawmill office worker (*pisarz na tartaku*), was at the top of the list, while Srul Rajchnudel, the owner of the town's only printing house, was nominated as a deputy councillor from the fourth place. The splitting of the Jews into two camps does not simply reflect the political and professional divisions between the Jews in Lubartów. In order to understand the logic of the electoral divisions among Jews, internal conflicts within the Jewish community have to be studied. The conflicts that had been recorded at least since the 1924 Jewish community board elections.

Tensions within the Jewish *Kehilla* as an interpretative scheme for the local government elections grouping

In the elections held for the Jewish *Kehilla* board, the votes were split equally between Zionists, Mizrachi, Orthodox, and a non-partisan group. One board member and one deputy were elected from each list.[263] Szmul Rubinsztajn, leader of the Orthodox group, became chairman. Already in July, when reporting to the governor on the outcome of the elections, the starost of Lubartów expressed his objections to the representatives of the non-partisan list, Joel Feldman and his

[260] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s. APL, SPL, 90–91.
[261] Already after the election, three more merchants from the first list will be included in the following elected union board. Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[262] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 91. In 1929 there were 127 Jewish craftsmen registered in Lubartów, out of a total of 190.
[263] Report of the starost of Lubartów on the elections to the boards of the Jewish communities in the district, 5 September 1924. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 7–10. The distribution of votes is at odds with the earlier findings of historians, about the absolute dominance of Orthodox Jews in the community board of Lubartów. The community of Lubartów Jews, as we see, was somewhat more diverse. Robert Kuwałek and Paweł Sygietyński, "Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Lubartowie," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 14 (2000), 80.

deputy Froim Akiersztajn, accusing them, alongside the Zionist candidate Jojna Wajsmel of immorality, with a recommendation not to approve their election. In the following months, the starost, supported by complaints from members of the Jewish *Kehilla*, continued agitation against all three, arguing that "their appointment would embitter the peaceful and loyal Jewish population in Lubartów".[264] Despite the legitimacy of the election and the lack of legal grounds for not approving the results, the case did not die out.[265]

Further exchanges between the *authorities* at all levels culminated in the Ministry's decision to dismiss Froim Akiersztajn "who was reportedly punished for the horse affair and served 10 months in prison", and Jojna Wajsmel "who runs a card-playing cave in his teahouse and has been punished several times, was a leader and organiser of strikes in 1905", from their positions as deputy members of the Jewish Community Board, as "extremely eminently morally disqualified persons (...) who cannot be kept in their positions, partly because of the authority of the government, which in many cases has to communicate with these persons as representatives of the local religious communities".[266] In December of 1925, by the starost's decision, new deputies from the non-partisan and Zionist lists were appointed. These were Jews who "as police intelligence has shown, have not been punished so far, are morally and politically irreproachable, and have a good reputation."[267]

Froim Akiersztajn, a 54-year-old merchant and former teacher in a girls' cheder,[268] decided not to give up and continued to send appeals.[269] The second appeal Akiersztajn submitted shortly after the municipal elections, which were won by the list led by him. The latter list received 1,001 votes, more than twice as many as the second Jewish list led by Szmul Rubinsztajn. Akiersztajn received a strong democratic mandate: more than 1,500 Jews voted in the local elections, 82% of those eligible, three times as many as in the elections for the Jewish community board.[270] In his appeal, apart from electoral success, Akiersztajn referred to the fact that he had been president of the Lubartów Jewish Merchants' Union and a member of the

[264] County Chief report, 8 October 1924. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 22.
[265] Letter from the starost to the mayor, 13 January 1925, APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 31–34.
[266] Letter from the Ministry of Religious Affairs to Voivode, 24 February 1925. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 41.
[267] County Chief report, 11 December 1925. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 58–59.
[268] The list of cheders in Lubartów, December 1902. APL, Dyrekcje Szkolne, 2163, 25–27.
[269] Froim Akiersztajn's appeal, 19 December 1925. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 67–68. Appeal of Froim Akiersztajn, 27 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 69–70.
[270] Only men of the Jewish faith under 25 years of age who had lived at least one year within the community were allowed to vote in the elections for the Jewish community board. In the 1924 election, there were 481 eligible voters and 451 participated. Report of the starost to the governor of Lublin of 5 September 1924. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 7.

assessment committee at the Lubartów tax office.[271] Nevertheless, the starost upheld his objections:

> "Akiersztajn's appointment to the tax assessment committee and even his election to the Town Council were not a reflection of the trust that the Jewish population supposedly had in him, but rather the result of his skilful exploitation of the dispute between the two Jewish groups over rabbinical candidates.
>
> On the contrary, Akiersztajn does not hold a good reputation in the Town Council, either among Jews or Christians. Since Akiersztajn holds a negative attitude towards all economically and culturally beneficial activities of the town and tries to please the uncritical masses by allegedly defending them from taxes, Akiersztajn would be a negative factor in the management of the Jewish community, and therefore I propose that his appeal be disregarded."[272]

Parallel to the accusations against Akiersztajn, some Jews in Lubartów formulated accusations against the Jewish community authorities. At the beginning of February of 1927, "all residents of the Jewish faith from the population of the town of Lubartów" accused the religious community authorities "of mismanagement and financial oppression of the poor members of the community."[273] On the basis of this anonymous letter which was sent to the provincial governor and the starost on the 21 March, less than two months before the local elections, Antoni Rzeszowski, an official in the starost's office, carried out an investigation into the actions of the Jewish community board, which did not reveal any blatant violations. Even the hearing of those that the authors of the letter had supposed to testify against the board, did not point to any serious irregularities. Some of interviewers even attacked Feldman and Wajsmel, who were in opposition to the rest of the board members.[274] Nonetheless, the case was taken to court, where the chairman of the Jewish community, Szmul Rubinsztajn, was held responsible for abuse of office, and a group of 33 members of the community, including Feldman, Akiersztajn, and Wajsmel, demanded that the governor immediately remove the chairman due

[271] Appeal of Froim Akiersztajn of 27 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 69–70.
[272] Letter from the starost of Lubartów to the governor, 19 September 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 66. Some of Akiersztajn's actions as a Town Council member are highlighted in Chapter 5.
[273] Complaint to the Starost of Lubartów and the Governor of Lublin against the actions of the Jewish community board, February 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 86–89.
[274] Report on the investigation into the management of the Jewish community in Lubartów, March 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 77–85.

to lack of transparency in his actions and fraud of the community's money which the chairman committed by issuing promissory notes to his son, Szloma Rubinsztajn.[275]

Clashes in the Jewish community formed the background to the municipal elections. Both sides in the *Kehilla* conflict decided to involve the higher authorities in order to eliminate their opponents. The town and county authorities tend to interpret the conflict as a personal competition for influence. This view was supported by the recurring issue of the rabbinical candidates and Moszek Feldman, a member of the board, wanting to hire his relative. Elsewhere, however, the starost's interpretations step beyond personal conflicts. On the occasion of the municipal elections, he emphasised a socio-political dimension to the conflict:

> "Amid the elections to the town council in Lubartów, there has been a greater exacerbation of relations between the orthodox and a group with nationalist, separatist, and opposition orientations. This will undoubtedly be exploited by factors seeking to take the representation of the religious community into their own hands and will make the situation more difficult for the rabbinate and the orthodox part of the community board loyal to the state".[276]

Conclusion

Conflict in the *Kehilla* and the course of the electoral process point to a fundamental problem of modern Jewish politics, related to the politicisation and emancipation of groups deprived of influence and the accompanying new forms of political activity. Froim Akiersztajn, and perhaps Joel Feldman and Abuś Wajsmel, owed their popularity to groups that had previously been marginalised among the Jews of Lubartów, those who had limited or no voice in the *Kehilla* forum. Judging by the scale of support for Akiersztajn's list for the Town Council, as well as the difference compared to the number of votes in the election for the *Kehilla* board, his election result must have been largely due to the mobilisation of Jewish women, who in 1927 had the opportunity to vote in public elections for the first time.[277] His support may be related to the fact that in the early 1900s, Akiersztajn ran the only cheder for girls in Lubartów. Some of his students already had the voting rights in 1927, and this form of activity might have socially

[275] Letter to the Governor of Lublin on the dismissal of Szloma Rubinsztajn, 26 September 1929. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 100.
[276] Monthly report of the starost of Lubartów to the governor of Lublin, 26 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1842, 18.
[277] At the same time no Jewish woman candidate took part in the elections. Aniela Miduchowa was the only woman councillor in 1927 Town Board. Janusz Mierzwa pointed to a very limited participation of women in Polish local government in interwar period. Janusz Mierzwa, "Polska lokalna," in Włodzimierz Mędrzecki (ed.), *Metamorfozy Społeczne 22: Wokół nowej syntezy dziejów Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2019), 72–73.

resonated. It is possible that Akiersztajn remained an active member of the Jewish community since the beginning of the century, which is not demonstrated by interwar sources from the county office, focusing on his criminal past. Resistance to changes in the socio-political hierarchies within the Lubartów Jewish community, expressed in the discrediting of Akiersztajn and his allies, was accompanied by the authorities' concern of a very similar nature.

Appealing to the poor residents of the town and defending an agenda that was beneficial to them, which was a charge in the eyes of the starost, represented a modern form of political activity among Jews in Lubartów, which had a particularly strong impact in the context of popular voting. The presence of Jews in the town authorities had been feared by the Christian local elites since the beginning of the new state, and Akiersztajn's success added another layer to these fears. His presence was perceived as threatening the established social hierarchies and the stability of the political order. In this order, Jewish citizens were to be loyal to the nationalising state. At the local level, it meant obedience to the government shaped by the ethnically Polish urban elites: to be obedient like the "Orthodox leaders," as the starost called them, and like the incumbent rabbi. The expectation of loyalty, fundamental to the authorities' attitude towards "national minorities" in interwar Poland and beyond, in Akiersztajn's case had not only an ethnic and religious dimension, but also a political and class dimension. In this sense, Akiersztajn's entry into the local government and his presence on the Town Council marks a unique moment in the history of Jews politics in Lubartów, made possible only by the mass participation of Jewish residents in the 1927 election.

The 1927 local elections in Lubartów showed that both Jewish and Christian populations were internally divided. Despite the dispersion, resentments and conflicted ideologies within the two groups, no list emerged that crossed ethno-religious boundaries. In the case of lists 3 and 4, distancing oneself from the Jews was part of a political strategy. The closest to overcome the complete separation on the candidates list was the Workers' Unity fraction, which was the only one of the so-called Christian lists to make an effort to reach out to the Jewish inhabitants of Lubartów. Attracting Jewish voters was all the more difficult because there were no Jews working in the factory. Including a Jewish craftsman unionist on the list in attempt to build an alliance beyond the factory workers' community, could be beneficial because of the poor representation of craftsmen among the candidates on the Jewish lists. A similar attempt was not made by the Polish Socialist Party, which represented Christian craftsmen on Town Council electoral lists. Certainly, the formation of the alliance was made more difficult by the non-existence of the Jewish left-wing parties in Lubartów, Bund above all, whose activists in the

second half of the 1920s could be counted on the fingers of one hand.[278] The lists of candidates for councillors are a proof to the weakness of the party system in Lubartów—not only on the left side of the political spectrum. Due to this fact, professional and interest groups, with varying degrees of party affiliation, played an important role and these groups operated with no exception on the basis of the ethno-religious barriers.

PART 4. TOWN BOARD ELECTIONS OR THE WEIGHT OF JEWISH VOTE IN THE TOWN COUNCIL

Three days after the elections to the Lubartów Town Council, the largest Jewish newspaper in the Lublin region, "Lubliner Tugblat", published an article by J. Nisenbaum (Jakub Hirsz Nisenbaum) under the title "Not with Dmowski's disciples! (After the elections to the Lubartów Town Council)." The content of the article is known only from a summary translated into Polish for the starost office.[279] The author begins by emphasising that in view of the success of the Jews in Lubartów, they must look for opportunities to cooperate with Christians. The summary quotes an excerpt from the article:

> "It must be remembered that the Christian representation in the Lubartów Town Council is very fragmented. The Council needs to form a Polish-Jewish majority, which would start working according to a pre-arranged programme. The Lubartów Jewish councillors need to think seriously about their steps, especially the first step in the voting for the mayor."

In keeping with the title, however, the main function of the article was to warn the newly elected Jewish councillors in Lubartów against cooperating with representatives of list number 3, characterised as the Polish right wing, who would not only "point out the misfortune of Jewish rule", but also "employ tactics to sabotage the newly elected council in order to compromise it".

> "The Jewish councillors, above all, must keep in touch with Polish democracy and not allow themselves to be caught by Dmowski's disciples on their fishing rod, even if they came with a pleasant smile on their lips, because after all they only think of the Jewish vote. They cannot act otherwise, because anti-Semitism is their daily bread, their existence.

[278] Police reports from the 1920s list 7 female activists under the age of 25, 4 of whom were kamashniks.
[279] Translation of Lubliner Tugblat from 27 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 29–30. It is not clear who translated the article for the Lublin starost.

> Removing the influence of these gentlemen, taking away their leadership positions is in the interest of both the town and the Jewish people."

During election of the Town Board, the newly elected Jewish councillors, followed yet another appeal by editor Nisenbaum to form a coalition, despite the ongoing conflicts between them. When electing the mayor and vice-mayor, however, they did exactly the opposite to the most clearly articulated instructions coming from Lublin—they unanimously voted for the incumbent mayor Władysław Śliwa, a supporter of national democracy,[280] and Andrzej Targoński, councillor from list number 3, local judge, deputy chairman and the most influential member of the ZLN in Lubartów.[281] With minimal support from Christian councillors, they elected two of the town's most prominent "Dmowski disciples" to the top positions on the Town Board.

Śliwa's candidacy for the mayor's post was put forward by Franciszek Poznański, one of the councillors from list no. 3, the Christian Electoral Committee of the Non-Partisan Bourgeois List. In addition to Śliwa, PPS leader Alfred Pogonowski and Jan Marzenta, representing the Democratic Club, put forward their candidates. The Jews were initially divided over their preferences, with councillors from the first Jewish list hesitating between the second and third option, while councillors from the second list opted for Władysław Śliwa. In order to convince the councillors from the first, they made concessions on the issues of the Jewish *Kehilla*.[282] As a result, all Jewish councillors supported Śliwa,[283] who won decisively in the first round with 16 of the 24 votes, and the vast majority of the 11 votes came from Jewish councillors. Although Śliwa's candidacy was put forward by a councillor from the third list, only the Jewish representatives remained undivided in their vote.

The same happened during the vote for vice mayor. Interestingly, the Jewish councillors, particularly Froim Akierjsztajn, leader of the first list, put forward the candidacy of a Catholic from outside the Town Council—Antoni Gołemberski, a civil servant and, since the late 1920s, treasurer of the Lubartów branch of the Fire Brigade and secretary for the Town Council.[284] The profession and functions held indicate Gołemberski's high social status. As a matter of fact, representatives of the highest authorities sat on the Fire Brigade's governing body in Lubartów;

[280] Composition of Town Councils in Lublin Voivodeship, January 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1650, 130–131.
[281] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s. APL, SPL, 90, 1–2. Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s. APL, SPL, 91, 12.
[282] Weekly situational reports of the starost of Lubartów, 1 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 12.
[283] Weekly situational reports of the starost of Lubartów, 8 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 18.
[284] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92, 34.

the president during Gołemberski's term was the mayor himself, who succeeded the starost Adolf Krauze in that position.

We do not know the background to Gołemberski's candidacy. It can be assumed that the Jewish councillors were counting on his position and connections to secure him the support of non-Jewish councillors. Eventually, they were one vote short; only Ignacy Magierka, a farmer from the list number 3, voted for Gołemberski. After endless negotiations and six rounds of voting, thanks to an alliance between the Jews and some councillors from the "non-partisan" list number 3, Andrzej Targoński was elected.[285] He was proposed by Froim Akiersztajn and not everyone from Targoński's own list voted for him.[286] With a majority formed of all Jewish councillors and some Christian councillors, completing the board with three councillors was a formality. Due to the submission of one list of candidates, it was not even necessary to vote, and the nominees were Dawid Olberg from the first list, Szloma Finkielsztajn from the second, and Franciszek Poznański from the third. The manner in which the election of the Lubartów Town Council was conducted met with disapproval from councillors not participating in the alliance, as noted in the minutes of the council meeting:

> "Upon finishing these actions and after the statements of the councillors, protests were raised by the representatives of the lists number 4, 5, and 6, who protested against the one-sided results of the election, stressing that this outcome, which resulted from the agreement of the electoral lists to town council number 1, 2, and 3, does not correspond to the essential composition of the council and is the result of the merger of the Jewish lists with the Christian right, which they cannot accept and do not take responsibility for the town's economy." [287]

The councillors' argument had no basis in regulations. The accusation refers to beliefs about the Christian right and Jews. While the former could be considered a threat from the perspective of political dynamic after the May *coup*, the latter echoed a belief that Jews are unable to govern in a responsible way, in accordance with the common, communal interest. Kathryn Ciancia writes about this stereotype in relation to the cities of Volhynia where during the same period,

[285] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 25 May 1927. APL, AML, 105, 40–44.
[286] Two of them, probably Józef Miąc and Józef Mazurkiewicz, identified in the starost's reports, voted for Maksymilian Szulc, one of the PPS leaders, president of the Health Insurance Fund (Kasa Chorych), previously put forward for the post of mayor. County Chief report, 19 April 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 15–16.
[287] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 25 May 1927. APL, AML, 105, 40–44.

Jews in local governments were accused of incompetence and of caring only about their own interests.[288]

The Town Board elections in Lubartów showed the strength of intra-group solidarity among the Jews, who were able to build an effective alliance despite internal divisions. This unanimity was achieved thanks to negotiations in the area of the *Kehilla* management, which once again shows that Jewish representation in both bodies was intertwined in the late 1920s. The 11 votes at disposal of Jewish representatives gave them the opportunity to build a coalition with representatives of all lists; they only needed two additional votes to obtain a majority. Despite this, and despite the scattering of Christian votes, the Jewish councillors gained relatively little advantage from their alliance, failing to appoint their own candidate as vice-mayor, even thought he was Christian. Having a Jewish candidate for the key positions of mayor and vice-mayor, might have seemed pointless to the Jewish councillors. Was it really an act of realism, or perhaps a compromise between councillors from two electoral lists? Examples from other towns in the Lubelskie Voivodeship demonstrate the significant barriers to accessing key positions within town authorities.

Structural barriers for Jewish representatives to the positions of mayor and deputy mayor

In 1927, municipal council elections were held in 26 towns out of 32 in the Lublin province. In none of the 26 towns was a Jewish mayor elected, regardless of the distribution of seats on the councils.[289] In cases where Jews constituted the majority, it occurred that a Jewish vice-mayor was elected as in Terespol (7 Jews out of 12 councillors) or Międzyrzec (17 out of 24 councillors). In most cases, however, this did not happen, as in the case of Hrubieszów (13 Jews out of 24 councillors), Tomaszów Lubelski (14 Jews out of 24 councillors) similarly to Stoczek and Łęczna located in the Lubartów district (in both cases Jews constituted a majority of 7 out of 12 councillors). The last example was particularly expressive, as the Jews constituting the majority in the councils had no representative on the board. In all the other cases mentioned, there was at least one Jewish alderman elected. Lubartów was the only town in the Lubelskie Voivodship where a board consisting of 11 Jews and 13 Christians was elected in 1927. The distribution of seats on the board with two Jewish aldermen in a five-member council

[288] Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge*, 110–111.
[289] Results of Town Council's elections, 6 August 1927. AAN, UWL, 270/IV–1, 358. List of city councils members and their deputies, October 1929. APL, UWL-WSP, 1654, 11 and separate pages for each city. The list of town council members compiled by the voivodeship office shows that in 9 of the 26 towns included, Jews formed a majority in the town councils, and there were 4 councils with "equal Polish-Jewish forces". Among the 532 councillors elected in 1927, in addition to "Jews and Poles", the list mentions three more "Rusini" (Ruthenian) councillors. Two of them sat on the council in Tomaszów Lubelski, where a "Rusin" councillor was elected.

corresponded to Parczew and Biłgoraj, where between Jews and Christians the number of seats was equal (12), while in Włodawa, where elections had been held two years earlier with the same ratio of votes as in Lubartów, only one Jewish alderman was appointed. In Międzyrzec, as the only town in the Lublin region, the larger number of Jews in the council resulted with a majority in the Town Board. However, even in this case, the overwhelming majority of Jews did not guarantee the election of a mayor from Jewish representatives.

There is, of course, the possibility that the lack of Jewish mayors and the small number of Jewish vice-mayors was due to alliances in the municipal councils, which were made across ethno-religious divisions. In fact, the 1927 councillors often represented various, often hostile, groups among Christians and Jews.[290] Perhaps, as was the case elsewhere in the country, interests and ideological differences[291] outweighed the strength of the divisions between ethno-religious groups. Even if religious-ethnic divisions were of secondary importance in the towns of the Lublin Voivodeship, which is clearly contradicted by the example of Lubartów, the question remains as to why, within the framework of alliances between Jews and non-Jews, a Christian mayor was elected each time, and Jews consistently obtained a smaller representation on the Board.

The Town boards served as an executive authority that run town administration. It was elected by an absolute majority of the town council. Candidates for the town board had to meet the same criteria as the town councillors; in addition, a candidate for mayor had to have completed education "in at least a Polish primary school" (*w zakresie co najmniej polskiej szkoły ludowej*).[292] The last requirement excluded the vast majority of Jews in Lubartów, as in the entire voivodeship, from becoming mayors. It is enough to say that only two of the 11 Jewish councillors in Lubartów met this requirement—Dawid Perec and Chaim Chajman had completed four grades of secondary school. The education of the others was defined as home schooling, while 11 of the 13 Catholic councillors had completed at least primary school.[293] The education requirement, discriminating against Jews, may serve as partial explanation for the lack of Jews among mayors. However, it does not explain the small number of towns with Jewish vice-mayors and the poor representation of Jews on the boards of towns in the Lublin Voivodeship.

[290] Lublin Voivodeship county chiefs' reports. APL, UWL-WSP, 1652.
[291] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i Kamienie*, 128–132; 138–145. Wierzbieniec, "Lwów, Przemyśl, and Rzeszów," 255–256.
[292] This means having completed 7 years of education.
[293] List of city council members and their deputies, 11 October 1929. APL, UWL-WSP, 1654, 34.

State authorities in the gambit for control over Lubartów authorities

Almost a month after the election of the Lubartów Town Board, the county department (*wydział powiatowy*), the supervisory body of the local authorities, questioned the legality of the election.[294] They argued that the secrecy of the vote had not been respected and that the election of the mayor had not been preceded by a resolution setting his salary. Interestingly, the issue of the mayor's salary had been raised by one of the councillors prior to the election of the board members.[295] The chairman of the meeting as the outgoing mayor, Władysław Śliwa, referred at the time to the regulation in force governing the issue, under which the Lubartów town council had drawn up a statute for official positions setting the board members' remuneration. The statute was later approved by the governor.[296] The discussion preceding the vote for the members of the board had been listened to by the county's highest authorities, the starost and his deputy who headed the work of the county department, which later annulled the election. In addition to these parties, the local government inspector overseeing the legality of the vote also attended the meeting. None of them spoke out during the discussion and subsequent election of board members.

The circumstances surrounding the annulment of the voting were all the more puzzling as the decision of the district authorities on the 20 June had been preceded by the resignation of Władysław Śliwa from his post four days earlier.[297] In his report to the provincial governor, the starost claimed that the entire situation had aroused the suspicions of the Jewish councillors.

> "The Jewish members of the local council are bitter because they see in the resignation, as well as in the annulment of the local council election, the influence of the local Christian committee with the aim of putting forward their candidate in the next election."[298]

The suspicions of the Jewish councillors were confirmed by Śliwa's speech at the next meeting of the Lubartów Town Council, who explained that his resignation was due to the fact that "the results of the elections to the Town Board does not correspond to the composition of the newly-appointed Town Council, and therefore, under such conditions, he does not see prospects of fruitful work and concrete results."[299] The mayor thus agreed with the Christian councillors'

[294]Weekly situational reports of the starost of Lubartów, 22 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 30.
[295] Minutes of the constituting of the Municipal Council of Lubartów, 25 May 1927. APL, AML, 105, 40–44.
[296] Minutes of the constituting of the Municipal Council of Lubartów, 25 May 1927. APL, AML, 105, 40–44.
[297] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 23 June 1927. APL, AML, 105, 45–46.
[298] Weekly situational reports of the starost of Lubartów, 22 June 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 29–30.
[299] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 23 June 1927. APL, AML, 105, 45–46. The mayor had no chance to experience the mismatch of the council and the board, because before his resignation, the council did not meet even once.

earlier complaints that the election result "does not correspond to the essential composition of the council members."[300] Probably, they were Christian councillors that Jews referred to as the "local Christian committee", accused of sabotaging the newly elected Town Board. This committee could also be understood more broadly as the Christian elite of Lubartów, or the public opinion of the town. By accepting their objections, Śliwa undermines not only his own (and the Town Board's) legitimacy to govern, but also the legitimacy of the councillors, primarily Jewish, to elect the board.

As already presented, mayor Śliwa sought to maintain the dominant role of Christians in Lubartów's authorities and to preserve "Polish (Christian) unity" in the face of the threat from the "Jewish element". Paradoxically, his election in 1927, made primarily by Jewish votes, was possible due to a lack of agreement among the Christian councillors. It seems reasonable, therefore, to compare his election to that of President Narutowicz, except that Śliwa owed his election to an even greater extent than the first President of the Second Republic to "non-Polish votes". Śliwa, like the Nationalist vice-mayor Targoński, was thus elected against the doctrine that was supposed to give full control over the institutions of power to the Polish majority. And interestingly, their dismissal was carried out in accordance with the same doctrine.

The example of Lubartów shows that the staffing of the Town Board was not the exclusive competence of the elected council. The elections and the selection of the town council were a moment when the central authorities took a particular interest in local issues. Undoubtedly, as in the earlier complaint by Christian councillors, the votes that selected the council were significant. However, the moment of the annulment of the elections and the selection of new authorities, the beginning of the Sanacja (Sanation) regime in Poland, could have been even more significant.

The Sanacja camp takes control over the local government in Lubartów

The Democratic Club in the 1927 elections in Lubartów introduced three members to the Town Council. In the first mayoral election, the Club failed to build a coalition, and as a result their candidate, the 32-year-old civil servant Adam Lipski, won only three votes, losing not only to Śliwa but also to the joint candidate of the left-wing circles. The same Adam Lipski in the second election, after the first board had been annulled, won 14 votes, including 3 from the Democratic Club, with another 10 coming from Jewish councillors. The last vote was cast by one of the PPS leaders, Alfred Pogonowski, who did not give his vote for Adam Miduch, the

[300] Minutes of the constituting of the Municipal Council of Lubartów, 25 May 1927. APL, AML, 105, 40–44.

left-wing candidate from the non-partisan list number 3. The division among the left-wing councillors persisted in the election of the vice-mayor, where Adam Miduch ran against the former PPS activist in Lubartów, Feliks Jezior. Jezior, who was very popular in Lubartów, received wide support, with Jewish councillors casting 10 or 11 of the 16 votes.[301] The issue of the election of aldermen was decided by compromise, as one list was submitted, with one candidate from each Jewish list and a representative of the right-wing group of the list number 3.[302] As a result, the left-wing faction in the council, consisting of six people, was the only political force in the council that did not get a seat on the Town Board.

The annulment of Śliwa's election and the appointment of a new board with Adam Lipski at the head was the first step towards the complete control over the town authority by the pro-government circles in Lubartów. Lubartów was one of eight towns in the Lublin region where the pro-government group introduced their candidates to the municipal council in 1927.[303] Only in Stoczek the strength of their representation, 2 out of 12 councillors, equals the one from Lubartów: 4 out of 24. In most towns it was one or two councillors. Lubartów was thus in the vanguard of the process of the pro-government camp taking control of local governments, and Adam Lipski was the first mayor in the region from the camp. Its influence in the towns in the Lublin Region increased considerably with the establishment of the Non-Party Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (BBWR) at the end of 1927, a political representation set up on Piłsudski's initiative, and the mobilisation associated with the 1928 parliamentary elections. The takeover of municipal administration was conducted top-down, in line with the centralist model of state governance emphasising the role of the executive power—initially it was mainly mayors and vice-mayors who joined the BBWR. In October of 1929, already in 15 out of 27 towns in Lublin region, with a functioning council and boards, the mayor was a BBWR member—and in 11, the deputy mayor.[304] These proportions were not matched by the distribution of seats in the municipal councils, although here, too, an increase in the importance

[301] Weekly situational reports of the starost of Lubartów, 5 July 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1854, 45–46 and Minutes of the Town Council, 4 July 1927. APL, AML, 105, 48–49.
[302] *Ibid*.
[303] Composition of the city councils in Lublin Voivodeship, 6 August 1927. AAN, UWL, 270/IV–1, 358. Most often this electoral committee was called the Union for the Repair of the Republic. Both former sympathisers and members of other political parties, such as the mayor of Łęczna, Edward Nazarewicz, a PSL–Wyzwolenie sympathiser, or the deputy mayor of Łosice, formerly a member of the ZLN, and non–partisans, as in the case of Jan Wnuk, the mayor of Krasnystaw, joined the BBWR. AAN, UWL, 270/IV–1, 425.
[304] Composition of local governments in Lublin Voivodeship, October 1929. APL, UWL-WSP, 1654, 7.

of pro-government forces can be observed. In 1929, already 21 out of 27 councils had BBWR members, and in 6 they were the most numerous political forces.[305]

In this context, voting for the candidate of the pro-government camp, like the earlier support for Śliwa, can be understood as an attempt to bring the Jewish community closer to the leading political forces in the city. In both cases, Jews voted for candidates theoretically unfavourable to them. Śliwa and Targoński were associated with the national camp, while Lipski ran on the list of a committee that mobilised the electorate by creating a sense of threat from Jews. The remaining Christian councillors, even if far from the anti-Semitic rhetoric, were associated with the left, with which Jewish councillors apparently did not want to build alliances; even Dawid Perec, identified with the socialist Bund, did not support leftist candidates in any of the votes. The choice of allies seems quite rational. Among the 11 Jewish councillors, there were seven merchants, two office workers, a commissioner, and a tinsmith. In addition, most of them were associated with the Conservative parties Agudat Israel and Mizrachi. Their profiles therefore fit more closely with the candidates described as bourgeois: the Christian Right from list number 3 and the representatives of the Democratic Club, among whom were predominantly merchants and clerks, than with the craftsmen and factory workers running from lists 4 and 5, with slogans against merchants, the bourgeoisie, and property owners.[306]

PART 5. TOWARDS A RE-EXCLUSION OF JEWS FROM SELF-GOVERNMENT

The term of office of the municipal authorities elected in 1927 in Lubartów was extended, as in other Polish cities, until the introduction of the 1933 Act, which changed the powers of local government and the manner of their election. For seven years, the council with significant representation of Lubartów Jews remained in office, which to some extent influenced the shape of municipal policies and the distribution of funds in Lubartów. In the 1930s, local elections were held twice, in 1934 and 1939. As a result, Jewish representation in the local government declined significantly (Table 2). In order to understand the reasons behind the political

[305] Submissions of lists of candidates for municipal councillors, April 1927. APL, AML, 74, 194–197. Alongside being a tinsmith, Abuś Wajsmel also ran a beer hall; the commissioner, Dawid-Lipa Olberg, was described in the compilations prepared by the town as a druggist. According to the population register, in 1932 Olberg was the owner of a pharmacy in Lubartów.

[306] "Working People! Take matters into your own hands! Do not continue to allow yourself to be led by merchants on a strip, because they only care about themselves (...) Today they have opened shops on your sweat, built houses, and want to continue to prey on you." PPS leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5 Cim. "The town council is becoming an outpost of increased oppression and exploitation of the working class and for the bourgeoisie its henchmen for the lords of God-fearing orthodoxy rich merchants and careerists is an abundant source of shady profits fat jobs and profitable supply.' Workers' Union leaflet, 1927. National Library, DŻS IA 6c5.

marginalisation of Lubartów's Jewish residents, I focus on the changes resulting from new regulations, the electoral process and administrative actions, the strengthening of the pro-government bloc as well as its anti-Semitic agitation in the late 1930s.

TURN	TOWN COUNCIL	TOWN BOARD	PERMANENT RESIDENTS	RESIDENTS WITH VOTING RIGHTS
1919–1927	29 Catholics	5 Catholics	6,102 54% Jews / 46% Catholics (in 1921)	3,278
1927–1934	13 Catholics / 11 Jews	3 Catholics / 2 Jews		3752
1934–1939	11 Catholics / 5 Jews	4 Catholics / 1 Jew	7,718 44% Jews / 54% Catholics[307]	3,745 43% Jews / 55% Catholics
1939	13 Catholics / 3 Jews	5 Catholics	8,121 42% Jews / 58% Catholics	4,089 40% Jews / 55% Catholics

Table 2. Distribution of seats in Town Council and Board compared with the Lubartów population: number of residents, and number of residents with voting rights. Sources: APL, AML, APL, UWL-WSP, 1650, 131. APL, AML, 39-48.

The gradual weakening of local government in interwar Poland after 1926

In the doctrine of the new authorities after 1926, local government did not serve to implement civil rights and freedoms, but rather to carry out state-enforced tasks and ensure effective management.[308] The objectives of the local government were to coincide with those of the state authorities; it was to be an extension of the state at the local level, a *de facto* second form of state administration. These goals were to be achieved through legal regulations, but also through an appropriate personnel policy based on etatist-minded elites. Until the mid-1930s, the ruling camp was convinced of the need to remove political parties from the local government, accusing them of transferring national conflicts onto local government and paralysing its work. They

[307] Number of residents and residents with voting rights counted for the election days in 1934 and in 1939 based on permanent residents' register. I would like to thank Gabrielle Escaich for help with this calculation.
[308] Waldemar Paruch, "Samorząd w autorytaryzmie. Piłsudczykowska koncepcja samorządności (1926–1939)," in Grzegorz Radomski (ed.), *Samorząd w polskiej myśli politycznej XX wieku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2003), 153– 178.

were to be replaced by locally established, pro-state activists and social organisations, and the replacement of personnel was to be facilitated by strict control of the electoral process. In the second half of the 1930s, after Piłsudski's death, local government, in the view of the transformed ruling camp, was once again to become an arena of political struggle, as it had been in the 1920s, this time between the government's Camp of National Unity (OZN or Ozon) and the opposition parties.[309]

In practice, the changes initially concerned the appointment of county chiefs, who were directly appointed by the government administration.[310] In the following years, starting from 1928, the legal scope of self-government's independence was gradually limited[311]. In 1933, the so-called consolidation act was introduced to establish a uniform local government system in Poland, which had previously varied between different parts of the country. Under this act, state supervision over local government bodies was strengthened: it became easier to invalidate the election of mayors and appoint provisional authorities in place of local government ones, the government was given control over local government meetings, and institutions were established to control local government finances.[312] The strengthening of executive power, in particular that of the mayor, who became more closely linked to the state administration, was intended to facilitate control over municipal governments and the effective enforcement of state guidelines.[313] Greater independence for the mayor, and strengthening of the mayor's position in relation to other local government bodies, was achieved through the power to repeal council and executive board resolutions, as well as the extension of the mayor's term of office to 10 years, with a 5-year term for councillors and executive board members.[314] At the same time, the number of councillors was reduced, which weakened the chances of smaller groups being represented in local government—in Lubartów the number decreased from 16 to 24.

The changes in the scope of local government powers were accompanied by changes to the electoral law, which raised the voting age to 24, thereby limiting the number of voters and

[309] Ibid., 176–177.
[310] Regina Pacanowska, "Państwo wobec samorządów," 103.
[311] In 1928, the principle of primacy of government administration was introduced, meaning that local government bodies could only act in matters assigned to them. Hubert Izdebski, "Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczpospolitej," in Andrzej Piekara and Zygmunt Niewiadomski (eds.), *Samorząd terytorialny. Zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1998), 79–84.
[312] Regina Pacanowska, "Państwo wobec samorządów," 105.
[313] The mayor was given the power to make independent decisions on matters that were not included in the powers of the town's council and board as specified in the act, and on matters entrusted to him directly by higher authorities.
[314] Polish solutions show strong similarities to the political systems adopted in the authoritarian countries of Europe in the 1930s. Grzegorz Radomski, "Samorząd w państwach autorytarnych w okresie międzywojennym. Próba analizy," *Studia nad Autorytaryzmem i Totalitaryzmem*, 42, nr 4 (2020), 327–343.

excluding the youngest adults from participating in local politics. In addition to the electoral law, candidates for councillors had to be 30 years of age and exercise spoken and written fluency in Polish.[315] In terms of conducting elections, the fundamental difference was that the municipality was divided into districts and voters had to choose from among candidates nominated in those districts, which made it possible to influence the election results through creative districting (gerrymandering). In 1939, a constituency was carved out around the Market Square in Lubartów, where about 70% of all Lubartów Jews lived. Ultimately, however, the electoral law had no direct impact on the election results, since in both 1934 and 1939, voting did not take place, and the candidates came from a single list approved for the elections.

Control over the conduct of elections in Lubartów

The organisation of the electoral process in Lubartów in the 1930s shows a complete integration of local government with the central authority of the Sanation camp. Coordination was carried out by the government administration, through the provincial governor and the county administrator. Locally, the pro-government BBWR structures were also involved in preparing the ground for the elections and ensuring electoral success. The reports of the Lubartów county administrator to the provincial governor give a detailed account of these activities:

> "The BBWR continued to work intensively during this period, particularly in terms of organisation and preparation for municipal council elections, primarily in the town of Lubartów, where a BBWR election committee was organised, which developed the electoral geometry in Lubartów."[316]

In this case, electoral geometry probably meant establishing electoral districts, which was a legislative competence of the government administration. In the next step, the BBWR was to establish a single list of all candidates:

> "The dominant focus of the BBWR's attention during the reporting period was the municipal elections. Activities were carried out along the lines of setting up an electoral apparatus by organising close cooperation between pro-government organisations. Preparing the ground in the electoral district completely absorbed the efforts of the BBWR. To this end, a series of conferences were held between the BBWR and representatives of

[315] Ustawa z dnia 23 marca 1933 r. o częściowej zmianie ustroju samorządu terytorialnego. https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19330350294.
[316] County Chief's monthly report, 1 May 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1845, 13.

both Polish and Jewish social groups, which ultimately made it possible to field only one BBWR list in all electoral districts in Lubartów."[317]

In the event of failure to negotiate a single list, administrative tools remained in place to deprive candidates of their right to stand for election. In 1934, these tools were used in Łęczna, the second town in Lubartów County.[318] It was the responsibility of the Electoral Commission to question the validity of supporting signatures and the linguistic competence of candidates. No information has survived about the activities of the Electoral Commission in Lubartów during the 1934 election period, but the starost's reports indicate that only one pro-government list was submitted for voting.[319] Five years later, during the next local elections, the Main Election Commission in Lubartów had much work to do. This was because, apart from the BWRR bloc or the so-called compromise list, competing lists were submitted in two constituencies.

On 20 March, 1939, the Electoral Commission, "after examining the submitted lists," concluded that in the case of two lists not submitted by the BBWR, "all voters should be called upon to verify the authenticity of the signatures," and at the same time questioned the right of two candidates from one of the lists to run for office.[320] In addition, two candidacies were rejected: Alfred Drusko's as a "foreigner" and Zygmunt Jezior's because he was not on the voter list.[321] At the same time, the voting rights of some of the people who signed the same list on which Drusko and Jezior were candidates, were challenged.

The list of candidates in question was drawn up by the PPS and trade unions. Eleven of the 27 people who signed the list reported to the Electoral Commission on the same day. All of them, on forms filled out by the secretary of the Commission and the secretary of the Town Office, Marian Strzyżewski, declared that they were withdrawing their support for the list, arguing that they had been misled by the list's representative or that they had not realised who they were supporting. Some of them also declared their distance from the socialists and trade unions, or their sympathy for the pro-government camp represented in the elections by the Ozon. All those who withdrew their signatures came from a suburb of Lubartów called Jacek. Jacek was inhabited mostly by poor residents of Lubartów, and it was among them that the PPS and trade

[317] County Chief's monthly report, 1 June 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1845, 23.
[318] County Chief's monthly report, 1 June 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1845, 23.
[319] Hubert Izdebski argues that the 1933/1934 local elections results were highly affected by electoral fraud, more so than 1938/1939 elections. Hubert Izdebski," Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczypospolitej. Część II: Samorząd w latach 1933–1939," *Samorząd Terytorialny*, 5 (1991), 51.
[320] Protocol of the Main Electoral Commission, 20 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 97.
[321] Alfred Drusko was not included in the register of residents; his wife and children are registered at 33 Jacek neighbourhood. Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 39, 196.

unions tried to gain support. Considering the district voting system, they had a chance to win a seat.[322]

The format of the declaration and the repetitiveness of the wording in the declaration give the impression that they were submitted under pressure. Additional suspicion is aroused by the wording at the beginning of the form, which states that the persons came forward "without being summoned."[323] The second independent list was invalidated due to concerns about the authenticity of the signatures. Earlier, the Electoral Commission had also questioned the Polish language skills of one of the candidates on this list.[324]

The electoral law and administrative measures not only led to the invalidation of lists from outside the pro-government camp but also had an intimidating effect on independent political movements. Given the way the electoral process was designed, putting forward one's own list not only had little chance of success, but could even result in criminal sanctions.[325] Given this circumstance, and taking into account the vote counting system that favours larger parties, the decision to join the pro-government electoral lists was a matter of survival in the local government.

Strengthening of the pro-government camp's dominance in Lubartów

In Lubartów, from 1927 when the Town Board was established through the intervention of the government authorities, until the end of the 1930s, the pro-government camp strengthened its position, leaving no room for influence or participation in government for any political initiative outside the umbrella of Ozon. The Sanacja system of local government, apart from the control of the authorities, was also based on the creation of a network of social organisations personally and organisationally linked to the pro-government local authorities, such as The Women's Civic Labour Union (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet), the Reservists' Family (Rodzina Rezerwistów) or the Youth Legion (Legion Młodych), and some trade unions. At the Ozon rally before the local elections of 1939, on February 26th, the Catholic National Election Committee O.Z.N. was established, which included representatives of 20 different social and professional

[322] They were numerous among public aid recipients. Public care records, 1924–1939. APL, AML, 357–371.
[323] Letter to the representative of the election list No. 1 from constituency No. 1, 25 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 137–138.
[324] Declaration of Zygmunt Belko, 24 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 137–138.
[325] In Lubartów, in regard to one of the independent lists, after questioning the authenticity of signatures, the Electoral Committee referred the case to the prosecutor's office. Protocol of the Electoral Committee meetings, 28 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 137, 10–11.

organisations from Lubartów, including glass workers, masons, and teachers. The committee was under the patronage of the most important Catholic clergy in the town.[326]

Ozon's takeover of political life in Lubartów fostered the combination of public official functions with key positions held in Ozon's structures. Edward Krzyk, secretary of the county office, was also vice-chairman of the county Ozon structures, Marian Strzyżewski was secretary of the municipal office, and on the Municipal Election Committee was also secretary of the Ozon Election Committee; another town official and candidate for councillor in the elections, Aleksander Lalka, was deputy head of the local structures of the organisation.[327]

Paradoxically, Jan Jastrzębski, mayor of Lubartów in the second half of the 1930s, was the least suited to this group. Born in 1892, Jastrzębski participated in Ozon's election meetings but never led the organisation. In terms of his life's trajectory, as a former professional soldier, he differed from most of Lubartów's administrative elite, both those employed in the town hall and the county office who had built their careers in public institutions. He was also not particularly attached to Lubartów. He came to the town to take up the position of mayor after the sudden death of the previous mayor at the end of 1934, Adam Lipski, a lawyer and co-founder of the pro-government camp in Lubartów. Previously, he had lived briefly in Lublin after being retired in 1933.[328] Jastrzębski was one of many former military commanders appointed to head local governments in the 1930s, one of the symptoms of the militarisation of the state.[329]

"Compromise Lists"

In Lubartów in the 1930s, it never occurred that anyone took part in local elections without cooperating with the pro-government camp. Given the administrative pressure and the influence of the government camp's circles, individuals and groups who decided to cooperate did not have an equal position in this arrangement. In both elections in the 1930s, only one Christian representative of a party other than the pro-government one, was elected to the municipal authorities from the BBWR list. In both cases, these were supporters of the national camp: Father Stanisław Krynicki in 1934, and in 1939, Feliks Jabłoński, president of the National

[326] About Ozon's activities and antisemitism agitation in Lubartów and Lubartów county, see Chapter 6.
[327] The Election Bulletin of the OZN in Lubartów, 9 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 30.
[328] Stanisław Łoza, *Czy wiesz kto to jest? Uzupełnienia i sprostowania.* (Warszawa: Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, 1939), 121.
[329] See Chapter 5.

Party (SN) in Lubartów in the mid-1930s.[330] In addition to Jabłoński, the independent priest Aleksander Szulc was also elected to the council in 1939.

Among the other Christian councillors who were assigned to the two pro-government parties during both terms were former activists and supporters of other parties, such as the aforementioned district doctor Alfred Pogonowski, chairman of the PPS in Lubartów in the late 1920s, and Franciszek Belcarz, who had previously been associated with the nationalists. However, the vast majority of candidates either had no previous party affiliation or were associated with the pro-government camp from the outset. The emergence of the pro-government camp in Lubartów in the second half of the 1920s led to the *de facto* deprivation of influence on local politics by national parties, an influence which, as the 1927 elections had shown, had not previously been decisive for the local dynamics of relations among the political elites.

The 1934 elections meant continuity at the level of the council's composition—seven of the eleven Christian councillors had served in the previous term, and the same board members were retained, with the addition of notary Władysław Klank, one of the leaders of the local BBWR.[331] The next elections brought significant personnel changes, with only two of the 13 councillors having previously served on the council. At the same time, the diversity of the council's composition was maintained. Among the non-Jewish councillors on the list were a glass worker, a farmer, a teacher, a priest, as well as craftsmen, masons, merchants, a lawyer, and a town official. The change of councillors did not involve the inclusion of younger activist to positions. Only one of the Christian councillors was under 40, and the council included councillors and candidates from 1927 elections who were then associated with the pro-government Democratic Bloc, such as 50-year-old Jan Marzeta, 59-year-old Franciszek Racki, and 60-year-old Stanisław Derecki.[332]

Jewish candidates on "compromise lists"

With regard to Jewish candidates running on pro-government lists, the authors of the reports did not bother to specify their party affiliation, providing only aggregate statistics for the 1934 elections in Lubartów and Łęczna. In both towns, four seats were gained by Agudat Yisrael,

[330] About the links between the Catholic church and national movement in Lubartów, see chapter 5. Ryszard Szwed, *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna w wyborach do samorządów terytorialnych w latach 1919–1939* (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, 1993), 85 and 87.
[331] Monthly report of the county chief, 1 September 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 45.
[332] Announcement with the 1939 elections results, 30 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 67.

followed by three for the Zionist Organisation in Poland, and two for the Revisionists, the right-wing Zionists.[333] Five years later, the town office described two new Jewish councillors as non-partisan, and one as belonging to a pro-goverment party other than the BBWR, probably Agudat.[334] Among the five Jewish councillors elected in 1934, only one had been councillor in the previous term: 40-year-old Dawid Perec who was associated with the Bund in the 1920s. The 66-year-old Szloma Finkielsztajn, another Jewish councillor from 1934, previously sat on the Town Board as a supporter of Mizrachi. Perec, one of the more active councillors in the 1927-1934 term, was active in municipal committees,[335] while Finkielsztajn had experience working in a city council dominated by Catholics.[336] In addition to them, 41-year-old Chaim Perysko, a mill owner and the only Jewish member and secretary of the Board of the Association of Mill Owners and Leaseholders in the county, also joined the council, as did 33-year-old Szloma Ber Cieśla, a shoemaker and member of the Chamber of Crafts, a local government unit in the Second Polish Republic representing the interests of craftsmen.[337]

The example of four Jewish councillors from the 19 n bn34 term raises questions about the role of party affiliation and political alliances in the case of Jewish candidates. Perhaps more important was the experience in cooperation between religious and ethnic groups and competence. This observation shifts the focus from the political strategies of large political blocs, such as the Agudat alliance with the pro-government camp as a conservative strategy of adaptation, or the PPS alliance with the Bund,[338] to mutual contacts, cooperation, and the practice of acting and governing in local government. Without knowing the circumstances surrounding the selection of Jewish candidates, one can only conclude that the candidates themselves had to agree to run for office, and the initiators of the list had to accept their admission. It is likely that their candidacies were also negotiated among the leaders of the Jewish community, but it is unclear who made the decisions.

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[333] Monthly report of the county chief, 1 June 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1845, 26. Natalia Aleksiun, "Organizacja Syjonistyczna w Polsce" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=18949. Natalia Aleksiun, "Syjoniści–Rewizjoniści" in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=17192.
[334] Brief description of the council's composition, May 1939. APL, AML, 67. No page number.
[335] See Chapter 2.
[336] The fifth of the elected Jewish councillor, 36 years old Szloma Olberg was a private clerk (*urzędnik prywatny*), and nothing is known about his political affiliation or public functions.
[337] Monthly report of the county chief, 1 February 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1844, 4. Monthly report of the county chief, 6 October 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 50.
[338] This points to different logic of alliances than in i.a. Tarnów. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i Kamienie*, 128–132; 138–145. Gershon Bacon, "The Politics of Tradition: Agudat Israel in Polish Politics, 1916–1939," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, 2 (1986), 58–61.

Judging by the 1927 councillors' school internship, fluent Polish in writing was not common among the older generation of the Jewish political leaders in Lubartów. It is likely that the elder elite's insufficient knowledge of Polish eliminated them from participating in the elections of 1934. The requirement to be fluent in spoken and written Polish is one potential explanation for the young age of the Jewish councillors in 1934. All of them, except for Finkielsztajn, were in their 40s or around that age. None of them had been active participants in the *Kehilla* disputes of the 1920s, nor did any of them have documented ties to the *Kehilla* administration in the 1930s.[339] The representation of Jews in the town authorities in 1934 was complemented by Boruch Goldfingier as a Town Board member, one of the wealthier merchants from the older generation of Lubartów Jews. Like his younger counterparts, 59-year-old Boruch Goldfingier was not mentioned among the leaders of the *Kehilla*.[340] In 1939 Goldfingier was elected councillor in the last term of the municipal authorities, alongside Dawid Perec and Szloma-Ber Cieśla. This time no Jewish Town Board member was appointed.

The exclusion of Jews as a political program

As a result of two consecutive elections in the 1930s, the number of Jewish representatives in the municipal authorities declined. This process coincided with changes in the proportions of Jewish and non-Jewish residents in Lubartów (Table 2). However, demographics alone cannot explain the increasing marginalisation of Jews, who had far fewer councillors and aldermen than the number of Jewish residents indicates. The position of Jews on the "compromise lists" was not the result of an arithmetic based on demographics or the popularity of Jewish candidates, but rather resulted from the strength of the pro-government camp, which made the marginalisation and even exclusion of Jews one of the priorities of its local government policy. This was expressed during the founding rally of the Ozon Election Committee in February of 1939:

> "The chair of the election meeting, Aleksander Lalka, vice-chair of the local branch [of Ozon], announced to those gathered that as a result of Ozon's efforts, the county chief had ordered elections to the Town Council to be held earlier, thus enabling large numbers of masons leaving for seasonal work to participate *en masse* in the elections. Other speakers called on those gathered to form a single electoral bloc, to unite completely in the service of the town, its future and the future of its citizens, and to set aside all personal ambitions. Only under such conditions will it be possible to elect a new Town Council that is **purely**

[339] I did not find a complete list of members of the *Kehilla* boards during that period.
[340] More about Goldfinger and his family, see Chapter 4.

> **Polish and Catholic**, which will take the position of the legitimate host of the town of Lubartów (loud applause from the crowd).”[341]

Anti-Semitic rhetoric and actions in the 1920s called for Christian unity in the face of the threat posed by Jews, who had a serious chance of gaining a majority in the Town Council. In the 1930s, the nationalist narrative in Lubartów went further, calling for the purification of the Town Council, at a time when Jewish residents were already marginalised. The anti-Semitic narrative at the rally run and attended by town and county officials, representatives of the church, and social organisations, called for the complete exclusion of Jews from the town authorities, depriving them of their role as hosts of the town, and thus excluding them from the community of town residents.

CONCLUSION

The model of local government that excluded Jewish residents from participating in the town's authorities was established in Lubartów at the beginning of Polish statehood and remained in place until the end of the 1930s. Even the 1927 elections, although the only ones to allow the free nomination of candidates and the participation of those eligible to vote, had been preceded by administrative measures designed to limit the participation of Jewish residents in the authorities. The stance taken by Mayor Śliwa and administrative authorities at various levels towards maintaining a Polish majority in local government shows that this concept predated the agitation of nationalist groups in connection with the election of President Narutowicz in 1922, and did not necessarily have to be linked to the political strategies of political parties, but was among the components within the logic of how the administrative apparatus had functioned since the beginning of the Second Polish Republic.

Exclusion had a clear legislative dimension, through requirements imposed on candidates and voters, which, as I have shown, affected the Jewish residents of Lubartów and some underprivileged groups. Regardless of the impact of changes in national policy and the nationwide nature of legal changes, local actors were of fundamental importance for the course of the elections and, thus, also for the distribution of local power. It was the initiative of the mayor, municipal and county officials, and the entire group of Christian activists that led to three out of four elections being decided without a vote, and Jews being marginalised in decision-making about the town throughout the interwar period.

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[341] The text in bold according to the source. Election Bulletin of the OZN in Lubartów, 9 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 30.

The 1920s which according to the established chronology are often framed as a time of experimentation with democracy, party divisions, and factional struggles, passed in Lubartów under the rule of representatives of a single list, with Jewish residents excluded from local politics. The extent to which the emergence of a new order in Lubartów was an attempt to maintain the established social hierarchies, dating back to the period of partition, remains a matter for further study. This was certainly facilitated by the lack of a tradition of elected local government and the limited influence of political parties—only slightly more than a quarter of those eligible registered for voting, and one list of candidates was registered. The obstruction, or perhaps even prevention, of Jewish residents from participating in the elections was all the more significant given that, in 1919 there were about 10% more Jews than Christians in Lubartów, and the newly elected authorities remained in power for eight years.

The situation in 1927 was extremely different. A voter turnout of over 80% combined with six electoral lists provides a picture of a highly politicised town with a residents aware of the importance of the elections. Interestingly, the dividing lines at that time largely ran outside party lines and were a combination of professional identifications, economic positions, wealth, and membership in social organisations. Despite the complexity of the divisions, there was no ground on which Jewish and non-Jewish candidates could join forces on electoral lists, while mobilisation based on the division between Jews and Christians became the basic electoral strategy of the leading Christian lists. It is difficult to identify a moment in Lubartów, in regard to local elections, when a model of citizenship that transcended ethnic and religious divisions was implemented.[342] It was certainly not part of the pro-government bloc's strategy during the 1927 elections.

In the case of Jewish candidates, internal divisions were related to disputes within the *Kehilla*, which reflected the social changes affecting the Jewish residents of the town. The scale of support in local elections for the list led by Froim Akiersztajn, who was in conflict with the conservative leaders of the *Kehilla*, shows how Jewish politics in Lubartów was moving away from traditional disputes within the community. Over 1,000 Lubartów residents voted for Akiersztajn and the candidates on his list, including many voters who had previously been deprived of influence, with the largest group being women who had been given no vote within the *Kehilla*. Combined with the younger age of the councillors on Akiersztajn's list, a picture

[342] Waldemar Paruch, *Od konsolidacji państwowej do konsolidacji narodowej: mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej obozu piłsudczykowskiego (1926–1939)* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie–Skłodowskiej, 1997), 93–163. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 128–132.

emerges of a division among Jews between the traditional conservative elite and more progressive activists threatening the established hierarchies. This interpretation would explain the concerns about Akiersztajn and his associates on the part of the town and county authorities, who sought to subject the "loyal Lubartów Jews" to their control, and perhaps also feared an influence that extended beyond the Jewish population. This division within the Jewish community in Lubartów in the second half of the 1920s, which had a strongly political basis, was not addressed by the political parties.

It seems that the success of Akiersztajn's list, apart from structural factors, was also due to the charisma of the leader himself. Froim Akiersztajn died two years after becoming a councillor. During this period, he managed to establish his standing and uncompromising attitude in the council.[343] In a sense, Dawid Perec, from the same electoral list, became Akiersztajn's successor. He became the leader among Jewish representatives and was the only one among them to sit on the council from 1927 to 1939. However, it seems that he was of a completely different temperament than Akiersztajn, and the 1930s were a much more difficult time to push through an independent agenda.

The local elections in Lubartów indicate the weakness of the political parties' local influence throughout the interwar period. Already in the first elected council of 1919, independents constituted a decisive majority. Perhaps this weakness of structures and lack of a support base contributed to the fact that the pro-government camp established itself so easily and quickly in Lubartów, initially in the form of the Democratic Bloc, later the BBWR, and finally, in the late 1930s, as Ozon. In turn, the strength of this camp, entrenched in the authorities and administration of the town and counties, as well as in the social organisations and public institutions, prevented any political movement capable of challenging it from sprouting in the town.

An analysis of the course of the elections shows that since the first formally democratic elections in 1919, representatives of Lubartów's Jews had sought political autonomy and participation in deciding upon the fate of the town. The 1927 elections are an even clearer sign of Lubartów Jews' ambitions in local politics. The reports of the county chief, police, and town materials pay little attention to the political life of Jews in Lubartów in the 1930s, and in the context of elections, they most often note a lack of interest among the Jewish residents. The perspective of the authors of the reports is external to the Jewish community; they certainly had

[343] See Chapter 5.

very limited insight into the dynamics of Jewish politics. Their perspective, however, corresponds with Kenneth Moss's recent argument which pointed to a sense of no prospects for Jewish life in Poland resulting from the Jews' social and political position, anti-Semitism, exclusion, and, consequently, less involvement in changing the structural conditions of Jewish life in Poland, and a turn towards Palestine.[344]

[344] Moss, *An Unchosen People.*

CHAPTER 2. ETHICIZING AID. JEWS AND CHRISTIANS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE SOCIAL CARE SYSTEM IN INTERWAR LUBARTÓW

INTRODUCTION

On July 22nd, 1939, the Lubartów Town Council held its penultimate meeting in the interwar period. Incidentally, it was the first meeting of new councillors, following the local elections held a few months earlier, on 30 March. In the new council comprising 15 members, Jews, who constituted 42 per cent of the town's population, were represented by only three members. The meeting was held to elect the town board and members of the municipal committees. Five candidates were recommended for the Social Care Commission and the Finance and Budget Commission, including no Jews, which provoked a reaction from Jewish councillors, supported by two Christian members of the council, Aleksander Lalka and Stanisław Kozakiewicz.[345] They all argued that Jews should be represented in both bodies. Councillor Kowalski, on the other hand, according to the minutes, considered that "no Jewish representatives should be elected to the Finance and Budget Committee." As a result of further discussions, Councillor Goldfinger rescinded his candidacy for the Finance and Budget Committee and was included in the Social Welfare Committee. As a result of further discussions, Jews obtained a seat on the Social Care Commission. It is worth adding that Aleksander Lalka, perhaps unwilling to expose himself in front of some of the nationalist councillors, raised an objection at the following council meeting to the contents of the minutes of the previous meeting, claiming that he had expressed "that Jewish representatives were not to be included in all committees, but only in the Social Welfare Committee."[346]

Two aspects are particularly noteworthy. The first is that the balance of power in the Town Council in Lubartów was understood according to religious or ethnic criteria; second, the participation of Jews in the Social Care Commission was apparently of fundamental importance to Jewish councillors and to some non-Jews. As the municipal records show, social care remained a distinctive area of self-government in Lubartów, serving a significant number of Jews in need. I argue that religious and ethnic divisions played a particular role in the social

[345] Protocol of the Town Council meeting, 22 July 1939, APL, AML, 109. Pages in the file are not numbered.
[346] Protocol of the Town Council meeting, 31 July 1939. APL, AML, 109.

care system in Lubartów, both in terms of direct financial and material support and subsidising charities, the two main areas of social care covered in this chapter.

My perspective on the social care in Lubartów is rooted in administrative history and social history with a tilt towards Jewish studies. Several works have recently been published on the legal foundations and functioning of the welfare system in interwar Poland which provide a national perspective.[347] They see social care (*opieka społeczna*) as part of public welfare, while research on welfare states in Eastern Central Europe focuses on the introduction and maintenance of social insurance systems.[348] None of these studies, however, analyses the religious or ethnic aspects of welfare policies. Research within Jewish studies focuses on the transnational aspects of social care: roles that Jewish charities and emigrant communities played in organising aid for their compatriots in the Old Country[349] and the efforts of the international Jewish organisations.[350] Jewish studies' scholars have portrayed the work of Jewish relief in Poland as a nationwide effort undertaken by Jews[351] and part of the Jewish communal life in small towns and cities.[352] As far as local research of multi-ethnic communities is concerned, Hanna Kozińska-Witt studied the policies behind subsidising public organisations, including charities.[353] The central questions arising from Kozińska-Witt's research concern the role of

[347] Paweł Grata, *Polityka społeczna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Uwarunkowania – instytucje – działania* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2013); Dariusz Zalewski, *Opieka i pomoc społeczna. Dynamika instytucji* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005); Rafał Pląsek, "Konstrukcja. Opieka społeczna w latach 1918–1939," in *Organizacja pomocy społecznej w Polsce 1918–2018* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2018), 17–62.
[348] Tomasz Inglot, *Welfare states in East Central Europe, 1919–2004* (Minnesota State University, 2008), 78–96; Dorottya Szikra and Bela Tomka, "Social Policy in East Central Europe: Major Trends in the 20th Century," in Alfio Cerami and Peter Vanhuysee (eds.), *Post–Communist Welfare Pathways: Theorizing Social PolicyTransformations in Central and Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 17–34.
[349] Rebecca Kobrin, *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).
[350] Jaclyn Granick, *International Jewish Humanitarianism in the Age of the Great War* (Cambridge University Press, 2021); Jonathan Dekel–Chen, "Transnational intervention and its limits: the case of interwar Poland," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 17:3 (2018), 265–286; Zosa Szajkowski, "Private and Organized American Jewish Overseas Relief, 1914–1938," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, 57 (1967), 52–106. Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper. A History of the AJJDC, 1929–1939* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1974); Nahum Karlinsky, "Jewish philanthropy and Jewish credit cooperatives in Eastern Europe and Palestine up to 1939: A transnational phenomenon?" *The Journal of Israeli History*, 27:2 (2008), 149–170.
[351] Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919–1939* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983), 139–144.
[352] Samuel Kassow, "The Shtetl in Interwar Poland," in Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 121–140; Aleksander Pakentreger, *Żydzi w Kaliszu w latach 1918–1939* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1988), 237–253; Wacław Wierzbieniec, *Społeczność żydowska Przemyśla w latach 1918–1939* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej, 1996), 220–228.
[353] Hanna Kozińska-Witt, "Samorządowa polityka przyznawania subwencji wobec potrzeb żydowskich mieszkańców Krakowa (1918–1939): proza budżetów samorządowych a dyskurs publicystyczny," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 255:3 (2015), 413–445. Hanna Kozińska-Witt, "Polityka społeczna samorządu m. st. Warszawy względem żydowskich mieszkańców stolicy (1919–1939)–według relacji prasowych," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 267:3 (2018), 35–88.

local government in providing care, and the impact of ethnic divisions on how subsidy policies were shaped.

In my study, I address these issues as well. At the most general level, my aim is to investigate whether municipal policies and magistrate actions in Lubartów were influenced by the distribution of power between Jews and Christians, and to what extent. The case study concerns social care, one of the basic areas of public resource management in Lubartów. I focus on the relationship between central and local authorities, examining how national policies and state reforms were implemented in Lubartów. Additionally, I demonstrate the local dynamics involved in shaping and operating the social care system, and the role played by religious and ethnic divisions. Previous studies have shown that supporting the most vulnerable largely relied on these divisions.[354] My analysis goes beyond the municipal budgets and Town Council discussions that have been most exhaustively studied. To a greater extent, this chapter focuses on the practical dimension of assistance, from decisions made by the local executive authority (municipal commissions, mayor and the Town Board) through specific administrative practices. Thus, it examines individual cases of people in need, all stages of aid distribution and the ways in which people seek assistance, and individual and group strategies. My research focuses on the everyday functioning of the social care system in the Second Polish Republic at a local level and on grassroots efforts to support those excluded from public support.

The policies and actions examined in the chapter were seen by local and state institutions as part of *opieka społeczna*, which I have opted to translate as 'social care', so as to distinguish it from 'welfare', commonly used in the context of social insurance. Nevertheless, the same practices carried out by different actors in different organisational frameworks could be understood and named differently. For instance, in interwar Lubartów, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (Joint or JDC) provided aid to Jews, initially by means of palliative relief in cash and goods, very similar to the local government's social benefits, and later through interest-free loans granted to the poorest entrepreneurs. Despite their different forms, JDC actions were presented as humanitarian relief.[355] In fact, most of the aid activities

[354] Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko–żydowskiego miasta. Tarnów 1918–1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austera, 2023), 111–115.

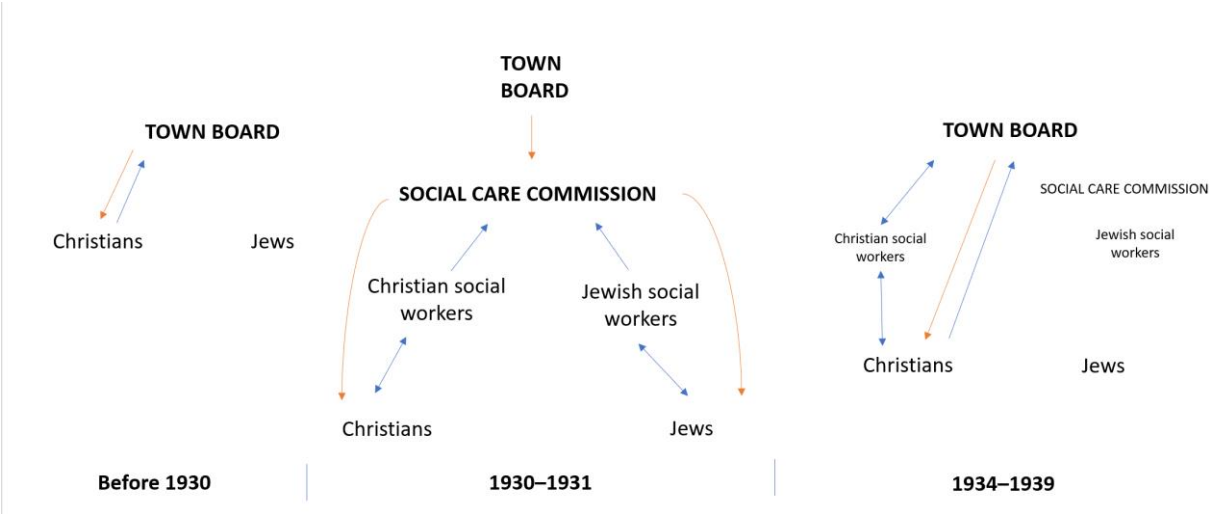
[355] Granick, *International Jewish Humanitarianism*, 18 and 19. Nahum Karlinsky stated that the Gemiłas Chesed functioned as charity: "Both the leaders of the JDC and the recipients of the loans knew that no one would demand from the borrowers to repay these loans if they would not be able to do so. Hence, for the Foundation and for the JDC, the funds for the Gemiloth Chessed Kassas were considered as charity. They were regarded on a totally different ideological and financial level than the funds allocated for reconstruction." Karlinsky, "Jewish philanthropy," 160.

described in the chapter could be considered humanitarian for at least two reasons: firstly, they were part of local, national, or transnational efforts to recover from war and overcome economic crises; and secondly, they were designed to support people in desperate need and provide them with the resources they need to survive, such as food, basic health care, or coal for the winter.[356]

All the actions described are also characterised by the fact that they were undertaken at a particular time—the period of the 1920s and 1930s—and place, *i.e*. Lubartów. They took place in a nationwide and transnational context, but their local specificity cannot be explained simply by the socio-political and economic conditions of the time, or with the relief policies developed in e.g. Warsaw or New York. Bearing in mind that the relationship between the micro- and the macro- in history is a two-way one, I argue that close observation can help challenge or reformulate the established interpretative schemes; in this respect, I draw on micro-historical practice.[357] The micro-historical approach enables to draw patterns in the functioning of the social care system in Lubartów, to observe the changes in local policies and relief practices, and, most importantly, to highlight these moments which stand out, thus providing a different perspective on the whole. Therefore, while characterising the social care system, the chapter pays particular attention to the implementation of the 1928 reform which for a short period revolutionised the logic of public benefits distribution in Lubartów (Graph 1).

[356] The very fact that social care in interwar Poland was in most cases limited to the direct individual help brought vivid criticism from the progressive activist and theorists at the time. Their arguments were to some extent similar to the shifting doctrine of the JDC in the early 1920s. Konstanty Krzeczkowski, one of the leading theorists, postulated a shift in the logic of public support: "it is not only a matter of giving aid to the relevant categories of the injured and disadvantaged, but also of preventive activity taken to remove the causes of these phenomena, to eradicate them from our life by means of social policy measures." Konstanty Krzeczkowski, *Uwagi nad drogami opieki społecznej* (Warsaw: Samorządowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1936), 18.

[357] Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 107–109; Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," *Critical Inquiry*, 20:1 (1993), 32–33.



Graph 1. Models of social benefits distribution in interwar Lubartów. Blue: flow of information, orange: flow of benefits.

The aid institutions and initiatives in Lubartów created a system of interconnected vessels that must be viewed cross-sectionally. Assistance to the poorest in Lubartów was provided on three levels: on the basis of the state social care system, paid for and organised by the town; by local aid organisations, integrated into the public system but also operating largely outside of it; and by transnational support from humanitarian organisations and compatriots abroad. Since the public welfare system did not fulfil its basic obligation to provide assistance to all those who needed it, either because it lacked adequate resources or because it discriminated against certain groups or did not respond quickly enough in an emergency situation, those in need had to rely on humanitarian mobilisation, driven by charities that mobilised local communities and organised support from abroad. To what extent was the availability of assistance in Lubartów determined by the lack of public funds? Did the strategies of the Jewish and Christian residents differ in response to the shortage of funds, and if so, how?

My knowledge of the social care system in Lubartów comes primarily from the municipal records produced and collected between 1924 and 1939.[358] Most of the records deal with the benefits distribution as well as the collaboration and subsidising of charities. Both aspects provide a comprehensive perspective on the role of religious and ethnic divisions in the organisation of the local social care system and, more generally, of the local government.

[358] Akta dotyczące spraw dobroczynności publicznej i opieki społecznej [Records of public welfare and social care], 1924–33. APL, AML, 357–365. Opieka społeczna, koszty leczenia, sprawy inwalidzkie, bezrobocia, emigracyjne i ubezpieczeń społecznych [Social care, medical expenses, disability cases, unemployment, emigration, and social insurance matters], 1934–39. APL, AML, 366–371. The renaming of the files and the fact that formerly dispersed records were merged, indicate a shift towards integrating the fields of public social policies in Poland. Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 69. I make use of the municipal budgets as well as Town Board and Town Council meeting protocols.

Although the practices within the system are the focus of my attention, the picture would be incomplete without taking into account the support organised outside the system through grassroots humanitarian mobilisation, or foreign aid provided to Jews by the global humanitarian organisation Joint, as seen through the YIVO Archives, and by *landsmanshaft* in the US which kept receiving letters from compatriots in Lubartów.

PART 1. SOCIAL CARE SYSTEM ARCHITECTURE

The two-track social care system in Lubartów

The interwar system of social care, although created on the basis of modern rules of universal and compulsory assistance, showed, in fact, many similarities with the models prevalent in the earlier period. Before the outbreak of the First World War, in the Congress Kingdom to which Lubartów belonged, care for the poor was the domain of local political communes, albeit on a voluntary basis.[359] As the public social care was highly underdeveloped, assistance was provided by charities.[360] The law from 1841 made Jewish *kehillas* responsible for carrying for Jews.[361] In practice, the main form of social care provided by the Jewish community in Lubartów was to pay for the medical costs of treating the poor; the *kehilla* could not afford other expenses.[362] Therefore, the poor were supported by private philanthropists.[363]

The First World War led to a humanitarian mobilisation in the territories of the former Kingdom of Poland.[364] Under Austro-Hungarian rule, which included Lubartów, the Main Rescue Committee (Główny Komitet Ratunkowy) was established in Lublin in November 1915.[365] Its activities were largely financed by the occupation authorities and by Polish emigrant communities. In Lubartów operated one of twenty-seven local committees set up by the Main Rescue Committee so as to "regulate the organisation of self-help for the population suffering as a result of the war, to enable them to survive the war and to maintain the proper course of

[359] Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 21.
[360] Zalewski, *Opieka i pomoc społeczna*, 52.
[361] Ludwik Krzywicki, *Służba Społeczna w Polsce* (Warszawa: skł. gł. w Dziale Wydawnictw Związku Spółdzielni Spożywców RP, 1928), 12–13.
[362] Robert Kuwałek and Paweł Sygowski, "Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Lubartowie," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 12:1 (2000), 65–66.
[363] Baruch Tshubinski (ed.), *Hurbn Levertov. A matseyve Levertov un Levertover kdoyshim* (Paris: Aroysgegebn fun di fraynṭ fun Leverṭoy, 1947), 94–96.
[364] Marek Przeniosło, "Organizacje samopomocy społecznej w Królestwie Polskim w latach I wojny światowej," *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, 33:1 (2011), 57–72.
[365] Ibid., 59–60.

private and public life."[366] An eatery was set up in Lubartów, the Committee also fought against the spreading epidemics, as well as provided food ration cards and monitored the prices of products. Nonetheless, it was controlled by Christians, which threatened the interests of Jewish merchants and customers—Jews in Lubartów could not obtain sugar.[367] It seems that in Lubartów, as in other towns of the Lublin region, the distribution of the resources to the needy increased social tensions, and it was the Jews who were the object of discrimination.[368]

In parallel, the Vienna-based Israelite Alliance (*Israelitische Allianz zu Wien*) and the German Jewish Relief Association (*Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden*) operated in the territories occupied by the Central Powers, as did the Joint, founded in 1914 as an alliance of German and Eastern European Jews in the United States to aid Jews in the war zones.[369] The Joint provided palliative relief to hundreds of Jews in Lubartów, supporting them with money, food and clothing.[370] In practice, a two-track system of care was maintained in Lubartów, with aid organised by public institutions partially excluding Jews who received support from international Jewish aid organisations. In between, there were charities, Jewish and non-Jewish, often of pre-war origin, with varying degrees of connection with the main two tracks.[371] This historical model of providing assistance to the poorest persisted in the new Polish state.

In the Second Republic of Poland the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare took charge of the public social policy, which, in addition to social care, included labour protection, social insurance, employment, and health care. The legal and organisational framework for the social care system, which had so far operated under three different legal regimes, was set by the 1923 Act.[372] Responsibility for the financial maintenance and running of social care rested predominantly with local administrative units (*gminy*) such as the Lubartów municipality. Under the 1923 Act, social care was to operate on the basis of universal access, while social insurance or unemployment benefits were available only to selected categories of citizens,[373]

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[366] Ibid., 60.
[367] Krzysztof Latawiec, "Lubartów w latach 1865–1918," in Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.) *Lubartów w dziejach od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd Miasta Lubartów, 2018), 390–391. Konrad Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2005), 241.
[368] Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie*, 240–244.
[369] David Engel, "World War I," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (6 September 2025) https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/world_war_i; Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, 7 and 8.
[370] Congress Poland – Lublin State reports. JDC Archives, New York Office Collection 1919 – 1921, 4/34/1/193.3.
[371] Przeniosło, "Organizacje samopomocy społecznej," 71.
[372] Ustawa z dnia 16 sierpnia 1923 r. o opiece społecznej, Dz.U. 1923 nr 92 poz. 726, https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19230920726.
[373] Grata, *Polityka społeczna*,199–202 and 280–281.

and Jews, similarly to Ukrainians or Ruthenians, were deprived from these rights, in the majority of cases due to their employment structure.[374]

Social care was intended to fill the gaps in the social security system, as it was believed that the universal social security system would keep social services to the minimum.[375] Therefore, it focused on various groups not covered by social insurance, such as the elderly, people with disabilities, unaccompanied children, single mothers with children, or the unemployed not covered by other benefits. The 1923 Act defined the tasks of social care as "providing public funds for the essential life needs of those who are permanently unable to do so or cannot do so by their own efforts, as well as to prevent the emergence of the condition above defined."[376] Despite its clearly defined preventive tasks, social care focused primarily on fighting poverty throughout the entire interwar period and failed to develop tools to combat the social determinants of poverty.[377]

No benefits for Jewish residents in need

> "O Lord Voivode, Sir! In his great intelligence and power, may he accept to his own my request and my pleading cry […]. For my request soars with a direct flight to his great one and cries out. O Lord! Lord! Governor. I demand bread and his care to bring up an orphan and kind relief for me because it is too difficult to bring up a boy. I wonder if I can ask at the same time for a great mercy, because we're just dying of poverty. Ah! I will look every day for a great grace and a gracious answer."[378]

With this cumbersome wording Maryla Charęzińska, resident at 3 Kościuszki Street in Lubartów, concluded her letter to the district governor in Lublin in January 1929. Her poignant 2-page letter in which she described her dramatic circumstances, did not go unanswered. As soon as the following week, on 6 February, the governor's office redirected the letter to the

[374] Bina Garncarska–Kadary, *Żydowska ludność pracująca w Polsce 1918–1939* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2001), 158–163; Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 231; Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 297.
[375] Melania Bornstein–Łychowska, *Polityka społeczna państwa polskiego w latach 1918–1935* (Warszawa: MPiOS, 1935), 292. In fact, in the 1930s, less than one sixth of the country's population was under protection. Zalewski, *Opieka i pomoc społeczna*, 94–95. Precise estimations according by types of social insurance: Inglot, *Welfare states*, 80 and 81.
[376] Ustawa z dnia 16 sierpnia 1923 r. o opiece społecznej, Dz.U. 1923 nr 92 poz. 726, https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19230920726.
[377] As Emilia Manteuffel, social care theorist and activist, stated: "The correction of the defects of the system which cause unemployment and the wrong distribution of wealth is obviously outside of the sphere of action of social care. Its task is to combat the degrading effects of poverty." Emilia Manteuffel, „Współczesne formy opieki społecznej," *Aktualne zagadnienia opieki społecznej* (Warszawa: Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet. Wydział Opieki nad Matką i Dzieckiem, 1936), 20.
[378] Letter from Maryla Charęzińska to district governor, 27 January 1929. APL, AML, 361. Pages in the social care files are not numbered.

county office, and a week later to the Lubartów municipality, with a request to investigate Maryla Charęzińska's living conditions, so as to be able to provide her with emergency relief from public funds. On 13 March, in a return letter, the mayor of Lubartów concluded that the examination had found Charęzińska fully deserving of support. After another five days, on 18 March, the mayor subsequently instructed municipal employees to address Charęzińska's case.

Charęzińska's letter marks the closing of a certain period in the history of social care distribution in Lubartów. Before 1930, a person seeking for public assistance had to apply personally. Requests were made directly to the Town Board, the mayor or, as in Charęzińska's case, to other offices which would then contact the Town Board, a body responsible for the town's social care. Records show that between 1925 and 1929 the board considered only a few requests, and only Christians were among the recipients of assistance.[379] Aid was undoubtedly provided on an inadequate scale, since on 18 February 1929 the county chief addressed the Lubartów magistrate with an order to prepare a list of "families that are in such critical conditions that it is necessary to provide immediate assistance."[380] On the same day, the mayor sent a list of forty two families represented by "heads of household" (both men and women), Jewish and Christian.[381] Eight of them received financial assistance, while the remaining three were given food. The majority on the list were Christians, while the beneficiaries were all Christian families. In the town's records, I did not find a single case of benefits being given to individual Jewish residents in the period before 1929.

By the mid-1920s, the Jews of Lubartów, plunged into poverty, were completely deprived of support from the town. At the same time, support from the Joint ceased in the early 1920s, when it began to shift from palliative aid to reconstruction aid, finally closing its relief office in Poland in 1924 and establishing the American Jewish Reconstruction Found. The crises of the mid-1920s thus left the Jewish residents in Lubartów without external institutional support for the poorest. Until 1927, the responsibility of caring for the Jews lay solely with the *kehilla*, which allocated funds to support the poorest, 1,500 zlotys in 1926, 4 per cent of the annual budget, three times more than in the town's budget.[382] As this support was insufficient to meet the needs, the Jews of Lubartów repeatedly appealed to their compatriots in the United States for help. Between July 1925 and mid-1926, the *kehilla* board and the Rabbi, then the members of the newly established Achi Ezer, sent letters to Julius Peretz, leader of the Lubartowian

[379] Protocols from the Town Board meetings, 1925–1929. APL, AML, 113–114.
[380] County chief's letter, 18 February 1929. APL, AML, 361.
[381] *Ibid*.
[382] Budgets of the Jewish *kehilla* in Lubartów, 1926–30. APL, Urząd Wojewódzki Lubelski (UWL), 795.

community in New York, and after its registration in 1938 the Financial Secretary of the Lubartów *landmanschaft*:

> "Mr Peretz! Please pass all of this on to our brothers … and tell them that their brothers and sisters, relatives and friends in Lubartów are suffering from hunger and that Achi Ezer is helping them as much as it can. Tell them, Mr Peretz, that Jewish Lubartów has never seen such hard times and that if you don't hurry up and help us, many of our brothers will literally starve to death."[383]

According to the letter, Achi Ezer began its grassroots activities with providing food and money to poor Jewish families on Passover 1926. However, the organisation's relief efforts resulted in a large deficit, while "the crisis [was] unprecedented, and money nowhere to be found… ."[384] It is likely that the requests went unanswered. The letters sent to the United States show the strategies adopted by the Lubartów Jews when they were deprived from public and international support. Their humanitarian mobilisation took the form of self-organisation within the community of Lubartów residents and attempts to involve some Lubartów residents who had left for the United States, in relief efforts.

In May of 1927, a new town council was elected, with the highest representation of Jews in the entire interwar period (Table 1).[385] From then on, subsidies of 300 zlotys were included in the budget for Achi Ezer. The magistrate also maintained the amount of 500 zlotys per year for emergency aid for the poorest residents, for Christians only. This may indicate that the magistrate was relegating the care of poor Jews onto a Jewish organisation, while providing care only for Christians. Moreover, after the election of the new council, the *kehilla* reduced its funds for the poor (400 zlotys, 1 per cent of the annual budget in 1927, and less than 2 per cents the following year),[386] which again may have been due to the establishment of Achi Ezer and the subsidy granted by the town.

[383] Letter from the Achi Ezer to the Jules Peretz, 1926. The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jules Peretz collection, file PL–486.
[384] *Ibid*., translated by Yitskhok Niborski and Franciszek Zakrzewski
[385] See chapter 1.
[386] Budgets of the Jewish *kehilla* in Lubartów, 1926–1930. APL, UWL, 795.

Term	Town Council	Town Board	Social Care Commission
1927–1934	13 Catholics /11 Jews	3 Catholics / 2 Jews	3 Catholics / 2 Jews
1934–1939	11 Catholics / 5 Jews	4 Catholics / 1 Jew	4 Catholics / 1 Jew
1939	13 Catholics / 3 Jews	5 Catholics	4 Catholics / 1 Jew

Table 1. Distribution of seats in the Town Council, Town Board, and Social Care Commission. Source: Town Board and Town Council Protocols, 1927-39. APL, AML, 105-117.

Local government cooperation with, and support for, charities was motivated by their organisational expertise and community embeddedness. In Lubartów, they operated along ethno-religious lines, as evidenced by the recipients of aid and the compositions of the organisations' boards.[387] Ethnicity and religion were also the main criteria for subsidising charities and involving them in the local government aid activities. The Women's Civic Labour Union (Związek Pracy Obywatelskiej Kobiet) and the St. Vincent Christian Mercy Society (Towarzystwo Miłosierdzia Chrześcijańskiego im. Św. Wincentego) were considered by the magistrate to represent the interests of the Christian poor in the town, while the interests of the Jews were represented to the town by the Achi Ezer and the Ezra, and not by the *kehilla*, [388] which provided emergency aid and covered medical expenses for Jews on its own.

The first period of public social care in the interwar Lubartów already showed that, despite its declared universalism, it functioned on the basis of ethno-religious divisions. In the period up to 1927, this meant total exclusion of Jews, who had to seek support within their own community, locally and abroad. The inclusion of Jews in the system of public support, made possible by representation in the municipal government, was done by channelling funds to a Jewish charity. The integration of local charities into the social care framework, although served to widen the circle of people supported, *de facto* reinforced an aid logic based on religious and ethnic divisions.

[387] Registers of political parties, organisations, and unions operating in Lubartów county, circa 1925–circa 1933. APL, Starostwo Powiatowe Lubartowskie (SPL), 409, 90–92.
[388] There are examples of the Jewish *kehillas* collaborating with the local government on social care for Jews. Kozińska–Witt, "Samorządowa polityka," 414.

PART 2. THE SHORT-LIVED FUNCTIONAL SOCIAL CARE SYSTEM

Framework of the new benefit distribution model

A real revolution in the distribution of the benefits to the poorest in Lubartów came with the appointment of the Social Care Commission (Komisja Opieki Społecznej) and social workers (*opiekunowie społeczni)* on the basis of the 1928 reform, which was intended to involve the local communities in the work of social care.[389] The Commission's task was to organise a social care system, plan expenses, and supervise the work of the social workers, while also coordinating aid with the local charities. The body was elected by the Town Council four times between 1929 and 1939. The ethno-religious composition of the Commission largely depended on the distribution of power within the government between Christians and Jews (Table 1). In its first term, the Commission was composed entirely of men—the mayor as its chairperson, the Deputy Mayor, and three councillors. Of the two Jews on the Commission, both were members of the board of Gemiłas Chesed, and one was also active in the Achi Ezer. The Christian members of the Commission had no direct links with aid organisations in Lubartów, which is consistent with the fact that aid activities among Christians at the time were mostly led by women, who, with one exception, were not members of the Town Council.

The social workers for the first term were selected by the Town Council from among residents proposed by the Town Board. As the county chief's circular explained, they should be "independent people" "for whom caring duties would not be too much of a burden, and that, above all, the candidates should have as much passion as possible for social work."[390] Among those selected were five Christians and four Jews, including seven women and two men.[391] The only two men among the social workers stood out for their age. Dawid Lustman, 54-year-old Jewish feldsher, and Franciszek Chareziński, 45-year-old Catholic shoemaker and town councillor, were the social workers' representatives on the Social Care Commission. Thus, although women's involvement in relief efforts in Lubartów was more substantial than men's, they had no say in the final decisions about the distribution of aid.

The town was divided into two districts, along Lubartów's main street, Lubelska Street. Within the two districts, nine circuits were created that were divided according to the ethno-national

[389] Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 6 marca 1928 r. o opiekunach społecznych i o komisjach opieki społecznej, Dz.U. 1928 nr 29 poz. 267, https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19280290267/O/D19280267.pdf.
[390] Circular issued by the county chief in Lubartów in regard to social workers and social care commissions elections, 1 May 1928. APL, AML, 360.
[391] List of the social workers, 19 September 1929. APL, AML, 361.

lines—"The social workers of districts I, II, III, VIII, and IX deal with social care issues involving the Polish population, and those of districts IV, V, VI, and VII—involving the Jewish population."[392] As most streets of Lubartów were inhabited by a mixed population, the same areas were often assigned to two different districts.

The social workers' task was to ensure that people in need were provided with care, to investigate the material and personal situation of those being cared for and those who were to be cared for. In practice, social workers also acted as intermediaries between the needy and the town administration which provided aid. Social workers were not trained and not paid for their work. They were therefore not administrative workers, but rather volunteers. Thus, with their entry, the social care system relied even more heavily on the "social factor," resources external to public administration. On the other hand, social workers were not only appointed but, also subordinate to, the local authorities, in addition to being protected by local and state services when in office. Given the responsibilities imposed on social workers and their decisive role in approaching people in need and identifying needs, it is surprising that they were not paid for performing their functions.

The way in which social workers carried out their duties was partly determined by a decree issued by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, and more specifically, by instructions that aimed to "facilitate the work of social workers," and to "unify the principles of social care actions throughout the State."[393] Although instructions indicated certain practices that social workers were required to perform, these could not be seen as an instrument for professionalisation, and social workers in Poland lacked training similar to that provided in Western European countries.

Lola Zappi demonstrated the importance of professional training in shaping the social workers' relationship with their "clients" in interwar France.[394] Training was based on a doctrine of "the right distance" that, as it was believed, allows maintaining friendly contacts with "clients" while controlling and evaluating them—with focus on assessment in moral terms. The moral approach represented by social workers, which is the subject of Zappi's another study,[395] distanced them

[392] List of the social workers, 31 December 1930. AML, APL, 362. The same phrase is repeated in 1933 on the list of the second term social workers. Those are the only two cases in which non–religious distinction was used in the town's social care records.
[393] *Instrukcja dla opiekunów społecznych* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Pracy i Opieki Społecznej, 1931), 3.
[394] Lola Zappi, "Comment être 'l'amie' des familles populaires : la relation de care chez les assistantes sociales de l'entre-deux-guerres, entre vocation et formation," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, 49:1 (2019), 93–114.
[395] Lola Zappi, "Une approche morale de la précarité. Les enquêtes des services sociaux dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Les Études sociales*, 169:1 (2019), 21–44.

from people in need and positioned them first and foremost as functionaries of public administration. In Lubartów, however, the social workers held a less defined position within the system, a factor that tied them closer with the people in need. This was due to their partial detachment from state and local administration structures, lack of professionalisation, and consequently, greater freedom in exercising their functions. Social distancing towards people in need, as required from the French social workers, seems to have been less of an issue in Lubartów, since the people in need and social workers were neighbours and, in most cases, social workers had had prior experience in supporting them.

Application procedure and form

In the town's records, the work of the social workers in the first period after their appointment, 1930-1932, is mainly reflected in the documents they prepared—applications for material aid and reports on the material status of the applicants. In February 1930, on the basis of applications prepared by the social workers, the Social Care Commission decided to provide food, hygiene products, and coal to thirty-six residents of Lubartów and their families.[396] The social workers advocated on behalf of the poor residents from the districts under their jurisdiction. Applications had to be submitted by 4 February 1930, the date of the Social Care Commission meeting. The decision regarding support and its amount, as well as suspension until further examination, was recorded on the application by Adam Lipski, the Mayor and Chairman of the Commission.

The application form was written in Polish, the only administrative language in the Second Republic. Its first part was addressed to the social worker of the district to which the applicant was subjected. In addition to the name and address, this part listed the goods requested by the applicant. In many cases, information about the applicant's hardship, due to e.g. advanced age, health problems, unemployment or widowhood, was also added. The first part of application was intended to be filled in and signed by the applicant, most often on behalf of the family. The second part, addressed to the Magistrate, was to be prepared by the social worker who signed at the bottom of the application form. The formulation began with the phrase "On the spot today, I found," followed by a brief report on the number of people requiring support and their living and health conditions, and a detailed list of the items requested. Usually, the latter served

[396] Applications for material aid and coal with accompanying records, January and February 1930. APL, AML, 361.

to clarify the needs expressed in the first part of the application, e.g. by specifying the exact number of products.

The very structure of the application clearly indicates the role of the social worker who received the request, made a survey on the applicants' living circumstances, and then requested the magistrate's assistance. This meant that people in need did not have to apply themselves, unlike before. The new system of providing aid thus removed a significant barrier caused by the lack of knowledge of written Polish, but also by a sense of distance from the town authorities and/or fear of contact with municipal bureaucracy. These factors might have affected Jewish residents more than Christians, the former because of their poorer knowledge of Polish,[397] especially among the older inhabitants, and the latter because of lower representation (or lack thereof) of Jews in the town authorities and among the magistrate's officials.[398]

Regardless of the applicants' language skills, it was the social worker who completed the entire form, as evidenced by the handwritten records. The difficulty of contacting the administration to ask for help was also no longer a problem—it was now the social worker who submitted the application. People in need could visit the social workers at home during their weekly duty hours, to ask for help.[399] Visiting a neighbour who was also an active member of the same community and was willing to support the cause of those in need, certainly made it easier to ask for assistance.[400] Thus, the social worker system, based on the segregation of the "Jewish population" and the "Polish population," in practice served to integrate the people in need into the social care system and to equalise the chances of receiving benefits.

Who applied for aid and who received it

On February 4th, 1930, the Social Welfare Commission met to decide and appoint those who should receive aid. Based on applications, the commission created a list of people, 36 Lubartów residents, who were to receive food and fuel for the winter, with information regarding the number of people in the family and the scale of support needed.[401] The full compatibility of

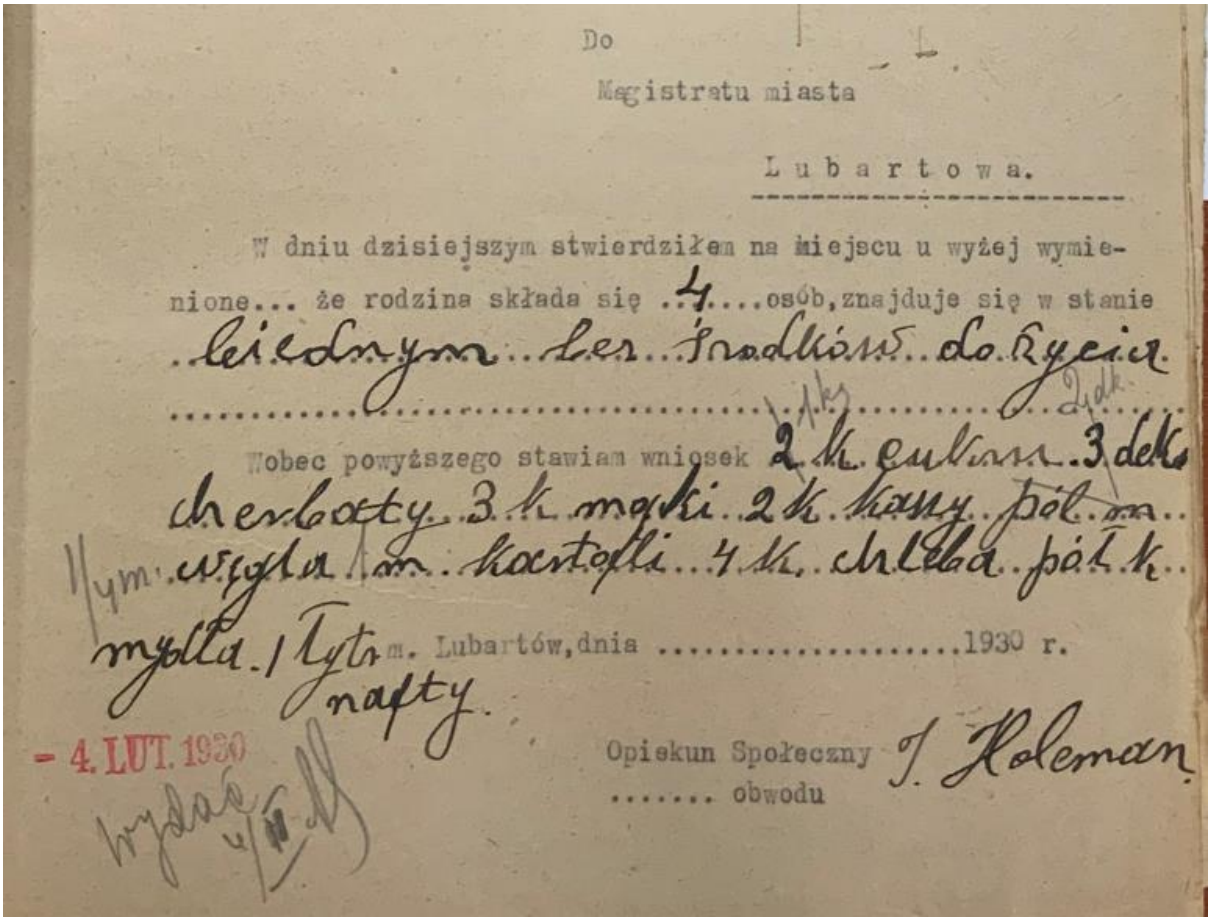
[397] Surprisingly, an analysis of the applications reveals that applicants from both groups were largely illiterate in Polish. Only 8 (4 Christian, 4 Jews) out of a total of 121 (81 Jewish residents, 40 Christian) applications submitted in 1930 were signed by the applicants, most often the signature is missing (66 cases), in 41 cases the first part of application is signed by the social worker or a third party, including in 18 cases with a note that the applicant is illiterate (8 applications by Jews, 10 by Christians). In the remaining 6 cases: 3 Jews stamped a fingerprint, while 3 Christians drew a cross mark.
[398] List of the Lubartów magistrate employees, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187, no page number. There was only one Jewish clerk in the Town Office, employed in 1928.
[399] Duty hours were on Mondays between 4 and 6 PM.
[400] It is also possible that social workers themselves approached people in need.
[401] List of residents receiving aid, February 1940. AML, APL, 361.

information between the list and the content of the applications proves that this is in fact a complete and closed set of applications accepted by the commission, which may not necessarily be true in the case ones submitted after February 4th.[402]

Of the thirty-six applications examined before 4 February, only five concerned Christians, covering just nine people, including three single Lubartowians aged around 60. Among Jews seeking support, 31 applications covered 126 persons, an average of more than four persons per application, with only three applications of individuals. Families therefore predominate among the applying Jews, the largest being the Hochgielenter family of seven from 10 Stolarna Street, living "without means of support and suffering poverty".[403] The applicant—36-year-old Józef—was a tailor, lived with his "unwed wife" (*nieślubna żona*), six years younger Ruchla Łaja Łukowiecka and five of their children born between 1922 and 1928.[404] Józef Mendel was one of sixteen Jewish men applying. Among Jews, one more man than women applied, while the Christian applicants were only women.

Although prior to 4 February all applications had been accepted, there were some differences in the way they were then processed. Those prepared by Christian social workers were accepted without objection, while sixteen forms prepared by Jewish social workers were corrected by the person approving the applications, the chairman of the Commission Mayor Lipski. Most of the corrections involved a reduction in the amount of products allocated to the people in need, like Gierszon Kapota and his family, "the poor and destitute" who received 1 kilogram instead of 2 kilograms of sugar, 2 decagrams (20 g) of tea instead of three, and a quarter of a cubic metre of coal instead of one half (cf. Photograph 1).

[402] Applications for material aid and coal with accompanying records, January and February 1930. AML, APL, 361.
[403] Application of Józef Mendel Hochgielenter, 3 February 1930. APL, AML, 362.
[404] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 187.


Do
Magistratu miasta
Lubartowa.
W dniu dzisiejszym stwierdziłem na miejscu u wyżej wymie-
nione... że rodzina składa się 4 osób, znajduje się w stanie
średnim bez środków do życia
Wobec powyższego stawiam wniosek 2 k. cukru 3 dek
herbaty 3 k. mąki 2 k. kaszy pół m.
wym. węgla m. kartofli 4 k. chleba pół k.
mydła. Tytm. Lubartów, dnia .....1930 r.
nafty.
- 4. LUT. 1930
Opiekun Społeczny J. Koleman
..... obwodu

Photograph 1. Bottom section of Gierszon Kapota's application with corrections. Source: APL, AML, 362.

In order to compare the amount of aid directed respectively to Jews and Christians on 4 February, the average amount of goods distributed per capita (Table 2) should be calculated. The comparison demonstrates similarities in the aid provided to both groups. However, due to the very different composition of the groups, it is not possible to draw any far-reaching conclusions.

	Flour	**Potatoes**	**Bread**	**Sugar**
Jews	0,6	9,3	0,7	0,3
Christians	0,6	5,5	1	0,4

Table 2. Aid intended for Lubartowians according to products by kilograms per capita. Source: Application forms for the material aid, January-February 1930. APL, AML 362.

After the 4 February, when the first batch of aid had already been granted, the social workers continued their work and the applications they had prepared were reviewed by the Social Care Commission on an ongoing basis. By 10 March, further 85 applications were submitted, of

which 34 through Christian social workers, and the remaining 50 by Jewish ones. The primary measure of the different manner in which these applications were handled is how many of these were accepted or rejected. As shown in Table 3, applications submitted by Jewish social workers were much more likely to be refused than those submitted by Christians.

	Accepted	**Rejected**	**Suspended**	**Total**
Jews	22 (44%)	26 (52%)	2 (4%)	50 (100%)
Christians	20 (59%)	12 (35%)	2 (6%)	34 (100%)
Total	42 (50%)	38 (45%)	4 (5%)	84 (100%)

Table 3. Decisions regarding applications issued by the Social Care Commission after 4 February 1930. Source: Application forms for the material aid, February-March 1930, APL, AML, 362.

The imbalance in favourable decisions for the two respective groups hardly changes when the number of people included in the applications is considered (cf. Table 4).

	Accepted	**Rejected**	**Suspended**	**Total**
Jews	75 (36%)	130 (63%)	2 (1%)	207 (100%)
Christians	36 (50%)	34 (47%)	2 (3%)	72 (100%)
Total	111 (40%)	164 (59%)	4 (1%)	279 (100%)

Table 4. Number of people included in applications according to the decisions issued by the Social Care Commission after 4 February 1930. Source: Application forms for the material aid, February-March 1930. APL, AML, 362.

The data provided indicate certain characteristics of those who were the most successful in applying for aid after 4 February. Firstly, as the percentage of applications accepted was higher for both groups than that of people who were granted assistance, on average applications involving fewer people were more likely to be successful. And indeed, proportionally, the highest number of positive decisions concerned people applying individually, i.e. fourteen out of eighteen submitted forms for Christians, with four out of five for Jews. Another characteristic relates to the applicants' gender, 58 percent of women's applications were accepted, comparing to 37 percent of men's. At the same time, there were far more women among Christian applicants (32 out of 34) than among Jews (27 out of 50). Men's applications were more frequently rejected in both groups, which correlates with the fact that men applied on behalf of

more family members: for Jewish men this ratio was more than 4,5 persons per application, compared to 3,3 for women.

After 4 February 1930, Christians submitted more applications that matched the profile of those likely to be successful, namely those by single people and by women. Even if we regard this correlation as not coincidental and highlight that many more poor Jews than Christians were left without support from the town, it must be acknowledged that there were twice as many Jews helped. Moreover, if we look at all the applications from 1930, a total of 201 Jews and forty five Christians received benefits at a time when there were 4352 Catholics and 3369 Jews living in Lubartów.[405] The following year, when the Social Care Commission and the Town Board distributed coal to the poorest Lubartowians, the proportions were even more in favour of Jews.[406] The higher numbers of Jews applying for, and receiving relief in 1930 and 1931 may be indicative both of worse living conditions for Jews than Christians, and greater effectiveness of Jewish social workers in reaching those in need. Overall, the social care system, once the reform was implemented, took into account the needs of Jews to a much greater extent than before. As never before or since in interwar Lubartów, people in need were helped regardless of their affiliation.

Assistance beyond ethnic divisions

Although, as a rule, applications were to be prepared by social worker belonging to the same ethnic or religious group as the applicant, three of the applications submitted by the Christian Franciszek Chręziński concerned Jewish residents. One of them, Herszek Finkielsztajn, was described in the application as unemployed. His family of four was "in a critical condition" and therefore Charęziński requested bread, coal, flour, and sugar for them.[407] Finkelsztajn was recorded in the 1932 register of Lubartów residents as Mordko-Hersz, residing at 15 11 Listopada Street, flat no. 4, with his wife, daughter, and son. The 60-year-old Mordko-Hersz was a trained craftsman installing shingle on roofs (*gonciarz*).[408] Finkielsztajn's neighbours in the same building in 1930 were Rojza Borensztejn, a 68-year-old widow living with daughter Cypa, and 45-year-old Icek Hasfogiel with his wife and four children.[409] They also applied for material support. Franciszek Charęziński, who prepared the applications for all the above-

[405] Monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. Magistrate used the data from the 1931 national census.
[406] Out of the 118 applications submitted by the Jewish social workers, 115 were to be granted, comparing to 48 out of 57 Christians. Records concerning 1931 coal action, January 1931. APL, AML, 363.
[407] Application for Hersz Finkielsztajn, 3 February 1930. APL, AML, 362.
[408] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 171.
[409] Applications for Rojza Borensztajn and Icek Hasfogiel, 3 February 1930. APL, AML, 362.

mentioned residents of the house at 11 Listopada Street, lived in across the street, at number 18.[410]

In the case of the poor residents from 11 Listopada Street, the rule of complete segregation of population based on religious or ethnic affiliation, did not apply. This was probably due to the fact that the position of Jewish social worker for circuit number 4, covering 11 Listopada Street and the neighbouring streets, was vacant at the time. It is possible to assume that for this exact reason Franciszek Charęziński, the Christian social worker assigned for these streets and at the same time representative of the Social Welfare Commission, took up the cases of the three Jewish families. Interestingly, the two other applications of Jews living in the same circuit were submitted by Dawid Lustman, the Jewish representative of social workers in the commission.

Another case of collaboration crossing group boundaries involved Marjanna Rawa and Jenta Holcman. Marjanna Rawa was a 50-year-old widow with 2 children. Her application was submitted by Jenta Holcman, and this is the only case of a Christian woman applying through a Jewish social worker. Moreover, it is also the only application in which the reason for the rejection of the application was given explicitly.[411] Accordingly, it was rejected because Marjanna Rawa had already applied through Maria Wolska, a Christian social worker, and was granted aid on February 4. It is hard to say whether Marjanna Rawa decided to apply again a month later through Jenta Holcman when Maria Wolska refused to mediate, or whether Rawa felt she had a better chance of obtaining a second allowance this way, and what Jenta Holcman's favour was due to. Perhaps in this case, as in the case of Franciszek Charęziński and the Jewish residents of 11 Listopada Street, a neighbourly acquaintance played a role. After all, Marjanna Rawa lived near Jenta Holcman and must have known her father, who was two years older than Marjanna, born in Lubartów just like her. However, while Franciszek Charęziński made the applications in the absence of a Jewish social worker, Jenta Holcman took on Maria Wolska's role.

Regardless of these individual circumstances, these situations show that occasionally the need to receive and to provide aid was stronger than group boundaries and the regulations that sanctioned them. These situations point to the early 1930s as a unique moment for interethnic contacts in the town. The introduction of social workers and a new distribution system made a breach in the discriminatory logic of administration, while maintaining the importance of

[410] List of the social workers, 31 December 1930, APL, AML, 361.
[411] Application for Marjanna Rawa, 4 March 1930. APL, AML, 41, 171

interethnic divisions. Interethnic cooperation between the needy and social workers is a phenomenon which invalidated these divisions.

The dismantling of a functional social care system

As soon as two years after the establishment of a new social care system in Lubartów, its erosion began, as the Town Board started to marginalise the Social Care Commission and limit support provided to selected groups. In the years 1932 and 1933, social workers were given the task of reporting on the material and financial status of those among Lubartów residents who were in need of medical care.[412] This time it was the Town Board, not the Social Care Commission, that received the reports and decided on the distribution of assistance. In contrast to the previous years, the vast majority of forms were completed by Christian social workers. In 1932, of the 91 forms, 61 (67%) were from Catholics and all but one application were accepted—43-year-old Józef Brzozowski was refused aid because he had been already receiving pension. In 1933, however, aid was granted to selected residents, and significantly more Catholics applied for, and received aid in 1933 (Table 5).

	Accepted	**Rejected**	**Suspended**	**Total**
Jews	12 (52%)	7 (30%)	4 (17%)	23 (100%)
Christians	36 (84%)	3 (7%)	4 (9%)	43 (100%)
Total	48 (74%)	10 (15%)	8 (12%)	65 (100%)

Table 5. Decisions regarding applications for medical assistance in 1933. Source: Reports about financial and familial status from 1933. APL, AML, 365.

Even before, *i.e*. in January 1931, Christian social workers, led by Marian Strzyżewski, the secretary of the Town Board, organised a charity event in Lubartów, a Grand Dance Party (*Wielka Zabawa Taneczna*).[413] The proceeds, a total of 344 zlotys, were donated to the Municipal Cashier's Office "for the expenses of social care for the poorest from the Christian population."[414] In this case, both the social workers and the secretary Strzyżewski used public functions and public resources for a private initiative. A new format of support, one which excluded Jewish social workers and Jewish poor, was constituted, and was to be used later on. All of this meant that the ethnic and religious distinctions in the distribution of aid in Lubartów

[412] Reports about financial and familial status form 1932 and 1933. APL, AML, 364 and 365.
[413] Records concerning "Wielka Zabawa Taneczna," January–February 1931. APL, AML, 363.
[414] Minutes from the Christian social workers meeting, 3 February 1931. APL, AML, 363.

were reinstated, and after two years of significant support granted to poorest Jews, their position within the town's social care system began to worsen.

Another way to direct public funds towards selected groups of residents was through subsidies. Appeals for subsidies from aid organisations that were particularly active in the early 1930s, together with reports of high unemployment,[415] requests for assistance submitted by unemployed workers to the Town Council,[416] or requests for tax or debt cancellation[417] clearly reflected the worsening situation of the town residents in the face of the economic crisis. On 29 September, 1931, the newly established Provisional Committee for Unemployment Relief (Tymczasowy Komitet Pomocy Bezrobotnym) submitted a request for a subsidy to help the poor.[418] The request was favourably considered the following day at the meeting of the Town Council led by the Mayor, Adam Lipski.[419] "Despite the town's financial difficulties," 150 zlotys per month were granted for a period of 5 months, after which another batch of 356 zlotys was allocated.[420]

The second time, the money went to the successor of the Provisional Committee, the Municipal Committee for Aid to the Poor (Miejski Komitet Pomocy Biednym), which, referring to the "global crisis affecting all aspects of economic life," asked the Magistrate for a permanent "aid to help the unemployed."[421] The request was signed by the Committee's board of seven well-establish Catholics, priest, councillors, and leaders of the Women's Civic Labour Union.[422] The latter Committee was led by Adam Lipski, who signed the letter to the Town Board, over which he himself presided as mayor, and it is his signature that appears under the decision made at the meeting of the Town Board to allocate money to the committee. It involved an obvious conflict of interest to transfer money from the town budget to a private initiative at a time when funds were extremely sparse.

Means granted to the Committee in late 1931, 750 zlotys in five payments, exceeded the funds assigned in the 1931/1932 town budget for emergency aid and funeral expenses (600 zlotys), just as 356 zlotys the following year exceeded the funds assigned in the 1932/1933 budget

[415] A monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 376.
[416] Records regarding the unemployment, 1933. APL, AML, 187.
[417] Protocol from the Town Board meeting, 1931–33. APL, AML, 114.
[418] Protocol from the Town Board meeting, 30 September 1931. APL, AML, 114.
[419] Protocol from the Town Board meeting, 5 October 1931. APL, AML, 114.
[420] Protocol from the Town Board meeting, 24 February 1932. APL, AML, 114.
[421] Request of the Municipal Committee for Aid to the Poor, February 1932. APL, AML, 376.
[422] Appeal of the Municipal Committee for Aid to the Poor, 29 December 1932. APL, AML, 376

(200 zlotys).[423] The donations were raised by adjusting the already approved municipal budgets. In doing so, the Town Board demonstrated their lack of confidence in the public social care institutions that had already succeeded in reaching and helping the needy. A large amount of public funds to the Municipal Committee were directed to organisations that supported Christians exclusively.

At the same time, the Jews of Lubartów found themselves in a dramatic situation. "The majority of the Jewish population of our town is suffering from hunger and misery, crying out for rescue, begging for a slice of bread for small children and babies," the newly formed Committee for the Emergency Aid to the Poor Jews (Komitet Niesienia Pomocy Doraźnej Biednej Ludności Żydowskiej) wrote to the Town Board in early 1933.[424] It had been formed within Archi Ezer, a Jewish relief organisation active since 1927, possibly in response to the establishment of "Christians committees." In November 1933, Achi Ezer reported on the still alarming situation of the Jews, in another appeal for help. The charity pointed out that it had already provided around 1,000 zlotys worth of aid and that the financial resources had run out, while the needs of the poor begging for help were increasing day by day, to the extent "that the poor [Jewish] population was starving to death in the full meaning of the word."[425] In response to these requests, the Town Board allocated funds, 250 zloty per the first request and 100 zloty per the second.[426] The very same resolutions granted the "Christian committee" subsidies of the same amount.

The complex logic of subsidies for charities

Linking the subsidies of both committees was in line with the common practice of the 1927-1934 magistrate, that of maintaining a balance between the funds allocated to Christian and Jewish institutions. The same principle applied to the distribution of funds for orphanages or libraries operating in the town. Nevertheless, during the same period, the magistrate gave the largest subsidies from the annual town budgets to Jewish charities (Table 5). In 1932, Ezra began to receive subsidies at the very time when the town's benefits to poor Jews were being reduced. This was a return to the practice from before the introduction of the social worker

[423] Municipal budget for 1931/1932. APL, AML, 106, 66–73. Municipal budget for 1932/1933. APL, AML, 107, 166–171.
[424] Letter from Achi Ezer, 20 January 1933. APL, AML, 365.
[425] Letter from Achi Ezer, 10 November 1933. APL, AML, 365.
[426] Protocols from the Town Board meetings, 4 January 1933 and 13 December 1933. APL, AML, 114 and 115.

system and the Social Care Committee—between 1927 and 1929 the municipality had granted another Jewish charity, Achi Ezer, with funds, while covering only Christians with benefits.

Organisation	**Average annual subsidy between 1927 and 1934**	**Average annual subsidy between 1934 and 1939**
Achi-Ezer	**230** (1932-34)	
Ezra	**300** (1927-29)	**100** (1935)
Gemiłas-Chesed	**240** (1927-34)	**200** (1935)
"Jewish kindergarten"[427]	**425** (1929-34)	
"Christian kindergarten"	**440** (1925-34)	**300** (1935, 1936, 1939)

Table 5. Budget subsidies for the organisations in Lubartów between 1927 and 1939. Source: Minutes of the Town Council and Town Board meetings 1927-39.

At the height of the crisis, in November 1932, the chairman of Gemiłas Chesed, Gdala Perec, asked for 1,000 zlotys to be included in the town's budget for the following financial year, as the organisation had "turned into a resource from which almost the entire town benefits."[428] The appeal was not successful as subsidy was maintained at the same level of 300 zlotys, the sum of which constituted a drop in the ocean of needs, given the scale of support provided by the Gemiłas Chesed. In a 15-month period (1931-1932), the charity issued 852 loans with a total value of 61,168 zlotys, with the support of the Joint that provided less than one fifth of this sum.[429]

It is not by accident that Jewish organisations received the most funds between 1927 and 1934. Just like the reform which introduced social workers shortened the distance between the poorest Jews and the social care system and, for a short time, made them beneficiaries of public aid, the significant presence of Jews in the town's government (Table 1) shortened the distance between Jewish charities and the magistrate. This was reflected in the number of Jewish town councillors sitting on the boards of relief organisations: three from Achi Ezer and four from Gemiłas

[427] Names of kindergartens used by the magistrate.
[428] Letter from Gemiłas Chesed, 24 November 1932. APL, AML, 364.
[429] Gemiłas Chesed financial report for 1931/1932. APL, AML, 364.

Chesed in the late 1920s. Additionally, representatives of both organisations served on the Welfare and Finance Committee.[430]

PART 3. TOWARDS A COMPLETE EXCLUSION OF JEWS FROM THE PUBLIC SOCIAL CARE SYSTEM

Significant changes in the organisation of social care and the distribution of benefits in Lubartów were brought about by the August 1934 local elections which resulted in a reduction of the Jewish representation on the Town Council and Town Board as well on the Social Care Commission (Table 1). At the national level, social care management was additionally affected by the 1933 Integration Act limiting the competences of the local legislative bodies, in the case of Lubartów—the Town Council, while strengthening the Town Board, and, in particular, the mayor.[431] Another important change was the policy enforced by the Ministry to reduce the number of people in closed care institutions,[432] which in Lubartów resulted in the creation of a fund for permanent assistance. In the period of 1935-1939, the latter exceeded the one allocated for emergency assistance more than twice. All these factors contributed to a complete exclusion of Jews from access to social assistance, both in terms of subsidising charities, and access to benefits. In addition, in the second half of the 1930s, a new form of aid distribution became widespread which operated on the same discriminatory logic: relief actions.

Relief actions in Lubartów

Relief actions provided a large portion of short-term assistance to the needy in Lubartów. The Town Office either initiated and organised these, or, in the case of actions launched by the central or county authority, shared the responsibility for carrying them out (Table 6). In 1937 alone, three actions were organised in Lubartów. The Easter relief campaign aimed at providing food to poor inhabitants who had not previously received winter relief.[433] The distribution of the aid was managed by Bolesław Jeżowski, social worker and member of the Town Council. The 36 aid recipients (65 with families' members) were appointed by Christian social workers. In November 1937, during a meeting of Christian social workers with the headmasters of the public schools in Lubartów and the Vice-Mayor, a list of 69 children from poor families was

[430] Register for organisations operating in the Lubartów county, 1928–1933. APL, SPL, 92.
[431] See Chapter 1.
[432] Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 225.
[433] Records concerning the 1937 Eastern action, May 1937. APL, AML, 369.

compiled.[434] The list did not include Jewish children, even though at the time they made up about 40 per cent of all pupils.[435] Shoes, stockings, and socks for a total value of 335 zlotys were delivered to Christian pupils for Christmas. On the same occasion, the Town Board organised another aid campaign, "Christmas for the Poorest". As in the case of the previous campaigns, only Christian social workers organised the aid and selected—from a list prepared by the St. Vincent Christian Mercy Society in Lubartów—those to be assisted, which resulted with a list of 32 Christian families; a total of 92 people received food products.[436]

Action	**Action duration**	**Organisers/ Donors**	**Aid recipients**
Christmas for the poorest	November–December 1936 November–December 1937	Town Office/ County Chief deputy/ St Vincent Society / private donors-local entrepreneurs	61 Christian families (225 indiv.) in 1936 32 Christian families (92 indiv.) in 1937
Food aid for Easter	May 1937	Town Office/ Christian social workers	36 families (65 indiv.) Christians
Christmas for the poorest children	December 1937 December 1938	Children and Youth Aid Committee/ Town Office/ public schools/ Christian social workers/ private donors	69 Christian students in 1937
Winter Relief Actions	December 1937–January 1938 December 1938–January 1939	County and Town Committees for Winter Relief Actions/ Town Office / private donors	9 unemployed Christians in 1938 (partial data)

Table 6. Documented Aid Actions in Lubartów, 1936-1938. Source: APL, AML, 368-369.

Thus, in three campaigns organised or co-organised in 1937 by the magistrate, a total of 228 Christian residents were helped, and not a single Jewish resident. These relief campaigns were thus tailored to exclude Jews, and the Catholic holidays on which they were organised

[434] Records concerning the 1937 Christmas action, November–December 1937. APL, AML, 369.
[435] The most precise data comes from the chronicle held by school no. 2, 194. On 5 September 1937 there were 398 "Poles" and 258 "Jews" in the school.
[436] "Christmas for the poorest" campaign documentation, December 1937. APL, AML, 369.

only underlined this fact. The Nationwide Winter Relief Action was of a different nature. It was initiated by the central government and conducted through public administration at all levels to reach "all those in need with support to an extent necessary for them to survive the winter."[437] The only limitation applied to those who were receiving aid from other sources. Committees for Winter Relief Actions in Lubartów were formed on an annual basis from among citizens invited to the meeting organised by the Magistrate. Although Jewish residents were among the invited, they were in a clear minority,[438] which is reflected in the composition of the Executive Departments of the committees: in 1937 only four Jews out of 13 members,[439] and in 1938 Szloma Ber-Cieśla was the only Jew.[440]

Like most of the relief actions in Lubartów in the second half of the 1930s, the Winter Relief Actions were designed as a public donation campaign. In this case, however, the amount of contributions for particular professional groups were predetermined, which in 1937 became the reason for protests raised by Jewish representatives on the Executive Committee.[441] Paweł Grata described the contributions as "not entirely voluntary"[442]—voluntary in theory, but in practice the local authorities effectively enforced the dues.[443] Data on the Winter Relief 1937/1938 for the county of Lubartów reveal that more than half of the contributions were paid from industry and industry certificates (around 2300 zlotys), that is, sourced from owners of plants and businesses, and craftsmen, all groups where Jews predominated.[444] Contributions to the Winter Relief Actions and other such actions were an additional burden on the already tax-laden inhabitants of Lubartów.[445] Therefore, they indirectly reduced the resources available to charities which operated mainly through private donations. Formally, Winter Relief Actions

[437] *Sprawozdanie z Akcji Pomocy Zimowej za rok 1936/1937* (Warszawa: Naczelny Wydział Wykonawczy Ogólnopolskiego Obywatelskiego Komitetu Zimowej Pomocy Bezrobotnym), 17.
[438] List of Lubartów residents invited for the Winter Aid Committee meeting, December 1938. APL, AML, 370.
[439] Minutes from the organisational meeting of the Winter Aid Committee, 18 November 1937. APL, AML, 369.
[440] Minutes from the organisational meeting of the Winter Aid Committee, 5 December 1938. APL, AML, 370. The head of the local committee in Lubartów was the director of the local Agricultural Syndicate. The Executive Department of the County Committee, to which the local committee was subordinated, consisted of Christians only, with mayor Jan Jastrzębski as chairman. There were no Jews at the provincial level either, where three bishops of the Catholic Church sat on the honorary presidium, nor at the state level. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Wojewódzkiego Obywatelskiego Komitetu Zimowej Pomocy za rok 1937/1938*, (Lublin: 1938), 30.
[441] Minutes from the organisational meeting of the Winter Aid Committee, 18 November 1937. APL, AML, 369.
[442] Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 204.
[443] Documentation concerning the 1937 Winter Relief Action, November–December 1937. APL, AML, 369. Documentation concerning the 1938 Winter Relief Action, November–December 1938. APL, AML, 370.
[444] *Sprawozdanie z działalności*, 41. Marcus stated that "in 1936 according to an estimate by CEKABE, at least one third of the total amount of about 33 million zlotys collected by the Polish Winter Relief Action was donated by local Jews." Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 144.
[445] Moszek-Joel Feldman, at a meeting of the local executive committee, requested to spread the benefits in instalments due to the tax duty at the end of the year. Minutes from the organisational meeting of the Winter Relief Committee, 18 November 1937. APL, AML, 369.

overcame the logic of organising and distributing aid within ethnic groups.[446] In fact however, money from Jewish entrepreneurs, which could have been used by Jewish organisations, went into a common fund, and Jewish representatives had no or minimal influence on how these means were spent.

The new-old logic of the benefits distribution

In the second half of the 1930s, just like before the 1928 reform, benefits for the poorest were granted directly by the Town Board at the request of those in need (Graph 1). This also applied to the newly introduced permanent benefits. Between 1935 and 1939, 600 to 900 zlotys from the town's budget were allocated annually for permanent benefits, and 200 to 380 for emergency handouts. These amounted to 15 zlotys a month, compared to the sum of 5 zlotys usually granted as emergency benefit. Amongst those receiving benefits was Alfreda Walczak, a blind woman with no livelihood, who also received a monthly allowance from the Society of St. Vincent.[447] Edmund Napieralski was paid a monthly sum of 15 zlotys "due to his difficult living conditions."[448] Both of these people, beside their monthly allowance, received occasional benefits. It would appear that in late 1930 the Lubartów municipality adopted a strategy of providing significant support to a small group of people in need. From December 1936 to May 1939, the permanent benefits were received by five adults a year, mostly the same group of people, *i.e*. Christians only.[449] Yet, according to a report prepared at the request of the county authorities, in January of 1937 more than 40 town residents needed the same support, including both Christians and Jewish residents.[450]

The role of the social workers in granting benefits was limited to preparing reports on the Town Board's demand. Even more marginalised was the Social Care Commission whose members were completely excluded from the process. According to the annual reports on the state of social care in Lubartów, from 1934 to 1939 the Commission "did not manifest any activity." All social care matters were decided upon by the magistrate.[451] This was a complete dismantling of the social care system of the early 1930s. In spite of these facts, the Social Care Commission

[446] The documents available today do not allow for an accurate analysis of the distribution of aid via Winter Relief Actions.
[447] Minutes of the Town Board meeting no. 6, 3 March 1937. APL, AML, 116.
[448] Protocols of the Town Board meeting, 23 April 1936. APL, AML, 116.
[449] Report on the Lubartów social care, 19 December 193. APL, AML, 368. Report on the Lubartów social care, 31 May 1939. APL, AML, 371.
[450] Lists of the poorest inhabitants of Lubartów, January 1937. APL, AML, 369. Lists were compiled by all social workers. The cross–outs on the lists made by the Deputy Mayor show that the Town Board qualified 41 residents as requiring of permanent benefits, including nine Jews.
[451] Annual reports about the Social Care Commission, 1936–1938. APL, AML, 368–370.

remained the only municipal institution devoted exclusively to social care (hence the resolute reaction of the Jewish councillors to the intention of establishing a Social Care Commission without Jewish representatives). Eventually, in 1939, Jewish inhabitants managed to save only one seat on the commission for Dawid Perec who was associated with Achi Ezer, while the councillor and priest Aleksander Szulc became the commission chairman.

Pushing organisations out of the public social care system

As demonstrated in this chapter, in interwar Lubartów municipal support for Jewish organisations correlated with the composition of the Town Board and Town Council (cf. Table 1 and Table 5). In the second half of the 1930s, the marginalisation of Jews in the local government led to a reduction in funding for Jewish organisations, and funding was completely stopped in 1936.[452] The cuts also affected the Jewish kindergarten which had operated without subsidies since 1935. In the following years, the magistrate also reduced funding to non-Jewish organisations as a result of reductions to the social care budget on the one hand, and the adoption of new tasks by the Town Board, on the other. In 1937, the Town Board established a dormitory in Lubartów, maintained by the town until the end of the 1930s.[453] Furthermore, the town budgets of 1937/1938 and 1938/1939 included a new subsidy for meals for children, previously only occasionally financed by municipality.[454]

The only charity which continued to cooperate with the Magistrate in the late 1930s was the St. Vincent Society, a fact manifested in the joint preparation of lists of people granted with benefits. At the same time, the Society was strengthening its presence within the local government structures; in 1934, the Society's patron, Father Stanisław Krynicki, one of the few leaders of the national movement in Lubartów,[455] became a councillor, while the husbands of the chairwoman and deputy chairwoman of the St. Vincent Society presided in the executive department of the Winter Action Committee in 1937. In contrast, the Women's Civic Labour Union, which had previously worked closely with the Magistrate, seems to lose its importance

[452] Limiting or cutting subsidies to Jewish organisations was a nationwide tendency in the late 1930s. Cf. Pakentreger, *Żydzi w Kaliszu*, 253. Kozińska–Witt, „Samorządowa polityka," 422; Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Żydzi w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016), 69.
[453] Protocol of the Town Board meeting, 14 December 1936. APL, AML, 116. Some months earlier, in August of 1936, a Jewish charity "Hachnusas Orchim" was registered in Lubartów to run a dormitory for homeless people. *Monitor Polski*, 4 September 1936.
[454] In the 1937/1938 budget, the town assigned 300 zlotys for this purpose, and in the following budget, 500 zlotys. In 1936, when the vast majority of funds came from private donors, the Town Office allocated 100 zlotys. Mayor Jastrzębski's letter on meals for school children, 22 August 1936. APL, AML, 116. In the school year 1936/1937, ca. 200 pupils required free meals due to financial deprivation. In late 1930s, feeding school children became a high priority for the Social Care Ministry. Grata, *Polityka społeczna*, 231–233.
[455] A monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187.

in the late 1930s. The kindergarten run by the Association lost its funding in 1937. Following a two year-gap, the subsidy for the kindergarten was restored; this time the funds went to the Reservists' Family, an organisation of family members of activists of the Reservists' Union, one of the many nationwide paramilitary organisations active at the end of the 1930s.

The municipality's marginal or non-existent support for the organisations did prevent the latter from providing vital support to a significant number of town inhabitants, especially in the late 1930s when the economy began to decline again. In 1938, in a letter sent to the Joint the Gemiłas Chesed activists highlighted the worsening situation of local Jews, warning that those who had previously supported the fund were now in need of help.[456] The situation of inhabitants was similarly portrayed by the leaders of the St. Vincent Society who explained that their activities had increased greatly because "the number of poor people, for whom the community aid is almost the only means of subsistence, has increased significantly."[457] In this particular situation, between April 1937 and March 1938, the St. Vincent Society provided assistance to 87 Lubartów residents, mainly through permanent and occasional benefits totalling over 1,500 zlotys, *i.e.* more than the benefits offered by the Town Office.[458] Most of the funds came from membership fees from 155 donors. Gemiłas Chesed, on the other hand, granted 375 free loans in 1938, for a total of 40,227 zlotys, mainly from the funds of 322 members, but also from the Joint donation (10,643 in 1938).[459]

Between 1936 and 1939—after a decade—Jews in Lubartów still kept sending poignant letters to their compatriots in the US. In a letter from June 1938, the Gemiłas Chesed strongly reproached the *landsmanshaft* for their lack of support:

> "Remember that hundreds of *landsmanshaftn* systematically send aid to the funds in Poland and that the Lubartów *landsmanshaft* is an exception! Remember that the Gemiłas Chesed funds are a thorn in the side of the anti-Semites, precisely because they do not allow poor Jews to die under their yoke…"[460]

[456] Letter to AJDC from the charity Gemiłas Chesed in Lubartów, 24 January 1939. YIVO Archives, JDC Landsmanshaft Department, box 7, folder 242.
[457] "Z życia organizacji," *Lubartowiak*, 9 (1938), 10–12.
[458] "Sprawozdanie Kasowe," *Lubartowiak*, 9 (1938), 12.
[459] Letter to AJDC from Gemiłas Chesed in Lubartów, undated. YIVO Archives, JDC Landsmanshaft Department, box 7, folder 242.
[460] Letter from the Gemiłas Chesed to the *landsmanshaft* in New York, 21 June 1938. The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jules Peretz collection, file PL–486; translated by Yitskhok Niborski and Franciszek Zakrzewski.

In addition, Ezra and the Jewish Craftsmen's Union who had never asked for help before, sent out letters asking for donations. Requests from the late 1930s blamed antisemitism, boycotts, as well as legal and administrative discrimination for the worsening situation of the Lubartowian Jews.[461] Exclusion from social care was yet another form of discrimination faced by the Lubartowian Jews in the late 1930s.[462] In this situation, the Jews saved themselves on the basis of solidarity: via intra-group solidarity within Lubartów and by appealing for solidarity support from compatriots abroad.

In the period of the late 1930s, all forms of public social care were operating along religious lines, which most often led to the exclusion of Jews as recipients. One can also notice the increased participation of Catholic clergy, bringing the aid activities into the Catholic framework. The process of strengthening the Catholic Church's influence in Lubartów's social and political life, rooted nationwide, found its expression in Lubartów in the late 1930s during public celebrations, or in the formation of new Catholic organisations.[463] Similarly, the emergence of a paramilitary organisation faction in the social welfare system reflects the national military mobilisation and militarisation of social life in Lubartów in the late 1930s.[464]

CONCLUSIONS

Historian Joseph Marcus estimates that in 1929 about 10 per cent of the income of Jews in Poland was redistributed from the wealthier half to the poorer half, and that over time, more and more funds were channelled in this way.[465] The data on the funding of Jewish organisations in Lubartów confirm that solidarity within ethnic and religious groups, not only Jewish, was the basic principle for organising aid.[466] A large proportion of the aid given to the poor in Lubartów, was provided by intra-ethnic or intra-religious social organisations which operated primarily on a donation basis. Aid organisations and assistance provided to those in need were

[461] On state regulations that hit small manufacturers and on the situation of Jewish small businesses in the late 1930s in Poland, see Gancarska–Kadary, *Żydowska ludność*, 68–69, 99–102, 146. About the government moratorium on agricultural debts that deprived entrepreneurs of working capital, see L. Szlamowicz, "Oddłużenie rolnictwa a handel żydowski," *Zagadnienia Gospodarcze*, 1–2 (1935), 52–57.
[462] Tomaszewski, *Żydzi w II Rzeczypospolitej*, 199–219; Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 352–367.
[463] See chapter 5. Zbigniew Zaporowski, "Lubartów w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej', in Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.), *Lubartów w dziejach od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd miasta Lubartów, 2018), 412.
[464] See chapter 5.
[465] Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 144.
[466] Hospital fees might be an exception. The cost of hospital treatment of the poor was the most significant part of the social care fund. In Lubartów, the coverage was decided by the Town Board. Unfortunately, the minutes of the Town Board do not allow for comprehensive research regarding the distribution of funds for the treatment of the poor. Nevertheless, they show that throughout the interwar period both Jews and Christians were continuously among the recipients.

a means for engaging and integrating ethnic and religious groups in Lubartów and from Lubartów, which is particularly evident for Jews[467] who relied on humanitarian mobilisation as a remedy for exclusion from the social care system.

The entire aid system in inter-war Lubartów formed a hybrid network of complex interrelationships between different forms of aid, through which local actors sought various ways of improving the situation of those in most need, within the group with which they identified. The communal nature of aid was thus largely based on the common identification of aid organisers, aid providers, and the needy—and on the relatively small size of the groups as well. Relief practices, like most social and political initiatives in interwar Lubartów, served to produce, mobilise, and sustain these group identifications: ethnic, religious, or national.[468] The state and local government, organising the public social care system, was by no means neutral in this arrangement; social care was overwhelmingly subordinated to the needs of "the core nation,"[469] in the case of Lubartów understood in ethno-religious categories as Christians or Poles.

Subsidising Jewish organisations while reducing support for Jews within the framework of municipal benefits (at the beginning and end of the 1927-1934 Town Council term), the equal subsidising of Jewish and non-Jewish organisations and initiatives (relief committees in the 1933, subsidies for kindergartens), targeting aid to be provided primarily or exclusively to Christians (in the period up to 1927 and in the second half of the 1930s)—these aid strategies within the public social care system were all based on a logic of division between Jews and Christians.

The most significant break in this logic came with the establishment of the social worker system and the Social Care Commission at the end of 1929. Although in the period 1930-1931 the method of reaching the poorest was based on openly emphasised ethno-national divisions, the distribution of funds was primarily determined by need. The reform of 1928 removed structural obstacles to applying for benefits, such as the lack of mastery of written Polish or being afraid

[467] This role is demonstrated not only through the scale of the assistance provided, but also through the number of members. In 1933, the Town Board estimated Achi Ezer's membership at 250 and Ezra's at 500, with 50 members of the Women's Civic Labour Union and 86 of the St. Vincent's Society. A monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. About the role which free loan *kasses* played in unifying the local Jewish groups, Kenneth B. Moss, *An Unchosen People* (Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2021), 118–119.

[468] Rogers Brubacker, 'Ethnicity without Groups', *European Journal of Sociology*, 43:2 (2002), 163–189.

[469] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, Sao Paulo, Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 79–106.

of, or unfamiliar with, the municipal administration. Most importantly, it introduced social workers into the system, *i.e.* people who supported those in need and advocated for them, as well as the Social Care Commission responsible for administering social care system, including the distribution of benefits. As a result, the social care in Lubartów has come closer to the ground rules of universal and compulsory assistance and Lubartów Jews were supported to an unprecedented extent in 1930 and 1931. The local government was responsible for implementing the Act, but it was also the local government that effectively dismantled the new social care architecture shortly after its introduction. Questions about the possibility of a more just system of public social care lie at the heart of the issue of the position of Jews as citizens of Lubartów.

The decomposition of the new system began shortly after its introduction. Already at the end of 1931, the Christian social workers—by organising a charity party with the support of the town administration—created a separate circuit of aid, one for Christians only. The omission of Jewish social workers from the town's aid activities became a common practice in the second half of the 1930s. Additionally, in late 1931, the authorities decided to derive a significant sum for the Municipal Committee for Aid to Poor, resigning from independent disposal of these funds. In parallel, the Social Care Committee, whose functions were taken over by the Town Council, lost its importance. All of the above resulted in a return to a system of distribution of benefits similar to that in place prior to the reform, and the disproportion in the access to aid was reinforced by the introduction of permanent benefits and the spread of relief actions in the second half of the 1930s.

The functioning of social care in Lubartów shows how the political power of ethnic and religious groups, expressed in the number of representatives in the Town Council, Board, and the Social Care Committees, influenced the support locals received from the town. The period of the 1927-1934 term of office, with the largest Jewish representation within the town authorities, is in fact the sole episode when social care was balanced to any extent. In this context, the benefit distribution in 1930 and 1931, in which the vast majority of funds were directed to Jews, is a peculiar phenomenon. After all, this was taking place at a time when the town authorities were still predominantly Christian. Should we therefore treat the years 1930 and 1931 as merely a temporary anomaly in the system? Should the decomposition of the social worker and the Social Care Commission systems be considered merely as a correction, a return to a model in which support for the poorest within the public welfare system depended on the political power of religious and ethnic groups only?

CHAPTER 3. DIMENSIONS OF CONTINUITY UNDER THE NEW ORDER? MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE FACE OF PERSECUTION AND EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS IN OCCUPIED POLAND

INTRODUCTION

19 June, 1948, the following letter arrived at the Municipal Office in Lubartów:

> "Dear Mr. Mayor,
>
> I, the only member of the Goldstein family left, lived in Lubartów before the war, in my own house at 9 Lubelska Street, in the Lebartow ghetto at 9 Żabia Street, now in Italy."[470]

The letter was sent a week earlier by Bencjon Goldsztajn from a transit camp for refugees in Bari, on the east coast of Italy.[471] In principle, the letter was no different from many others sent after the war by Jewish pre-war town residents. These letters often provided a symbolic closure of their relationship with their hometown. Receiving a birth certificate made it possible to confirm one's identity and start life anew. Bencjon Goldsztajn, however, did not wish to cut his ties with Lubartów yet. He had several more issues to be handled, such as selling his pre-war house on Piłsudskiego Street or searching for the befriended Cwajman family. Surprisingly, he asked first about the Town Board officials that he remembered from the wartime:

> "I will be very much obliged to Mr. Mayor to kindly inform me as of the following persons: citizen Lalka (Mayor), citizen Trzyżewski (Secretary), Kosiak and Woźniak magistrate officials."

Bencjon Goldsztajn and his wife Perla came to Lubartów from Lublin in 1928.[472] In Lubartów, Bencjon and Perla started a family, and Bencjon worked as a carriage driver. A few months before the outbreak of the war, the Goldsztajns moved into Piłsudskiego street, the main street of the town. During the war they lived a few dozen meters further, at Żabia street. It is not known when and under what circumstances Bencjon Goldsztajn left Lubartów. After leaving

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[470] Letter from Bencjon Goldsztajn to the Lubartów Town Board, April 12, 1948. APL, AML, 1027, no page numbers.
[471] I use the transcription of the name which is the most common in the sources. This transcription also appears in the letter's signature.
[472] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s, APL, AML, 40, 97.

the town, he was placed in the Płaszów camp, and later in Mauthausen from where he was liberated.[473]

Goldsztajn's interest in the fates of town officials certainly did not stem from pre-war intimacies or long-standing pre-war official matters. After all, Aleksander Lalka, like Woźniak and Kosior whom he inquired about, began holding their positions at the very beginning of World War II and remained in office until the almost complete extermination of Lubartów's Jews, including the Bencjon family.

Bencjon Goldsztajn himself, however, survived. Was Goldsztajn's interest in the fate of the four magistrate officials due to the influence they had on his fate and that his family? Did their actions contribute to the deaths of Goldsztajn's closest relatives, or did they perhaps allow Goldsztajn himself to survive? The same question can be applied to the thousands of Jews who experienced physical violence, starvation, displacement, or economic and physical exploitation in Lubartów, and were ultimately murdered on the streets of the town and/or deported to death camps. What part did the town authorities play in all these tragedies experienced by Lubartów's Jewish residents and Jewish refugees in the town? To frame this more broadly: did the actions of local authorities have an impact on the fate of Jews during the Holocaust in occupied Poland? The role of the German civil administration in the persecution and murder of Jews has been widely recognised and debated.[474] Research interests have gradually descended to lower levels of administration. In the recent years, the role of the lower-level administration, particularly county chiefs (*Kreishauptman*ns), in occupied Poland has been highlighted.[475] Although the local government, *i.e.* the lowest level of the occupying administration, was noticed already in the 1970s,[476] but has not been thoroughly addressed until recently [477] The first publication

[473] Personal card of Benzion Goldstein. Arolsen Archives, Personal file of Goldstein Benzion, 1463919.
[474] Cf. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of European Jews,* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961). Raul Hilberg, "The Bureaucracy of Annihilation," in François Furet (ed.), *Unanswered Questions. Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989), 119–133. Aly Götz, *Final Solution: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews* (London, New York, Sydney, Auckland: Arnold, 1999). Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Ithaca: NY, 2000). Yehuda Bauer, *Rethinking the Holocaust* (Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 101–131. Christopher R. Browning, *The Path to Genocide: Essays on Launching the Final Solution* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 142–143.
[475] Marcus Roth, *Herrenmenschen. Die deutschen Kreishauptleute im besetzten Polen – Karrierewege, Herrschaftspraxis und Nachgeschichte* (Göttingen, 2009) and Bogdan Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999–2011).
[476] Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. 1 (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo ISP PAN, 1970), 222.
[477] The role of mayors and municipal boards was previously studied in Western Europe. Peter Romijn, *Burgemeesters in oorlogstijd. Besturen onder Duitse besetting* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2006); Nico Wouters, *Mayoral Collaboration under Nazi Occupation. Belgium, the Netherlands and the North of France, 1938–1946* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

dedicated exclusively to the local government within the General Government (GG) was not published until August 2024.[478] In his comprehensive work, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe identified areas of local government activity, with a particular focus on mayors. Many of these areas had already been identified by other researchers, including that of participation in the demarcation of ghetto boundaries,[479] economic exploitation,[480] participation in organising liquidation actions,[481] cleaning after the killings,[482] or the confiscation and administration of property seized from Jews.[483] Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe elaborates on these aspects and adds new ones, such as the use of forced Jewish labour, food policy, or participation in the third stage of the Holocaust.

A comparison of more than 20 towns in the General Government leads Rossoliński-Liebe to conclude that mayors "were extensively involved in the Holocaust and other crimes of German occupiers, because these were their everyday administrative tasks,"[484] and that "the GG could not have been administered without their cooperation. The persecution and murder of the Jews would also have been different without their support. Polish mayors are important for Jewish history because they supported the German occupiers in the persecution and murder of the Jews."[485] Rossoliński-Liebe also pointed out that the relationship with German superiors was more complex than researchers generally indicate, that the "superiors learned from mayors" and "their interest and German occupiers overlapped in the field of the persecution of Jews, while there were major discrepancies in the field of the exploitation of Poles."[486] In this context,

[478] Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust: Besatzung, Verwaltung und Kollaboration* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2024). Individual articles relating to the occupied Eastern Europe: Markus Eikel and Valentina Sivaieva, "City Mayors, Raion Chiefs and Village Elders in Ukraine, 1941–4: How Local Administrators Co–operated with the German Occupation Authorities," *Contemporary European History*, 23:3 (2014), 405–428. Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Les maires polonais face à la Shoah dans le Gouvernement general," *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 216:2 (2022), 99–113.
[479] Marcin Urynowicz, "Stosunki polsko–żydowskie w Warszawie w okresie okupacji hitlerowskiej," in Andrzej Żbikowski (ed.), *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1945. Studia i materiały*, (Warszawa: IPN, 2006), 582–587.
[480] Urynowicz, "Stosunki polsko–żydowskie"; Adam Puławski, "Funkcjonowanie urzędu powierniczego na przykładzie Chełma", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 13 (2017), 399–436.
[481] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 243–244; Wojciech Zawadzki, *Eroica. Zagłada Żydów przedborskich w latach 1939–1942* (Bydgoszcz: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Pomorskiego Muzeum Wojskowego, 2008), 75.
[482] Karolina Panz, "Powiat nowotarski," in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), *Dalej jest noc Vol. II*, (Warszawa: Centrum Badań and Zagładą Żydów, 2018), 249. Jan Grabowski, "Powiat węgrowski," in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski vol. I,* (Warszawa, Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018) 435–436.
[483] Jan Grabowski, "Zarząd Powierniczy i nieruchomości żydowskie w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie. Co można skonfiskować? W zasadzie wszystko," in Jan Grabowski and Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych 1939 – 1950* (Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2014), 73–112.
[484] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 1005.
[485] Ibid., 9.
[486] *Ibid*.

the author points to a direct link between pre-war anti-Semitism economic rivalry and discriminatory legislation and the anti-Semitic attitudes among mayors and city boards during the war.[487]

Despite such strong conclusions, Rossoliński-Liebe at the same time repeatedly notes that the mayors' attitudes, capabilities, and scope of action taken, varied greatly. "It is possible to compare how mayors reacted individually to similar problems, how they acted in the context of the difficult occupation situation, or how differently they implemented the same ordinances in their municipalities. The differences that emerge can be attributed to various factors. These included the personality and political interests of a mayor as well as the size of the city, the expectations of their superiors and, last but not least, situational aspects."[488] Regardless of the differences, Rossoliński-Liebe seeks to draw the most far-reaching general conclusions—even the two documented cases of mayors who were not involved in pre-war anti-Semitism and who were reluctant to repress Jews, indicate that the very fact of serving as mayor implied participation in the Holocaust.[489]

To understand the role of mayors and municipal governments in the General Government, the question of the extent of their sovereignty and ability to act independently comes to the fore. In this context, two perspectives emerge. Some scholars point to an absolute dependence of the lowest-level local governments on the superior German authorities, primarily the districts.[490] Local authorities in the General Government were incorporated into the occupation civil administration. As a result, self-government ceased to exist, and mayors lost their sovereignty, their functions were largely limited to carrying out the orders of the superior authorities and administration. Most mayors during the war were accompanied by uncertainty of their own political legitimacy due to their complete formal subordination to the supreme authorities, as well as changes in the organisation of the civil administration, or, finally, the dynamic war situation.

The second perspective, represented primarily by Rossoliński-Liebe and not necessarily contradictory to the first, emphasises familiarity with the conditions of local municipal authorities, pre-war experience of governance, or, finally, limited control by German superior

[487] Rossoliński–Liebe studies the 21 localities and biographies of 38 mayors in the pre–occupation period.
[488] *Ibid*., 16.
[489] *Ibid*., 1022.
[490] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 69, 84; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 64, 65; Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko–żydowskiego miasta. Tarnów 1918–1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austera, 2023), 290.

authorities. At the same time, the lack of stability, the need to react quickly, and the not always clear division of powers created additional spaces for mayors to act. From this perspective, local authorities could, and did, pursue their own strategies when managing and administering, and so their attitude had a significant impact on the fate of residents. Based on the assumption that strict formal subordination did not imply total inertia on the part of local authorities, I will be looking for room for manoeuvre for the local authorities, spaces in which they took initiative on their own, especially with regard to the Jewish residents of the town.[491]

In many respects, the work of the occupation's town officials was no different from the work they performed before the war. They administered cities just as they had before; similarly, they processed the applications of residents, and carried out the orders of their superiors. In addition, many administrative procedures and the pre-war legal framework were maintained during the war.[492] In a sense, despite the limited powers of local authorities, the ties between residents and local governments in the realities of occupied Poland grew even closer. Mayors and Town Boards remained the only available instance of civil authority for a large group of residents. Administrative, institutional, and personnel continuity of authority, as was the case in Lubartów, was conducive to maintaining relationships with citizens. It is worth noting that these relationships had been shaped and even firmly established in the two decades between the two wars. Taking a pre-war perspective in the micro-historical study of the wartime magistrate makes it possible to identify continuities and discontinuities in inter-group relations, as well as in governmental and administrative practices, and thus to better understand the social dynamics in Lubartów. Therefore, my objective with regard to research of the local government is to address the links between the policies and administrative actions carried out in the town before the war and during the war.

As shown in the first two chapters of my work, interwar municipal authorities operated under a paradigm of a nationalising state, based on the belief in the existence of a "core nation" defined in ethnic terms, one which has an inherent exclusive right to the state. In Lubartów, local government institutions and officials mobilised the resources available to keep ethnic

[491] The dichotomy between agency and the position of mayors within the ideological and bureaucratic order as a fundamental issue concerning the role of local government during the war is also pointed out by Nico Wouters in a reference to occupied Western Europe. "Mayors were prone to take individual choices in local micro–context. But they also operated within national context and rigid ideological networks." Wouters, *Mayoral Collaboration under Nazi Occupation*, 4.

[492] First Decree on the Organisation of the Administration of the Occupied Polish Territories, October 26, 1939. Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouverneurs für die Besetzten Polnischen Gebiete = Journal of Regulations of the General Governor for the Occupied Polish Territories (VOBlGG), October 26, 1939, No. 1, 3.

Poles dominant (chapter 1) and used it primarily for the benefit of one group, discriminating against the others (chapter 2). A number of questions arise: was this practice reflected in the actions of the magistrate during the war? Did the actions of Lubartów's mayor and his office aim to advance the interests of a particular group? In Lubartów, as was the case in the towns examined by Rossoliński, was the intent of the Poles placed above the welfare of the Jews, and did the magistrate exploit the situation of the Jews for the benefit of the non-Jewish residents of the town? Were the residents of Lubartów able to count on the support of the municipal administration, and to what extent?

Jews had already been excluded from political life in the l930s, and the Catholic dominance in Lubartów remained unthreatened. Did the presence of the German occupation authorities in Lubartów change anything in the logic of ethnic divisions between Jews and non-Jews? If we conclude that Jews, through local and state forms of discrimination, had already been excluded from the ranks of Lubartów's "full-fledged" citizens, can it be said that further repression was a continuation of processes set in motion before the war?[493] Did the experience of excluding and discriminating against Lubartów's Jews prepare the municipal authorities to participate in the implementation of anti-Semitic decisions during the war? Or perhaps, in the context of the persecution and Holocaust, the Lubartów magistrate's employees can be framed as a group of "normal bureaucrats," "accommodators who waited for a signal from above," in the words used by Christopher Browning to classify German bureaucrats.[494]

The initial question will concern the position of the pre-war local power elite, *i.e.* the extent to which occupation and the accompanying social processes shook hierarchies in Lubartów. In this case, similarly to that of exclusion of the Jews, the German reorganisation of the civil administration was in line with the direction of the change in the local government system of the 1930s,[495] concentration of power in the hands of the executive strata, and greater dependence on the central authorities. The hierarchy of power in Lubartów was shaken not only by the German occupation, but by dynamic changes in the social structure caused on the one hand by the influx of refugees, and on the other, by the displacement, deportation, and repression of the town's citizens.

[493] Götz Aly, *Europe Against the Jews, 1880–1945* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020).
[494] Christopher R. Browning, *The Path to Genocide*, 142–143.
[495] See Chapter 1.

Methodology and sources

Local government power structures in my analysis belong to the *meso* level. Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus who note the significant advantages of adopting a *meso* perspective in genocide research, frame it as "the space between nation- or international-level factors and individual-level factors" that include "subnational regions and communities (provinces, towns, and villages)."[496] The importance of *meso*-level actors is based on the fact that they coordinate the actions of micro- and macro-level actors, and exert a decisive influence on the local dynamics of the course of violence. The perspective outlined by Strauss and Finkel was applied by Tomasz Frydel to village heads, the lowest level of local government in rural areas of the General Government,[497] demonstrating that despite their extremely limited causality within the institutional framework set by the Germans, they were responsible for the shape of the community under their authority. Frydel focuses primarily on the third phase of the Holocaust, when it was the responsibility of village leaders to detain Jews residing within their jurisdiction and escort them to the nearest post. The village heads risked personal consequences for not complying with the order, while the decision to keep the Jewish survivors in hiding exposed those involved in the rescue, or even the entire village, to the risk of denunciation and consequences. On several levels, one can see a parallel in the position of village heads and that of mayors. In both cases, acting power was conditioned by rules established by the Germans, and everyday pressure from the occupying forces. It also seems unquestionable that security, or a sense of security, both for themselves and their residents, depended on the obedience to the occupier. Mayors, like village heads, were also subject to pressure from below, including armed underground groups.[498] The example of Lubartów, however, shows that mayors never had responsibilities comparable to those with which village heads were burdened. These were significantly limited due to the presence of German institutions and functionaries, as well as tighter supervision of the German civil administration.

On the one hand, the *meso* perspective helps place the town authorities in relation to structural conditions, mainly subordination to the German administration, and on the other hand, to acknowledge the impact of administrative practices on the lives and actions of Lubartów residents. In essence, my approach does not differ from the methodology used in the earlier

[496] Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus, "Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry," *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 7 (2012), 55–67.
[497] Tomasz Frydel, "The Polish Countryside as a Gray Zone: Village Heads and the Meso Level of the General Government, 1939–1945," *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2023), 202–228.
[498] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 952–982.

parts of the work, devoted to the actions of the municipal authorities in the interwar period, and among my basic methods remains changing the scale of observation. In my practice, I view the actions of the municipal board in the light of the policies of the superior authorities, the district—the Lublin district as well as the entire General Government—and other German institutions influencing the direction of population policies, such as the SS and the Police command. What interests me most, however, in the case of pre-war Lubartów, is the action taken by the town government toward the residents of Lubartów, their influence on the fate of the residents, and, more broadly, mutual relations.

The change in scale also relates to the ways in which administrative documents that form the main part of the source base, are read. Here, just like before, document analysis will be multidimensional, taking into account formal communication of the magistrate with the various authorities, such as the county chief's office or the *Judenrat*. These documents, written in formal language, reflect the hierarchical arrangement of power and are indicative of the chain of command in place. At this layer, the actions and intentions of the town authorities are often not expressed directly, but often rather lie in nuances such as the pace of actions and decisions taken. The documents analysed offer yet another layer of information—*i.e.,* the internal working communication. This is expressed in all the interventions via the original shape and content of official correspondence—various kinds of orders, notes, underlines, and cross-outs. This dimension of reading often tells us more about the strategies adopted by the local government and the practical aspects of the magistrate's activity than formal correspondence itself.[499]

The main source base for studying the attitudes of local authorities toward Jewish residents in Lubartów during the war period are the town's records.[500] These include, among other things, correspondence of the magistrate with the higher authorities (including ordinances), primarily with the county chief and his office, and other occupation institutions (such as the *Judenrat*, Labor Offices, Polish Police) and private individuals, mainly Lubartów residents. In addition, they include internal records kept by the magistrate's office concerning specific areas of activity, such as sanitation, housing, and population records. Since the town's occupation

[499] My practice is similar to that employed by Sylvian Laurens in analysing words scribbled on the margins of official decisions regarding foreign workers who left France. In the present case, however, the notes of the Lubartów magistrate staff are in essence not prone to be dialogic, *i.e*. not a place where officials exchange opinions. Thus, the interferences help grasp the official's intentions only to a limited extent. Sylvian Laurens, "Les agents de l'État face à leur propre pouvoir. Éléments pour une micro–analyse des mots griffonnés en marge des décisions officielles," *Genèses*, 72 (2008), 26–41.
[500] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 41–44.

records are incomplete, my main focus is on well-documented issues, such as the expulsion of Jews from Lubartów in November of 1939. In the case of the wartime municipal records, some difficulties arise from the way in which the files are arranged; many of the cases were placed in folders that do not correspond thematically, for example, documentation on the renting of apartments abandoned by Jews was misplaced into a folder devoted to food supplies. In other cases, one group of sources could be split between several folders: applications to the magistrate by Jews forced to leave Lubartów in the autumn of 1939 were dispersed among five different folders relating to registration, emigration, and social, health, and sanitation issues.

All town records from the occupation period are kept in Polish or German. Formally, German was the official language in the General Government, while "Polish was permissible,"[501] in practice, records were kept mostly in Polish, while correspondence with German authorities is in German or bilingual, translated by translators of the district office exposition or professional request writers (*pisarze próśb*) hired by the magistrate to do so. Mayor Lalka and other magistrate officials did not speak German,[502] therefore they had no common language with the German county authorities. All contacts, via correspondence and personal, had to be mediated by translators. Whenever both language versions of documents were preserved, I provide information and a reference to both; when only the German version is available, I also note this in a footnote.[503] I compare the German and Polish versions only in selected cases, when the discrepancies are significant from the point of view of the administrative action taken. Lack of advanced linguistic competence does not allow me to draw a comprehensive comparison of the nature of the translations.

The records of the district authorities to which the Lubartów magistrate was directly subordinate, do not provide much material concerning Lubartów. The records of the Radzyń county (Ger. *Kreishauptmanshaft Radzyń* or *Landkreis Radzyń*, Pol. *Powiat radzyński*) that included Lubartów until September 1941,[504] have not survived, while only single documents concerning Lubartów have been preserved in the files of the Lublin-Land County. Included in

[501] First Decree on the Organisation of the Administration of the Occupied Polish Territories, October 26, 1939. VOBlGG, 26 October 1939, No. 1, 3.
[502] This is according to the list of employees of the Lubartów Town Board, October 19th, 1944. Many of the magistrate's employees declared Russian instead. The list was drawn up after the liberation of Lubartów by the Red Army, at the time when the new order was formed, which may have influenced the declarations of magistrate employees. APL, AML, 738, 90–93.
[503] Most of the translations were done using DeepL, a neural machine translation service, and subsequently verified by a German translator.
[504] Decree on the changing of boundaries in Radzyń, Lublin Land, and Puławy counties, 20 August 1941. VOBlGG, 14 November 1941, No. 106, 629–630.

this group are two folders of several pages relating directly to Jews in Lubartów—one relates to the ID cards of members of the *Judenrat* in Lubartów, the other to passes/permits for leaving Lubartów. The files of the Lublin-Land County office, along with those of the Lublin district, will be analysed in order to establish a broader context for the administrative actions that were taken. Furthermore, a comparison will be drawn between the situation in Lubartów and that in other towns.

In addition to the documentation held by civil administration offices, I have mobilised the records of various uniformed formations operating in Lubartów, including the Gendarmerie, the Polish police, the *Ordungpolizei*, and the Police Battalions.[505] These records offer only limited insight into the activities of the magistrate, with the majority comprising reports of troops stationed or operating in Lubartów. In addition to providing insights into the situation in the town and its surroundings, these reports the presence of detachments operating independently of the civil administration, which formed the context of the mayor's actions, as it could potentially influence his autonomy in decision-making. On certain occasions, the officers did require the mayor's involvement in their operations. Furthermore, when stationed within the town, these detachments utilised both municipal and private resources, which was also mirrored in municipal records.

Researchers, including Rossoliński, often refer to the memoirs and diaries of the local government employees themselves, or magistrate collaborators, more generally—people who experienced and documented the activities of the local government. In the case of Lubartów, none of the surviving accounts come from people from these groups. Moreover, none of them refers directly to the actions taken by Mayor Lalka and the town board during the war, and the Yizkor Buch of Lubartów is also silent about them. The only surviving and therefore often quoted comment on Lalka's conduct during the war comes from Zbigniew Ligęza, an underground member during the war: "The new mayor turned out to be a good administrator, he did not annoy the citizens, but rather helped, carried out the orders of the German authorities tardily."[506]

Post-war court proceedings have provided a more comprehensive knowledge of the second wartime mayor of Lubartów—Józef Müller who held his functions since the second half of

[505] APL, Komendantura Placu w Lublinie, 0/–/12. APL, Komendant Żandarmerii Dystryktu Lubelskiego, 1033. APL, Posterunki Policji Polskiej w Dystrykcie Lubelskim, 1035. APL, Komendant Policji Bezpieczeństwa i Służb Bezpieczeństwa w Lubline, 511. APL, Batalion Policji w Zamościu, 515.
[506] Zdzisław Ligęza, *Lubartowskie drogi Armii Krajowej* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 1998), 52.

January 1943. Müller was accused of "murdering Polish citizens and mistreating them."[507] While the court records primarily addressed the murders of Jews perpetrated by Müller between 1940 and 1942, in Piotrków near Lublin where he served as a bailiff, they also incorporated testimonies of Lubartów residents, including town hall employees such as Stanisław Woźniak. According to the court testimonies, Müller exhibited an exceptionally brutal treatment of Poles in Lubartów, including that of his own protégé. However, there is no mention of his actions towards Jews seeking refuge in the town and its environs. It is also notable that Müller became the target of underground activists since his stay in Piotrków:[508] in Lubartów, Home Army activists performed an assassination attempt,[509] and the Town Board offices became targets of partisan attacks after his nomination.[510]

PART 1. LUBARTÓW UNDER OCCUPATION: DIVISION OF POWER

The structure of German rule in the General Government

At the end of October 1939, the structures of the civil administration in the General Government (*Generalgouvernement, GG)*, the German occupation zone in Poland, began to be formed.[511] As a result, a three-level administration was established, with Hans Frank as Governor General at the top and four districts at mid-level in Cracow, Radom, Warsaw, and Lublin. The urban and rural counties (*Stadtkreise* and *Kreishauptmannschaften*) functioned as the lowest level of administration, led by town and county chiefs (*Stadthauptmanns* and *Kreishauptmanns*). Civil administration in the GG was strictly hierarchical *per se*, with power concentrated at each level in the hands of the chief and his administrative apparatus divided into departments. Equipped with special powers of attorney, Hans Frank strove for complete unity of administration and full control over the area which he administered.

Heinrich Himmler and the Police and the SS commands under his authority (HSSPF and SSPF) were in constant dispute with the civil administration of the General Government. At stake was not only the division of powers and the manner in which power was exercised in the occupied

[507] Records in Józef Muller's case, October 1947. IPN GK 164/151, t. 1–3.
[508] The failed assassination attempt took place in April 1942. Ryszard Jacek Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie. Lubartów 1939–1945* (Lublin: Polihymia, 2001), 273.
[509] The action planned for 9 May 1944, was not carried out for fear of consequences. Ligęza, 166.
[510] Report of Ordungdpolizei Command for Lublin District, 14 May 1943, 2. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 332.
[511] First Decree on the Organisation of the Administration of the Occupied Polish Territories, 26 October 1939, VOBlGG, 26 October 1939, No. 1.

territories, but also the role of the GG in the economic strategy and population management in the Third *Reich*. From the perspective of Governor Hans Frank, the most critical aspect of administering the occupied territory was the effective economic exploitation of the GG, and not radical demographic engineering. In his view, the plans of Himmler to whom the HSSPF was subordinate, and his subordinates, involving large-scale population resettlement, threatened the economic functioning of the GG. Finally—and this also gave rise to tensions—the civilian authorities were *de facto* deprived of control over the police forces.[512] In Lubartów, similarly to other smaller towns, the county chiefs were granted the right to issue orders only to the Gendarmerie units stationed within the districts, even though the Gendarmerie was formally subordinate to the commandant of the order police (Ordungspolizei) whose commander-in-chief was Heinrich Himmler.[513]

The anti-Jewish policy in the GG was also an area of fierce conflicts between the civil administration and the SS authorities. The dispute continues in debates among historians who disagree on who *de facto* led the efforts against the Jews in the period up to mid-1941. Diether Pohl emphasises the influence of the SS and the police who pursued a policy of mass resettlement and created their own cells responsible for anti-Jewish policies, including the organisation of forced labour for Jews.[514] Bogdan Musiał, on the other hand, argues that after the failure of the project to create a Jewish reserve in the Lublin region in mid-1940, the civil administration took control of areas of anti-Jewish policy,[515] including exclusion of Jews from the economy, food provision, isolation policy, sanitary control, registration, housing of Jewish refugees, or social policy, organised and paid for by the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) with supervision of civil administration. The civil administration was in charge not just because of the formal division of responsibilities, but also due to its personnel resources, including local governments which enabled the enforcement of decrees and the daily monitoring of compliance.[516]

The power dynamic began to change in mid-1941, with the invasion of the Soviet Union and the reactivation of plans for mass resettlement (*Generalplan Ost*), as well as the presence of the

[512] Frank established a subordinate Special Service (*Sonderdienst*) composed of ethnic Germans. The service did not operate in Lubartów. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 28–30.
[513] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 75. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 71.
[514] Dieter Pohl, *Von der «Judenpolitik» zum Judenmord: Der Distrikt Lublin des Generalgouvernements 1939–1944* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien: Peter Lang GmbH, 1993), 61.
[515] David Silberklang, *Gates of Tears. The Holocaust in the Lublin District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014), 78–79; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 110; Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 212.
[516] The HSSPF's weakness in terms of personnel and organisation was made clear during the attempt to organise forced labour for Jews. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 110, 115.

Wehrmacht in the GG and the subordination of the administration's work to war aims.[517] Later, with the preparation and execution of the operation to murder Jews in the General Government (*Aktion Reinhardt*), the civil administration lost its authority in Jewish affairs,[518] and the district governors carried out the tasks set out by the staff of Aktion Reinhardt, headed by the SS and police commander in Lublin Odilo Globocnik.[519]

Lubartów as an occupied town

Lubartów, a pre-war medium-sized county town, proved to be a convenient location for German occupation architecture in the Lublin region. Its substantial accommodative and provision capacity made it a base for the *Wehrmacht* and Police Battalions during the initial months of the occupation, with the presence of uniformed Germans becoming a permanent feature of the Lubartów landscape throughout the war. The town functioned as the regional headquarters for both the police and the gendarmerie, and it was here that the initial executions of the local population took place during the occupation's early stages. The town authorities were responsible for the organisation of infrastructure to meet the needs of the German troops and their capacity to effectively manage the town was significantly constrained by the presence of the occupiers. Although the Town Board operated within the framework of the civil administration, German forces were superior to the municipal authorities, while large groups of residents felt threatened by their presence.

The first of the many occupying forces to arrive in Lubartów during the war was the German military. On September 19th, the German army occupied Lubartów which had been abandoned by Polish army units a few days earlier.[520] By the fall of 1939 there were to be 50 officers, 1250 soldiers and more than 1,000 horses in Lubartów.[521] Several public buildings were occupied so as to hold such a large troop. Most of the soldiers lived in the school building on the Legionów Street, the largest of all, which was converted into barracks. Additionally, the army took over several other buildings, including the fire station on Kościuszko Street, the hall at Market Square II, the Capuchin monastery, and the municipal court building on the Lubartów main street, Piłsudski street. The army also occupied the Glassworks and the "Rekord" electric

[517] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 133, 233.
[518] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 232; Silbergang, *Gates of Tears*, 53.
[519] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 229–282. As Musiał notes, it was only through the work of Pohl and Sandkuhler that the involvement of civilian authorities in the Holocaust of the Jews was recognised.
[520] Dariusz Salata, Czeslaw Gregorowicz, *ZWZ–AK in the Lubartów District 1939–1945* (Lublin: Norbertinum, 1998), 17–21. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 120–122.
[521] APL, AML, 839, 34–35.

mill[522] owned by Aron Halbersberg, and another mill owned by Szmul Giwercer, also in the southern end of the town, as well as private residential buildings.[523] One of these was a three-story tenement house on Lubelska street belonging to Stanisław Derecki, a former owner of a bus company. This building towered over the rest of the town's buildings. Soldiers set up a machine gun on the building overlooking the meadows on the Wieprz River which was crossed by groups of Polish army soldiers returning from the front.[524] On 2 December 1939, five soldiers were captured by Germans, while two more were killed during their escape.[525]

Securing the town was first in the order of Wehrmacht's tasks in Lubartów: the soldiers cordoned off the entrance roads to Lubartów, established observation posts, searched for weapons and Polish soldiers, and carried out arrests.[526] The presence of soldiers also manifested by acts of violence against civilians. Particular cruelty, just like in other parts of the General Government, was exhibited towards religious Jews forced to clean the streets:[527] soldiers cut off their beards,[528] humiliated and mocked them.[529] Among the victims was the Sztulman family of 24 Niecała Street: "One day, the ritual slaughterer Mojsze Luzer and his children were thrown in the mud and overexcited soldiers, laughing loudly, wiped their boots on the backs of the unfortunate men."[530] Individual attacks and robberies took an organised form on October 12th

[522] The owner of the glassworks, Aron Halbersberg, had not lived in Lubartów before the war, and the glassworks were managed until September 1939 by his daughter Sura–Rajzla with his son–in–law Tobiasz Garfinkiel, who left in October for Lviv, where Aron Halbersberg had another glasswork plant. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 43, 163. Aron Halbersberg was arrested and murdered by the NKVD in the spring of 1940, as one of the victims of the so–called Katyń Massacre, mass executions of Polish citizens. After they were closed at the beginning of the war, the glassworks as Staatliche Glashutte in Lubartów resumed production on February 10, 1941. Information from the State Glassworks (*Staatliche Glashute*) on the resumption of production, February 7, 1941. APL, AML, 797, 5. Announcement from the Town Board regarding work at the glassworks, December 5, 1942. APL, AML, 798, 154.
[523] Janusz Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej i okupacji niemieckiej 1939–1944," in *Lubartów w dziejach od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd Miasta Lubartów), 442.
[524] Even before the occupation began, the Wieprz River near Lubartów had been crossed by dozens of Polish Army soldiers. On September 11th alone, 56 reservists and military men crossed. List of detainees at the Wieprz crossing point near the village of Spiczyn, 11 September 1939. APL, Lubartów District Police Headquarters, 91, page not numbered.
[525] Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 437.
[526] Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 437.
[527] The collection of the Regional Museum in Lubartów holds photographs showing Orthodox Jews sweeping the pavement in front of the St. Lawrence Church on Lubartów main street. Les Amis de Lubartów, *Hurbn Levertov. A matseyve Levertov un Levertover kdoyshim* [The destruction of Lubartów. A Memorial for Lubartów and Lubartowian Martyrs] (Paris: Société des Amis de Lubartów, 1947), 7.
[528] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34; Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 146.
[529] Aryeh Barnea, *The Jews of Lubartów: Life, Holocaust Remnants* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Lubartów Immigrants' Committee, 1987), 30.
[530] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34.

in a plot to plunder Jewish homes and stores, which resulted in destruction of buildings.[531] The gathered property owners were held at gunpoint in Lubartów's Market Square all day.

Wehrmacht troops were stationed in Lubartów until December 1939. Some of the buildings vacated by the German army were used by other occupying forces as offices and quarters for officials and commanders.

German Police and Gendarmerie in Lubartów

When the civil administration took control of Lubartów in the late autumn of 1939, responsibility for security was transferred to the newly formed police units. From the beginning of November 1939, pacification operations within the Lubartów area were carried out by the 3rd Company of the 102nd Police Battalion, stationed in the town,[532] with 100 officers,[533] which was replaced in January 1940 by the 1st Company of the 104th Police Battalion.[534] The companies stayed in Lubartów for police training that also included field operations. They were stationed in the local court building (Sąd Grodzki), at 78 Piłsudski street. The Battalions' actions included capturing unoccupied towns, searching for weapons, fighting armed resistance, and black trafficking. They also participated in recruiting men for forced labour,[535] or registering candidates for the *Selbstschutz*, a paramilitary organisation composed of *Volksdeutsche* subordinate to the Order Police.[536] The police officer's actions often ended in arrests and killings. The bloodiest action carried out by the battalions' members in the first weeks of the war took place in Lubartów at the end of December 1939.[537] Policemen from the 3rd Company of the 102nd Police Battalion shot 50 civilians at the time in retaliation for the murder of a watchmaker; among the victims was an 18-year-old from Lubartów, Marcin Karwacki.[538]

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[531] *Hurbn Levertov*, 7. According to Dumało's research, in addition to soldiers, German policemen and gendarmerie also participated in the action. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie,* 146.
[532] Report on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion, 2 November 1939. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17, 50. All Police Battalion reports written in German.
[533] Report on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion, 9 December 1939. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17, 23.
[534] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, January 20, 1940. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 104, 66. Both companies were subordinated to the Battalion Command in Lublin, which reported to the Ordungspolizei leadership.
[535] Report on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion, April 24, 1940 and June 28, 1940. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17, 36 and 103.
[536] Efforts to establish a Selbstschutz unit in Lubartów were unsuccessful. Clerk's note on the county chief's letter on the collection of Selbstschutz officers, March 26, 1940. APL, AML, 837, 89.
[537] Report of the 3rd Company of the 102nd Police Battalion, December 28, 1939. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17, 15. Surveys of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland 1939–1945, IPN Bu 2448/570, 151–152. Janina Kiełboń, "Martyrologia ludności Lubartówa w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartówska*, nr 11, 1993, 226. The officers of the 102nd Battalion had already been attacked by partisans from the Lubartów area. On December 10th, 1939, in retaliation for the wounding of Sergeant Hamman of the 3rd Company, nine people were murdered in Lubartów.
[538] List of persons executed by the Germans on 24 December 1939 in Lubartów, May 1947. IPN LU 1/14/104, 3.

Both companies operated in coordination with, and sometimes at the request of, the county chief. On 7 November 1939, Henning von Winterfeld sentenced four people to death in Lubartów for possession of weapons.[539] The execution of von Winterfeld's sentence in Lubartów was carried out by officers of the 102nd Police Battalion. Four other Poles from outside Lubartów, accused by the county chief of banditry and illegal possession, of weapons were executed in Lubartów on 10 February 1940 by police officers of the 104th Battalion.[540] On the same day, a Jewish resident of Zezulin, Srul Finkielsztajn, sentenced "to death by hanging" was executed in Lubartów.[541] In both cases, the verdict was issued by the "ad hoc court of the *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń," an institution that did not exist in the legal order of the era. On two other occasions the police took actions against the Jews of Lubartów on the county chief's request, and both times Jews expelled from Lubartów in 1939 were targeted.[542]

In early August 1940, the 1st Company of the 104th Police Battalion was withdrawn to Zamość.[543] Shortly afterwards, in October or November, the 4th Company (*Abteilung* IVa) of the 306th Police Battalion, which had been formed in Germany in July of the same year, was stationed in the building of the Lubartów Municipal Court. The company also occupied the mansion at 36 Piłsudski street, together with the stables.[544] The size of the company is not known. Their only recorded action in Lubartów took place on 10 February 1942, when they murdered between a dozen and 100 people in revenge for the murder of a policeman.[545] The 4th Company remained in Lubartów until June 1942 when the entire battalion was transferred to

[539] Announcement of the Commissar of Lubartów County on the Execution of four Persons, November 8, 1940. Leszczyńska, Zofia (ed.), *Obwieszczenia śmierci w dystrykcie Lubelskim* (Lublin: Oficyna Wydawnictwa Czas, 1994), 33, 40–41.
[540] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, February 22, 1940. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 104, 24.
[541] Announcements of the district county chief of Radzyń Podlaski on the execution of five people, February 10, 1940. *Obwieszczenia śmierci*, 40–41.
[542] Report on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion, 5 November 1939. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17, 47. Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, 12 February 1940. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 104, 27. More in the part devoted to the expulsion of Jews from Lubartów in 1939.
[543] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, June 6, 1940. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 104, 59.
[544] Correspondence on renting premises for the 306th Police Battalion in Lubartów, August 1941. APL, AML, 837, 299–300.
[545] Thomas Earl Porter, "Hitler's Rassenkampf in the East," in David Crowe (ed.), *Crimes of State Past and Present: Government–Sponsored Atrocities and International Legal Responses* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 2. The Surveys of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland recorded two executions that day near Ludwin, east of Lubartów, in which more than 40 people, Jews and Poles, were killed. However, the murder was attributed to the gendarmerie and not to the policemen of the 306th Police Battalion, 1939–1945, Ibid., 151–152. The 306th Police Battalion, while stationed in the Lublin region, committed a number of mass murders.

the territory of the Soviet Union occupied by the Third *Reich*, where it was integrated into the 15th Police Regiment.[546]

The actions of the police battalions stationed in Lubartów were often carried out in cooperation with other formations, most often the gendarmerie and the Polish Police, which were permanently stationed in Lubartów.[547] The gendarmerie was stationed in Lubartów in the buildings of the Capuchin monastery.[548] The Gendarmerie post, at least in 1942, was located in the same building as the police station, at 36a Piłsudski street, about 150 meters south of the monastery, and not far from the Jewish cemetery, the site of executions of Jews in Lubartów.[549] Most of the information about the activities of the gendarmerie in Lubartów can be found in post-war court documents: Julius Janke, Julius Kittlel, Kurt Reichelt, and Lucjan Frajer (described alternatively as a *Schutzpolizei* and Gendarmerie officer), after the war were all accused of crimes against Poles and Jews, the first three for participating in executions during the second *Aktion*.[550] The commander of the gendarmerie platoon of around 30 gendarmes from the beginning of the Operation Tannenberg[551] and his successor Walter escaped prosecution.[552] More names of gendarmes appear in one of the reports of the Lublin District Gendarmerie Command,[553] others are given in captions of photograph collections in Yad Vashem.[554] The field gendarmerie posts in Michów, Firlej, and Serniki were subordinate to the post in Lubartów.[555]

In the context of the mass killings of Jews in Lubartów, the gendarmes come to the fore as the only participants in the October 1942 action to be referred to by name. Before that, as had been

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[546] Massimo Arico, *Ordnungspolizei: Encyclopedia of the German Police Battalions*, (Stockholm: Leandoer and Ekholm, 2010), 405.
[547] Reports on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 17. Activity reports of the 104th Police Battalion. APL, Polizei Batalion Zamość, 104.
[548] The photographs were posted on fotopolska.eu (accessed December 2024). Two of them show gendarmerie officers guarding Jews in traditional dress cleaning the streets. One of the photos shows an assembly of gendarmerie troops in the garden area.
[549] Testimony of Jan Koziej in the case of Kurt Rejchert, 14 January 1947. Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) LU 319/1022, 23.
[550] Files in the case of Julius Janke, 1946. IPN GK 164/4676. Files in the case of Julius Kittel, 1946. IPN GK 164/4800. IPN references. Files in the case of Kurt Reichelt, 1946–1947. IPN Lu 319/1022. Description of the second displacement action: see Chapter 6.
[551] List of commanders of gendarmerie posts in the Lublin district, July 1940. APL, Der Kreishauptmann Lublin–Land, 23, 40. (German)
[552] Testimony of Pelagia Kubanek in the case of Antoni Śliczniak, February 12, 1945. IPN Lu 315/31, 4–6.
[553] In addition to the aforementioned Kurt Reichelt, Edward Schwarz and Alfred Hartwig began service at the Lubartów post in February 1942. Report of the Gendarmerie Command of the Lublin District (Der Kommandeur der Gendarmerie im Distrikt Lublin), February 20, 1942. APL, Der Kreishauptmann Lublin–Land, 23, 49. (German)
[554] Names from captions: Hoffman, Stoerbrock, Schluermann, Major Boeckle, Golbeck (Ghidbeck) and "Kammerbulle". Yad Vashem, 5107. The photographs are included in the private photo album. Yad Vashem employees could not provide any information regarding the provenance of the photographs and circumstances of their shooting.
[555] Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 440.

the rule throughout the General Government, the gendarmerie in Lubartów had served to maintain German rule over the occupied territory, to keep order and to pursue and punish those who disobeyed the occupation orders. The persecution of the occupied population was an integral part of the gendarmerie's activities, as evidenced, for example, by the police battalion reports cited above and the IPN reports. Investigations by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland revealed that executions had been carried out by the gendarmerie since November 1939, most of them in 1942 and 1943.[556]

The terror in Lubartów and its surrounding area was not the exclusive domain in which the units stationed in the town operated. In February of 1940, Jewish prisoners of war form the territories annexed to the Third *Reich*, were murdered near Pałecznica, about 5 kilometres from Lubartów.[557] The killings were carried out by the *Selbstschutz* functionaries under the command of *SS-Sturmbannnfurer* Herman Dolp from Lublin.[558] The execution near Pałecznica was one of many along the route of the march of Jewish prisoners of war from Lublin to Biała Podlaska (in addition, along the way the escorting Germans murdered those who lacked strength). In Lubartów, the POWs spent the night in a synagogue, and the *Judenrat* provided them with a meal.[559] According to Silberklang who mobilised the testimonies of survivors, the Lublin Judenrat's records, and materials from the Ringelblum Archive, more than 800 Jewish POWs set out from Lublin, and less than 300 reached Biała Podlaska.[560]

Polish Police in Lubartów

The Polish police in Lubartów were formally under the command of the Gendarmerie in Radzyń (Gendarmerie Zug in Radzyń). The post operating in the town additionally served as the post responsible for the Lubartów district (Bezirk Lubartów).[561] In general, from October 1939 until the end of the war, depending on the period, between a dozen and 20 officers served in

[556] It is noteworthy that identifying the formation that carried out the executions, and even the circumstances, was often a challenge for witnesses as well as the experts investigating them. One of the largest executions attributed by witnesses to the gendarmerie involved 50 Catholics accused of sabotage, murdered in the Catholic cemetery in Lubartów in 1940. Questionnaires of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, 1939–1945. IPN GK 163/14, 457. Questionnaires of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, 1968–1972, 147–148. Investigators from the Commission concluded that the witness had confused the execution with a different one committed by the 102nd Police Battalion, which took place in late December, near the concrete plant in Lubartów. IPN Lu/284/750/1 and 2, 1970–1971.
[557] Questionnaires of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, 1939–1945. IPN GK/163/14, 501–502.
[558] Silberklang, *Gates of Tears. The Holocaust in the Lublin District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014), 91–92.
[559] Rozen Sucher's account, 13 April 1948. AŻIH, 301/3346. Rozen Sucher followed the march of prisoners of war trying to release his cousin from Łódź.
[560] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 91–92.
[561] In Polish referred to as the County Police Station (Komenda Powiatowa Policji or Ekspozytora Policji Powiatowej). List of Polish policemen in Lubartów, 16 November 1941. APL, AML, 1116, 2.

Lubartów. Initially, the Polish police force consisted mainly of pre-war policemen living in Lubartów who were obliged to continue their service.[562] Kazimierz Marsik, a long-time officer, was left in charge of the town station. Prior to becoming commander of Lubartów post, Marsik had been a county commander between 1936 and 1938.[563]

The pre-war district commander Adam Glajc was left in charge of the Bezirk Lubartów.[564] In late 1939, Glajc was transferred to Radzyń and replaced by 55-year-old Antoni Skowronek, a pre-war policeman and secretary of the Union of Polish Reservists,[565] who returned to duty from retirement.[566] The wartime situation in Lubartów served to benefit Skowronek personally. In addition to professional promotion, in March 1940 he and his wife moved into a six-room apartment at 12 Cmentarna street owned by Srul Sztern.[567] The owner of the apartment had left with his family for the USSR a few months earlier.[568] While still police chief, Skowronek obtained a license to sell alcohol and opened a beer bar at 22 Rynek I street,[569] catering to Germans in the town.[570] Skowronek's professional and social advancement in Lubartów during the war is related to his declaration as an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsch*).[571] Available sources do not indicate the basis on which his declaration was accepted. The only traceable connection to Germany is the fact that his wife Berta, daughter of Friedrich and Ludwika Blum, was of Protestant confession.[572]

During the war, there were numerous personnel changes in the police force, with newcomers replacing the pre-war policemen. Most of the 17 policemen remaining on duty in September 1942, joined the post in 1940 and later.[573] This group included three criminal police officers

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[562] Proclamation by HSSPF Friedrich–Wilhelm Krüger from 30 October 1939. APL, AML, 566, 103.
[563] Letters of the Polish County Police Commander, 7 March 1938, and 25 November 1937. APL, Komenda Powiatowa Policji w Lubartowie, 91, 13 and 5. As a commander he sent letters to police stations in Lubartów in which he wrote about the economic threat posed by Jews, who through international connections and coordinated actions were to threaten "Polish interests." See Chapter 5.
[564] Payroll of the Polish County Police Headquarters for November 1939. APL, Komenda Żandarmerii Dystryktu Lubelskiego, 5, 20.
[565] Report on the dissolution of the Union of Reservists in Lubartów, 4 March 1940; APL, AML, 837, 64.
[566] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 19.
[567] List of owners and tenants of Jewish properties, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 58.
[568] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 39, 153.
[569] Register of businesses registered in Lubartów, 1920s–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 94.
[570] List of *Reichsdeutschen* and *Volksdeutschen* in the restaurant industry in the Lublin district. APL, Chamber of Craftsmen in Lublin, 6, 3. (German).
[571] List of *Reichs*- and *Volksdeutchen* entitled to toothpaste allocation, 7 April 1942. APL, AML, 793, 20. (German)
[572] Lubartów Population Register. APL, AML, 44, 37. Dumało states that Berta was German, which is not reflected in the population register. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie,* 136.
[573] A comparison of the 25 December 1939, census of police officers and the 21 September 1942 census. The former lists 18 officers and the latter 17, including three criminal police officers. Only eight names are repeated in both censuses. *Gehaltsliste der Polizeibeamten des Posten Lubartów*, 25 December 1939. APL, AML, Commandant of the Gendarmerie of the Lublin District, 5, 5. (German) List of Polish policemen from Lubartów, 21 September 1942. APL, Polish Police Posts in the Lublin District, 1, 1. As the census of early 1943 shows,

who arrived in Lubartów after the occupation began.[574] Both police chiefs in Lubartów, Marsik and Skowronek, were also replaced before the September 1942; the town post commander became Stanisław Knopczyk, who had come from the vicinity of Cracow and had been in Lubartów since early September 1941,[575] while Czesław Kossowski from Góra Kalwaria near Warsaw was appointed police commander of the Bezirk.[576] Skowronek's service must have gained the authorities' trust, since he was appointed mayor of the municipality of Tarło, located less than 10 kilometres east of Lubartów. He stayed in Lubartów, where he owned a restaurant.[577]

The Polish Police stationed in Stanisław Derecki's house at 36a Pilsudski Street.[578] The cost of maintaining the police station was shared between the municipality and the county.[579] Additionally, the Town Board was obliged to provide accommodation for officers and their families from outside of Lubartów.[580] The magistrate's relationship with the Polish Police was not limited to providing policemen with working/living conditions in Lubartów. The mayor reported violations to the police and asked them to intervene or inspect.[581] The police also served as a kind of deterrent in correspondence with insubordinate residents of the town,[582] and the local administration occasionally carried out joint inspections with the police.[583]

Most of Lubartów's policemen held the lowest rank of constable (*Wachtmeister*) or senior constable (*Hauptwachtmeister*) and in the early 1940s earned 190 zlotys or 215 zlotys per month. According to Jan Grabowski, low salaries partly explain the widespread practices of corruption and extortion among policemen in the GG. In Lubartów, the only Antoni Śliczniak was the only policeman accused of "taking away property and extorting material benefits from Poles." The testimony of a resident of Lubartów also suggested that Antoni Śliczniak and his

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policemen came to Lubartów independently, coming from both areas incorporated into the *Reich* and towns in the General Government. Register of Lubartów residents, first half of 1943. APL, AML, 49–51.

[574] List of Polish policemen from Lubartów, 21 September 1942. APL, Polish Police Posts in the Lublin District, 1, 1.

[575] Register of Lubartów residents, first half of 1943. APL, AML, 50, 215.

[576] Register of Lubartów residents, first half of 1943. APL, AML, 50, 217.

[577] The restaurant itself was run by his neighbour from Cmentarna street, Bolesław Czerwiński. Register of businesses registered in Lubartów, 1920s–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 94 and 100.

[578] Documentation concerning the rental of premises for the Polish Police in Lubartów, July 1940. APL, AML, 837, 273–278.

[579] Letter from *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń regarding the distribution of costs of running the Polish Police,13 May 1940. APL, AML, 837, 269.

[580] Letter to mayor Lalka regarding housing for police officers, 17 September 1940. APL, AML, 833, 195.

[581] Letter to the police regarding the export of foodstuffs from Lubartów, 13 January 1940. APL, AML, 853, 1–2. Letters regarding appliances from Shloma Grynblat's premises, March 1940. APL, AML, 853, 39–42.

[582] Letter from the mayor to Franciszek Wisła regarding the return of furnishings, 5 August 1940. APL, AML, 833, 170.

[583] Minutes of inspection of mud stores, May 1940. APL, AML, 853, 89–90.

sons were informers for the gendarmerie, fin retaliation for which the partisans shot Antoni's son, Zygmunt. Eventually, Śliczniak was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for the thefts he committed in 1944. After the verdict, 38 Lubartów residents, including Józef Wajnberg, one of the few Jews living in the town at the time, appealed to President Boleslaw Bierut for an act of clemency, assuring him "that while he was a policeman, he helped Polish citizens in their affairs with the occupier, never harmed anyone and acted like a righteous Polish patriot who hated the Germans."[584]There is very scarce information concerning the activities of the Lubartów Polish police. One of the better documented aspects of their behaviour concerns the consumption of alcohol. The policemen drank on and off duty, and sometimes committed offences while drunk.[585] Reports from the 1st Company of the 104th Police Battalion, stationed in Lubartów, indicate that the Polish police was helpful in carrying out some of the actions against the local population: round-ups for forced labour,[586] searches, and arrests.[587] Two accounts of Jewish victims who survived the second *Aktion* in Lubartów mention the participation of Polish policemen in these events.[588] No Polish policeman was held accountable in court for the persecution of Jews. Policemen worked closely with the gendarmerie; a large part of police activity was tasks assigned by the gendarmes. After the war, policemen, because of their close cooperation, testified in cases against German gendarmes in Lubartów.

The two dimensions of terror in Lubartów

The terror of the occupation in Lubartów was a method applied to pacify and subjugate the population, break up the underground structures that had developed, and/or crush the Polish elites. In Lubartów, these aspects predominantly affected the non-Jewish population, which had played a decisive role in the pre-war distribution of power and influence, and had formed underground conspiratorial structures based on pre-war organisations and social contacts that had been exclusively non-Jewish.[589] On 9 November, 1939, Lubartów starost Tadeusz Illukiewicz was arrested by the German police and executed in Lublin at the end of December. By June 1940, other employees of the pre-war county office were arrested, as well as the

[584] The case file of Antoni Śliczniak, 12 February 1945. IPN Lu 315/31.
[585] Report on the punishment of Jan Uszyński and Tadeusz Kuta, 12 December 1942. APL, AML, 1033/0/64, 39. Disciplinary order on Tadeusz Kuta, 19 November 1942. APL, AML, 1033/0/64, 25. Decision in Feliks Pawłowski's case, 15 August 1942. APL, AML, 1033/0/79, 25–26.
[586] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, 5 July 1940. APL, Polizei–Bataillon Zamość, 104, 103. (German)
[587] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, 19 July 1940. APL, Polizei–Bataillon Zamość, 104, 105–106. (German)
[588] Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 3–4. Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 12. See chapter 6.
[589] Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 449–451.

headmaster of the town's high school and the prior of the Capuchin Fathers' monastery.[590] None of the Town Board employees were arrested.[591]

Violence against the Jewish residents in Lubartów was of a different nature from the very beginning: its purpose was not to pacify the population, eliminate the elite, or retaliate against conspiratorial activities. Rather, violence served as means of humiliation and manifestation of cruelty. Both "spontaneous" acts of violence on the streets as well as organised actions, such as the looting of Jewish houses, were a clear indicator of a separate status of Jews, one that increased the distance between Christian and Jewish residents. This was evident, for example, in the case of the two executions held on February 10th, 1940, when four Christians accused of banditry and possession or arms were shot in the cemetery, while Srul Finkielsztajn was hanged in public on the charges of "participation in rape against ethnic Germans and gross extortion."[592] The gallows were originally erected in front of the Sanguszko palace, but the mayor intervened to move them to the square in front of the synagogue, on the main street of the town's centre. The intended effect of the public spectacle was achieved, and the former Jewish inhabitants of Lubartów would recall the execution for years to come.[593]

PART 2. MANAGEMENT OF THE TOWN OF LUBARTÓW DURING THE WAR

The county chiefs' rule

In the first weeks of the occupation, Lubartów was administered by the district military command (*Ortskommandantur*). In addition to tasks managing the army stationed in Lubartów and security issues, the command's powers extended onto civil administration, including the local authorities.[594] On October 4th, all state and municipal officials remaining in Lubartów, as well as teachers, were summoned to a meeting in the town hall.[595] The reason for the meeting

[590] Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 458–459. Kiełboń, "Martyrologia ludności Lubartówa w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartowska* 11 (1993), 226–227. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 160–161, 202–207.
[591] The arrest and murder of the former Feliks Jezior had more to do with the weapons he possessed and his ties to the underground than his tenure as deputy mayor before the war.
[592] Announcements of the county chief of Radzyń Podlaski on the execution of five people, 10 February 1940. *Obwieszczenia śmierci*, 40–41.
[593] Interview with Lucjan Michalak, June 2015. Archiwum Programu Historia Mówiona Ośrodka "Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN." Interview with Mr. Marian born 1925, September 2011. USHMM collection, RG–90.129.0746.01.01.
[594] Auszug aus der Heeres–Dienstvorschrift 485: Dienstanweisung für die Feld-und Ortskommandanturen vom 16. Mai 1939.
[595] APL, AML, 67, 116.

was the appointment of Henning von Winterfeld to the post of Landrat in Lubartów.[596] Von Winterfeld, born in 1901, had been a county chief (*Landkommissar*) in Germany before the war, and member of the NSDAP since 1932.[597]

County chiefs formed the backbone of the civil administration in the occupied territories. The strength of their position stemmed from their direct influence on the subordinate communities to whom they were the exponents of the German will; they secured and consolidated German rule, in addition to carrying out economic exploitation of the territories under their authority.[598] In accordance with the chain of command, they implemented orders and measures given out by the GG authorities in Cracow and by district governors. However, the way in which they interpreted and implemented the often-general directives depended largely on the county chiefs themselves. In addition, many areas, especially in the period up to mid-1940 when the structures of the official civil administration were being formed, remained unregulated, encouraging the *Kreishauptleute* to act independently.[599] County chiefs in the Lublin district carried out a policy of persecution on their own: that of deportations, forced labour of Jews, exclusion from the economy, and ghettoization of Jews.[600]

With the introduction of the new territorial division, the pre-war Lubartów county ceased to exist and the town of Lubartów was incorporated into the Radzyń county (*Radzyń Kreishauptmannschaft*) within the Lublin district. Henning von Winterfeld, formerly *Landrat* of Lubartów, was appointed *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń. In July 1941, the post of *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń was taken over by Fritz Schmiege, 21 years older than von Winterfeld, with more than 30 years of experience in state administration, a member of the NSDAP since 1933.[601] Schmiege came to Radzyń from Lublin where he had been the head of the District Governor Office (*Amtschef*) since February 1940. Faced with lack of influence on the persecution policy imposed by the SS, he resigned. Following the territorial changes, starting September 1941 Lubartów, along with most of the pre-war Lubartów district, was incorporated to the Lublin-Land County headed by Emil Ziegenmeyer, pre-war lawyer and local government official (b. 1906), and as of October 1939 County chief in Lublin-Land.[602]

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[596] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 16.
[597] In the second half of the 1930s von Winterfeld was a county chief in Wolmirstedt and then in Graslitz/Karlsbad. After the invasion of Poland, he was transferred to Wrocław (Breslau). Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 511; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 399.
[598] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 47.
[599] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 67–68; Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 72.
[600] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 126–131.
[601] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 502–503.
[602] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 511–512.

Although the Lubartów county formally ceased to exist with the establishment of the GG, the name was still used in official correspondence to refer to the areas of the former Lubartów county. From May 1940, the Lubartów branch of the Radzyń County (*Kreishauptmann in Radzyń Außenstelle Lubartów*) was given jurisdiction over these areas. The branch office in Lubartów, one of two in the area of the Radzyń county,[603] was also referred to, according to Polish pre-war nomenclature, as the County Department (*Wydział Powiatowy*). It was fully dependent on the county authorities, and was intended to streamline the functioning of the administration in the vast territory of the Radzyń district, the largest and most populated of all areas within the Lublin district.[604] The Lubartów Branch was headed by a Land Commissar (*Landkommissar*); in Lubartów, it was the Nazi Claus Volkmann, not yet 30 years old, member of the SS since 1933, who at the beginning of occupation served as advisor to the GG Secretary Josef Bühler.[605] In October 1941, after Lubartów was incorporated into the Lublin-Land district, Wilhelm Holzey, who had previously served as head of the Office (*Chef des Amtes*) in the Lublin-Land County Office, was appointed *Landkommissar*.[606]

The two main management problems faced by county chiefs in the General Government were staff shortages and financial dependence on higher authorities. While they solved the latter issue by looting the occupied population and establishing informal channels for the flow of funds,[607] the first one required a major shift in personnel policy, which at the time aimed at strengthening the cadres of the higher levels of administration while limiting the recruitment of pre-war Polish officials.[608] As a result of the GG administration's personnel policy, the Radzyń county office had only six employees in August 1940, a mere two of whom were trained.[609] The desperate shortage of cadres in the first year of the war coincided with a flood of orders to implement. In March 1940, von Winterfeld complained to his superiors: "In the month of February alone, 23 decrees came from the Office of the General Governor, as well as orders from the district governors (*des Distriktchefs*) and the district captains (*Kreishauptleute*). In addition to these general orders, there were also all the special orders that administrative operations work entailed. If this continues, we can expect a slowdown in administrative work."[610]

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[603] The other was in Łuków, a county town before the war.
[604] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 44.
[605] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 395.
[606] List of *Stadtkommissare* and *Landkommissare* of the Lublin District, 9 January 1943. APL, Gouverneur des Distrikt Lublin, 22, 6.
[607] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 47.
[608] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 69–71, 79–86.
[609] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 45.
[610] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 68.

In view of the overload caused by the flood of ordinances, it was considered whether the German administration should be assigned a supervisory function, so as to have the Poles who had knowledge of the local conditions, carry out the actual administrative work to a greater extent.[611] For these reasons, some of the pre-war local government officials were retained. In the Lubartów Branch of County Office, apart from three Germans from *Reich* in managerial positions,[612] all other employees were Poles, mostly pre-war officials and specialists. In February 1942, the branch had a staff of 15 Poles, at least 10 of whom had been employed by the Lubartów County Office prior to the war.[613] The branch was staffed almost exclusively by pre-war Lubartowians, with the post of secretary entrusted to the pre-war secretary of the county office, Edward Krzyk.

The town authorities' position within the new order

On September 1st, 1939, the very day the German army invaded Poland, Aleksander Lalka was appointed deputy mayor in Lubartów.[614] He had been elected unopposed by the new Town Council at the end of May, with the votes of Jewish councillors.[615] The acting mayor at the time—whose term of office did not coincide with that of the council—had been Jerzy Jastrzębski, army major who was already mobilised at the time. In this situation, it was Lalka who took over Jastrzębski's duties, initially as deputy. Starting October 2nd, Lalka began to sign documents as Mayor.

Aleksander Lalka's entire political career led to the highest posts in local politics. Lalka was born in Lubartów in 1891. He was a candidate for a town councillor in the first elections in 1919,[616] in 1922 he became the secretary of the town council[617] and two years later became its representative in the county assembly (*sejmik powiatowy*).[618] During his term of office from 1934 to 1939, he was, among other functions, elected chairman of the town's audit committee.[619] Lalka simultaneously climbed the career ladder at the Cooperative Bank (Bank

[611] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 197–198 and 202; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 90.
[612] Letter from the Mayor to the County Chief in Radzyń regarding *Reich* citizens residing in Lubartów, 23 August 1940. APL, AML, 833, 166.
[613] List of employees of the Lubartów County Department, 14 February 1942. APL, Związek Gmin w Lubartówie, 1, 41 and 51 (Polish and German).
[614] Letter from the deputy mayor to the Town Board of Lubartów, 31 August 1939. APL, AML, 67, 112.
[615] Protocol of Town Council meeting, 31 May 1939. APL, AML, 67, 72.
[616] List of candidates in elections to the City Council, 14 January 1919. APL, AML, 72, 52.
[617] Minutes from the Town Council meeting, 31 March 1922. APL, AML, 104, 142.
[618] Minutes from Town Council meeting, 28 August 1924. APL, AML, 104, 52.
[619] Minutes from Town Council meeting, 1 September 1934. APL, AML, 116, 155.

Spółdzielczy), the largest banking institution in Lubartów in the 1930s,[620] run by Catholics for Catholics.[621]

Alongside the county secretary, Edward Krzyk, and several other prominent figures within the local government, Aleksander Lalka was a leading figure in the pro-government Ozon in Lubartów.[622] In the 1939 rigid local elections, the Ozon confirmed total control of Lubartów's institutions of power, and introduced 12 of the 15 councillors—the other three were Jews.[623] With such composition of the council, the election of Aleksander Lalka as deputy mayor was a question of formality; he received 14 votes, with one abstention.[624] Lalka's nomination and the replacement of the PPS-affiliated Feliks Jezior as deputy mayor was the final act of the Ozon camp's complete seizure of power in the town. In addition to taking complete control of the town board and council, Ozon activists also held top positions in the town office, headed by Marian Strzyżewski, secretary of the Town Board.

Thus, the outbreak of World War II found the Lubartów authorities more consolidated than ever before in the inter-war period, firmly supporting the authoritarian order in the country. The most influential Lubartowians operated under the umbrella of OZON. They were linked by participation in the institutions of power and by leadership in the social organisations, and economic and financial activities. This entire network of connections included only Catholics, and one of its main goals was to ensure or strengthen the dominance of Catholics over Jews: in political, social or economic fields, including housing.

New social hierarchies in Lubartów and the position of town officials

The German occupation, despite maintaining the Town Board almost unchanged, significantly undermined the social system of which the town authorities were an emanation. First and foremost, the town authorities lost most of their sovereignty. At the same time, the system of influence and informal hierarchies in Lubartów was dismantled, which resulted from the dissolution of social organisations that formed networks of social and activist connections among the most influential Catholics in town, [625] as well as repression against representatives

[620] In 1933, 721 members; Mayor Adam Lipski was president. List of Associations, Unions, and Organisations, 24 August 1933. Another register provides an even higher estimation—1400 members in 1926. Register of Associations and Unions, circa 1925–1930, APL, Lubartów County Office, 91, 88. In 1939 Lalka became the chairman of the Bank.
[621] About the evolution of the Lubartowian elites in the 1930s, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 5.
[622] Chapter 1.
[623] About the circumstances of the elections to the Town Council in 1939, see Chapter 1.
[624] Election Minutes, 31 May 1939. APL, AML, 64, 7.
[625] Protocols on the liquidation of social organizations, March 1940. APL, AML, 837, 50–73.

of the town's elite[626] and their departure from Lubartów (among others, four judges of the Municipal Court left, as did the notary Władysław Klank, one of the leaders of the Ozon camp in Lubartów).[627]

At the same time, during the first months of the war, a new group of privileged residents developed: those who worked for, or with, the Germans in Lubartów, in large part refugees and newcomers to the town, mostly from the areas incorporated into the *Reich*.[628] All nine employees of the local labour office (*Arbeitsamt Łuków Nebenstelle Lubartów*) were recruited from this group of newcomers, except for the manager who came from Germany.[629] The vast majority of railroad workers were also recruited amid newcomers,[630] as were those who worked at the post office and in the management of state enterprises.[631] Newcomers began to predominate within the Polish police staff starting from 1941.[632] The high status of some of the new people was partly due to the Germans' staff policy in Lubartów—one which aimed to dismantle the pre-war structures of influence in the town and create a new elite group loyal to the occupier. Additionally, they were more likely to speak German than locals, similarly, they were more likely to identify with German culture or be more familiar with it; and, last but not least, many of them were trained and experienced.

A privileged group of residents with ties to the occupation order is strongly present in the memory of the war in Lubartów, and they were also the subject of post-war settlements. They are most often identified as *Volksdeutsche*, ethnic Germans living outside Germany. In fact, there were about 20 people in Lubartów during the war who were considered *Volksdeutsche* by the civil administration.[633] However, this identification is commonly used in postwar Lubartowians' testimonies to refer to people who had interactions with Germans or who benefited from the German occupation. In this manner, being a *Volksdeutsch* creates a kind of stigma excluding people who behave unworthily in the perception of the majority, from the

[626] See above.
[627] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie,* 177.
[628] The group of newcomers was numerous and diverse, and their livelihood as well as social positions in Lubartów differed.
[629] List of employees of Arbeitsamt Lukow Nebenstelle Lubartów in Lubartów, 29 September 1941. APL, AML, 1116, 3.
[630] In 1941, among 35 railroad employees only eight were pre–war residents of Lubartów. List of railroad employees in Lubartów, 30 September 1941. APL, AML, 1116, 11.
[631] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie,* 136 and 237; Kłapeć, "Lubartów w latach II wojny światowej," 114.
[632] See above.
[633] Statistical sheet on the population of Lubartów, 9 April 1943. APL, AML, 834, 119–120. The formal criteria for being an ethnic German: "Belonging to the German Nation is one who, not having German nationality, identifies as belonging to the German Nation if this admission is confirmed by origin language behaviour upbringing or other circumstances." Ordinance Introducing a Recognition Card for Belonging to the German Nation in the General Government, 26 January 1940. VOBlGG, 29 January 1940, No. 7, 36–37.

community. In Lubartów, individuals identified as *Volksdeutsche* were frequently from areas incorporated into the *Reich*, so as to create an even larger distance. There were other groups considered suspicious by the Lubartowian Catholics, including Ukrainians who were often accused of favouring the Germans.

Among the "*Volksdeutsche*" subjected to postwar trials was Anna Wodetzky from Silesia, a store owner in the Market Square, accused of maintaining close contacts with Germans and acting to the detriment of her Polish husband;[634] Henryk Gotowalski from Inowrocław, accused of leading the *Hitlerjugend* in Lubartów and of stealing in marketplace;[635] and Mieczysław Wiśniewski, also a refugee from Inowrocław, an interpreter from the train station, who allegedly pointed out Poles transporting food from Lubartów by rail.[636] The postwar trials also include the guard at the town prison, Stanisław Gładunik, already mentioned in this work, described as a Ukrainian.[637] Another "Ukrainian," Eustachy Burko, the district doctor in Lubartów and principal of the hospital, was accused of collaborating with the Gestapo in Lublin.[638] All of the aforementioned individuals, whether they be newcomers, "*Volksdeutsche*," or "Ukrainians," could not count on the support of the local community after the war to defend the good name of the accused, in contrast to Antoni Śliczniak, the previously mentioned pre-war Polish policeman from Lubartów.

Some of those accused of collaboration with Germans did not survive to see the postwar trials, as they were murdered by partisan units. This was the fate of Jabłonowski's group from Tczew, another town incorporated into the *Reich*. They were called the "catchers from *Arbeitsamt*" (*łapacze*), whose job was to bring to Lubartów *Arbeitsamt* office those evading forced labour. On occasion, this group of several people committed rapes, robberies, and thefts in a sense of impunity. Kazimierz Jabłonowski, referred to as a *Volksdeutsch*, was murdered along with his associates in March 1943 on orders from the Home Army.[639] Also in 1943, Wanda Pieniążek, a 24-year-old railroad clerk displaced from Inowrocław, was murdered on the town's main street on charges of being a Gestapo informant.[640]

[634] File on the case of Anna Wodetzky, 1944–1947. IPN Lu 319/543.
[635] File on the case of Henryk Gotowalski, 1945–1952, IPN Lu 330/42/1, volumes 1 and 2.
[636] File on Mieczysław Wiśniewski, 1947–1947 IPN LU 319/867.
[637] Files in the case of Stanisław Gładunik. IPN Lu 319/1143.
[638] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie* , 136 and 235.
[639] Franciszek Kusyk, *Z konspiracji w Lubartowskim* (Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1982), 126. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 144 and 318.
[640] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 330.

The group of those accused of association with Germans was not homogeneous, the accusations were of different gravity, as was their social position in Lubartów. Those who were administratively recognised as *Volksdeutsche* could count on better provisions,[641] access to real estate, or services reserved only for Germans.[642] Karol Skaruch, a social activist and teacher in Lubartów in the 1990s, shared his memories about this most privileged group:

> "Victorious, young and handsome boys in well-tailored uniforms. Ate and drank in the numerous establishments that sprang up. The sons of clerks, young men from the Hitlerjugend kicked passing bearded Jews with sidelocks in chalats and yarmulkes."[643]

"Handsome boys" like Jabłonowski and Gotowalski enjoyed total impunity, even the Polish Police were powerless against them,[644] at least until 1943 and the strengthening of the partisans' position in the region. The victims of the actions for which they were tried almost without exception were Poles, which, following Skaruch's recollection, says more about the criteria for administering justice after the war, than about the actual crimes perpetrated by the accused.

Collaboration as a road to social advancement. Franciszek Majewski's case

Among those accused of collaboration with Germans, Franciszek Majewski stood out as the most spectacular example of social advancement in Lubartów during the occupation. Majewski was an interpreter at the Lubartów Branch of county office. Born in 1899 in Berlin, he had lived in Lubartów since 1931.[645] Majewski arrived in Lubartów with his family after a lengthy period of changing locations which had started more than twenty years earlier in Germany, where their two oldest children were born—Elżbieta (b. 1912) and Jerzy (b. 1913). The birthplaces of their other children mark the trajectory of the Majewski family: through Pomerania on the border with the Third *Reich*, they arrived in the Lublin region where their sixth registered child, Zygmunt, was born in Janów Lubelski in 1928. Stanisław, four years younger than Zygmunt and Majewskis' last child, was already born in Lubartów. In the mid-1930s, the Majewski family lived with their eight children in a house at 36 Lubelska street.

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[641] Food distributions, 26 October 1942. APL, AML, 856, 160. List of *Reich*- and *Volksdeutschen* entitled to toothpaste allocations, 7 April 1942. APL, AML, 793, 20. (German)
[642] There were stores and restaurants for Germans in Lubartów, while at 10 Mickiewicz Street, a club for Germans was set up in the former common room of the Rifleman's Union. Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie,* 143.
[643] Witold Skaruch, "Wspomnienia z Lubartowa", *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 13 (1996), 244.
[644] Testimony of Jan Dajek in Henryk Gotowalski's case, 1 October 1946. File on the case of Henryk Gotowalski, 1945–1966, IPN GK 258, 123.
[645] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 126.

In this house, as typically in Lubartów,[646] the division of the apartments reflected the different status of the tenants. In addition to the owner of the house, court judges lived under the lower numbers, as the house was adjacent to the Municipal Court (Sąd Grodzki) building. One of the apartments on the first floor was occupied by the town board accountant Antoni Augustynowski and his family. The Majewski family at no. 4, like the working-class Kozak family at no. 5, rented apartments in the attic of the two-storey house. [647] Given the size of the family in which the carpenter Franciszek was the sole breadwinner, it is reasonable to assume that the Majewski family was in a precarious financial position in the 1930s. In 1936 the Majewski family moved to 12 Lipowa street, to a house owned by Mrs Jakubowska, an office clerk, widow of a policeman, active in an organisation supporting policemen's families.[648] In mid-1939, five of the children remained with their parents, all unemployed and dependent on their parents for support. Franciszek, the eldest child, born in 1920, was training to become an upholsterer,[649] perhaps at the shop run by Fiszel Kac, the only upholsterer (*tapicer*) in Lubartów at that time.[650]

The German occupation opened up opportunities for the Majewski family to improve their situation. Knowledge of German enabled Franciszek Majewski to obtain work as a translator. Majewski knew German because he was born in Germany, where he spent much of his life. Formally employed as an interpreter, in practice he had a significant influence on the *Kreishauptmann* decisions, occasionally even acting as his deputy.[651] According to the memoirs of Lubartowians, he was also supposed to advise the county chief on the selection of staff, decide on trade concessions, and store permits.[652] The confidence the German authorities had in Majewski is evidenced by his appointment in 1940 as mayor of Międzyrzec Podlaski, a town north of Lubartów within the Radzyń county.

Majewski also used his position in the new power structure for personal material gain. As early as February 1940, the Majewski family moved into the house at 51 Główna street (pre-war

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[646] See Chapter 4.
[647] Wojciech, the head of the family, did manual labour in the 1930s despite his advanced age (born in 1868), was a "labourer for various works," that is, he was engaged in manual labour and had no specific profession or permanent employment. He lived with his wife and daughter and three grandchildren.
[648] Register of social organisations, 1920s–1930s. APL, Starostwo Powiatowe Lubartowskie, 92, 82.
[649] Application for identity card for Franciszek Majewski, 1 May 1939. APL, AML, 531, 117.
[650] A register of permanent residents indicates that he was the only upholsterer in the town since 1936. Another document confirms that, at least since the fall of 1939, Fiszel Kac was the only upholsterer in Lubartów. Lalka's recommendation to Fiszel Kac application, 21 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 113. Before the war he lived on 23 Rynek I street, see Chapter 4.
[651] Minutes of the organizational meeting of the Committee for Relief of Refugees from Pomerania and Poznań, 22 November 1939. APL, AML, 566, 113.
[652] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 136.

Piłsudski street),[653] previously occupied by the Cytrynblum family. The Cytrynblums probably left or were forced to leave Lubartów in the first weeks of the war; they are not recorded in November 1939 and March 1940 registers. The Majewski family furnished their new home with furniture from the homes of other wealthy Lubartów Jews.[654] In the building where the Majewski family moved, Franciszek's wife Waleria run a hardware and crockery store since at least until 1941. Prior to that, she had taken over the business premises of Jankiel Montal, the pre-war president of the Jewish community at Lubartów Market, at 20 Nowopoprzeczna street.[655] At the time, Montal was in Ostrów Lubelski, from where he returned in late 1940.[656] After Franciszek left for Międzyrzec in 1940, his wife continued to live in the Cytrynblum house in Lubartów and run her businesses.

During the war, the Majewski family did quite a bit to justify themselves as a German family. Franciszek and Waleria signed the German national list.[657] Franciszek took a second German-sounding name, Otto.[658] Following his relocation from Lubartów to Międzyrzec Podlaski, he was known as Franz.[659] The Majewskis sent his three youngest sons to the *Hitlerjugend* school in Radom.[660] It seems, therefore, that the entire Majewski family adopted a new identification policy. In this context, the fate of Franciszek Majewski, the oldest son of Franciszek and Waleria, an upholstery apprentice (*czeladnik tapicerski*) in Lubartów before the war, stood out. He was taken to Auschwitz Concentration Camp on May 29, 1941, where he died after more than a year.[661] It remains unknown under what circumstances he was sent to the camp, or whether his parents tried to save their son.

Franciszek Majewski senior appears in a one-sentence account by Maria Plech, a Jewish woman who came to Lubartów from Kamionka and lived there with her child and husband since 1941:

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[653] Register of Jewish owned estates, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 92.
[654] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 136. Dumało mentions robbing the Kowartowski family living on 1 Rynek Street and the family of Rabbi Gelblum.
[655] Register of Jewish owned estates, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 73. See Chapter 6. Dumało mentioned that Waleria traded in items stolen from Jews and Poles.
[656] Register of properties owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 59.
[657] List of *Reich* and *Volksdeutchen* entitled to toothpaste allocation, 7 April 1942. APL, AML, 793, 20. (German)
[658] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 126.
[659] Józef Geresz, *Międzyrzec Podlaski. Zabytki* (Międzyrzec Podlaski: Miejski Ośrodek Kultury w Międzyrzeczu Podlaskim, 1990).
[660] The Hitlerjugend school had been operating in Radom since 1941.
[661] https://base.auschwitz.org/wiezien.php?lang=pl&ok=osoba&id_osoba=149352. Information about Franciszek's death in Auschwitz also appears in the Lubartów resident's registry: "died 14.6.1942 in Auschwitz". Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 126.

"A certain Volksdeutsch, Majewski, was staying at home on vacation and killed a Jew every day."[662]

For all intents and purposes, no one else, other than German policemen and gendarmes, was directly accused of such serious crimes committed against Jews in Lubartów. In Majewski's case, no other testimony of his murders has survived, neither was he put on trial after the war. At the same time, it is hard to ignore the testimony of Maria Plech, who not only recognised Majewski's name, but also rightly pointed out that he lived outside Lubartów where his family remained.

Majewski's case study illustrates the extent of the changes in the hierarchies of power in Lubartów during the war. It demonstrates that it was possible to be promoted even if one had not held a public function or participate in the local communal life before the war. Thanks to his position and his connections with the Germans, Franciszek and his family found themselves among the most prominent residents of the town. Notably, Majewski, who had no prior experience in clerical work, was appointed mayor of Międzyrzec, a town twice as large as Lubartów in 1939, with a population of nearly 18,000 before the war, 3/4 of whom were Jewish.[663]

Ryszard Dumało who arrived in Lubartów from Bydgoszcz just after the war broke out as a boy, portrayed Majewski and his family as the embodiment of evil.[664] In addition to the aforementioned acts, other incidents emerge: Majewski's daughter Franciszka is reported to have shouted to the robbed Jews, "Justice has finally come, that now we shall sleep on pillows and the Jews on boards," while his son is attributed with the murder of the Jewish owner of the house they occupied (Benjamin Cytrynblum).[665] The depiction of the Majewski family as evil and cruel is so consistent that the conclusion arises—perhaps his case serves as a convenient scapegoat, as the actions of the Majewski family make everyone else appear almost innocent. Indeed, Majewski was a perfect candidate for such a role, as Dumało stated, "he turned out to be a German." Yet, all these accusations are dimmed by one sentence from Maria Plech's account, a sentence without adornments, purely informative. It is evident that Majewski's actions, even if he identified himself as a German, are also the deeds of a long-time resident of

[662] Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 1.
[663] Tatiana Bernstein, "Martyrologia, opór i zagłada ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie lubelskim," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 21 (1975), table 10.
[664] Dumało's book about the war in Lubartów is a combination of archival research and a narrative based on his memories and those of several dozen other Lubartów residents whose names are listed by the end of the book.
[665] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 144.

Lubartów, who worked in Lubartów, whose children attended school in Lubartów, and who probably knew the Jews he robbed and those he murdered.

The occupation changed the power structure in Lubartów. The German administrative authorities and the military and police forces, which were superior in the new system, offered new opportunities for advancement to both newcomers and pre-war residents of the town. There is no evidence to suggest that the town hall officials were part of this new elite. They were also not involved in the structures of the underground movement in the Lubartów area, which over time became an increasingly influential group in the town. Although Lalka, like the most important town officials, retained his position, the political and social influence of the mayor and the Sanacja milieu in Lubartów, which he co-led in the 1930s, had significantly declined.

Magistrate as intermediary between Lubartów Jews and the county office

During the war, the Lubartów authorities formally remained entirely dependent on the superior county authorities (*Kreishauptmannschaft*), and the officials had to pledge "to carry out their work conscientiously toward the German Government." The Town Council was dissolved, and the only remaining representative of local authority was the mayor who headed the Town Office, called *Zarząd Miasta* or *Magistrat*. The German reorganisation of the civil administration was in line with the direction of the change in the local government system of the 1930s,[666] which resulted in a concentration of power in the hands of the executive, and greater dependence on the central authorities.

The officials, except for the aforementioned Estera Olberg, the office clerk since 1928, kept their positions, among them the town office secretary Marian Strzyżewski, who had held the post since the early 1930s.[667] Strzyżewski's role, in addition to organising the work of the town board's office, was to prepare and write documents that were later signed by Aleksander Lalka. This gave Strzyżewski significant influence over the content of the letters and the mayor's communication. Strzyżewski's deputy and the head of the registration department was Feliks Wiśniewski, who had also held the post since the early 1930s. Wiśniewski kept a record of population, including the 1932 residents' register. The German ordinance stipulated that the mayor would appoint advisors from among the residents, as was the practice in other towns,

[666] See Chapter 1.
[667] Lubartów was not different from other towns in the GG. Rossoliński-Liebe estimates that over 95% of the local administrations (municipal and rural administration) remained "exclusively Polish." Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 202.

but this is not reflected in the records of the Lubartów magistrate.[668] Nor did the mayor appoint his deputy, as the same ordinance required him to do.

The scope of the mayor's duties was merely outlined: he was to head the Town Board, carry out the magistrate's staff policy, and be responsible for financial management.[669] In practice, Town Board ran the town's administration, collected taxes, kept town records, accommodated the displaced persons, took care of the town infrastructure and sanitary condition, and oversaw medical and social care for the town residents. Although formally, mayors were not sovereign in their actions and the county chief could "revoke, amend, replace, and inhibit all of the mayor's orders as well as issue their own orders," the scope of their actions largely depended on the competence of the mayors, the residents' expectations, and the relationship between the mayor and the county chief.[670]

"As a result of the order of the *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń," "As a result of the oral order of Mr. County Chief," "I am sending a copy of the ordinance," "On the order of county chief of Lublin-Land,". "Upon the order of the day," "In accordance with the order of the day," "I am sending a copy of the above order with the order."—This is how Mayor Lalka usually began his letters to the *Judenrat*. The documents indicate that Lalka took great care to maintain his position as an intermediary in contacts between the county chief and the *Judenrat*. Lalka comes across as a formalist and legalist who fully respects the chain of command and avoids making decisions on his own. Almost all of the actions that Lalka took were sanctioned by guidelines or approval from the county office.

The ways in which mayors in the GG sought to legitimise their actions towards Jews has rarely been the subject of analysis. Karolina Panz, a researcher of Nowy Targ in southern Poland, has drawn attention to the extensive correspondence kept between the town's mayor and the Jewish community, which includes requests, orders, and instructions. In doing so, the mayor rarely invoked the will of the Nowy Targ county chief, and it was unclear who was responsible for the announced decisions.[671] Additionally, in the case of Nowy Targ as well as other towns in the

[668] Ordinance on the Administration of Municipalities, 28 November 1939. VOBlGG, 6 December 1939, Nr 9, 71–72.
[669] *Ibid*.
[670] Rossoliński–Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 261–263. There is no indication that Lalka maintained personal contacts with his superiors, the county chiefs or the managers of the Lubartów district exposition.
[671] Karolina Panz, *Zagłada żydowskich mieszkańców Nowego Targu w perspektywie mikrohistorycznej – głosy, obrazy, przybliżenia i oddalenia*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (Warszawa, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2018), 159.

GG, ordinances concerning Jews were issued by mayors, a policy not observed in Lubartów during Lalka's tenure.[672]

The establishment of the Jewish Councils in the GG (*Judenrat*) and the control over them, and thus over the entire Jewish population of the General Government, was an integral part of an ongoing friction between the SS and police command and the civil administration, over the scope of jurisdiction in the occupied territories.[673] In the Lublin District, the initiative in this regard was taken from the outset by the civil administration, and until early 1942 the Jews were subject to the district authorities in day-to-day matters.[674] Lubartów *Judenrat* was established at the request of the county chief at the beginning of January 1940.[675]

The civil administration did not interfere in its selection; the council, headed by Jakub Lichtenfeld, was approved with no reservations by the *Kreishauptmann*. In Lubartów the Judenrat was not, as was often the case elsewhere, an extension of the pre-war Kehilla, as its members were expelled from the town in the fall of 1939.[676] Since there was no clear leader who enjoyed the support of the majority of the *Judenrat*, Lichtenfeld was chosen by lot.[677]

From the moment it was established, the *Judenrat* dealt with the dramatic situation in which the Jewish inhabitants of Lubartów found themselves. Apart from most basic aspects of life, such as provisions, housing, and health care, the Lubartowian Jewish community was affected by the forced movements. In addition to fighting for the survival of the community, the *Judenrat* could be charged by the civil authorities with any order concerning Jews, the execution of which it was then responsible for: including policing and enforcing anti-Jewish laws, implementing forced labour, keeping records of Jews, collecting and paying tributes. In the words of the Radzyń county administration, the Jewish Council "was responsible for the execution of all

[672] Klukowski, 154, 180. Barbara Engelking, "Powiat bielski," in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.) *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski vol. I,* (Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018), 94–96. Karolina Panz, "Powiat nowotarski," in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski vol. II,* (Centrum Badań and Zagładą Żydów: Warszawa, 2018), 224. Rossoliński–Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 270.
[673] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 70–77; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 114.
[674] The exceptions were security–related and political issues, which remained within the domain of the SS and the Police. *Ibid*.
[675] Composition of the Judenrat in Lubartów, 8 January 1940. APL, AML, 161–162 (German and Polish).
[676] Marcin Urynowicz, "Epilogue: Refractions of Jewish Self-Government under German Occupation in the Second World War," in *Sources on Jewish Self–Government in the Polish Lands from Its Inception to the Present*, François Guesnet and Jerzy Tomaszewski (eds.) (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022), 627–680.
[677] Minutes of the election of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the *Judenrat* in Lubartów, 5 January 1940. APL, AML, 159. (German and Polish).

decrees issued against the Jews by order of the German authorities, to which all Jewish men and Jewish women must submit."[678]

The Lubartów Jews were ordered to wear armbands and mark their stores by the General Governor's decrees of 23 November, 1939, introduced two months later by the order of the county chief.[679] The county office expressed to mayor Lalka his dissatisfaction with the way in which this anti-Jewish ordinance was enforced:

> "I once again point out that I make you [the mayor] responsible for the implementation of my ordinance regarding the wearing of armbands by Jews, the marking of Jewish stores and the keeping of a file of Jews. I will step in ruthlessly if my ordinances are not respected."[680]

The county chief in charge of enforcing the ordinance, in accordance with the established practice, ceded responsibility to Mayor Lalka. The threats emphasised his frustration with the situation; the question of armbands was supposed to have been already settled. Lalka forcibly shifted the responsibility onto the *Judenrat*, while maintaining the threatening tone of county chief:

> "In accordance with the decree of the county office dated January 24th, 1940, I remind you of the obligation for Jews to wear an armband and mark all stores and Jewish craftsmen's establishments in accordance with the decree issued by the German authorities. Those guilty of not respecting the order will be held to very severe criminal liability.
>
> It is the full responsibility of the Jewish Council to carry out the above order and to conduct inspections."[681]

In a subsequent letter to von Winterfeld sent two weeks later, Lalka boasted that he had "made a categorical request to the Jewish Council in Lubartów to implement the obligation to wear armbands and to mark all stores and craftsmen's establishments."[682]

Lalka's attitude is an accurate reflection of the tension under which he functioned. Demonstrating obedience to his German superiors was his strategy for keeping his post. As it

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[678] Letter from the Radzyń county chief to Lalka regarding the establishment of the *Judenrat*, 29 March 1940. APL, AML, 165 (German and Polish). The county chief further clarified Hans Frank's earlier ordinances. Ordinance on the establishment of Jewish councils, 28 November 1939. VOBlGG, 6 December 1939, Nr 9, 72–73.
[679] Ordinance on the marking of Jews in the General Government. Ordinance on the marking of stores in the General Government, 23 November 1939. VOBlGG, 30 November 1939, Nr 8, 21–22.
[680] Letter from the county chief to the mayor, 24 January 1940. APL, AML, 75. (German and Polish).
[681] Letter from Lalka to the *Judenrat*, 3 February 1940. APL, AML, 830, 76.
[682] Letter from Lalka to the county chief, 5 February 1940. APL, AML, 830, 78.

turned out, it was not Lalka who suffered the consequences for his German superiors' dissatisfaction with the pace at which German ordinances against the Jews were being introduced. In August 1940, the district governor informed Mayor Lalka that Lichtenfeld had been dismissed from his position as chairman "because he completely failed to fulfil his [von Winterfeld's] orders."[683]

Mayor Lalka's dedication to his role as an intermediary and to following the orders of the Germans proved advantageous. It relieved him of a sense of responsibility and established a certain distance between him and the Jews, a dynamic that was further reinforced by the formal tone of the correspondence. In their correspondence, the *Judenrat* authorities did not breach this formal convention either. Despite the dramatic plight of the Jews, *Judenrat* did not appeal to the mayor's sense of decency, morality, solidarity, or even pity, though the correspondence alone certainly does not exhaust the complexity of the relationship between the two sides. The mayor and the *Judenrat*, as in other GG cities and towns, must have communicated through less official channels.[684]

The unclear role of Town Board in implementing Jewish forced labour

The available documentation does not allow us to analyse thoroughly the role of Lubartów's municipality in organising Jewish forced labour. The town's documentation is limited only to 1940, considering the registration of the Jewish residents of Lubartów. The forced labour of Jews was another field of competition between the main powers in the General Government: the civil administration and the SS leadership.[685] The Lubartów records reflects the compromises and frictions that occurred around this issue at the county level.

In mid-January 1940, an administration order on the introduction of forced labour for Jews, issued by the higher SS and police commander in the GG Friedrich Krüger, reached the mayor of Lubartów.[686] Among other measures, the order demanded a census of Jews for forced labour. Town officials underlined two sentences on the Polish version of the order: "The mayors, in addition to the Jewish councils, are responsible for the completeness and truthfulness of the

[683] Letter from the county chief regarding the dismissal of the chairman of the *Judenrat* in Lubartów, 20 August 1940. APL, AML, 830, 168.
[684] Klukowski 153, 274; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat. The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1972), 308–310.
[685] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 131–137; Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 578; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 164–165.
[686] The Radzyń County chief transmits to the City Board "Second Order implementing the Order of 26 October, 1939, on the introduction of compulsory labour for the Jewish population of the general governorate of December 12th, 1939," to the City Board. 15 January 1940. APL, AML, 830, 65–69.

compilation of the census"—in pencil; and "This executive order is to be made known to all Jews by the Jewish councils on the orders of the mayors"—in red. In accordance with Kruger's official order of January 20th, the *Judenrat* drafted a census manuscript, which was typed in the magistrate's office, then signed by Lalka and forwarded to the county office.[687]

At the time, most of Lubartów's Jews remained on expulsion, thus in late March 1940, only 238 Jewish residents of Lubartów—men between the ages of 12 and 60—were subjected to compulsory labour.[688] The surviving correspondence ends at the beginning of April, when objections from the county office were received by the mayor of Lubartów regarding the improper manner in which Jews were classified professionally and registration cards filled out.[689] Thereafter, the correspondence is briefly resumed in December 1940 together with registration attempts, this time coordinated by the Labour Office (*Arbeitsamt*) in Łuków with a branch office in Lubartów.[690]

Out of all the correspondence regarding forced labour for Jews in Lubartów, one letter stands out. On 1 March, 1940, Aleksander Lalka reported the need for Jewish labour for drainage work in and around the town.[691] For the period from 1 April to 30 September 1940, he needed about 6,000 days of one-man labour (*robotnikodniówek*). He estimated: "There will be enough Jews residing in the town of Lubartów to perform the described land reclamation work." In doing so, the mayor proposed building barracks outside the town, in a pasture, where the Jews were to dig 2,000 linear metres of new ditches and deepen 3,000 linear metres of existing ditches. The document refers to a conference from the preceding month held with the county chief, where the question of the local government's need for cheap labour was to be posed: he joined in the exploitation of Jews and collaborated in anti-Jewish policies.[692] The Jewish workforce was an available resource that he, "as a good administrator," could utilise for the benefit of the town.

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[687] List of Jews in Lubartów by profession, 3 February 1940. Manuscript and typescript. APL, AML, 830, 79–80.
[688] Letter from Mayor Lalka to the *Judenrat* regarding the distribution of registration card slips, 29 March 1940. APL, AML, 830, 108.
[689] Letter from Mayor Lalka to the *Judenrat* regarding the distribution of registration cards, 29 March 1940. APL, AML, 830, 111.
[690] Ordinance of the Labour Office, 9 December 1940. APL, AML, 830, 178. (German and Polish). Letter from the mayor to the *Judenrat* regarding labour lists, 13 December 1940. APL, AML, 830, 179. The *Arbeitsamt* assumption of intermediation in the organisation of forced labour for Jews was an attempt to create a counterbalance to the actions of the SS. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 133.
[691] Letter from Mayor Lalka regarding Jewish force labour in Lubartów, 1 March 1940. APL, AML, 830, 83–84.
[692] As Rossoliński-Liebe demonstrates, the use of Jewish forced labour by municipal authorities was a common practice. Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 580–601.

Participation of the Town Board in organising the *Aktionen* in Lubartów

No materials have survived which would indicate the participation of the Lubartów Town Board in the liquidation actions, during which almost all Jews staying in Lubartów were taken away to death camps or killed in the town. In October of 1941, Odilo Globocnik, head of the SPFF in the Lublin District, was appointed to plan the extermination of Jews in the General Government, and Lublin became the headquarters of Operation Reinhardt.[693] In addition to preparation of personnel and infrastructure for the mass killings,[694] necessary to carry out the operation in the vast area was the cooperation of various authorities including the civil administration. The latter accepted the authority of the SS in Jewish matters in early 1942 and, despite numerous antagonisms, declared its willingness to cooperate with the headquarters of Operation Reinhardt.[695]

The first phase of Operation Reinhardt was characterised by a greater involvement of the district authorities in Lublin, in particular the Department IV for Population and Welfare (BuF) which mediated between the Operation Reinhardt headquarters and the county chiefs.[696] Initially, the scheme was not fully developed, and the actions were scattered—they did not yet cover entire counties.[697] Jews were taken from Lubartów on April 9th, 1942. The report of the district authorities mentions 650 Jews deported,[698] while the Oneg Shabbat group estimations amount to 800.[699] Information on the Jews taken was also included in the register of permanent residents of Lubartów, where Feliks Wiśniewski, the magistrate's clerk, in 473 cases noted "displaced" in pencil together with the date of "9.4.1942".[700] On the basis of this group, it is possible to deduce the criteria used for the selection of the town's residents.[701] On the macro level, the conducted selection aimed at eliminating those "unfit for work,"[702] which is only partially confirmed by the characteristics of those who were included in the Lubartów *Aktion*:

[693] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 269–278.
[694] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 279–307.
[695] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 315–317; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 232–233. More detailed description of the second *Aktion* in Chapter 6.
[696] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 384.
[697] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 374 and 377; Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 243–245.
[698] BuF report on the number of Jews in the cities of the Lublin district, May 1942. APL, Kreishauptman Lublin–Land, 141, 137.
[699] Report "Gehenna Żydów polskich pod okupacją niemiecką", June 1942, AŻIH ARG 45, 18.
[700] The difference in the number of victims is probably due to the fact that the displacement also included people who were not registered as Lubartów residents, such as Jewish refugees. See Chapter 6.
[701] Claire Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, Gabrielle Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement. Migrations et persécutions à Lubartów, 1939–1945," *Annales de Démographie Historiques*, 145/1 (2023), 97–102.
[702] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 265–266.

proportionally, women were included to a slightly greater extent than men and the elderly more than younger people.[703] Note that the studied group largely selected entire families.

The second *Aktion* in Lubartów took place on October 11th, 1942, when it was already clear to everyone involved in the killing, including the civil administration, that the goal was to murder all Jews.[704] The civil administration's task was primarily to concentrate the Jews in the towns, while the SS and its subordinate formations carried out the liquidation. This time the Operation Reinhardt headquarters remained in direct contact with the county chiefs, omitting the intermediation of the BuF. On October 7, the Lublin-Land County chief ordered the Jews residing in 11 different towns to move to Lubartów within 24 hours.[705] The Jews staying in Lubartów were gathered in the Market Square and a selection was made from among them,[706] a few hundred Jews "important for the war effort", working for German industry, were left alive.[707]

All over the GG, the participation of local authorities in the *Aktionen* was primarily due to their subordination to the district chiefs. Mayors, like their superiors,[708] participated to varying degrees in the preparation and execution of the *Aktionen*.[709] Regardless of the attitude and self-initiative of the county chief and their subordinate mayors, the civil administration held an assigned role that it had to fulfil. The tasks of the local authorities included primarily matters of logistics. The administrators of the towns from which Jews were transported were responsible for delivering Jews to Lubartów.[710] Mayors in towns were entrusted with the duty of informing the Jewish population of the planned round-up and warning Poles against the appropriation of property belonging to Jews.[711] The town boards were also responsible for the accommodation of, and provision for, liquidation posses and providing the necessary transportation before and after the action.

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[703] Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 97–102.
[704] Researchers point in this context to Himmler's order of July 19, 1942. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 377. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 284.
[705] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 288.
[706] For more on the October action, see Chapter 6.
[707] In Himmler's interpretation, this was narrowed to armaments production; the civil administration sought a broader interpretation. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 292.
[708] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 205–220.
[709] For examples of different attitudes, see Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 689–719.
[710] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 689.
[711] Dariusz Libionka, "Powiat Miechowski," in Dalej jest noc, Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski vol. II* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018), 78. Rossoliński, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 711.

Based on the surviving sources, it is impossible to determine the extent to which the Lubartów magistrate was involved in the preparations for the actions, just as we do not know whether it was involved in the registration and selection of Jews prior. However, records have survived which testify to the magistrate's role in one of the last anti-Semitic measures taken before the second *Aktion*. In September 1942, the county authorities demanded several payments from the Judenrat in Lubartów: on 14 September, 10,000 zlotys and on 18 September, 15,000 zlotys for the renovation of the Jewish quarter in the town, on 21 September—20,000 zlotys for the equipment of forced labour camps for Jews from Lubartów and the surrounding area, and on 26 September—30,000 zlotys for food for the Jewish inmates of these camps.[712] The payment of one sum was followed by the request for another. In order to speed up the payments, members of the Judenrat were imprisoned in the town prison where they received a meal every third day. The last payment was made on October 3rd, after which the last hostages were released. A few days later, the second *Aktion* began: Jews from neighbouring towns were being concentrated in Lubartów.

The entire robbery operation was directed by *Stadtinspektor* Jacob, who administered the Union of Communities in the Lublin-Land (*Stadtinspektor Verwaltung des Gemeindeverbandes*).[713] Probably out of haste, but also due to of the importance and discretion of the matter, Jacob contacted the *Judenrat* without first addressing the mayor or the staff of the county office branch in Lubartów. The mayor received copies of Jacob's letters with instructions, and they also phoned each other due to the fast pace of operations. Jacob entrusted Lalka with coordinating the operation on the ground, making him responsible for receiving the contribution and arresting the hostages.

The two cases mentioned, the use of Jewish labour and the participation in the robbery on Jews in Lubartów shortly before the second *Aktion*, point to a key issue regarding the attitude of the municipal authorities: room for manoeuvre. In the former situation, mayor Lalka unhesitatingly decided to use Jewish forced labourers to perform work for the town, *de facto* participating in the criminal exploitation of Jews. In this situation, he not only had some leeway but was even able to take initiative; he would not have faced any consequences, had he not made the demand

[712] Documentation on contributions imposed on the Lubartów *Judenrat*, September-October 1942. APL, AML, 793. Interestingly, in one of the interviews contributions were recalled. In this version, the gold paid was to be used by Jews to postpone the *Aktion*. Interview with an anonymous Lubartów resident born in 1934, 5 September 2011. USHMM, RG–90.129.0748.01.01.

[713] A similar practice of imposing contributions by the county authorities in connection with the Actions also took place in other places of the General Government, which angered the GG central authorities. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 315.

for forced labour. There is no doubt that Mayor Lalka wished to exploit Lubartowian Jews' work for the sake of a public project.[714]

In the case of the contribution from the Jews and the imprisonment of the hostages, Lalka's actions were consistent with his typical *modus operandi*, that of obedience to the orders of the German supreme authority. Obedience was prioritised over the exploitation of Lubartów's Jews, who were significantly weakened by years of persecution. However, it is questioned whether Lalka had any room for manoeuvre in this situation. Was he able to refuse? To sabotage the intentions of the county authorities? Was he able to offer his resignation?

"As this study demonstrates, no mayor resigned from office because of the persecution and murder of the Jews, although a few local mayors felt sympathy for the Jews and privately condemned the Holocaust."[715] Rossoliński's conclusion, drawn from an analysis of dozens of cases, makes it clear that in the realities of the General Government, there was no situation in which a mayor decided to defy the will of his superiors in the name of moral values or solidarity with the citizens of his own town. They all participated, to a greater or lesser extent, in the implementation of the anti-Jewish policies that contributed to the Holocaust of the Jews in the General Government. Yet, the inquiry made by Bencjon Goldsztajn's inquiry from his letter to the postwar town office is unique and stands out not only against the background of Lubartów. After the war, Polish mayors and municipal officials from the GG were not held responsible for the fate of the Jews.[716] In an attempt to discern the experiences and emotions behind Goldsztajn's inquiry, I will turn to issues that provoked most contact between the magistrate and the Lubartowian Jews.

PART 3. 1939 EXPULSION OF THE LUBARTÓW JEWS. TEST OF BELONGING

In November of 1939, a brutal measure was taken against the Jews of Lubartów—mass expulsions to nearby towns. Although the displacement included most of the Jews remaining in the town, very little is known about them. Only two brief descriptions of the expulsions have survived. In the construction of the narrative of the Holocaust in Lubartów presented in the

[714] It has to be noted, however, that by working for town Lubartów Jews could avoid being sent to one of the labour camps in Lublin Districts. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 137–192. About the round–ups of the labour office on Jews in Lubartów. Account by Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 2. *Arbeitsamt* employees in Lubartów were notorious for their cruelty.
[715] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 25.
[716] Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 988–1004.

Memory Book, these expulsions serve as an introduction to the description of further persecution up to the *Aktionen*, and subsequent hiding of Jews in Lubartów and its vicinity.

Aron Rachsztajn, one of the authors of the Memory Book, left for the USSR in the autumn of 1939, probably before the expulsions, and stayed there until the war ended.[717] Despite his absence from Lubartów, he left one of the most complete accounts of crimes against Jews in Lubartów during the war. Rachsztajn was an important link in the post-war network of the surviving Lubartowians.[718] His text in the Memory Book is probably based on the testimony of others, including those in post-war Lubartów and Lublin.

> "The German commander ordered all Jews to leave town within 24 hours; anyone who refused would be shot on the spot. The Jews ran around in panic, desperately looking for horses from the peasants and carts to take their miserable luggage with them. Almost the entire Jewish population left Lubartów.
>
> The Jewish population was then subjected to all possible forms of abuse during the expulsion; they were allowed to take few personal belongings and seventy-five zlotys. Lubartów's Jewish community mainly moved to the towns of Parczew and Ostrów, where they remained until September of 1940."[719]

The second author, Josek Honigsblum, could have been among the Jews forced to live in Lubartów which is not indicated by his brief and neutral account:

> "Germans ordered all the Jews to leave Lubartów and march toward the Bug (a tributary of the Vistula), the road to Lublin being strictly forbidden. Only around a hundred Jewish families were exempt from this first expulsion and allowed to remain in the town: craftsmen, the sick and the elderly."[720]

Additional information is provided by Mojżesz Apelbaum, a direct witness to the evictions from the nearby Firlej, which took place in parallel to those from Lubartów. His early account, given to the Jewish Historical Commission just after the war, provides additional information:

> "Landrat von Winterfeld, who came from East Prussia, arrived in Lubartów. He issued an order that the Jews must leave the Lubartów district. We were allowed to take with us 150 zlotys in cash, clothing and underwear in limited quantities, as well as bedding. Gestapo men carried out searches on the Lubartów-Ostrów and Ostrów-Kock highway. They

[717] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 114.
[718] Claire Zalc and Thomas Chopard, *The Transnational Making of Collective Experience. The Lubartów Memorial Book, Paris, 1947. A Political Gesture* (unpublished paper).
[719] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34.
[720] *Hurbn Levertov,* 7.

> stripped women and men naked. When they found more than 150 zlotys, they beat and tortured the person. This conduct provoked a protest from the Polish population, who, through the priest, intervened with the Landrat. This had an effect, and people were no longer stripped on the highway. The searches were conducted on people wearing clothes."[721]

The Gestapo officers, from Apelbaum's account, were probably police officers of Battalion 102, residing in Lubartów at the time. On 5 November, 1939, they reported:

> "At the request of the Landrat, Jews who have been expelled have been searched with their vehicles. No weapons were found. Food supplies were confiscated that went beyond the permitted amount and assigned to the district administrator. The information about weapons was not correct. The searching continues."[722]

Although the date of 5 November appears to be the most likely date for the evictions,[723] there are indications that these were stretched out over time. 20 October as the date of displacement to Ostrów and 25 October as the beginning of displacement to Parczew are the two earliest dates mentioned.[724] On the other hand, the 1932 residents register records the date of 15 November as the date for leaving Lubartów to Ostrów Lubelski.[725] There are several indications that in addition to the mass action described in the quoted accounts that took place on 5 November, there were also displacements in smaller groups on other dates.[726] The forced movement included more than 1,500 Jewish residents of Lubartów, of whom more than 600 went to

[721] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 January 1946. AŻIH, 301, 2013, 1.
[722] Report on the activities of the 102nd Police Battalion, 5 November 1939. APL, Polizei–Battaillon Zamość, 17, 47.
[723] This date is also supported by a request for permission to return to Lubartów sent by Motl Flajsing, who gives the date of November 5th, 1939, as the date of his deportation to Parczew. Application of Motl Flajsing, 7 May 1940. APL, AML, 833, 71. Winder Herszek, who was deported to Ostrów, indicated that his deportation took place in November of 1939. Winder Herszek's application, 11 May 1940. APL, AML, 833, 89. The same date is used by Janina Kiełboń and David Silberklang.
[724] *Hurbn Levertov*, 7. AŻIH, American Joint Distribution 1939–1941 (AJDC), 539, 3.
[725] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 39–48.
The deportations to Parczew may have lasted until November 10th. Report on the visit of the Joint representative to Parczew, January 1940. AŻIH, AJDC, 539, 3.

Parczew and about about 850 to Ostrów.[727] Smaller groups were sent to Sławatycze or Lublin, perhaps also to Kock.[728]

The nightmare of the displaced Jews was prolonged over the displacement, where Lubartów's Jews faced poor living conditions and were deprived of work opportunities; most of them had to rely on assistance organised by the Jewish Social Self-Help Society (ŻSS) and largely paid by the Joint subsidies.[729] Although the preserved accounts do not indicate that the town authorities participated in organising or carrying out the expulsions, town administrations proved to be crucial in avoiding or shortening of the displacement. It was also the municipality that was responsible for the fate of the properties left behind by the Jews.

Contextual perspectives on November 1939 expulsions

The evictions from Lubartów and its surroundings were the first in a series of forced displacements of Jews within the Lublin District. Similar displacements within the district involved more than 15,000 local Jews from several towns by March 1940.[730] Mass expulsions were part of a wide-ranging plan for the mass relocation of Jews to make way for non-Germans from areas incorporated into the Third *Reich*, areas which in turn would be made available for German settlement.[731] According to David Silberklang, however, early displacements were "often the result of local decisions, usually by SS personnel, based primarily on antisemitic

[727] Most often, the number of displaced persons is estimated based on collective return petitions sent in June 1940 by Lubartów Jews expelled to Ostrów and Parczew. The Ostrów petition is written on behalf of 850 people from 220 families, and the Parczew petition is written on behalf of 634 out of 165 families. APL, AML, 833, 128 and 138. A January 1940 report by a Joint representative indicates that at the end of 1939 there were 604 refugees from Lubartów in Parczew. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 539, 3. David Silberklang reports a much higher number of forcibly displaced Jews from Lubartów to Parczew and Ostrów: "more than 2,500." It is likely that this estimate is the result of subtracting from the number of Lubartów Jews in early September, the number of Jews remaining in Lubartów after the displacements. Silberklang, however, does not take into account the mass departures of Lubartów's Jews on their own, "in an unknown direction."

[728] A memo on the situation of Jews in Sławatycze mentions 180 registered Jews from Lubartów, 24 February 1940. AŻIH, AJDC, 210/637, 8. Laura Crago, "Kock" in Geoffrey P. Megargee, Martin Dean and Mel Hecker (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945, Vol. 2*, Part A (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 648.

[729] Correspondence of the Jewish Community Board, Relief Committee of the Jewish Council with the AJDC in Warszawa, Lublin and Cracow, 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1940, 539–540.

[730] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 87. When Jewish prisoners of war transported to Lublin are included, the number of forced relocations rises to about 20,000.

[731] About the resettlement plan, see Götz Aly, *Final Solution: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews* (London, New York, Sydney, Auckland: Arnold, 1999), 4–5, 18, 23–24, 34–81. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 75–83. Janina Kiełboń, *Migracje Ludności w Dystrykcie Lubelskim w latach 1939–1944* (Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1995), 28–33, 110–112, 130–133.

ideology."[732] Local actors exercised great freedom in the early days of the occupation, "as there was no apparent uniform policy for Jews."[733]

Even if, as Silberklang proposed, we assume that the motivations of the organisers of the movements were primarily anti-Semitic and "had no clear larger purpose beyond sheer cruelty and terrorization," one must wonder whether they had other objectives from the point of view of the German authorities, first and foremost county chiefs. What did the latter want to achieve by displacing Jewish residents? The motivations of German decision-makers mattered most, but were the local authorities in Lubartów able to influence the population policy with regard to the town they administered? Were they involved in carrying out the displacement, and to what extent? The displacement had a tremendous impact on the social structure of Lubartów: the vast majority of Jewish residents, about 20 percent of the total population, were forced to leave the town in a short period of time.[734] What did this mean for the functioning of the town, how and with what tools did the Town Board try to manage the new situation? Finally, I am interested in the durability of the Jewish Lubartowians' ties to the town, in the face of forced displacement. Did the expulsions cause the local authorities to lose interest in the Jewish residents?

The forced movements of Jews in the fall of 1939, in addition to being well documented in the town's archives, are of particular importance because of the initial period of occupation in which they took place. From the perspective of the town's governance, this is a transitional period—from military to civilian administration. This was a period when administrative hierarchies and divisions of power and jurisdiction are just forming. It is at this time that actors at the *meso* level, including county chiefs and town authorities, enjoyed the greatest freedom of action,[735] which clearly applies to the still undefined and disputed policies applied toward Jews. Henning von Winterfeld, who officially took control of the county Radzyń on October 26th, *i.e.* just before the resettlement, was most likely the initiator of the resettlement.[736] Von Winterfeld

[732] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 83.
[733] *Ibid*.
[734] This estimate is very conservative and does not consider those who fled on their own, while escapes may have occurred during, or resulted from displacement.
[735] Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus, "Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry," *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, 7 (2012), 59.
[736] Testimony by Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 January 1946. AŻIH, 301, 2013, 1. Laura Crago, "Lublin Region" in Geoffrey P. Megargee, Martin Dean and Mel Hecker (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945, Vol. 2, Part A* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 605.

had been in office in Lubartów as Landrat under military administration a few weeks before, which gave him space to plan and prepare the resettlement.

From the perspective of Jews who faced displacement, this was a time of changing circumstances and great uncertainty which forced them to take fundamental decisions with unknown consequences.[737] Therefore, although many Jews sought a way to survive within their family or in place of residence, we are dealing with a myriad of trajectories that often remain elusive. Despite the terror and persecution, Lubartów's Jews still had some space to operate. The expulsions denote a pivotal moment for most Lubartów Jews, whether they remained in the town or not. They accelerated the processes that affected Jews throughout the General Government: dispossession, separation from familiar surroundings, deterioration of housing conditions, ghettoization. The surviving sources, primarily the applications of Lubartów Jews trying to avoid displacement or to return to Lubartów, can foster our understanding of Jewish actions at the beginning of the war, about which little is said in the surviving testimonies.[738] The applications also testify to the struggle of Jews to survive, to maintain their property, their sources of livelihood, ties to their hometown, in other words to resist the repression imposed on them.[739]

The 50 surviving applications of Jews applying for permission to remain in, or return to, Lubartów might serve as a sample of all application written. They are held in the Lubartów town records, because the mayor acted as an intermediary between the applying Jews and the county chiefs, and Jews submitted their applications to the Town Board Office. The applicants were aware that the documents were first studied by the magistrate's officials, which they often indicated in the headline (*e.g.*, "To the county chief via the Town Board"), sometimes within the application they addressed the mayor explicitly, asking to support their request. Most of the applications were written at a time when there was still no *Judenrat* in Lubartów and it was the responsibility of the mayor's office to forward the county chief's decision. This creates a situation, little recognised in Holocaust historiography, when individual Jews had direct contact with representatives of the civil administration, and decisions of the civil administration were communicated directly to the Jewish residents.

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[737] Eliyana R. Adler and Natalia Aleksiun, "Seeking Relative Safety. The Flight of Polish Jews to the East in the Autumn of 1939," *Yad Vashem Studies*, Vol. 46:1 (2018), 71.
[738] *Ibid*., 43.
[739] For some scholars, petitions sent by Jews during the war provide an argument in the debate about Jewish resistance. In this perspective, these attempts are seen as another non-combatant form of Jewish resistance to the policies and will of the oppressors. Thomas Kaplan Pegelow, and Wolf Gruner (eds.), *Resisting Persecution: Jews and Their Petitions during the Holocaust* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020).

Although the official order to communicate with the civil administration exclusively through the *Judenrat* was not introduced until 1941,[740] the very fact that a Jewish council was established changed the dynamics of contact. Although the Jews themselves continued to write directly to the town authorities, they received replies via the *Judenrat*. The form of repression that targeted Jews in families, as well as the possible ways of avoiding it, to a large extent did not allow them to seek group solidarity outside of family structures. The first surviving collective application dates only from June 1940, more than six months after the deportations.

Applications represent a form of direct communication between the citizens and state authority with a long tradition and wide range of occurrence.[741] In the case of Lubartów, I would like to emphasise the distinct role of the experience of the interwar period, with the strengthening of local government administrative apparatuses: registration, control, fiscal, or welfare. Regardless of administrative and legal discrimination, Jews in the interwar period remained in close contact with the local government administration, submitting applications, requests, appeals and requests—for medical expenses, material support, tax release, reduction of rent for a store in a market hall, permission for a construction project, or for the issuing of documents. This type of correspondence makes up a significant portion of the surviving municipal records. The common experience of contact with the administration, however, often remained mediated: those who were illiterate or did not know Polish had to use the support, hence the specialised and licensed service of writing requests, known for decades and invariably necessary during the first period of the occupation.

The forced movements also represent an important caesura in the perspective of cumulative violence in Lubartów. Although acts of violence against Jews had already taken place earlier, the installation of German power in Lubartów was also associated with violence against non-Jews. The mass displacement included only Jewish residents, the rest of Lubartów only observed. Lubartów was the first town in the Lublin region from which Jews were expelled, and it was not known what the fate of the expellees would be. Following Götz Aly, Silberklang

[740] Introduction Order of the district governor on submission of applications, 21 January 1941. APL, AML, 1112, 2.

[741] Simona Cerutti and Massimo Vallerani, "Suppliques. Lois et cas dans la normativité de l'époque moderne," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques. Revue électronique*, 13 (2015). Didier Fassin, "La supplique. Stratégies rhétoriques et constructions identitaires dans les demandes d'aide d'urgence," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 55:5 (2000), 955–981. Claire Zalc, *Denaturalized. How Thousands Lost Their Citizenship and Lives in Vichy France* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 243–282. Thomas Pegelow Kaplan and Wolf Gruner, while characterising Jewish petition writing during the Holocaust emphasised the historical tradition of Jewish address to the authorities, which of second importance in case of Lubartów, in my opinion. Thomas Pegelow Kaplan and Wolf Gruner, "Introduction," in *Resisting Persecution: Jews and Their Petitions during the Holocaust*, 11–17.

argues that forced resettlement, like the organisation of forced labour at the beginning of the war, "later played a role both in the German planning of the first deportation to the death camps in 1942, and in how the Jews of the Lublin District perceived these deportations."[742] What about the town authorities and the Christian residents of Lubartów? The expulsions and the escapes of Jews at the beginning of war, *i.e*. the void left by the Jews created first-time opportunities of mass social advancement for non-Jewish Lubartów residents.[743]

The 1939 resettlements and their impact on the demographics of the town and the trajectories of Lubartów's Jews can be traced through intersecting documentation recording the number of Jews in Lubartów, population moves, and property seizures—most of them created by the municipal administration and the *Judenrat*. These sources enable to trace, with varying degrees of detail, the trajectories of essentially all Lubartów Jews, regardless of their social position. Their cross-reading indicates a multiplicity of Jewish trajectories in the first stage of the war, and also reveals their elusiveness—both at the level of the fate of individuals and the social factors shaping these fates. My cross-reading of these sources takes into account crossings, changes, and corrections that often complicates the picture. Following the research results of the Lubartworld team, I study individual and collective trajectories through the lens of the social environment of actors, seeking for a social characteristics that influenced the group trajectories of Jews.[744] At the same time, my picture is shaped by micro-studies that point to the multiplicity of potential interpretations of the fate of Lubartów Jews, the impossibility of pointing to determining factors, the ambivalence between coercion and own agency, and the ambiguity and complexity of categorisation.[745]

Displacement plans

Henning von Winterfeld's plan for the management of the Jewish population within the county under his authority was to create Jewish reservations (*Judenreservate*) within selected towns, and to place Jews from the pre-war Lubartów district there. These prospects are made clear in a letter sent on 3 November, two days before the largest deportations from Lubartów. The letter from von Winterfeld's office was addressed to the Polish mayors (*Bürgermeister*) of Lubartów

[742] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 71. Aly, *Final Solution*, 76.
[743] See chapter 6.
[744] Claire Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, Gabrielle Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 76–116. Nicolas Mariot and Claire Zalc, "Reconstructing Trajectories of Persecution: Reflections on a Prosopography of Holocaust Victims," in Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttmann (eds.), *Microhistories of the Holocaust* (Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 85–112.
[745] Nicolas Mariot and Claire Zalc, "Reconstructing Trajectories of Persecution," 107–109.

and Łęczna, the second-biggest town in the pre-war Lubartów county, and to the heads of the rural communities in the Lubartów district:[746]

> "In the near future one should expect the arrival of your compatriots from Poznań and Pomerania, who are expected to settle in the Lublin area. It is your task and duty to give them a temporary shelter before the approaching winter, one must hurry to remove the Jews, and after their departure there will be enough places for your compatriots.
>
> Putting aside all other matters, you should immediately determine and report to me how many people your municipality can accommodate given the most modest living conditions.
>
> In addition, you should report to me if and how many Jews who also come from the West you would like to accept into your communities."[747]

It is clear from the letter that the displacement of the Jews was linked to the master plan of mass population transfer in the occupied territories. The Polish version of the letter indicates the participation of local authorities in the entire operation more strongly, although it still leaves the impersonal form with regard to the key issue of the displacement of Jews.[748] One way or another, von Winterfeld attributed the local authorities with an important role in the rapid deportation of the Jews and in the settlement of the inhabitants of the lands incorporated into the *Reich*. Interestingly, while the issue of accepting Poles ("compatriots"), is presented as the duty of local authorities, with regard to Jewish settlement, space is left for local authorities to present their own preferences.

At this stage of the occupation, when mass displacement and persecution of Jews was not yet an everyday occurrence, the idea of deporting all Jews from Lubartów seemed shocking, also to the Lubartów authorities. As early as October 28, Marta Łoś, a landowner from the Niemce estate south of Lubartów, noted in her diary:

> "OCTOBER 28th. The last two days have been marked by the Jewish question. All the Jews of Lubartów are condemned to leave the town within three days. The Germans want Lubartów to be completely Aryan, while a ghetto is to be created in Lublin. A delegate

[746] The German version of the document differs from the Polish one in this regard, as it contains an additional part addressed to the German mayors (*Bürgermeister*) of the pre–war rural communities of the Lubartów county mentioned by name. The Polish translation does not take into account the ambiguity of the term *Bürgermeister*, which can be translated as both mayor and village head.
[747] Letter on population resettlement in Lubartów, 3 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 246. (German and Polish) Translation based on the better–preserved Polish version.
[748] In Polish: "Należy spieszyć się z usunięciem Żydów, a po ich obejściu dostarczająca ilość miejsc dla waszych rodaków." In German: "Nach Abzug der Juden aus den Kreisen wird genügend Raum sein, um Eure Landsleute aus dem Westen aufzunehmen. Deshalb ist Eile geboten."

> from the Lubartów Town Council showed up, weeping, with the words 'Mr. Count, save us.' In a moment two Jewish delegates arrived with the same appeal. Staś promised to do what he could. Staś went to Lubartów, where he managed to get a great deal from the Landrat (the eviction of Jews from Lubartów was postponed)."[749]

It is hardly possible that the actions of Count Łoś, the town board or the Jewish representatives had any effect on slowing down the displacement. As von Winterfeld's letter of 3 November shows, even then the entire operation was not yet finalised. What's more, the county chief's initial plan that had included the entire territory of the pre-war Lubartów county, which remained under his jurisdiction during the period of military administration, was not likely to succeed. Some localities ultimately did not come under von Winterfeld's administration, such as Łęczna, incorporated along with part of Lubartów County into Lublin-Land. In the end, the displacement was limited to towns within the borders of the newly created Radzyń county, and in none of these towns did it lead to the displacement of all Jewish residents.[750] Lubartów did not become an Aryan town—although certainly less Jewish.

Selection of Jewish residents before displacement

The initial selection of Lubartów's Jewish residents who should leave took place at the end of October of 1939, and is mentioned only retrospectively. Fiszel Kac, an upholsterer living in Lubartów's Market Square, received permission on October 29th to remain in Lubartów with his family and continue to run his workshop.[751] The concession from county chief von Winterfeld, issued at the request of Mayor Lalka, was conditioned upon "the obligation to train Polish workers."[752] Another craftsman, Moszek Wajnsztajn, was also granted permission. "As a tailor by profession, I own a tailor's workshop in the town of Lubartów, and on this basis I received a permit to stay in Lubartów,"[753] he wrote in May 1940 from Lubartów in another application. Although, as the list of 25 November, 1939, of Jews who remained in the town

[749] Marta Łosiowa, *Diary*, manuscript in the private collection of Marek Łoś, 28.10.1939, 6:30 am. Quote after Marta Łosiowa, "Wybrane fragmenty z 'Dzienniczka' Marty z Budnych Łosiowej" in Łukasz Kasperek (red.), *Ocalić od zapomnienia* (Niemce, 2018), 155. The Łoś couple, Marta and Stanisław, were involved in organising aid during the war within the framework of Polish Aid and the Central Welfare Council, and from mid–1942 hid a Jewish woman from Warszawa, Zofia Bader, daughter of the former foreign minister. Stanisław Łoś was a diplomat and publicist. Paulina Byzdra–Kusz, "Okupacyjna codzienność dworu ziemiańskiego na Lubelszczyźnie na przykładzie majątku Łosiów z Niemiec (1939–1944)" in *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Sklodowska*, vol. LXXVII (2022), 263–269.

[750] Mojżesz Apelbaum indicates that von Winterfeld partially withdrew his order for evictions from towns in Lubartów County. Testimony by Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 January 1946. AŻIH, 301, 2013, 2.

[751] He probably trained Franciszek Majewski's son, Franciszek junior, before the war.

[752] Application of Fiszel Kac requesting permission to return to Lubartów, 21 June 1941. APL, AML, 833, 112.

[753] Application of Mosze Wajnsztajn, 11 May 1940. APL, AML, 833, 109. Other documents indicate that a permit was also issued on October 29th to other Jewish artisans, including Leibus Grinwald and Szol–Jankiel Landsberg. APL, AML, 833, 145 and 147.

after the expulsion included craftsmen as the largest professional group those who stayed in town,[754] none of the 25 surviving applications requesting permission to remain in Lubartów include craftsmen.

On 20 November, 1940, Boruch Honiksblum submitted an application to the Town Board: "I want to mention that I have already served as a gravedigger for 30 years, and now as a result of keeping weak and sick Jews in town, my stay in Lubartów is necessary."[755] It was indeed mostly "the weak and the sick" who, from the end of October 1939, applied for the opportunity to remain in the town. Honiksblum's application confirms, however, that the deportations were stretched out over time and some of those who managed to stay in Lubartów were still at risk of being forced to leave. 14 of the 25 surviving applications for permission to remain in Lubartów were written after the organised evictions, between 20 November 1939, and 7 February of the following year.

Honiksblum's application was unique in its argumentation.[756] The other documents were repetitive in form, similar to pre-war applications submitted for financial or medical support and focused on credibly presenting the applicants' dramatic situation. The key element of most applications was information about the poor health of the applicant(s), confirmed by a doctor's certificate, most often issued by the district physician Edward Burka, director of the hospital in Lubartów. It was often stressed that moving to another town was beyond the applicants' strength and could even result in death. In most cases, in addition to those whose health prevented them from moving, the application included relatives who would support them or provide care for them. Support was required for Mala and Icek Turkieltaub, a sick couple in their fifties staying with their family in an apartment at 27 Poprzeczna street, near the Lubartów market square, in 1939.[757] In their application of 1 November, they wrote: "We are totally dependent on our daughter Chana Zajnfudel and her husband Chaskiel, at the same time we have a son Kiwa, whom we ask you to leave with us as the only breadwinners." To the application, the Turkieltaub family enclosed a medical certificate issued in German by Leon Blaszkiewicz, born in Berlin in 1906, who had been running a private practice in Lubartów since mid-1938. Interestingly, the application did not include the information that Icek

[754] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 230–238. Zalc, Perdoncin, Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 88–91.
[755] Application of Boruch Honigsblum, 20 November 1939. APL, AML, 371, 130.
[756] The second such application was written on October 31st, 1939, by Jakub Berengaut, a feldsher arguing that he was needed because the sick Jews had been left in Lubartów. APL, AML, 371, 125.
[757] Application of Icek and Mala Turkieltaub with attached health certificates (German), 1 November 1939. APL, AML, 344, 147–149.

Turkieltaub was a tailor by profession, as was the son-in-law who supported him. Perhaps at this stage the selection based on occupation was already over, and the only chance to remain in the town was to declare illness of a family member.

"A trip for us old people who are ailing and disabled under the current conditions is unthinkable," the Turkieltaub couple wrote in the last paragraph. Icek had healing wounds on his legs and a chronic headache, while Mala was ill with an eye disease and sclerosis. Nevertheless, in order to avoid forced resettlement, they decided to leave Lubartów on their own. Information about their departure was written on the application itself: "On 10.XI.1939 I found that Icek and Mala Turkieltaub married couple left. Lubartów 10.XI.1939," signed by Stanisław Woźniak, a magistrate official. The same notes appeared on four other applications, only for those applying to remain in Lubartów before the deportations of 5 November.

The cases of those leaving on their own make one wonder to what extent the expulsions, involving significant numbers of Jews, were a driving force for additional departures. Among the expelled were those who moved from Ostrów or Parczew. One of them was Mordko Rozbruch, the only Jew from Lubartów who—in one of the accounts he left behind—mentioned having stayed with his family displaced in Ostrów. Following his parents' advice, together with a friendly group of young people he travelled further east from there, thus separating from his parents.[758] His departure is confirmed in the register of permanent residents of Lubartów where it is recorded "departed in an unknown direction" (*wyjechał w niewiadomym kierunku*) "in the fall of 1939" (*na jesieni 1939*).[759] Similar information was repeated more than 940 times in the register next to names classified as those of Jewish faith, *i.e.* 28% of all Jews staying in Lubartów at the beginning of the war.[760] It also appears next to the names of Bajla Chana Fiszman, Abram Nysenbaum, and Taub Miller, who applied to remain in Lubartów, and who, as the magistrate's inspection showed, left Lubartów on their own.

The information from the residents' register mentioning "departures in an unknown direction" is an enigma. The repetitive form of the information records suggests that it was entered systematically, rather than in response to information about an individual departure. It is therefore possible that at some stage information was accumulated about Jewish residents whose fate was uncertain. It seems that the best moment was precisely November 1939, when

[758] Interview by Tomasz Czajkowski (Grodzka Gate) with Mordek Rozbruch, 10 December 2017, Revadim (Israel). Unpublished.
[759] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 47, 104.
[760] Zalc, Perdoncin, Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 82–86.

the civil authorities carried out expulsions combined with verification of those entitled to remain, at the beginning of the month, and registration of those remaining in Lubartów, at the end of the month. If this hypothesis is correct, autumn departures "in an unknown direction" would have included unregistered departures from the beginning of the occupation until November of 1939.[761] Linking forced displacement, or even the threat of it, with departures in an unknown direction may allow us to better understand why those with a house or workshop were less likely to "leave in an unknown direction." What may have played a role was not only attachment to their properties and the survival chances tied to these, but also the criteria used to issue permits to stay in the town.

Who wrote the applications?

Of all those who applied to remain in Lubartów prior to the deportations of 5 November, only 70-year-old Szmul Peretz and his 63-year-old wife Frajda were on the list dated 25 November, 1939, including Jews remaining in the town. The decision to leave the Peretz couple in the town was written in Polish in pencil on the application, the only case of its kind.[762] The Peretz application was no different from others sent before and after the expulsions. Like several other applications, it was written in two languages: German and Polish. The Peretz couple, just like all other applicants, did not produce the document themselves.

Both language versions of the Peretz application were written in the same handwriting, repeated only once in the case of Jacob Bergaut's German application. The repetitiveness of the handwriting applies to most applications regardless of the date of sending. In different periods, the writers of the applications changed. The leading handwriting in the first period before 5 November, is repeated at least five times out of 11 applications, none of the later applications were written the same handwriting which might have indicated that the writer also left Lubartów.

Between December 1939 and February 1940, all but one of the applications, 12 out of 13, were written by Boleslaw Tkaczyk, a former local government official, director at the Union of Municipalities,[763] and since 1936 a pensioner and resident of Lubartów, in a house at 33a

[761] Josek Honiksblum noted that Jews did not leave Lubartów before the beginning of the German occupation, due to spreading information that Lubartów was to come under Soviet control. *Hurbn Levertov,* 7. Mojżesz Apelbaum recalls that even after the Germans entered, there was a belief that the town would fall under Soviet occupation. Testimony by Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 January 1946. AŻIH, 301, 2013, 1.
[762] Application of Szmul Peretz, 30 October 1939. APL, AML, 136 and 13 (German and Polish).
[763] Application of Bolesław Tkaczyk, 2 November 1939. APL, AML, 837, 3–5 (Polish and German).

Słowacki street.[764] The war situation prompted Tkaczyk to reactivate his career. On the recommendation of county chief von Winterfeld, he applied for a job at the municipal office. Faced with failure due to overstaffing, he applied in mid-November 1939, with the mayor's recommendation, for a license to run an application office. As Tkaczyk himself argued in the application, "out of 3 offices, 2 Jewish ones have been closed." Tkaczyk's advantage was his knowledge of German: not only was he able to prepare bilingual applications, but he could be hired to translate some of documents produced by the Town Board.[765]

During the period when Tkaczyk applied for the job, the municipal authorities were making efforts to regulate who could write an application. The lack of regulation, according to the mayor, led to "unauthorised writing by unqualified persons and thus to confusing and often unnecessary writing of their applications, to the disadvantage of entitled taxpayers."[766] The postulated regulation along the lines of the one in effect before the war meant that applications to civil authorities had to be written by applicants themselves, or by licensed writers. Jews asking for a permission to stay in Lubartów, *i.e*. mainly residents of the older generation, usually did not know Polish well enough to prepare an application, many of them were not even able to check the application written by someone else.

From the second half of November 1939, Jews had to hire licensed writers, Catholics,[767] and they chose Boleslaw Tkaczyk. He revealed his identity with the annotation "written free of charge. Tkaczyk" on Chana Rachsztajn's application dated January 10th, 1940.[768] Chana, who was ill with kidney disease, requested to stay in Lubartów with Aidla, a sister with physical disabilities. Tkaczyk, in this case, was not paid for his service because the sisters were in dire financial situation, and the Town Board also freed them from official fees, which ranged from two to five zlotys.[769]

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[764] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 48, 7.
[765] Some of the German–language correspondence sent by the magistrate in 1940 was written by Tkaczyk. For example: APL, AML, 371, 142.
[766] Letter from the mayor to the district county chief in Lubartów, 16 November 1939. APL, AML, 566, 105–106. (Polish and German)
[767] In addition to Tkaczyk, Tadeusz Brwiliński was licensed, and as of December, so was Józef Mazus. APL, AML, 566, 106 and 118.
[768] Application of Chana Rachsztajn, 10 January 1940. APL, AML, 796, 1.
[769] The salary for employees of the Lubartów Municipal Board, excluding the mayor, during this period was between 100 and 300 zlotys, and that of policemen between 190 and 260 zlotys, while the monthly rent for a room was about 10 zlotys.

Who could stay in Lubartów—the (un)certain criteria

The Jewish gravedigger Boruch Honiksblum, despite the mayor's support of his request, was not allowed to remain in Lubartów. A letter from the county office to the mayor in Lubartów, dated 23 November, informed that Boruch had to leave Lubartów within three days.[770] Wacław Koliński, a janitor of the Town Board, sent to Honiksblum's house on 21 Piękna street, to inform him of the decision noted that "Honiksblum Boruch has left the town of Lubartów."[771] Honiksblum, like the Turkieltaubs, must have left shortly after submitting their request to stay. The absence of Honiksblum and Turkieltaub was also confirmed by a list of Jews remaining in Lubartów dated 25 November.

The list includes more than 900 Jews of Lubartów, but only in 718 cases, the name and age are given. The Jews were grouped by families living in the same apartment. The total number of Jews remaining in Lubartów is not known, as in nine cases one person from a family was indicated with the information stating that he remains in Lubartów with his family, with the number of family members unspecified. The list, thanks to additional information in its last column, makes it possible to indicate some characteristics of those who were allowed to remain in Lubartów in November 1939. In the absence of responses to the majority of applications, the list remains the best indicator of who among the applicants was allowed to remain in town,[772] and best source of information on who had to legalise their stay with regard to applications sent after 25 November.

The list was compiled at a time when Lubartów's Jews lacked formal representation. Since the beginning of November, members of the board of the pre-war Jewish Kehilla were forcibly evicted in Ostrów and Parczew, and the Judenrat had not yet been established. Thus, it is probable that the list was compiled by the Town Board who had the necessary knowledge and tools. Feliks Wisniewski, the official responsible for recording the population, made deletions and corrections on the document, and also added names not included in the typescript, to the list.

The November list indicates that certain professions among Jewish residents had a higher chance of remaining in Lubartów. Among the 194 people with a profession or source of livelihood provided, craftsmen predominated, as there were 114 of them, not including three

[770] County chief response to the request of Boruch Honiksblum, 23 November 1939. APL, AML, 371, 129. (German and Polish).
[771] Note by Wacław Koliński, not dated. APL, AML, 371, 129.
[772] Zalc, Perdoncin, Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 88–91.

store owners selling crafted goods.[773] The list also includes 45 people engaged in commerce. At this stage of the occupation, Jewish shopkeepers of Lubartów were still able to run their businesses which were also visited by non-Jewish residents of the town. Another 15 people in the compilation were categorised as manual labourers (labourer/worker and labourer). Also left in Lubartów were four owners of factories, and finally, persons authorised due to their occupations being strategically important for the town's economy such as the manager of glassworks, a wood industry specialist (*brakarz leśny*), a feldsher, or three carriage drivers.

The selection of people remaining in Lubartów was determined by the state of the town's economy which could suffer from a sudden disappearance of artisans, merchants, or suppliers. In November of 1939, the arianisation process applied to the economy in the General Government was just beginning, and was particularly difficult to implement in towns like Lubartów which based on the Jewish residents' activity. The Town Board's interests in this regard coincided with those of the German civil administration in GG policy, aiming to fully exploit the economic potential of the occupied territories. The replacement of merchants and wholesalers was relatively easy, manageable through personnel exchanges (Polish refugees flowing into the town), centralisation of trade organisation and reduction of the number of businesses.[774] Much more challenging was the replacement of Jewish artisans and skilled labourers. Lubartów was not unique; in other towns in the Radzyń district, where Jewish residents were displaced in the early days of the occupation, artisans were also allowed to remain.[775] What's more, as the example of Fiszel Kac shows, Jewish craftsmen who specialised in certain crafts were used to train non-Jews, which served to strengthen Lubartów's manufacturing potential, and enable further replacement of Jews.[776]

Professional criteria, however, cannot explain why the 55-year-old teacher Szloma Rojtman stayed in Lubartów. He was one of the Lubartów Jews who returned to town just before or just after the outbreak of war.[777] Szloma's 74-year-old parents remained in Lubartów: Pesa, a born Lubartowian, and Moszek, a retired Jewish teacher.[778] People of advanced age made up a large proportion of those who remained in the town. In addition to Pesa and Moshe, 95 others were

[773] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 833, 230–237.
[774] Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 147–154. On the takeover of businesses owned by Jews in Lubartów, see Chapter 6.
[775] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 January 1946. AŻIH, 301, 2013, 2.
[776] The example of Lubartów and other towns shows that Jewish artisans remained crucial to the economy and the local authorities acted to keep Jewish artisans in the towns to the very end. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 244–245.
[777] Szloma was included in the population register kept until 1932 as шлйама. APL, AML, 20, 437.
[778] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 62.

65 years old or older—out of 687 whose age is included. Szloma Rojtman remained in Lubartów as the guardian for his parents. Nearly 60% of the people of households that had at least one person over the age of 65 were still present in Lubartów in late November 1939. Those applying (or the application writers) for the right to reside in Lubartów were aware of the criteria adopted by the town authority, some even asked the Town Board to be included in the list of old Lubartowians who were allowed to stay.[779] However, as the medical certificates of the applicants show, it was not age that was the single criterion for staying, as health also mattered.

That is why the November list included the 18-year-old Chaja Wajsmel suffering from chronic rheumatic joint deformities. She applied on 14 December, 1939, for a stay with her older sisters Tauba, who worked as a packer, and Chana, a seamstress, as well as her caregiver, Malka-Rajza Goldszer, 10 years older and unrelated to the Wajsmel sisters.[780] The Wajsmel sisters, after the death of their father Chaim-Judko at the end of 1938, became orphans, and in November of 1939 they lived with Malka-Rajza at 16 Żabia street. Information included in a list of Jewish residents of Lubartów dated 25 November complicates the picture of mutual relations in the apartment at 16 Żabia Street. Chaja appears there as a sick person (*chora*), while Malka-Rojza appears as a person in her care (*na opiece Ch. Wajsm*).[781] An explanation of this relationship is provided by an application written by Malka-Rojza:

> "According to the enclosed medical statement, I suffer from severe neurasthenia combined with cardiac neurosis, insomnia, lack of appetite, persecution mania and dizziness, and I must lie in bed, having care and attention.
>
> For the above reasons, I kindly ask you to graciously allow me to continue living in Lubartów, and since I am single, to assign me to some other Jewish family that has such permission."[782]

In November 1939, the gravely ill Malka-Rojza was left without family in Lubartów. She had lost her mother before the war, in 1936. In the fall of 1939, Malka's two sisters, Chaja-Gitla, eight years her elder, and Perla, six years younger, left Lubartów. The sisters' father Chemja, before the war a lessee of fruit gardens, was among the Jews eventually sent to Ostrów Lubelski in November.[783] The reason for the family's separation and why Malka-Rojza was left alone in

[779] Application of Szajndla Brondwajn, 31 October 1939, APL, AML, 371, 132 (German). Application of Lejb Chajman, 31 October 1939, APL, AML, 371, 126.
[780] Application of Chaja Wajsmel, 14 December 1939. APL, AML, 371, 145.
[781] 26 individuals on the November list were categorised as ill or staying under care of others.
[782] Application of Malka–Rojza Goldszer, 19 February 1940. APL, AML, 796, 21.
[783] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 184.

Lubartów, is not clear. Certainly, Malka's health did not allow her to leave the town, thus escaping with her sisters into the unknown was out of the question, even a trip with her father to nearby Ostrów might have been beyond her strength. We do not know whether Chemja sought to remain in Lubartów as a guardian of his daughter.

Malka-Rojza found shelter in the home of the Wajsmel sisters, but for some reason, as the application indicates, in mid-February 1940 she asked the town board to find a Jewish family to take care of her. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the Wajsmel sisters' situation was uncertain, as evidenced by Chaja Wajsmel's subsequent application asking for her permit to remain in Lubartów to be extended.[784] This time the application did not include Malka-Rojza, the sisters acting as Chaja's guardians—perhaps they believed that such a formula would increase their chances of staying in Lubartów. Nevertheless, Malka-Rojza's application indicates, at least until February 17th, that all four women occupied the same apartment at 16 Żabia street. Two weeks later, a Jewish census lists only the three Wajsmel sisters as tenants of the same apartment, Malka-Rojza Goldszer is not included in the census at all.[785]

The situation in the apartment at 16 Żabia street was unique because not all of the residents were related, and moreover, none of the tenants had occupied the apartment before the war. However, when granting permission to stay in Lubartów, the integrity of families within one household was usually respected, and most people stayed in the town because they were related to the desired specialists or were sick or elderly. In some cases, however, it is difficult to understand why the family was allowed to stay in the town. This was the case of the family of Josek Honiksblum, one of the Memory Book authors, who, as already mentioned, clearly indicated the groups exempted from forced resettlement to be "craftsmen, the sick, and the elderly."[786] This model does not include the Honigsblum family who had been residents and owners of the house at 37 Legionów street in Lubartów since 1932. Two years before the outbreak of war, eldest son Josef moved out of the family apartment to live in a rented apartment with his new wife Blima (née Barenholz), a Lubliner. Josef, a trader by profession, was not on the November 1939 list, nor was his wife Blima.

Two years later, in fall of 1939, five of the Honiksblums remained in family apartment at Legionów: apart from Josef's parents, his sisters Fajga and Bajla and uncle Uszer. Nothing is known about illnesses in the family, and the Honiksblum couple and uncle Uszer were still in

[784] Application of Chaja Wajsmel, 1 February 1940. APL, AML, 796, 12.
[785] Census of Jews residing in Lubartów, 1 March 1940. APL, AML, 830, 30–60.
[786] *Hurbn Levertov,* 7.

their 50s. Pinkwas, the first of the family listed on the November list, was described as a janitor/unemployed (*woźny/bezrobotny*), the others with one exception were described as dependent on Pinkwas (*przy mężu, przy ojcu, przy bracie*).

The list from November 1939 follows the logic of defining family relationships by the administration used previously, where the head of the family, most often a man of working age, remains the point of reference for the other household members. In this case, however, Pinkwas' profession, especially since he was not working at the time the list was drawn up, could not be a sufficient reason for him and the other members of his family to obtain a residence permit in Lubartów. It might be for the profession of the eldest daughter, 30-year-old Fajga, described as a hairdresser, a profession that could have been considered useful from the point of view of managing the town, especially since German soldiers were still stationed in Lubartów.[787] If this was the case, all the other household members including uncle Uszer, owed their right to remain in the town to Fajga.

However, there is a chance that the decisive factor in the Honiksblums' case was not Fajga's profession, but Pinkwas' acquaintance with the Mayor Aleksander Lalka. As the November 25th list of Jews indicates, Pinkwas Honiksblum had worked as a janitor, but was unemployed at the time of registration. Indeed, he was a janitor at the Cooperative Bank (Spółdzielczy Bank Kredytowy),[788] the same where Lalka first worked as a bookkeeper and later became president.[789] When the war broke out, Germans took control over the bank and Pinkwas lost his position, but his acquaintances survived. At least from the early 1930s Pinkwas Honiksblum and Aleksander Lalka worked in the same place, knew each other and met on daily basis.

Lalka, like the other employees of the Town Board, certainly knew Dawid Perec well. Perec was a town councillor in Lubartów before the war, starting in 1927, and worked closely with Christians, *i.e*. in the Municipal Audit Committee, headed by Aleksander Lalka.[790] At the same time, since the 1920s, he remained one of the leaders of Jewish social life; his role included organising help for the poor and sick, and working as the director of the Jewish library. Dawid Perec, even though still young and healthy, remained in the town after the expulsions. His profession did not favour him to stay in the town either; before the war he had worked as a

[787] The November 25th list included the 4–person Rajzylberg family, where Srul–Icek's father was identified as a hairdresser, and the others as dependents of him.
[788] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 135.
[789] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 86.
[790] Letter from the Municipal Review Committee, 9 January 1937. APL, AML, 65, 1.

manager of a brickyard,[791] he was also referred to as an office worker or private clerk (*biuralista* and *urzędnik prywatny*).[792] The November 1939 list, however, categorised him differently, as a *master-bricklayer* (*ceglarz-majster*), that is, an artisan who runs a workshop and supervises and trains others. The new categorisation may have served to justify Perec's stay in Lubartów, which was beneficial not only to the Perec family, but also to the town authorities due to Perec's experience in cooperation and in managing the Jewish community. Lalka's efforts in the case of another pre-war Jewish town councillor, Boruch Goldfinger, are documented.[793] The presence of Perec and Goldfinger in Lubartów was even more desirable due to the displacement of the board members of the pre-war Jewish *kehilla*. Initially, in January 1940 Perec was appointed deputy of the Judenrat, and in the face of dissatisfaction with his cooperation with Jakub Lichtenfeld, he was pressured to become chairman.[794]

In cases of Perec and the Honiksblums, pre-war relationships served as tool to better understand of the administrative practices during the war. The logic of repression was not solely based on professional criteria, age, or health status. In the case of the Honiksblums, similarly to that of Malka-Rojza Goldszer, the complexity of administrative and social contexts makes it difficult to pinpoint that which ultimately determined their trajectory. The case of Dawid Perec, on the other hand, shows that a strong pre-war position in the town's power structure, especially when crossing interreligious barriers, might have proven beneficial in the critical moment.

Regardless of the criteria that allowed Jewish residents to remain in Lubartów, the guiding principle was to maintain the integrity of families occupying the same apartments. At this level, the reasoning presented in the applications of Lubartów's Jews corresponds with the selection model used by the administration. This model was already in force in interwar Poland, as well as in other European countries, where a family living in the same household constituted the basic administrative unit, whether in the context of registering residents or granting them with social support. Maintaining the integrity of families living in the same apartments in wartime relieved the civil administration of caring for the sick and elderly and facilitated control over the inhabitants, including the use of pre-war municipal documentation. It also simplified management of housing in the town. Since the November 1939 evictions, Jewish apartments

[791] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 71.
[792] Letter from Aleksander Lalka to County chief, 17 September 1940. APL, AML, 830, 172.
[793] Letter in the case of Fajga and Boruch Goldfinger. APL, AML, 371, 127.
[794] Documentation on the election of *Judenrat* chairman, January–October 1940. APL, AML, 151–176.

were simply divided into vacant and occupied ones.[795] This had great advantages for the plans of the utilisation of Jewish properties, as well as conceptions of the spatial separation of Jews.

Taking risk—ways to stay in Lubartów

On February 7th, 1940, Józef Goldrajch and his wife Maria sent their second application for a permit to stay in Lubartów—the couple had sent their first in November of 1939, but "for unknown reasons" they did not receive a permit.[796] Apparently, in some cases, the lack of a permit did not necessarily mean forced displacement. According to the application, the Goldrajchs had not left Lubartów since the beginning of the war, as Maria was ill "so seriously that she had not left her bed for years." The Goldrajchs were not initially included on the 25 November list, they were added with Feliks Wiśniewski's handwriting. 19 more people were added to the list after the original typewritten version had been created. It can be assumed that they stayed in Lubartów without a permission or, as in the case of Jankiel Zejdman, had come to Lubartów after the expulsions.[797]

15 applications written after the 25 November list, between 4 December and 7 February, indicate more people who tried to legalise their stay while remaining without permission in Lubartów. All these applications testify to the determination of the Jews and their attempts to adapt to the dynamically changing situation. The aforementioned Chaja Wajsmel, or the visually impaired Szajndla Brondwajn applied for permit extensions, which indicates that not all permits were issued indefinitely, or the status of Jews changed in the optics of the authorities. In total, seven applications were submitted by people registered in Lubartów at the end of November of 1939, while eight more people did not appear on the list of Jews living in the town at the time. It remains unclear how many of them lived outside the town. The example of Chaim-Josek Brzytwa, a Lubartów shoemaker and World War I disabled veteran, shows that some Lubartów Jews changed their place of residence quite freely during this period.

On January 4, 1940, Brzytwa applied for permission to remain in Lubartów. As a place of residence on the application he gave his Lubartów address, 2 Żabia street.[798] The application, written by Tkaczyk, was submitted by Brzytwa himself to the town hall. The form concludes: "For the illiterate Chaim-Josek Brzytwa, as a result of his personal request, signed by Stanisław Woźniak." Stanisław Woźniak was the official responsible for collecting applications regarding

[795] See Chapter 6.
[796] Application of Joseph and Maria Goldrajch, 7 February 1940. APL, AML, 796, 16.
[797] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 237.
[798] Application of Chaim-Josek Brzytwa, 4 January 1940, APL, AML, 796, 17

the stay of Jews in the town. Woźniak had already appeared in the context of expulsions; he was the one who put notes on applications regarding the departure of applicants. Woźniak is referred to as a *kancelista*,[799] a clerk that primarily received and registered letters,[800] and also kept case files. Woźniak, resident of Lubartów since 1929, initially found employment at the Tax Office, and later worked as a private clerk (*urzędnik prywatny*). After the Germans took control of the town, he replaced Estera Olberg, the only Jewish office worker, in the Town Board. Woźniak also served as a secretary of the Fire Brigade Association, in which Aleksander Lalka was deputy chairman before the war.[801]

In Brzytwa's case, too, it was the officials, possibly Woźniak, who verified the information given in the application. Information gathered was then transferred by Mayor Lalka to the county chief. It turned out that the Brzytwa family's actual place of residence was Ostrów Lubelski, the hometown of Chaim-Josek.[802] By the decision of the county chief, communicated to the Town Board, and from Town Board to the newly appointed Judenrat, not only Chaim-Josek was forbidden to stay in Lubartów, but also the Brzytwa family had to move from Ostrów to Parczew.[803] Apparently, this is where they were directed in November of 1939.

Kreishauptmann von Wintefeld was determined to consistently enforce the ordered evictions, and the fact that Jews did not obey the order to leave the town became a pretext for further repression of Lubartów's Jews. On Chaim-Josek Brzytwa's application was noted in pencil "check with hostages," as were two other applications dated mid-December 1939.[804] The detention of Jewish hostages was a form of pressure imposed on the *Judenrat*, for the presence of Jews without permission in Lubartów. The hostages were held in custody at the Polish Police station.[805] During the detention period, proceedings of application were frozen. All applications submitted after 14 December were kept in the office of the Town Board until 25 January, 1939 when Lalka passed them to the County Chief. In reaction to stagnation, Jews themselves stopped submitting applications for three weeks in January. At the end of the month applications

[799] Memo from Mayor Muller regarding Stanisław Woźniak, 4 April 1944. APL, AML, 738, 45.
[800] Robótka Halina, Ryszewski Bohdan, Tomczak Andrzej, *Archiwistyka* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989), 12.
[801] Letter from the Lubartów Volunteer Fire Brigade Association to the Town Board, 19 July 1939. APL, AML, 566, 73. Since the beginning of 1944, Stanisław Woźniak held the post of fire chief. Guideline on the organisation of the Fire Department, January 1944. APL, AML, 838, 8.
[802] Letter from mayor Lalka to the county chief, 10 February 1940. APL, AML, 796, 20. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 129.
[803] Letter from mayor Lalka to Chaim-Josek Brzytwa, 10 February 1940. APL, AML, 796, 20.
[804] Application of Cywia Honiksblum and application of Chaja Wajsmel, 14 November 1939. APL, AML, 371, 145 and 146.
[805] Peretz Klajberg's application, 30 January 1940. APL, AML, 796, 9.

began to flow again, and by 7 February, six more had been received by the Town Board, and directly forwarded to the county office.

A new legal circumstance for those illegally residing in Lubartów was introduced by an executive order on forced labour for Jews dated 11 December, 1939, which forbid crossing the borders of the municipality of residence without written permission from the German authorities, and ordered Jews to report their stay to the mayor. Non-compliance with orders resulted with punishment of "prolonged forced labour."[806] The order was sent to the *Judenrat* in Lubartów on 19 January.[807] The new regulation created the basis for more decisive control measures over the Jews that were residing in Lubartów without permission. One such check took place on 14 February, 1940, and was carried out by the 1st Company of the Police Battalion 104, stationed in Lubartów on the orders of the county chief.[808] During the inspection, the officers murdered a baker's apprentice, Leyzon, who "resisted."[809] Forty-two Jews without residency permits were identified, all were released after the check, except for four people whose fate remains unknown.

Return efforts and the ambivalent position of the town authorities

In June 1940, faced with the threat of Jews from Krakow being relocated to Lubartów as part of the plan to make the capital of the General Government *Judenfrei*,[810] the mayor took action to convince the *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń of the need to return to Lubartów the Jews previously expelled and to settle the Krakow Jews in Parczew and Ostrów.

The impetus for action came from the Jews displaced to Ostrów. On the 7 June, 1940, they sent a collective application to the *Kreishauptmann* in Radzyń asking for permission to return to Lubartów because of the terrible living conditions in Ostrów.[811] The letter was signed by members of the pre-war Jewish Kehilla in Lubartów. It was accompanied by a note to the Town Board asking the mayor to support their request. On this note, Marian Strzyżewski, the secretary

[806] Copy of the first executive order of October 26th, 1939, dated November 11th, 1939, January 15th, 1940. APL, AML, 830, 2–3. (German and Polish).
[807] Note from the mayor to the chairman of the Judenrat, 19 January 1940. APL, AML, 830, 6.
[808] Report on the activities of the 104th Police Battalion, 12 February 1940. APL, *Polizei* Batalion Zamość, 104, 27.
[809] Most probably Lejzor. The register of permanent residents shows only one baker by that name, Lejzor Wajc. However, in 1940 he was over 50 years old and not a journeyman, moreover, according to the same register he was subjected to the first liquidation action in April 1942. The register also does not record any death from February 1940 of a person who would fit the description.
[810] Dariusz Libionka, *Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie* (Lublin: State Museum at Majdanek, 2017), 58.
[811] Collective letter from Ostrów Lubelski, 7 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 128–129. (German and Polish)

in the Town Office, wrote "hold until 20.VI," which meant that the application was withheld from being sent to the *Kreishauptmann*. In this way, the magistrate gained time to act in order to strengthen the argument for the return of Lubartów Jews to the town. First, Aleksander Lalka sent a request to the Lubartów *Judenrat* for a list of vacant Jewish apartments, by 20 June. The compiled list of 190 apartments proved that there was room in Lubartów for the expelled.[812] Meanwhile, on the 19 June, a letter sent from Parczew on behalf of the Lubartów Jews arrived at the Town Office.

All three documents—two collective applications and a list of vacant apartments owned by Jews—were attached to Mayor Lalka's letter to the *Kreishauptmann*. In the letter, Lalka asked von Winterfeld "to grant permission for a number of Jewish families from Ostrów Lubelski and Parczew to return to Lubartów."[813] He was referring primarily to property owners: "The return of Jewish owners to their properties, would increase state tax revenues, on real estate, on premises, etc." Lalka continues asking county chiefs to "set a number of families or individuals who will be allowed to return to Lubartów." His letter concluded with a description of the procedure he had planned for the return of Jews to Lubartów.

The actions taken in mid-June between the Jews of Lubartów, scattered in Parczew and Ostrów, and the Town Board had one major goal: to bring the previously displaced Jews to Lubartów. In no other matter concerning the Lubartowian Jews did the mayor show such initiative and firmness in his dealings with the *Kreishauptmann*. However, the German authorities did not listen to his arguments, and the *Kreishauptmann* replied that "the resettlement of Jewish families from Ostrów and Parczew was out of the question;"[814] at the same time, the *Kreishauptmann* representative in Lubartów (*Leiter der Aussenstelle in Lubartów*) assured that there would be no resettlement of the Kraków Jews in Lubartów. "If these Jews are to be transferred, they will be distributed to towns assigned as Jewish (*bekannten Judenstädten*)," concludes the letter.

Apparently, the plan of concentrating Jews in selected towns of the county, while limiting the number of Jewish residents in other towns, was still in force. Despite the refusal, the mayor, as he had announced in his letter to the county chief, sent nine individual applications, "which he

[812] List of vacant houses owned by Jewish residents, 20 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 130–136.
[813] Letter from the mayor to the county chief of Radzyń, 11 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 139–140. The German–language version of the letter has not survived.
[814] *Leiter des Aussenstelle* reply to Lalka's letter, 19 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 141–142 (German and Polish).

kept in the office of the Town Board."[815] Some of them were written as early as May, more than a month before they reached the County Office.

Between May and July of 1940 Lubartowian Jews applied for the right to return to Lubartów. In the 17 applications that survived they pointed to difficult living and housing conditions in the places of expulsion, and the fact that they owned unoccupied property in Lubartów; some of the elderly emphasised their advanced age, and the younger stressed the prospect of employment in Lubartów as craftsmen, businessmen, or agricultural labourers—the latter may have resulted from the need for labour in the countryside in connection with the deportations of peasants for labour to Germany that took place in Lubartów County between April and June 1940.[816] As was the case before, the applicants did not write the applications themselves, some were typescripts, four were written by Władyslaw Oczachowski who was given a license to run the application writing office after Władysław Tkaczyk's death.[817]

Władysław Oczachowski, a 46-year-old deportee from Inowrocław, had experience of working in government offices and German enterprises. In exchange for the translation of orders and letters from German authorities out of charge, Oczachowski was provided with premises in the Town Board building.[818] Thus, the applicants could prepare and submit their application in the same building. Oczachowski's handwriting reveals that some of applying Jews, despite claiming Parczew or Ostrów as the place of creation of the application, in practice came to Lubartów to draw up and submit the application themselves. On the applications, the Town Board secretary Marian Strzyżewski, wrote down information about the applicants' housing situation in pencil. "Own house, occupied by displaced persons" he wrote on Berek Grzebieniarz's application. Sometimes Strzyżewski limited himself to marking the address of the property, as in the case of Fajwel Rozenberg, who was in Lublin—"ul. Poprzeczna 7". In this case, when forwarding the application to the county chief, Lalka emphasised that "Rozenberg owns his own property in Lubartów".

Only in selected case did Mayor Lalka give his recommendations supporting returns. Arona Wajc applied to return to Lubartów where he had an apartment and a carpentry workshop at 2

[815] Letter from the mayor to the county chief of Radzyń, 11 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 140.
[816] Kiełboń, "Martyrologia," 226.
[817] Application for licenses to open an application writing bureau by Wladyslaw Oczachowski, 25 May 1940. APL, AML, 837, 109–110. At that time there was still no bureau in Lubartów run by a Jewish resident. At the beginning of July 1940, Jakub Lichtenfeld, who had run the office before the war, based on newly introduced regulations of the administrative authorities requested the right to open an application office "for Jews only," for which he did not receive permission despite the support of his request by the town board and the *Judenrat*. Jacob Lichtenfeld's application, 5 July 1940. APL, AML, 837, 123.
[818] Letter from mayor Lalka regarding Oczachowski, 28 May 1940. APL, AML, 837, 111.

Żabia street. Wajc further strengthened his request with references from well-established Lubartów residents, including the district physician Edward Burko and the surveyor from the Lubartów branch of the County Office, Józef Wans-Butter. The mayor, requesting that Wajc's application be granted permission, argued that this "good professional" could run a carpentry workshop after Szol Landsberg, who had a business license but had left Lubartów in an unknown direction.[819] He used an identical argument with regard to the tinsmith, just-mentioned Berek Grzebieniarz, also a "good professional" who could have run a workshop in place of Lejbus Grinwald.[820] Both examples show that Lalka relied on the previously adopted model of selecting Jewish residents, that of accepting craftsmen in Lubartów who had their own workspace.

Confirmation of the validity of these very criteria was also provided by the case of Fiszel Kac who left Lubartów during the period of displacement despite the fact that on October 29th he had obtained, as "the only upholsterer, and a good one", permission to stay in the town.[821] Now, after more than half a year, Kac's presence in Lubartów was even more welcome:

> "There is a high demand for upholstery work, especially due to the lack of beds and bedding for displaced families, who are very numerous in Lubartów. (…) It is necessary to provide them with cheap camp beds, which the petitioner could do."[822]

Kac's return presented no difficulties, as the previously issued Lubartów residence permit was still in effect, according to the county chief's office.[823]

Kac is the only recorded case of a Lubartów Jew who was granted permission to return to Lubartów. Paradoxically, Kac had never been deprived of his right to stay in Lubartów, so his situation was different from that of the other applicants and was therefore also dealt with in a different manner. Kac case was hastened by the Town Board's determination, stemming from the pressing needs of non-Jewish deportees from lands incorporated into the *Reich*. Lalka passed the request with a recommendation the same day he received it. One-week later Fiszel Kac returned with his wife and daughters to Lubartów, to Poprzeczna street adjacent to Lubartów's Market Square.[824]

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[819] Lalka's recommendation to Aron Wajc application, 22 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 147.
[820] Lalka's recommendation to Berek Grzebieniarz application, 22 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 145.
[821] Application of Fiszel Kac, 21 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 112.
[822] Lalka's recommendation on Fiszel Kac, 21 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 113.
[823] Response from the county office administration, 1 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 114.
[824] Register of residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 4.

The overzealousness of the town government, or what angered Bencjon Goldsztajn

As was the case in late January and early February, so in June and July of 1940 a civil administration in Lubartów became especially active as for the control of illegal residence of Jews in Lubartów. This began quite inconspicuously, on 29 May, 1940, with the county chief ordering mayors in the county together with the Polish Police to "make every effort to prevent Jews from wandering in the villages."[825] The Jews mentioned in the county chief's order were townspeople "who, under the guise of purchasing foodstuffs, spread false news constantly causing unrest among the population." The order required mayors to make the villagers aware "that through self-help they should support the authorities in their efforts to rid the villages of Jews and their activities." The county chief's order thus did not apply to Jews illegally residing in towns. Nevertheless, it became a pretext for Mayor Lalka and the Polish Police to take action to track down and expel Jews residing in Lubartów with no permission.

On 4 June, Mayor Lalka addressed the Jewish Council:

> "The district administrator in Radzyń, by order of May 29th of this year, drew attention to the mass arrival in the town of Jews from the surrounding localities who do not have the right to reside in the town, and who arrive here under various pretexts, either to buy food or to engage in illegal trade.
>
> Therefore, I draw the attention of the Jewish Council, which is obligated and personally responsible to obey the order issued by the county chief regarding the arrival in the town of Jews who do not have the right to reside here."[826]

Mayor Lalka basically rewrote the county chief's order. Moreover, contrary to his usual practice, Lalka did not attach a copy of the order to his letter to the *Judenrat*, which would have exposed his manipulation. After signing the document, either the mayor himself or Marian Strzyżewski, who wrote the letter, realised that something was missing from the letter. The already signed application was then completed—at the bottom of the document there is an asterisk which refers to the note in the margin of the page:

> "Also, it should be brought to the attention of the Jews residing in the town of Lubartów that the county chief, by the order mentioned in the introduction, forbade Jews to wander in the surrounding villages."

[825] Ordinance of the district county chief in Radzyń, 29 May 1940. APL, AML, 830, 114. (German and Polish)
[826] Letter from Aleksander Lalka to the *Judenrat* in Lubartów, 4 June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 115. The relationship of the two documents was administratively sealed by assigning the same case number as the ordinance: "L: 26–13/40".

In response, the Town Board received a list of Jews with no right to reside in Lubartów previously compiled by the *Judenrat* at the request of the Polish Police.[827] The list, or perhaps the manner in which it was compiled, clearly did not satisfy the mayor, for shortly after receiving it he ordered the police to "conduct a thorough inspection of Jewish families and cause the immediate expulsion of those without the right to stay in Lubartów."[828] As in his letter to the *Judenrat*, he legitimised his demand with the will of the county chief expressed in the aforementioned 29 May order concerning Jews wandering in the villages. It is not known whether the policemen took action. The list compiled by the *Judenrat* remains the most complete list of Jews staying in Lubartów without permission.[829]

Among the group of dozens of "illegal" Jews, listed by the *Judenrat*,[830] was Icek Turkieltaub, who had previously made efforts to remain in Lubartów with his family—on 10 November, 1939, his flight from Lubartów was recorded.[831] The Turkieltaub family probably went to Parczew, where in March of 1940 the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) assigned them food rations twice.[832] However, both lists of recipients lack Icek's signature, *i.e.* that of the man to whom the benefits were assigned—the first time the receipt was certified by Leib Turkieltaub from Lubartów, the next person on the list,[833] the second time the signature was made with three circles, as in the case of other illiterate refugees, while Icek had previously signed his name and surname.[834] It is therefore possible that Icek Turkieltaub left Parczew much earlier than June when the Judenrat list was compiled, or that he travelled from one place to another. The list indicates Szopen street as his home address.[835] Despite the detection of his presence in Lubartów and Lalka's attempts to force police action, Turkieltaub remained in Lubartów. He moved to the house at 27 Poprzeczna street, where he had lived and which he had co-owned

[827] *Judenrat* response with attached list, 11 June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 116–117.
[828] Letter from Aleksander Lalka to the Commander of the Polish Police Station, 14 June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 118.
[829] A second document lists 30 people, 15 of them by name, who left Ostrów-Lubelski allegedly for Lubartów between 15 May and 15 June 1940. Letter from the mayor of Ostrów-Lubelski to the Municipal Board of Lubartów, 24 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 95.
[830] There were 19 people on the list with their names listed, of whom six had a note marking family members staying with them, without specifying the number of members.
[831] See above.
[832] Lists of refugees assisted by the ŻSS in Parczew, March 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 540, 70 and 76.
[833] Perhaps his son Lejzor.
[834] Note that Icek's wife, as documents indicate, was illiterate. Application of Icek and Mala Turkieltaub with attached health certificates, 1 November 1939. APL, AML, 344, 147–149 (German).
[835] No house number was given. The only house on the street that had a Jewish owner stood at 9 Szopen street and belonged in part to Jankiel Szczeciniarz, who, as the 1940 census indicates, was staying in Lubartów at the time. Census of Jewish homeowners in Lubartów, 2nd half of June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 136.

before the war.[836] The last surviving letter from the Mayor to Icek arrives at this address, ordering him to leave Lubartów with his family by September 2nd and go to Parczew, under threat of removal from Lubartów by the German Police.[837] This threat was also ignored by Icek.[838]

The story of Bencjon Goldsztajn links the two threads in the story of the Jewish residents' returns to Lubartów—Goldsztajn was one of the Jews who applied for the permission to stay in Lubartów in July of 1940, and was one of the so-called illegal Jews in Lubartów, like Turkieltaub harassed by the municipal authorities. Goldsztajn, despite moving with his family to Parczew in November of 1939, did not lose contact with Lubartów; he stored old rags and garbage there, which he purchased throughout the Lublin district.[839] He had a certificate from the authorities of the Lublin district allowing him to travel freely. It might have been due to his work obligations that in March 1940, like Turkieltaub, he was unable to personally sign the receipt of gifts from the ŻSS in Parczew, the place of the family's displacement.[840] However, there is a chance that the Goldsztajns were in Lubartów at the time, as noted in the register of Jews living in Lubartów on 1 March, 1940.[841]

Goldsztajn's application for permission to return to Lubartów from mid-July 1940 was subjected to an in-depth examination by the Town Board, which resulted by numerous notes. The investigation concerned the location of the rag and garbage storehouse ("where does he own the storehouse? Cwajman Chaim-Icek Stodolna 43?") and Goldsztajn's place of residence—the address written in pen in Secretary Strzyżewski's hand ("Poprzeczna 1") was accompanied by a note in pencil, "resides without authorization 15.7.1940," (*samowolnie zam. 15.7.1940*) which means that Goldsztajn was staying in Lubartów without permission. The date, however, may refer both to Goldsztajn's moving to Lubartów or the date when the note was made. When sending the Goldsztajn application to the county chief, Aleksander Lalka stressed,

[836] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 124. The same house changed its address to 2 Piłsudski street during the war, the old address nevertheless remained in use. Census of Jewish house owners in Lubartów, 2nd half of June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 130. It is possible that there were several buildings at the same address, since the census of owners' states that Icek's property was demolished, while other owners retained their properties. According to this census, Icek did not stay in Lubartów in June.
[837] Letter from the mayor to Icek Turkieltaub, 29 August 1940. APL, AML, 830, 185.
[838] Letter from Lalka to the county chief regarding Icek Turkieltaub, 2 September 1940. APL, AML, 830, 184.
[839] Application of Bencjon Goldsztajn, 15 July 1940. APL, AML, 833, 265.
[840] Lists of refugees assisted by the ŻSS in Parczew, March 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 540, 72 and 74.
[841] Census of Jews residing in Lubartów on March 1st, 1940. APL, AML, 830, 59. The census was compiled by the Judenrat at the verbal order of the county chief given by the mayor. The census includes some of the families who were not registered at the end of November 1939, including those who, according to other documents, remained outside Lubartów, such as Fiszel Kac. Letter from Mayor Lalka to the *Judenrat* in Lubartów, 29 February 1940. APL, AML, 830, 62.

according to the findings, that the rag warehouse belonged to Cwajman, the same person Goldsztajn had asked about in his post-war letter, and that Goldsztajn and his family had stayed in Lubartów until October. The information about Bencjon's "illegal" stay in Lubartów was not provided by Lalka.

Goldsztajn and Turkieltuab, as well as dozens of other Jews who returned "illegally" to Lubartów included in the magistrate's records, were only the forerunners of the entire movement to return to Lubartów. Beginning in September, the Jewish Social Self-Help in Lubartów called on the Joint for increased support, due to the massive influx of previously displaced Jews to Lubartów: those experiencing "extreme pauperisation," whose "condition is truly indescribable."[842] In September, the report mentioned 100 families returning from "wandering," in November it was already 826 people,[843] in mid-December—1,278 people.[844]

The return to Lubartów was made possible by a change in the approach of the administrative authorities, which resulted from a change in the position of the County Chief in Radzyń. Henning von Winterfeld, the author of the idea of the deportation of Jews from the former Lubartów district, was replaced by Fritz Schmiege, who had previously held the office of the head of the Lublin district[845] Initially, permission for individual returns was obtained by bribery of German officials,[846] there is no record of town officials participating in this procedure. The mass returns that followed, however, could not be carried out sneakily. One of the reports from the ŻSS mentions the legalisation of the return of 170 families, while "a certain number" remained in Lubartów illegally.[847] Even if the County Chief did not issue an official announcement permitting the return, and not everyone legalised their stay,[848] the return of the Jews must have taken place with his knowledge and apparently without objection.

While Turkieltaub's case ended in early September, *i.e*. before the mass returns to Lubartów, which to some extent may explain the determination of the Town Board, the harassment of

[842] Letter from the chairman of the ŻSS in Lubartów to the AJDC in Warsaw, 9 September 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 454, 52.
[843] Letter from the chairman of the ŻSS in Lubartów to the AJDC in Warsaw, 17 November 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 454, 54.
[844] Letter from the chairman of the ŻSS in Lubartów to the AJDC in Warsaw, 17 December 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 454, 56.
[845] Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 505. At the same time, Roth, like Silberklang, states that von Winterfeld remained in office until August 1940. Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 514. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 41. Some studies give September as the replacement date. USHMM, 673.
[846] *Hurbn Levertov*, 7.
[847] Report on the situation of the Jews in Lubartów, late December 1940. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.
[848] Barnea, *The Jews of Lubartów*, 32.

Bencjon Goldsztajn lasted during a period when "almost everyone had been able to return."[849] On 27 November, 1940, Mayor Lalka, citing an unpreserved order from the county chief, instructed Goldsztajn to "leave Lubartów with his family by 1 December of this year,"[850] under threat of forced eviction. On 4 December, Goldsztajn was still in Lubartów, Lalka reported to the mayor.[851] At the same time, in accordance with the mayor's instructions, he submitted provisions cards to the Town Board, which may have been a form of cover. Goldsztajn and his family did not leave Lubartów; in January of 1941 they were registered again, this time at 6 Żabia street, in the house of the heirs of Szyfra Lajman, where they remained until October of 1942.[852] The last letter in the case of Goldsztajn's illegal stay (the same case number as before: N. 27-91/40) is dated mid-March 1941. In a brief note the mayor informed the county chief that Goldsztajn's authorisation for the movement received from the Lublin District Office was in effect until the end of the month.[853]

The correspondence in the Goldsztajn case is incomplete, as at least three documents exchanged between the county chief and the mayor are missing, including the order from 19 November, 1940, to leave Lubartów. Regardless of these missing letters, the merits of the case are puzzling: why did the civil authorities seek to expel Bencjon Goldsztajn and his family from Lubartów? In November 1940, they were already hundreds of previously displaced Jewish families residing in the town. Was there something about Goldsztajn's conduct that attracted the attention of the authorities? Does Goldsztajn's attempted eviction have any connection with his post-war letter and request for information on the case from town officials Lalka and Strzyżewski, who ran the magistrate's office, and Woźniak, one of the officials overseeing the eviction process? And most importantly, does the town's documentation on the displacement and return of Lubartów Jews tell us anything about the nature of the wartime relationship between the Lubartowian Jews and town authorities?

As in all other matters, so in the case of the displaced Jews submission and obedience to the *Kreishauptmann* orders was the basis for Town Board position, and most of it actions were legitimised by the mayor with the decisions of the German superiors. In fact, displacement was beneficial for both Lalka and the Town Office in some ways. From the point of view of town

[849] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34.
[850] Letter from mayor Lalka to Bencjon Goldsztajn, 27 November 1940. APL, AML, 833, 268.
[851] Letter from the mayor Lalka to the county chief, 4 December 1940. APL, AML, 833, 269.
[852] List of owners and tenants of Jewish real estate, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 56. Register of fees of persons renting Jewish real estate, 1942–1943. APL, Starostwo Powiatowe Lubartowskie (SPL, 726) 1944(1942)–1950, 41, 100.
[853] Letter from mayor Lalka to the county chief, 4 December 1941. APL, AML, 833, 271 (German).

management, expulsions solved the problem of housing and food shortages, made room for non-Jewish deportees from the territories incorporated to the *Reich*, provided the non-Jewish residents in the town with an opportunity for social advancement, and at the same time allowed the town to retain specialised workers, mainly craftsmen. Jews, after the outbreak of war, must have been a burden to the magistrate, due to the subsequent restrictions and repressions imposed on them. The Town Board was tasked with the unpleasant duty of mediating between county office and Jews, communicating and implementing German policies, a position that was unrewarding and potentially risky. In addition, German authorities' successive plans and measures reinforced the uncertainty. It so happened that most of the Jews in Lubartów were displaced, and despite the initial opposition of some of the town's officials, as Marta Łoś presented it, local authorities adjusted to it. It was simply easier, and better, without the Jews. This is how I understand Mayor Lalka's words casually written to the county chief on Motl Flajsing's application in May 1940: "Handing over documents, I report that the return of the Jews to Lubartów is not desirable, and therefore I do not support the petitioner's application, but only present it for the decision of the county chief."[854]

The example of the upholster Fiszel Kac shows most clearly that Lalka applied a pragmatic approach to the return of Jews. The mayor sought solutions to the problems faced by the town management, such as the need for craftsmen, or tried to avoid the dangers that could affect the town, as in the case of the threat of transferring Kraków's Jews to Lubartów. As early as in November of 1939, the Town Board refused to admit Jewish deportees from outside of Lubartów. During the war town authorities applied hierarchies according to which some groups were more desirable as residents than others. These hierarchies had already existed before the war; insensitivity to the misery of Jewish residents was also nothing new as the most destitute Jews in Lubartów had been systematically deprived of the town's support.

PART 4. ON GUARD OF JEWISH REAL ESTATE

Jewish houses becoming ownerless

On 3 November, 1939, Mayor Lalka received a letter from the county chief ordering a rushed action to remove Jews so as to make room for refugees from lands incorporated into the

[854] Memo from the mayor regarding Motl Flajsing, 24 May 1940. APL, AML, 833, 73. In Polish: "Za zwrotem akt donoszę, że powrót żydów do Lubartówa nie jest pożądany i dlatego wniosku petenta nie popieram, a jedynie przedstawiam do decyzji pana starosty."

Reich.[855] Lalka delayed his response. On 10 November, several days after the deportations, the county office official (*Kreisassistent*), by order of the *Landkommissar*, renewed the question about the number of refugees, Polish and Jewish, that could settle in Lubartów. The same question was also addressed to other municipalities in the pre-war Lubartów district. Despite the response deadline set for 14 December, the mayor delayed his reply to the question until his letter of the 16. The delay in response may have had something to do with the still ongoing deportations. Less likely, it was motivated by the need to estimate the refugees' accommodating capacity, as the mayor's response was detached from the town's real capabilities. Lalka estimated the town's housing capacity at only "50 families which equals around 200 people of Polish nationality,"[856] which is a vastly underestimated number, given that more than 1,500 Lubartów Jews were forcibly displaced, and nearly a thousand left Lubartów on their own. At the same time, Lalka saw no place for Jewish refugees in Lubartów; the letter emphasised the dire state of the town's funds and poor material conditions of its residents, which did not allow for support for the refugees.

The Polish version of the document differs in several places from the German version sent to the district authorities. It contains a sentence that is missing in the German version: "The families of these [refugees] will be accommodated in the apartments left by the Jews." Additionally, in the last sentence, it is explicitly stated *who* is opposed to the Jewish refuges' settlement: "According to the opinion of the entire Christian population of the town, no Jew from the West can be accepted in the local community."[857] The German version maintained a clear tone of disapproval, stating that "no Jew" can be taken in ("angenommen werden kann"), while omitting that this was the opinion held by the Christian population of the town ("generelle Meinung der Bürger"). The German version, on the other hand, is much more specific in its description of the financial situation, with incomes down 80% and higher expenses.

Expecting the imminent arrival of the Christian deportees, on 22 November, county chief von Winterfeld called a meeting in the premises of the Lubartów Cooperative Bank. It was attended by 45 invited persons, including the aforementioned interpreter Franciszek Majewski "as a deputy to county chief" and the county office secretary Edward Krzyk, but also church

[855] Letter from the county chief on the resettlement of the population in Lubartów, 3 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 246. (German and Polish)
[856] Letter from the county chief on the resettlement of the population in Lubartów, 16 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 250. (German and Polish)
[857] "Zgodnie z opinią całej ludności chrześcijańskiej miasta, żaden żyd z zachodu nie może być przyjęty do tutejszej gminy."

representatives, pre-war social activists, teachers, and former town councillors—only Christians. The meeting was chaired by Aleksander Lalka.

At the meeting, the Committee for Relief of Refugees from Pomerania and Poznań was established, an organisation based on humanitarian mobilisation within the town. This was still before the establishment of district or state institutions for helping refugees—in December of 1939 Polish Aid in Lublin would be established whose activities covered the area of the pre-war Lublin province.[858] From the very beginning of the war, humanitarian aid in Lubartów, regardless of the institutional framework, was organised within religious or ethnic groups. The committee to help refugees from Pomerania and Greater Poland was organised on the basis of the structures of the local branch of the Polish Red Cross, a humanitarian organisation active in Lubartów just after the World War I.[859] It was decided that the Polish Red Cross coordination would include food support and fundraising—the latter was to be helped by announcements from the Town Board obliging the town's residents to support the refugees.[860] Despite the plans, a separate section dedicated to housing issues was not established. This was resisted by Mayor Lalka, who announced to that "the allocation of housing for refugees will be made effective by the town board in view of which the housing section is unnecessary."[861]

In the fall of 1939, after Lubartów Jews were expelled, a large number of apartments in the town were left without owners. More than a year had to pass before, following the example of other towns in the General Government, all Jewish properties in Lubartów were included in a centrally organised trust administration.[862] During this period, Jewish properties remained in a kind of limbo that created the room for various actors to act, first and foremost the municipal authorities. I will mobilise the town records in order to reconstruct the fate of Jewish-owned properties, primarily apartments. Did the abandoned apartments constitute a resource for the municipal housing policy? What were the criteria for distributing the apartments and who established them? What was the position of the apartment owners, the pre-war Jewish residents

[858] https://www.szukajwarchiwach.gov.pl/zespol/–/zespol/2908.
[859] As the field of activity of the Lubartów branch of the PCK, humanitarian aid, assistance to disabled and disabled veterans, and cooperation with the state and other organisations were designated. It seems that in the 1930s the PCK mainly fulfilled the function of an elite club. The successive boards of the Lubartów PCK included the mayors of the town, and top officials of the district administration or their spouses, also clergymen. Registers of organisations in Lubartów, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90, 49. Register of organisations in Lubartów, circa 1928–1933. APL, SPL, 92, 137.
[860] Draft of announcement of public collection, November 1939. APL, AML, 566, 114.
[861] Minutes of the organisational meeting of the Committee for Relief of Refugees from Pomerania and Poznań, 22 November 1939. APL, AML, 566, 113.
[862] Jan Grabowski, "Polscy zarządcy powierniczy majątku żydowskiego. Zarys problematyki," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 1 (2005), 253–260.

of Lubartów, in this arrangement? Finally, I will trace the process of organising the trusteeship administration of Jewish properties. What role was assigned to the local authorities?

Initially, the apartments abandoned by the Jews were placed under the protection of the Polish police. In mid-December 1939, the police chief attempted to cede custody of the properties and possessions left behind by the displaced Jews to five members of the Citizens' Guard,[863] a policing service previously appointed by the mayor.[864] This did not save the apartments from degradation, according to Ryszard Dumało: "they were completely looted by the locals, even the windows and doors were damaged."[865] The apartments, according to the county chief's order, were to be provided Polish refugees from Pomerania and Greater Poland. About 145 families, around 750 people, were expected to arrive in Lubartów before the end of 1939.[866] However, the first moves into Jewish homes took place as early as mid-November, shortly after the Jewish residents had left.

The primary source of information on the distribution of houses owned by Jewish residents in Lubartów is a register from January 1941.[867] It was prepared by the Town Board at the request of the head of the Lubartów Branch of County Office in Radzyń on January 20th, 1941, when the German civil administration management decided to take control of "ownerless real estate": "I request immediate notification of the ownerless houses and buildings in your town. Furthermore, please indicate the current use of these buildings, whether they are rented, to whom and for what amount, and what the history of the incoming rents is."[868]

The term "ownerless houses" (German: *Herrenlosen Hauser*, Polish: *nieruchomości pozbawione właścicieli*) was reminiscent of the term already used by the GG administration when introducing the obligation to register Jewish property in the General Government in January of 1940. [869] Mayor Lalka's response to the county chief letter interpreted "ownerless houses" as "all Jewish real estate."[870] The term "Jewish real estate" (German: *Jüdischen Wohungsgrundstücks*, Polish: *nieruchomości żydowskie*) remained a valid term in subsequent

[863] Letter from the commander of the Polish police, 16 December 1939. APL, AML, 566, 128.
[864] Mayor's response to letter from police chief, 18 December 1939. APL, AML, 566, 129.
[865] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 162.
[866] Minutes of the organisational meeting of the Committee for Relief of Refugees from Pomerania and Poznań, 22 November 1939. APL, AML, 566, 113.
[867] List of real estate owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 84.
[868] Letter from Claus Volkmann to Lalka, 20 January 20, 1941. APL, AML, 854, 94 (German and Polish).
[869] Decree on the obligation to report Jewish property in the General Government, 24 January 1940. VOBlGG, No. 7, 29 January 1939, 31–32. A decree issued at the time ordered that Jewish property be reported to the County Chief by March 1st, 1940. I found no information about the registration process in Lubartów, and it is not known how displaced residents and their property were treated in this context.
[870] Lalka's reply to Volkmann's letter, 31 January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 95 and 96 (Polish and German).

correspondence. This point of view indicates that the property of Jewish residents was considered ownerless and Jewish at the same time.

In practical terms, the deportation of Jews in the autumn of 1939 and the subsequent resettlement within the town accelerated, the process of "Aryanisation" of Jewish estates by physically detaching them from the premises they owned.[871] As a result, not only were a large number of Lubartów Jews unable to occupy their apartments, but their estates were disposed of without consent, and they did not gain any benefit from making them available to others. Until the introduction of the trustee administration by the German authorities, the management of Jewish real estate was constantly influenced by demographic changes in the town, by general guidelines from the county chief and the mobility of the residents, with the town administration playing a central role in this constellation.

Producing the register

The register of Jewish property owners was prepared by Marian Kosior, who was hired for this task by the mayor. Marian Kosior was one of the officials inquired about by Bencjon Goldsztajn after the war. Born in 1910, Kosior was a Lubartowian from a family of bricklayers, a profession mainly practised by male Catholics in Lubartów.[872] As a 25-year-old, after marrying Zofia Miduch, from another Lubartów bricklayer family, he moved with his family into the home of his mother-in-law Franciszka. The same apartment was also occupied by Kosior's sister-in-law with her family.[873] Although Kosior made efforts to improve his housing situation, he remained with his wife and son in his mother-in-law's apartment until the end of 1944.[874]

Marian Kosior chose a career as an office worker—initially, in the early 1930s, as an unpaid apprentice at the magistrate's office.[875] He worked in the Town Office for the next few years, but his position only improved slightly. In 1937 he received the lowest salary of all the office workers of the Town Board, 90 zlotys a month, 10 zlotys less than the magistrate's janitor

[871] In Chapter 6, I observe the process of the "Aryanisation" from the perspective of the residents on the Market Square.
[872] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 141. On masons in Lubartów see Chapter 1.
[873] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 109.
[874] Letter from Marian Kosior to the magistrate regarding the exchange of an apartment, August 1944. APL, AML, 859, 261.
[875] Application for identity card of Marian Kosior, 20 July 1933. APL, AML, 525, no pagination.

Szmul Marimonc.[876] In December of 1940, Kosior no longer worked as magistrate official.[877] However, the time spent in the magistrate paid off during the war; in early 1941, as a former employee of the Town Office, he was assigned by Aleksander Lalka to compile a list of Jewish real estate in Lubartów.

Kosior, using copy pencil through carbon paper, made two identical versions of the register: one was sent to the district office; the other, which I am using, was left in the records of the Town Board. Marian Kosior conducted the registration "on the spot," meaning that he visited all the properties included in the census to check the status of the residences. In doing so, he used the help of an "expert in Jewish real estate," presumably the former magistrate janitor Szmul Marimonc, who would be engaged by the magistrate in the following months to enforce the rents. The register lists all the real estate of Lubartów Jews (houses, apartments, business premises, factories) numbering them by 1 to 822. The first columns include the name of the owner(s) and address of the property, then information about the main occupant is provided together with the number of people occupying the premises, and the date of occupation. Some of them were classified in the register as displaced persons (*wysiedleniec*). In such case, the place from which the person came to Lubartów is given.[878] The register also specifies the type of real estate: housing, industry/trade or utility room. The last part of the register concerns rents: amount and the rent collectors.

The register was probably completed on January 23rd, 1941, and shows the status of Jewish-owned real estate at that point. It was intended to gather information before the German trusteeship took control of Jewish properties. Due to dates of occupation, this allows to trace to some extent the process of distribution of real estate before the register was created, if the person had remained in the same apartment until January 1941. Between the outbreak of war and the creation of the register, events took place that are reflected in the document: displacement of Jews, forced and voluntary arrivals, moves within the town, and returns of displaced Jews. In this context, it can be regarded as a source to grasp certain directions of housing policy in Lubartów. It enables to answer the question of who occupied Jewish properties and when, and to reconstruct the topography of this process.

[876] Payroll of Municipal Board employees for the month of August 1937, September 1937. APL, AML, 65, 110.
[877] His signature does not appear on the collective letter of employees of the Town Board, 29 December 1939. APL, AML, 67, 121. This may have been related to staff down-sizing. Application of Bolesław Tkaczyk, 2 November 1939, APL, AML, 837, 3–5.
[878] The register does not include a separate column for information on previous place of residence, according to the header it only includes information on whether a person is a displaced person. In practice, displaced persons are distinguished by the name of the locality written under the name.

Occupation of the Jewish-owned real estate

The register includes 981 cases of occupation of premises belonging to Jews by private individuals. It allows to identify different groups of tenants. The easiest to identify are people who came to Lubartów from areas annexed to the *Reich*.[879] In January of 1941, 280 non-Jewish deportees occupied 76 Jewish-owned apartments. In line with previous reservations, the figures given do not correspond to the number of people who arrived in Lubartów. Some of the newcomers may have lived in premises not belonging to Jews, others may have moved into houses where the main tenant was a permanent resident of Lubartów, and still others may have left Lubartów before the register was created. By comparison, the total number of refugees from Inowrocław reported by the mayor at the end of December 1939 was 604 Christians from 166 families, almost five times more than indicated in the register.[880]

Christian refugees from Inowrocław constitute the largest group of newcomers identified in the January 1941 register. They were labelled as displaced persons (*wysiedleniec*), along with other Jewish and non-Jewish newcomers from the areas annexed to the *Reich*, totalling 164 persons, which more or less corresponds to 164 families. However, the actual number of Jewish housing units occupied by newcomers was higher due to newcomers from outside the territories annexed to the *Reich*, such as refugees from the territories occupied by the Soviet Union, as well as those arriving from the General Government. The distinction used in the January register regarding displaced persons is misleading and does not correspond to other town's documentation. Most often, both arrivals from areas incorporated into the *Reich* and those coming from the Soviet Union appeared as refugees or displaced persons, as is the case on the late 1940 list.[881] The newcomers from the General Government, unlike those from the Soviet Union, were not defined as refugees and therefore could not receive assistance dedicated to refugees. Instead, they were required to register their stay in the town, according to the pre-war procedure; as a result, many of them were listed in the permanent residents' register, where refugees are not to be found.[882]

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[879] The transport from Inowrocław arrived in Lubartów on December 10th, 1939. List of displaced persons and refugees residing in the town of Lubartów, January 1940. APL, AML, 833, 2–16.
[880] Letter from the mayor Lalka to the County Chief, 31 December 1939. APL, AML, 371, 141 (Polish and German).
[881] List of displaced persons and refugees residing in the town of Lubartów, December 1940. APL, AML, 2–16.
[882] An exception was made for Aniela Zmysłowska, who arrived in Lubartów from Solec Kujawski on November 27th, 1939, and more than two years later was registered as a permanent resident of Lubartów. Zmysłowska was included in the registry most likely because officials consider her as Lubartowian, having been born in Lubartów in 1900, where her family came from. In 1939 she returned to her family home on Krzywe Koło street. The second situation involved the Inowrocław resident Janina Józefowicz, who married a permanent resident of the town,

Even before the first group of massively resettled deportees from Innowrocław and the surrounding area arrived in Lubartów in December of 1939, there were already newcomers from areas annexed to the *Reich* who had come on their own. Among them were three families from Chełmno, annexed to the *Reich*, the Baranowski, Krauze, and Ernestowicz family, who in November of 1939 moved in to neighbouring apartments in the house at 26 Bandurski street, previously inhabited by three families of Lubartów Jews.[883] Two families lived in the apartment at number 2 before the war, the five-person Tabacznik family and Azrael Gelerner, a butcher, with his five-year-old son Jakow-Benjamin and daughter 7-year-old Fajga-Łaja, half orphans. After the war outbreak, the entire Tabacznik family left "in the fall of 1939," "in an unknown direction," as did their flatmate Azrael Gelerner. Azrael's children, however, remained in Lubartów. The siblings moved to 1 Poprzeczna street, near Lubartów's Market Square, where they lived with their grandparents, their uncle and his family, who in turn had moved from the family home at 14 Niecała street. Mordko-Luzer Sztulman, grandfather of Jakow and Fajga, was a ritual slaughterer, the same one who, in the memoirs from Memory Book, was publicly humiliated by German soldiers in the early days of the occupation.[884]

The fact that the Sztulmans/Gelerners moved to a house on Poprzeczna street confirms that Jewish agencies went beyond first-degree kinship. It was probably the profession of the butcher Mordko-Luzer and Jankiel-Bencjon (the siblings' uncle) that provided the permission for their family to remain in Lubartów. In the context of the housing distribution, it is worth noting that in both cases the moves to 1 Poprzeczna street, brought the Jews closer to the Market Square, where most Jews lived before the war.[885] If we compare the concentration of Lubartów Jewish residents before the war and at the beginning of March 1940, almost all of the Jews who remained in the town were forced to move to Lubartów's Market Square and the streets surrounding it, including Poprzeczna street.[886] The eight recorded moves of Jewish families from Lubartów in November 1939 are a prelude to this process, at least 135 other Lubartów Jews from 36 families moved house in the following month.[887] The moves toward the town centre were referred to in Dawid Perec's report from May 1942—Perec was then a member of

Stanisław Romański, and was registered as a permanent resident of the town. Jewish deportees from the incorporated territories were not included in the register.

[883] List of real estate owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 84.

[884] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34.

[885] See Chapter 4.

[886] Process of concentration of Jewish residents on and around Marker Square is comprehensively presented in Chapter 6.

[887] The 10 removals of Lubartów Jews have no specified month.

the board of directors of the ŻSS branch in Lubartów[888]—indicating that an open Jewish district had been established in Lubartów as early as the beginning of December 1939.[889]

The Town Board was involved in the relocation of Jews within the town. Two requests from Jews to the county chief in Radzyń have been preserved, in which they asked to let them stay in their apartments. The application of Mindla Osińska, 38, from 5 Nowodworska street, on the western outskirts of the town, is the most complete preserved relocation account:

> "As a sick person, I received permission from the county chief to stay in Lubartów with my family. Since the Jews have now been ordered to move to a special district, I kindly ask you to allow me to stay in my current apartment."[890]

The request of Osińska was additionally motivated by the fact that Mindla's 74-year-old father, Jankiel, suffered from asthma and thus required clean air. Jankiel's illness may have been related to the fact that he ran a concrete plant in Lubartów before the war.[891] "If we were resettled in the Jewish quarter, my father's health would be at further serious risk," concludes the application written by Bolesław Tkaczyk (Mindla Osińska).

Mindla Osińska waited more than a month for a response, until January 9, only to learn from Aleksander Lalka that "for fundamental reasons the application cannot be considered."[892] Unlike in other applications reaching the magistrate's office, the note for the county chief is missing on the back of the application. This time Lalka placed his own answer there, in which—another exception—he does not refer to the county chief's decisions. It can therefore be concluded that he made the decision himself and communicated it to Osińska, believing that he was sovereign or had previously obtained a power of attorney in this matter from the county chief.

In any case, the order to move in the case of the Osiński family was not carried out. The census of Jews remaining in the town on 1 March, 1940 indicates that they remained in their home the entire time.[893] However, in January 1941, Jankiel and his family were registered in another

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[888] Letter from the head of the Internal Department (*Inner Verwaltung-Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge*) in the Lublin–Land County Chief Office, 27 May 1942. APL, Lublin County County chief (SPL), 128, 61. (German) Letter from the ŻSS Committee for Lublin–Land to the Presidium of the ŻSS in Kraków, 30 December 1941. APL, SPL, 129, 43. (German).
[889] Report about the Jews in Lubartów, 6 May 1942. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, 3. More about ghettoization in Lubartów: see Chapter 6.
[890] Application of Mindla Osińska, 4 December 1939. APL, AML, 371, 144.
[891] Register of manufacturing enterprises in Lubartów County, 1929. APL, SPL, 22, 2. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 164–165.
[892] Mayor's reply, 9 January 1939. APL, AML, 371, 144.
[893] List of Jews remaining in the town, 1 March 1940. APL, AML, 830, 58.

house they owned, at 51 Główna street (before the war, Pilsudski Street), far from the Lubartów Market Square.[894] Registered as a neighbour of the Osiński family in the same building was Franciszek Majewski and his family, who occupied an apartment belonging to Benjamin Cytrynblum. Eight months later, the Osiński family was again registered in their home at 5 Nowodworska street, where they remained until the second *Aktion*.[895] At that time, Franciszek Majewski took over all the apartments in the house on Główna street.[896]

The Majewski family belong to the third group of people occupying apartments belonging to Jews, non-Jewish residents of Lubartów. According to the January 1941 register, 11 Catholic families from Lubartów had already taken over properties belonging to Lubartów Jews in November 1939, eight of them apartments and three commercial premises. The first moves mainly involved poor people. Five out of eight families that occupied Jewish estates were on wartime Town Board lists, which included the poorest non-Jewish Lubartowians, including Anna Kwiatkowska with her children.[897]

As the register of residents shows, in the 1930s the whole Kwiatkowski family lived off the money obtained from begging by Michał, Anna's husband. He might have been unemployed due to his poor health: he was almost 70 years old at the time. The mid-1930s brought a series of tragic events in the life of the Kwiatkowski family. In 1934 and 1935, two of the Kwiatkowski children, Admina and Bernard, died, followed a year later by father Michał after illness and hospitalisation. In March 1936, a few months before Michał was taken to the district hospital in Lubartów, the Kwiatkowskis' last child, Hipolit, had been born. Anna gave birth to her next child, Tadeusz, a year and a half after her husband's death, in March of 1939. The child's father's details are not included in the residents' register. After her husband's death, Anna was admitted to hospital in Lubartów in mid-1937 at the expense of the municipality.[898] In fall of 1939, Anna's need for help was obvious: she was ill, poor, and was raising three children on her own.

The Kwiatkowskis had rented three different apartments since moving to Lubartów from the nearby village of Niedźwiada in 1932. The forced displacement and relocation of Lubartów Jews created an opportunity for Anna and her children to improve their housing conditions.

[894] Register of real estate owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854.
[895] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL (726), 41, 46.
[896] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL (726), 41, 24.
[897] List of poorest Lubartów residents entitled to buy shoes, 6 March 1940. APL, AML, 853, 27. List of poorest Lubartów residents, 27 February 1941. APL, AML, 797, 18–20.
[898] Minutes of the meeting of the Town Board, 16 July 1937. APL, AML, 116, 264.

They settled in a single-family house at 6 Kolejowa street, near the Lubartów train station. The house belonged to the Rosenfeld family, who lived there before the war. Zelik, born in Lubartów in 1876, worked as a railroad expediter, responsible for shipping and receiving goods transported by rail. The life of Zelik and his wife Sura, like that of the Kwiatkowskis, was truly dramatic. The couple lost two children, Icek-Berek and Mincia, three years apart in the 1930s. After the outbreak of war in the fall of 1939, two more children left for the USSR, 29-year-old Szmul-Jakub and 18-year-old Ester-Ita, the youngest of the siblings. The Rosenfeld couple, with their 23-year-old daughter Bina-Zelda, were probably forced to leave the town in November 1939. The Rosenfeld home was also abandoned by a Catholic woman named Katarzyna Tkaczyk, who came from Nowodwór, a village near Lubartów.

In mid-1940, four other families moved into the Rosenfeld's house at 6 Kolejowa street. Anna and her children occupied two rooms; the other families each occupied one room. Three of them came from villages near Lubartów and only moved to the town after the outbreak of war. Residents of neighbouring villages constitute another large group that occupied houses of Lubartów Jews after the displacement and resettlement of Jews in late 1939. Like other displaced persons from the General Government and the territories annexed by the Soviet Union, they are the most difficult to capture, since the January 1941 register does not include information about their previous place of residence as it does in case of newcomers from areas incorporated into the *Reich*. Information about their previous whereabouts must be sought in other registers.[899]

Deportees and newcomers to Lubartów did not occupy all the apartments left behind by Jews expelled from Lubartów. According to the above-mentioned document from mid-1940, in Lubartów there were 190 vacant apartments (*i.e.* 306 rooms) left, belonging to Jews.[900] 1940 that Jewish house owners remaining outside Lubartów were concerned for their emptied houses, which motivated them for the mass returns of Jews to Lubartów. They "want to save their dwelling houses from demolition which happened with a considerable number of properties during the previous winter,"[901] the ŻSS report says. These fears were well-founded: the June 1940 register of Jewish owners of properties listed 15 demolished houses belonging to 30 owners—as many as 29 of these owners were outside Lubartów when this took place.[902] The

[899] The most helpful is the pre–war register of permanent residents and the residents register from the early 1943. In Chapter 6, I cross-analyse all the registers by following the trajectories of the residents of the Market Square.
[900] List of vacant houses owned by Jewish residents, 20 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 130–136.
[901] Report on the situation of the Jews in Lubartów, late December 1940. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.
[902] Census of Jewish landlords in Lubartów, June 1940, APL, AML, 830, 124–138. The January 1941 register shows 16 premises marked "demolished" or "demolished during the war."

decision to demolish, if demolition was not carried out illegally, resulted from an inspection by a special committee of the Town Board, headed by Aleksander Lalka. In three cases examined on January 15th, 1940, involving houses belonging to Jewish residents, the commission concluded that they were condemned structures and that "for reasons of general safety, the entire house should be demolished immediately."[903] In the case of the house at 25 Orlicza-Dreszera street, a note written by Stanisław Woźniak was attached to the commission report, stating that the structure was "demolished on January 15th, 1940, and the wood was distributed free of charge to families displaced from Innowrocław."[904]

Shortage of fuel for winter in Lubartów is evidenced by the lists of poorest Christian residents without fuel prepared by the Town Board as well as requests for urgent deliveries of wood due to the lack of coal supplies.[905] The demolition of Jewish houses served as a solution for a town administration problem, at the expense of the town's expelled residents. This case illustrates the attitude of the municipal authorities toward the Jewish residents and the role of the November evictions in this regard. With the displacement, the Jewish residents were placed beyond the horizon of the municipal authorities, thereby freeing up a large part of the real estate—a resource to be managed.[906] Although it was the German logic that had changed Jewish properties into ownerless properties, the Town Board of Lubartów took benefit.

It should be noted that the municipal authorities linked the return of Jews to their housing capacity of Jewish own houses. On a collective scale, reducing the number of housing units lowered the possibilities of Jews returning. This equation has its dramatic individual dimension. As we recall, the Turkieltaub couple was among the Jews who stayed in Lubartów without permission in mid-1940. It is possible that the administrative authorities were so determined to expel the Turkieltaubs from Lubartów because they had nowhere to live—their house had been demolished.[907]

The way information is recorded in the January 1941 register does not make it possible to distinguish the returning Lubartów Jews from those who never left Lubartów. In the case of those living in their own properties, the registry does not consider their forced relocations,

[903] Minutes of inspection of houses, 15 January 1940. APL, AML, 849, 2–4.
[904] Minutes of the inspection of the house on Orlicza-Dreszera Street, 15 January 1940. APL, AML, 849, 2–4.
[905] List of the poorest residents of the town of Lubartów seeking permission to collect wood in the forest, 9 January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 12–13. Letter from Lalka to the Forestry Commission of the State Forests, 19 December 1940. APL, AML, 854, 16.
[906] In May of 1941, Lalka offered Jewish-owned squares for the construction of barracks for the German army. Letter from the mayor to the county chief regarding space for barracks for German soldiers, 23 May 1941. APL, AML, 849, 32.
[907] Register of properties belonging to Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 75.

noting that they have occupied the premises since their acquisition. A total of 87 residents with their families occupied their own apartments in January 1941. Comparing the January 1941 register with the list of Jews remaining in Lubartów in November of 1939, we can conclude that almost half of the group of 87 Lubartów Jews staying with families in their own estate, *i.e.* 47 families, had not left Lubartów and only 39 families returned from expulsion to their own apartments.[908] Only one family from this group was allowed to settle, within some distance from the Market Square.[909] All of this information matches with the conclusion of a ŻSS report from late 1940, according to which Lubartów's returning Jews "have not obtained their apartments and are placed in the cramped streets designated for the Jewish quarter."[910]

In mid-November 1940, Aleksander Lalka, in response to a letter from the county chief regarding the acceptance of further refugees from the territories incorporated into the *Reich*, wrote that "there are currently 2 vacant apartments in Lubartów that can accommodate 2 families, *i.e*. about 6 people."[911] A month and a half later, a transport of more than 1,000 Jews refugees from Mława was sent to Lubartów. The refugees had to rely on the help of Jewish Social Self-Help and the Judenrat in Lubartów, as well as the generosity of the town's Jewish residents. They arrived in Lubartów in a very poor condition, after the horrors they had gone through during the displacement and in the transit camp in Działdów, and the transport to Lublin region without food and water.[912] They were sick, weak, and destitute, the mortality rate among them was very high.[913]

Initially, Jewish refugees were accommodated in the synagogue, later they were distributed among the vacant apartments. The first Jewish refugees recorded in the register moved into the apartments in January of 1941. 63 of them were listed by name as the main tenants in the January 1941 register, a total of 233 Jewish refugees from Mława and the surrounding area

[908] This statistic does not take into account people who were heirs or family of owners. For more detailed analysis on the scale of the Market Square, see Chapter 6.
[909] This was Mordko Rachsztajn who returned to his apartment later than the rest of the group, in December of 1940. His apartment at 32 Bandurski street was located about 500 meters from Lubartów's Market Square. The late date of the apartment's occupation confirms the hypothesis that at some point the pressure to concentrate Jews in Lubartów eased. See Chapter 6.
[910] Report on the situation of the Jews in Lubartów, late December 1940. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47. I follow the detailed course of ghettoization in Lubartów in Chapter 6.
[911] Letter from Lalka to the District Governor, 11 November 1940. APL, AML, 833, 232.
[912] Testimony titled "Wygnanie z Mławy." AŻIH, Archiwum Ringelbluma (ARG) 8, 20, 104–106. Testimony by Saul Raimi, 7 July 1982. USHMM, RG–50.232.0081.
[913] Report on the situation of the Jews in Lubartów, early January 1940. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47. Note on the displaced from Mława, no date. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, no pagination.

lived in the apartments of the Lubartów Jews,[914] which is only a fraction of those who remained in the town. The 8-person family of Baruch Goldstein, then a teenage refugee from Mława, was split between two apartments.[915] By April 1st, 1942, only about 250 refugees from Mława remained in the town, a large number of them, like Baruch, left the town on their own,[916] others were installed in the surrounding communities.[917]

Town government and the distribution of Jewish-owned real estate

Only a handful of documents preserved allow us to study the procedure of allocating Jewish real estate in Lubartów. It is possible that some Jews managed to transfer their apartments to Catholics or Jews remaining in Lubartów before their departure. This scenario is indicated by the letter of Janina Januszko, woman "without shelter", who on 20 November, 1939, applied to the County Chief through the Town Board, for permission to occupy the apartment on Rynek II street after Fajga Olberg, resettled from Lubartów, for which she had previously obtained the consent of the owner.[918] The case of Janina Januszko is isolated, no other such requests have survived. However, this may indicate that the distribution of apartments was carried out by the Town Board at the request of the residents, while the entire operation was finalised with the approval of the county governor.

The previously discussed cases of Franciszek Majewski and Antoni Skowronek, the Lubartów Volksdeutsche, indicate that the occupation of a house belonging to Lubartów Jews was due to their position within the town's power structure. Interestingly, only one magistrate employee was among the privileged group with access to Jewish real estate.[919] The town hall caretaker Urban (Roman) Iwan was the only person employed by the town board who moved into an apartment belonging to Jewish resident. The tenement house at 18 Piłsudski street, which belonged to the heirs of Jojna Gelerman, had been inhabited by several Jewish families before the war, with two apartments occupied by Catholics.[920] More Catholic families started to move in after the outbreak of the war, taking over the apartments vacated by the Jews, the first being

[914] In the case of four more families from Mława, the date of arrival in Lubartów is missing. Jewish refugees from Mława who arrived in Lubartów might have been even more numerous than 1,000. Telegram from Rabbi Segalowicz to the Joint in Warsaw, 19 December 1940. AŻIH, AJDC, 454, 59.
[915] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–194s. APL, AML, 47, 184. More about Baruch Goldstein and his family stay in Lubartów see Chapter 6.
[916] Saul Raimi's testimony, 7 July 1982. USHMM collection, RG–50.232.0081. Baruch Goldstein's testimony, 6 December 1998. USC Shoah Foundation Institute, code 47918–4.
[917] Report on the situation in Lubartów, 1 April 1942. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, 3.
[918] Letter from Janina Januszko to the county chief, 20 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 251.
[919] There is also a case of the pre-war magistrate employee who occupied a Jewish owned house on the Market Square. See Chapter 6.
[920] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML,

the Iwan family of 12, in November 1939.[921] Urban Iwan was among the longest-serving employees in the Town Hall, working as a caretaker throughout the entire interwar period. At the same time, he was one of the lowest-paid employees paid by the municipality, which could have been of importance in this situation.[922]

The distribution of apartments must have proceeded differently for the Christian deportees, whose settlement was the responsibility of the Town Board. As for the deportees from Inowrocław, the town authorities initially housed them in the cinema hall of the market hall building,[923] from where they were directed to unoccupied real estate belonging to Jews. A specially appointed committee had to provide them with all the means of subsistence, as the refugees were displaced without their belongings and "were in a deplorable state."[924] Given the massive scale of the resettlement, more than 600 refugees,[925] it is highly unlikely that the county authorities exercised detailed control over the distribution of housing. When it comes to Jewish residents returning to the Lubartów and Jewish refugees from Mława, a town which had much more limited housing options, the accommodation was most likely organised by the ŻSS and *Judenrat* and the Town Board did not participate in it directly.[926]

The letters exchanged between the county chief and the mayor indicate that the county authorities knew little about the housing situation in the town and relied on the information provided by the town hall, while Lalka and his officials clearly aimed to limit the number of inhabitants in the town, thus underestimating the housing capacity of Lubartów. From November 1939 to November 1940, Lalka's correspondence expressed his reluctance to accept new residents which also applied to Jews displaced from Lubartów. More and more refugees were transported to Lubartów in organised groups, and at the same time, migrants from the General Government and the areas annexed by the USSR were arriving on their own. In the period from December 1939 to January 1941, up to 2,000 refugees and displaced persons may have arrived in Lubartów, and over a thousand Jewish residents returned from forced displacement. The single applications for the occupation of a flat and requests to remain in the apartment flat already occupied, indicate that there was an official procedure for the distribution

[921] Register of properties owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 88.
[922] Payroll of Municipal Board employees for August 1937, September 1937. APL, AML, 65, 110. List of lower magistrate employees entitled to buy shoes, 6 March 1940. APL, AML, 853, 27.
[923] APL, AML, 796, 8.
[924] Letter from mayor Lalka to the County chief, 31 December 1939. APL, AML, 371, 141 (Polish and German). On the brutal deportations from the lands incorporated into the *Reich* in late 1939, Kiełboń, *Migracje Ludności*, 24–26.
[925] Letter from mayor Lalka to the County chief, 31 December 1939. APL, AML, 371, 141 (Polish and German).
[926] See Chapter 6.

of flats belonging to Jews. However, the dynamic demographic situation and the lack of evidence of ongoing German control suggest that a large number of flats were occupied without the authorisation of the county office.

Seizure of control—Jewish real estate trusteeship in Lubartów

In January of 1941, already after the most numerous migrations that affected Lubartów, the German civil authorities began to take control of Jewish real estate in the town. The properties constituted a resource that could bring substantial profits to the German authorities. The first step in the process of establishing management over the Jewish buildings in Lubartów was to identify the real estate and gather information on their occupancy. The first register of Jewish properties in Lubartów dates back June 1940, when most of the owners remained outside Lubartów.[927] It could provide a basis for the introduction of a trust administration for Jewish real estate in Lubartów—in addition to the general information about the owner and the real estate, it included the pre-war value of the real estate and the monthly rent. An additional column contained information about the owner's presence in the town.

Of the 430 property owners (houses, apartments, stores and business premises, as well as yards) included in the list, 342 (80%) were not in the town, and 17 were dead. In the case of apartments and, 296 (78%) of the 378 owners were absent, and another 14 were dead. There was one piece of information missing from the register of June 1940 that was necessary for the real estate to be placed under trusteeship: it did not indicate which of the properties had been occupied. This information was provided in another document sent by the *Judenrat* at the same time, the aforementioned list of vacant Jewish houses.[928] The list, which included 190 apartments according to the correspondence of Mayor Lalka, was intended to convince the county chief to allow the Lubartów Jews to return. At the same time, it was an important addition to the inventory of Jewish real estate in terms of the administration of Jewish real estate and the distribution of apartments in Lubartów. In mid-1940, the introduction of a trustee administration has not yet been initiated.[929]

The inventory that formed the basis for taking control over Jewish real estate in Lubartów was not compiled until January of 1941, more than a year after the establishment of the foundations of the trustee administration of Jewish real estate in the General Government. As early as in

[927] Census of Jewish owners in Lubartów, June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 124–138
[928] List of vacant houses owned by Jewish residents, 20 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 130–136.
[929] This could have been due to the dynamic demographic situation in the district.

November of 1939, Hans Frank appointed the Trustee Administration for the General Government,[930] with the management (*Treuhandverwaltung und Sonderaufgaben*) based in Kraków, and field offices operating at district level (*Treuhandaussentellen*), to which the trustees at the county level were subordinate, and which operated through the locally based staff, primally municipal administration. In Lubartów the development of the trustee administration took more than six months, starting in January 1941, when a list of Jewish real estate was completed. During this process, methods were developed for effective profiteering, and the municipal authorities, which initially introduced and ran the trustee administration, were gradually removed from the administration of Jewish real estate, and thus from profiting from the process.

In January of 1941, the officials of the county office seemed determined to act, as the time and profits had been lost. Up until this point, the German authorities had not benefited from renting out Jewish-owned apartments. As the January register shows, only the Jewish owners received rental income, specifically 12 of them.[931] The assessor Claus Volkmann, who at the time was temporarily in charge of the Lubartów branch of the county office, tried to make up for lost time.[932] Volkmann verbally ordered Mayor Lalka to set rent for the occupied premises belonging to Jews and retroactively enforce it starting from April 1st, 1940.[933] The mayor asked to formalise the entire process by sending a written order and granting powers of attorney. Lalka also posed a very sensitive question: "Should rent be collected from Jews living in their homes?[934]

Regardless of the quickly abandoned attempts to regain past rents, in February of 1941 the administrative authorities created an institutional framework for the system of managing the Jewish real estate. The initiative taken was linked to the trust administration at the level of the Lublin district, the organisational form adopted, however, was established by the Radzyń

[930] Ordinance on the Establishment of the Trusteeship Office for the General Government, November 15th, 1939. VOBlGG, No. 6, 20 November 1939, 36–37. On the establishment of the Trust Administration in the General Government. Grabowski, *Zarząd Powierniczy*, 1–4. Rossoliński–Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust*, 604–605.
[931] The situation was different for commercial and industrial premises. 99 of them were occupied free of charge, in 12 cases the rent went to the Jewish owners, and in 87 cases the rent, totalling 1739 zlotys per month, went to the KKO account. This probably refers to the Komunalna Kasa Oszczędności (Municipal Savings Bank), a cooperative banking institution that granted loans to small industry, craftsmen, and traders before the war, then taken over by the occupation administration. It is not clear who enforced the rent collection and how, the county chief signed the rental agreements There is no trace of these funds in the books of the Municipal Board. Dziennik główna, 1940–1942. APL, AML, 754.
[932] As of November 1940, Claus Volkmann would already be the deputy county chief in Kransnystaw. Roth, *Herrenmenschen*, 510. Neither Roth nor Musiał included the Lubartów episode in Volkmann's bio.
[933] Letter from mayor Lalka to the county chief, 15 February 1941. APL, AML, 854, 99–101 (German and Polish).
[934] *Ibid*.

county chief. The management of Jewish properties throughout the Radzyń district was to be handled by the Real Estate Management Cooperative in Radzyń Ltd. (*Grundstücksverwaltungs-G.m.b.H. Radzyń*), established under an agreement between the county chief and the *Landkommissaren* heading the branch county offices in Łuków and Lubartów.[935] All three parties to the agreement, as members of the cooperative, contributed funds for the initial capital, 36,000 zlotys from the county office, and 2,000 from the branch offices.

Since 1 March, 1941, the cooperative was headed by the manager Kazimierz Pająk from Radzyń, and the mayors of the seven towns within the county became managers of the branches of the cooperative. The mayors' salaries depended on the size of the cities and the number of real estates—for Lalka it was 300 zlotys monthly. His duty was to "set and collect rent, repair and finish existing buildings."[936] Every month, 10% of the income from renting real estate went into the town treasury: this money covered the salary of employees of the Lubartów branch of trustee administration. Mayor Lalka appointed Marian Kosior to be chief administrator; the latter received 220 zlotys a month.[937] In addition, from the same 10%, Roman Kozicki was paid 80 zlotys. Kozicki had been the sequestrator at the town hall, a resident of Lubartów since the mid-1930s,[938] and now was responsible for rent collection. The aforementioned Szmul Marimonca, before the war a janitor at the Municipal Board, delivered payment requests, and received 148 zlotys for the four months of work.[939] The Town Board also appointed two experts: Sylwin Kościelny, a construction technician and refugee from Inowrocław, and pre-war councilman Zygmunt Jabłoński, who were paid for estimating the value of the rents.[940] According to Mayor Lalka's calculations, the municipality earned 958 zlotys in the first four months, from March 1941, from the management of Jewish real estate, which amounted to 10% of the collected rents.[941]

Correspondence from the following months indicated that the town began to lose out over time because the Real Estate Management Board in Radzyń did not pay the 10% of rents, which grew from month to month, reaching a record 1428 zlotys in July. The overdue payments also

[935] Articles of Association of the Cooperative, 26 February 1941. APL, AML, 854, 104–108. (German and Polish)
[936] Articles of Association of the Cooperative, 26 February 1941. APL, AML, 854, 104. (German)
[937] List of expenses of the Town Board connected with administration of Jewish properties for the period from March 1st to September 15th, 1941, undated. APL, AML, 854, 350–352 (Polish and German).
[938] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 48, 11.
[939] List of expenses of the Town Board in connection with the administration of Jewish properties for the period from March 1st to September 15th, 1941, undated. APL, AML, 854, 350–352 (Polish and German).
[940] In addition, the town paid for an interpreter and the rental of the office with the same funds.
[941] *Ibid*. The expenses amounted to approximately 2,526 zlotys, with 3,484 zlotys, constituting 10% of the collected rents.

included the mayor's salary. After a months-long dispute with the Radzyń office, in which the mayor involved the Lubartów branch of the county office and asked the county chief for intervention;[942] Lalka, despite having received confirmation from the district authorities that his claims were justified, did not get back the 3,000 zlotys nor his overdue salary.[943] At the end of October of 1942, he received only 236 zlotys. According to official calculations, the Town Board obtained reimbursement of administrative costs while acting as an intermediary in property management but did not receive any additional income.[944]

Until mid-September 1941, the trusteeship administration in the district of Radzyń was based on the institutions of civil administration and the existing chain of command. At the municipal level, as before, the mayor remained the decision-maker with regard to the management of Jewish real estate. However, the vast majority of the income, 90%, remained at the disposal of the Real Estate Management in Radzyń: in July of 1941, the sum of 128,520 zlotys. It was this money that paid for Lalka as branch manager and Pająk as head of the Management, and it also covered the maintenance of the buildings. The remaining amount was paid to the Trust Office for the Lublin District (*Treuhandaussentelle in Lublin District*).

The confusion over payments to Lalka and the Town Board was further exacerbated by a change in the organisation of the management of Jewish properties in Radzyń county. As of September 15th, 1941, the branch offices and the Mayors were excluded from participation in the trustee administration.[945] On county level it was managed by the Real Estate Trust Board in Radzyń (*Grundstückstreuhandverwaltung in Radzyń*) which was directly subordinate to the Trust Exposition at the Office of the Head of the Lublin District (*Treuhandaussenstelle im Amte des Chefs des Distrikts Lublin*).[946] Formally, the change was to take effect on September 1st, one week after it had been communicated to the Town Boards. In practice, on September 15th, mayor Lalka handed over to the newly appointed branch manager of the Trust Board the previously

[942] The most concise description of the conflict was in Lalka's official memo of April 23th, 1942. APL, AML, 854, 347–348.
[943] Decision of the Office of the Board of Trustees for the Lublin District, 23 October 1942. APL, AML, 854, 354. (German).
[944] *Ibid.*
[945] Letter from the County chief on Changes in the Organisation of the Jewish Property Administration, 8 September 1941. APL, AML, 854, 306–307. (Polish and German)
[946] It appears from the county chief's letter that the Property Trust Administration in Lubartów continued to be under the Radzyń office. Thus, due to the incorporation of Lubartów into the Lublin–Land district, initially for some time the territorial division of the trust administration did not coincide with that of the civil administration.

maintained records.[947] From then on, the Town Board was formally cut off from Jewish properties in Lubartów.

Jewish properties out of the Town Board control

The Lubartów branch of trust administration was headed by Chryzostom Jagiełka (Jagiełko), another refugee from the lands incorporated into the *Reich* among the occupation administration officials. Jagiełka, born in 1902, arrived in Lubartów from Inowrocław on 10 December, 1939, with his wife Anna and their two children.[948] The family moved into a two-room apartment in a house at 39 Legionów street, where they were neighbours to another refugee family from Inowroclaw. The house belonged to Moszek Suchowolski, a merchant and store owner before the war.[949] In November of 1941, another child was born to the Jagiełkas, and the couple moved to an apartment at 19 Piękna street, in a house owned by Aron-Jozef Cyngiel.[950] Chryzostom, a clerk by profession, initially found employment at the Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) in Lubartów.[951]

The relationship between Lalka and Chryzostom Jagiełko as a head of the trust administration in Lubartów was marked by the aforementioned dispute over payments. Although the mayor's main adversary in this matter was Kazimierz Pająk from the Radzyń management, Jagiełka exchanged several firm letters with the mayor.[952] These concerned Lalka's decisions: as partial compensation for overdue payments, the mayor deducted 1,000 zlotys "for the benefit of the Town Board when paying accommodation dues to the Real Estate Trust Board in Lubartów,"[953] which means that even though the mayor was excluded from the administration of Jewish real estate, the rental money was still deposited in the town's treasury.

Little is known about the organisation of the trust in Lubartów after September of 1941. Some information is provided by the files of the post-war District Starost Office in Lublin, among which two archival units devoted to the administration of Jewish properties in Lubartów in late

[947] Protocol of transfer from the takeover of the activities of the Real Estate Board of the Zoo Company in Radzyń branch in Lubartów by the *Grundstückstreuhandverwaltung* in Lubartów, 15 September 1941. APL, AML, 854, 308–309.
[948] Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 50, 170–171.
[949] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 132. Suchowolski was one of the displaced persons from November of 1939, forced to live within the Market Square after returning to Lubartów with his family.
[950] Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 50, 170–171.
[951] List of displaced persons and refugees residing in Lubartów, January 1941. APL, AML, 833, 7–8.
[952] Letter from Jagiełka to the Municipal Board regarding funds seized by the mayor, 17 April 1942. APL, AML, 854, 345–346. (German and Polish)
[953] Official note of the mayor Lalka, April 23, 1942. APL, AML, 854, 347.

1942 and 1943 have been preserved. The first is a rent collection register, in which the payments were noted of tenants renting properties belonging to Jews in the period from August 1942 to July 1943.[954] The second group of documents dates from 1943, that is, after most of Lubartów's Jews had already been murdered. At the time, the Lubartów trust office (*Zweigbüro Lubartów*) was subordinate to the Board of Trustees for Lublin and the Lublin County (*Grundstückstreuhänder für Lublin Stadt und Kreis*).[955] Despite frequent changes in the administrative structure, the principle of Jewish property management remained the same. Continuity of operation was also ensured by the permanent staffing of positions; from the very beginning of the establishment of the trust administration, Marian Kosior remained the central actor.

Although Kosior's function is not named in any of the documents, there are many indications that in 1943 he was the one who headed the Lubartów office (*Grundstückstreuhänder für Lublin Stadt und Kreis Zweigbüro Lubartów*), which also included villages in the vicinity. Kosior made decisions regarding the necessary repairs and the sale of building material from the demolished houses in Lubartów, such as moving wood in March of 1943 from the storehouse to the Lubartów Gendarmerie and Town Board,[956] and even regarding the sale of Jankiel Blajchman's house to the Polish Police in Kamionka near Lubartów.[957] In this case, Kosior reported to his superiors that he was forced into the transaction, which may have to do with the fact that the sale of the property was not well regarded by the county management of the trust administration, and the fact that the demolition of a house required approval at county level.

No information about trustees of Jewish properties (*Treuhänder*) in Lubartów appears in the surviving correspondence, neither dating from 1943 nor earlier. In other GG towns *Treuhänder* managed properties belonging to Jews: either individual or groups of properties.[958] In 1943, in Lubartów, tenants of houses under the trust administration turned directly to the Lubartów office for repairs or reimbursement for repairs made.[959] Decisions on these matters were made at the level of the Lubartów office, and Kosior himself asked for approval for a demolition or

[954] Register of hirers of Jewish Real Estate, August 1942 – July 1943. APL, SPL (726), 41. In–depth analysis of the register can be found in Chapter 6.
[955] It is not clear since when the Lubartów was under the Lublin–Land Trust Board, correspondence from 1941 suggests that this did not happen immediately when the county boundaries changed.
[956] Kosior's order to provide wood from the warehouse, March 1943. APL, SPL (726), 42, 167 and 172.
[957] APL, SPL (726), 42,196.
[958] In the Warschau-Land district, there was one trustee for 10–20 houses. Grabowski, *Zarząd Powierniczy*, 17. Puławski, 408–409.
[959] Letter from the tenants of the house at 25 Bandurski street regarding the paragraph, 3 March1943. APL, SPL (726), 42, 150. Letter from Dawid Błażejczyk regarding reimbursement for works done, 8 March 1943. APL, SPL (726), 42, 203.

the sale of real estate. Perhaps the lack of trustees in Lubartów was due to the adoption of a more centralised management model, in view of abuses and mismanagement by trustees in other parts of the GG.[960]

It is not entirely clear what the role of Chryzostom Jagiełka, previously branch manager in Lubartów, was in 1943, as his name rarely appears in correspondence. It seems that his responsibilities overlap with Kosior's, the latter showing much more initiative in his day-to-day work and in his dealings with his superiors on the county level. In September of 1943, Jagiełko received a letter in which his superiors accuse him of mismanagement[961] while Kosior is asked to inspect Jagiełka's operations.[962]

Kosior and his office staff compiled lists of vacant apartments, residents in debts with rent, and lists of the monthly income of the Lubartów office.[963] Rental income in Lubartów during this period matched the levels of the previous year; in September 1943 it was nearly 13,000 zlotys.[964] The amount of rent for the same apartment was unchanged between August 1942 and July 1943, most often oscillating between 6 and 12 zlotys, corresponding to the pre-war amounts.[965] The 1942-1943 register clearly indicates that Jewish property owners paid rent for apartments they owned just like everyone else, which answers Mayor Lalka's naive question posed in January of 1941.[966]

CONCLUSION

Essentially, from the fall of 1939, Jewish real estate owners in Lubartów were deprived, and from April of 1941 robbed of more than 10,000 zlotys monthly from the property rentals—a value equivalent to 6500 kilograms of bread on the black market in April of 1940, and 1250 kilograms two years later.[967] The forced removal of Jewish residents from their real estate and the subsequent takeover by the trusteeship contributed to the rapid impoverishment of the

[960] Grabowski, *Zarząd Powierniczy*, 9–10.
[961] APL, SPL (726), 42, 163.
[962] Report by Marian Kosior to the *Grundstückstreuhänder für Lublin Stadt und Kreis* on the actions taken by Chryzostom Jagiełko in Kamionka and Rudno, APL, Lubartów County Office (726), 42, 185–187. (German and Polish).
[963] Documentation of Zweigbüro Lubartów *Der Grundstückstreuhänder für Lublin Stadt und Kreis*, 1943. APL, SPL (726), 42.
[964] APL, SPL (726), 42, 46.
[965] Grabowski, *Zarząd Powierniczy*, 14.
[966] *Ibid*.
[967] Zygmunt Klukowski reports in his diaries that in Szczebrzeszyn, Lublin Region, bread on the black market cost 1.5 zlotys on April 16th, 1940, and 8 zlotys on March 25th, 1942. Klukowski, 124 and 267.

Lubartów Jews.[968] Formally, Lubartów Jews were not dispossessed of their properties. This is because the General Government's model for dealing with Jewish real estate was to obtain as much profit as possible from its exploitation, and that it would be taken over by the German state after the end of the war.[969]

The magistrate was crucial for establishing trust administration in Lubartów, municipal officials gathered knowledge about Jewish real estate and created an operational framework. Initially, the town was formally allowed to participate in the profit. According to the written arrangements, the benefit was to both the Town Board and the magistrate officials involved in the administration. However, it quickly became apparent that the mayor had been tricked, the payments lasted for two months only, and even the initial earnings were taken from the municipality. The battle to get the money back shows the isolation of the mayor and the town board in their relations with the German officials, his superiors from the branch office and the county office did not support mayors' efforts. It also shows his determination in the fight for the town's share, the money that the Town Board had already included in its budget plans.[970] However, excluding the Town Board from administering Jewish housing was even more consequential: it meant losing control over the town resources, and weakened the mayor's position within the town and in his dealings with the county authorities.

The issue of the administration of Jewish-owned housing in Lubartów shows a broader problem in the study of the attitude of actors at the *meso* level. The period in which the Lubartów authorities have the greatest room for manoeuvre is the least easy to grasp from the source. The effective takeover of Jewish property had already largely taken place in 1940, in the absence of the most of Lubartów Jews. It took place with very limited involvement from the county authorities. Meanwhile, as the example of apartments shows, the areas under the control of superior authorities, inscribed in a hierarchical administrative structure, are best documented. We therefore know very little about the violence accompanying the forced relocations and the top-down distribution of apartments, about the evictions of Jews from their apartments, as well as about Jewish resistance to all these measures and attempts to maintain possessions. In the records concerning the distribution of apartments and the administration of Jewish-owned real estate in Lubartów, the voice of the Lubartów Jews is completely silent.

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[968] In the case of Lublin, letters to the Judenrat have survived showing the drama of Jews deprived of income from real estate and efforts to obtain a share of the income. In December of 1940, the headquarters of the ŻSS in Cracow made efforts in the same direction. Puławski, 416–417.
[969] Grabowski, *Zarzad Powierniczy*, 98 and 99.
[970] During the argument, as part of the financial negotiations, Mayor Lalka gave up on his overdue pay.

This brings us to Bencjon Goldsztajn, who after the war inquired about Marian Kosior, a central figure in the system of administering Jewish housing in Lubartów during the war. Note that in the second half of 1940 the administrative authorities sought Goldsztajn's departure from Lubartów. However, he remained in town, first in a house at 1 Poprzeczna street, and later moved to 6 Żabia street, to a house jointly owned by several Jewish families. It is there that the January 1941 register locates Goldsztajn,[971] and he remained there until the second liquidation action in October 1942.[972] A few dozen meters further south was another house important to Goldsztajn—at 9 Piłsudski street, the last building where the Goldsztajn family had lived before the war, from April 1939.[973] As early as in December of 1939, the house was occupied by Christian refugee families who would remain there until the end of the war. In a 1948 letter to the Lubartów Town Board, Bencjon asked for information about this building, which he as an owner intended to sell.[974]

We can only speculate about what Goldsztajn experienced or saw. The aim of the trusteeship was to maximise profits. Marian Kosior's career as a man who specialised in managing Jewish real estate, indicates that he succeeded in fulfilling the goals set for him. So, did Goldsztajn remember the ruthless collection of debts from impoverished Jews? Maybe it was about threatening eviction and extorting bribes for the possibility of staying in the occupied apartment? Or maybe it was about taking away the right to occupy and benefit from one's own real estate?

[971] Register of real estate owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 56.
[972] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL (726), 41, 46.
[973] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 97.
[974] Letter from Bencjon Goldsztajn to the Town Board, 12 April 1948. APL, AML, 1027, no page numbers.

PART II. LUBARTÓW MARKET SQUARE, 1918–1943

CHAPTER 4. ON THE LUBARTÓW MARKET SQUARE

INTRODUCTION



Photograph 1. Sea Day at the Market Square I, 6 June 1933. Source: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe (NAC).

6 June, 1933 marked Sea Day festivities at the Market Square I in Lubartów, a state holiday to celebrate Polish connections with sea and the development of the port in Gdynia—the only Polish sea port, built from the scratch after the First World War.[975]

The composition of the photograph indicates two groups of participants in the ceremony. Below, crowds of Lubartów residents and people from the surrounding village; some brought banners proving their commitment to Polish statehood: "HAND OFF THE POLISH SEA!" (*Wara od polskiego morza!),* "REVISION OF THE BORDERS—IT'S WAR!" (*Rewizja granic—to wojna!*), "THE SEA AND THE COLONIES ARE THE STRENGTH OF POLAND" (*Morze i*

[975] Sea Day was also a way to promote the Polish imperial and colonial aspirations, and to consolidate citizens against the German threat. The main celebrations took place in Gdynia with the presence of local delegations from all over Poland, also from Lubartów. Grzegorz Piątek, *Gdynia obiecana. Miasto, modernizm, modernizacja 1920–1939* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B, 2022).

kolonie to potęga Polski). Other slogans focused on more mundane issues, relevant from the local perspective "WITHOUT THE SEA YOU WON'T MONETISE YOUR GRAIN" (*Bez morza nie spieniężysz zboża*). In the background, one can see the flags of different delegations, closer to the stage there are men in uniform, but also children, perhaps scouts. The rest of the crowd is mostly watching the ceremony, but here and there you can see people busy talking, glancing in the direction of the photographer or looking around. Most people are dressed in festive clothes.

However, elegance had many different faces in Lubartów. Women in decorative hats and elegant dresses can be seen in the crowd, although most women wear headscarves and simple dark skirts. The men mostly wear jackets with ties, and in some places, Jews are seen wearing traditional clothing, chalats (kapote in Yiddish) and hats. Children, completely uninterested in the celebration, wander around the crowd barefoot, dressed in shirts and shorts. Two girls in dresses are standing at the edge of the crowd with their backs turned to the stage (Photograph 2). One of them, in a button-down dress, her hair neatly trimmed, strolls around in socked shoes with her hands clasped behind her back. The other has her hands folded in her lap, standing barefoot in a white shirt converted into a dress, looking steadily at the photographer. The girl stands out from the crowd, looking the poorest of all the people in the photograph.



Photograph 2. Zoom in on the participants of the Sea Day Celebration, 6 June 1933. Source: NAC.

On the balconies above the gathering, people are watching the ceremony. The balconies are all patriotically decorated, as called for by the authorities.[976] Those closer to the stage seem to be more involved in the celebrations. The most exposed is the family on the balcony above the stage, the only one with the women standing together with the men, all dressed exquisitely. On the other balconies there is a clear division, either modestly dressed women with children or men alone, mostly in traditional Jewish dress. The people on the balconies are residents of Rynek I Street. The photographer managed to capture the Rynek I neighbours in a single frame; there is no other similar photograph.



Photograph 3. Zoom on Market Square I residents on balconies, 6 June 1933. Source: NAC.

In order to understand the nature and the functions of the Lubartów Market Square before the war, it is necessary to consider both layers of this depicted scene. The market was both a place where people lived—a group of a few hundred Lubartowians, and a place where people gathered—thousands of residents of the town and its surrounding area.

In regard to Lubartów's Market Square I, examine links between its pre-war (chapter 4 and 5) and wartime functions (chapter 6), observing social changes over a period of several decades, from the beginnings of independence after the First World War to the liberation of Lubartów after the Second. I perceive the pre-war Market Square as a place that fostered all sorts of contacts, where Lubartowians' political and social activism centred and commercial interests mixed, a place where modernisation was negotiated, and an increasingly nationalist state made its presence felt. Above all, however, I address the change: how the functions of the Market Square were changing and what happened to interpersonal and intergroup relations. Based on the residents' registers and measurement plan, I examine the pre-war residential and ownership structure of the place as well as the distribution of commercial spaces.

[976] Poster for the Sea Day Celebration, 1930s. APL, AML, 566. No page numbers.

This chapter aims at investigating the process of social grouping on the Market Square, focusing on the residents and entrepreneurs. My main focus in on residential relationships; I will reflect on the formation of social group boundaries in Market Square. How fundamental was the distinction along ethno-religious lines? Did social distance coincide with spatial distance? Particularly interesting in this context will be examples that break down the image of mutual separation in houses and/or even apartments. In regard to intergroup relationships, I also investigate ownership structure. Was co-ownership possible between ethno-religious groups?

The study of the social and ownership structure of the Market Square is based on an analysis of the databases by cross-referencing variables and crossing the bases with each other. The methodology adopted allows the scale of observation to be changed freely, which is particularly useful when studying social groups. Contemporary research shows that patterns of segregation differ depending on the scale of the analysis.[977] Although the starting point is the street level, in order to identify the space of inter-ethnic contacts I descend to the level of groups of buildings, buildings or households. The religious-ethnic identification I use is based on administrative categorisation, most often on the basis of religion, understood as denomination according to the given birth certificate.

Sources

If it were not for the Register of permanent residents of the town of Lubartów, most of the people standing on the balconies of Rynek I would remain anonymous to us. The register is the most extensive source of information on the inter-war inhabitants of Lubartów and the main material for the study of the social structure of the Market Square. It was created in 1932 by state laws and decrees of the President of the Republic of Poland[978] and includes all permanent residents of Lubartów, with complex characteristics. Of all the categories used in the register, I focus mostly on those that relate directly to the residential situation—street name, house number and flat number, as well as those that relate to people moving into Lubartów. In order to compare the characteristics of the Market Square residents, I also use categories relating to their social position such as familial and residential status (*status rezydencjalny*), religion (*wyznanie*) and profession/source of livelihood (*zawód stanowiący główne źródło utrzymania*). All the

[977] David Manley, Ron Johnston, Kelvyn Jones & Dewi Owen, "Macro-, Meso- and Microscale Segregation: Modeling Changing Ethnic Residential Patterns in Auckland, New Zealand, 2001–2013," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 105:5 (2015), 951–967

[978] Tymoteusz Skowroński, Franciszek Zakrzewski, Anna Hanotte-Zawiślak, Karolina Grzegorczyk, and Emilia Majczak-Faroult, "Retour d'expérience sur la saisie collective d'une source administrative: le registre de population de Lubartów, Pologne, 1932," *Genèses*, 125:4 (2021), 112–134.

aforementioned categories make it possible to recognise the social position of actors by embedding them in family, professional, organisational, or neighbourhood settings, thus exploring interpersonal and intergroup relations—enabling prosopographical research. The register, since its establishment, was completed by the employees of the Lubartów magistrate until the outbreak of the war and then, although less systematically, from September 1939 until the end of the 1940s. The register thus provides a dynamic picture of the population of Lubartów: new residents were recorded, and those who moved out or died were removed.

With regard to the study of the pre-war social structure of Lubartów, the greatest limitation of the register is its temporal scope. Although it records events prior to its creation, such as the date of birth of the inhabitants of Lubartów or the year on which they moved to Lubartów, it covers only those who had lived in the town since 1932. There are no records that comprehensively document changes in the population of Lubartów in earlier periods. Earlier registers, established during the period of partition, although formally terminated in 1932, in practice hardly kept pace with the changes in the social structure of the town between the wars. In addition, they provide much less information: among other things, they do not record the dates of arrival and departure from Lubartów as well as registration dates. The only indication that allows an approximate dating of the entries are the dates of birth of the residents of Lubartów and the language in which the entries were made, Russian or Polish. The latter was used after 1918, when a Polish-speaking administration was introduced.

Another discrepancy between the 1932 Register and the earlier ones concerns the designation of buildings in the town. The 1932 register is ordered alphabetically by street name and then by house and apartment number, while the registers started in the partition period are organised by plot/property numbers (*numer hipoteczny*). At least until the mid-1920s, the municipal administration did not used house numbers but the numbers of plots on which the houses were located. This is also true for another source which is essential for the better understanding of the Rynek topography and social structure—the measurement plan from the early 1920s.[979] The plan, apart from reflecting the space with streets and buildings, includes plot numbers with the names of the plot owners. It could serve as an intermediary between the 1932 register and the earlier ones, in terms of identifying the buildings as well as their occupants. Most of the owners' names from the plan are found among the tenants of the same houses in the 1930s or are listed as their parents or family members. In this way, we are able to assign specific numbers to the

[979] Measurement plan, mid–1920s. APL, Urząd Wojewódzki Lubelski–Wydział Przemysłowy, 438.

houses on the Square and consequently indicate where each person lived. The study of the social structure of Lubartów's Market Square is therefore based most heavily on the Lubartów residents register started in 1932, while the measurement plan allows for a better understanding of the spatial relation and the distribution of ownership.

Studying social relations through the prism of the Residents' Register of 1932 requires caution: the register was created in a specific administrative context, based on categorisation, which is not in itself neutral and reduces residents to selected characteristics that follow the logic of the administrative order. The register served to control the inhabitants of Lubartów, but in doing so, it was based on information provided by the inhabitants themselves. Thus, it reflects not only the position of the residents vis-à-vis the town administration, but also the attitudes of the residents towards the public administration—even the most desirable information regarding the movements of the residents was not always reported and recorded in the register, as certainly some of it was entered late as evidenced by the differences in the dates of the movements and the dates of their registration. In any case, a dynamic social structure with diverse personal and intergroup relations emerges from the residents' register. Thanks to the complex characteristics of the residents, the register makes it possible to raise the question of the importance of ethno-religious divisions for the social structure of the market, and to see the internal differentiation of groups in which ethno-religious identities intersect with other identities[980] as well as social roles and positions.[981] In this way, Lubartów Market Square becomes an area of ongoing interactions between and within the groups.

The examination of the space of the Market Square mirrors the logic of the residents' register. In two cases, however, the administrative division on streets does not correspond to the division adopted in my analysis. Two corner houses on two opposite sides and opposite ends of Rynek II Street had addresses of streets perpendicular to Rynek II Street: Poprzeczna and Nowopoprzeczna. However, their location in the row of buildings in Rynek II argues for including the residents of these two building within the Rynek II Street population. In addition, for the purposes of the analysis, I decided to group the residents of the houses on Klitki I and II streets together, which is due to the small number of permanent residents of Klitki II included in the register of residents.

[980] Pnina Werbner, "Intersectionality and situationalism. Towards a (more) dynamic interpretation of Ethnic Groups and Boundaries 1" in Thomas H. Eriksen and Marek Jakoubek (eds.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today. A Legacy of Fifty Years* (London: Routledge, 2018), 118
[981] *Ibid*.

PART 1: WHAT WAS THE LUBARTÓW MARKET SQUARE?

Spatial characteristics

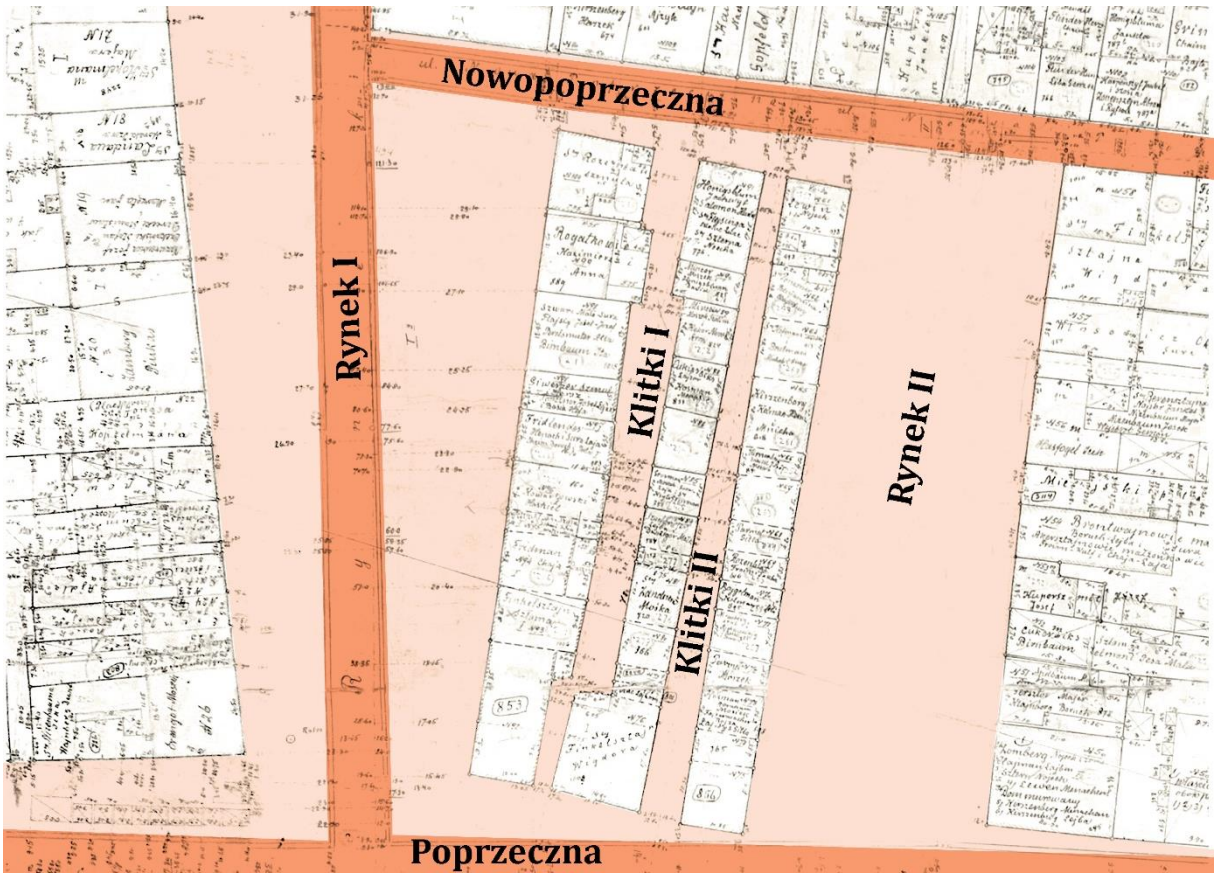
The Lubartów Market Square was located in the northern part of the town, a few hundred metres from the administrative border of the town, beyond which lay the settlement of Zagrody Lubartowskie, since the second half of the 1920s incorporated to the town (Map 1).[982] Lubartów's main street, Lubelska, was called Rynek I street in its market section, and further north it became Siedlecka. It connected Lubartów with other towns in the region, and the Market Square remained a transport hub—in 1932, 10 buses a day left the Market Square.[983] The entire Market Square area resembled a trapezoid with its sides between 130 and 100 metres long, and a total area of over 1300 m^2, *i.e*. twice the size of a football pitch (Map 2). It was enclosed on four sides by the buildings of Rynek I street to the east, Rynek II street to the west, Poprzeczna street to the south, and Nowopoprzeczna street to the north. In the middle of the Market Square between Rynek I and Rynek II streets there were three rows of buildings. They divided the space of the Market Square into two squares: Market Square I and Market Square II.[984]



Map 1. Fragment of the Lubartów map, 20 November 1925. Source: APL, UWL—WSP, 895.

[982] See Chapter 1.
[983] Report about the town for a county office, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. No page numbers.
[984] I use Rynek I and Rynek II to name the streets; whenever I refer to the squares, I use the distinction between Market Square I and Market Square II, and the entire area is referred to as the Market Square.

Four streets—Rynek I, Rynek II, Klitki I and Klitki II—marked the principal spatial divisions in the Market Square (Map 2). Situated on the town's main road, Rynek I was one of the few paved streets in Lubartów in the early 1920s and the only one within the Market Square; it was paved again in 1934, at which time barriers were placed along the street and trees were planted on the pavements. Rynek I street, together with the longitudinal strips along either side of the street, formed the largest open square in the town. The houses on the east and west sides of the street were separated by between 35 and over 60 metres. The buildings of Rynek I were heterogeneous, one and two storeys high. The showpiece of Market Square I were the two-storey houses with balconies, visible in the photograph, built in a row along the eastern side; it was there that the stage was set for ceremonies and rallies were called. On either side of the two-storey houses stood single-storey buildings. In total, the buildings on the eastern side of Rynek I street formed a compact row of houses more than 100 metres long.



Map 2. Map of Lubartów Market Square with street names. Source: APL, UWL-WSP, 92.

To the east, two more rows of houses of the same length adjoined the buildings at Rynek I, separated by narrow streets of about 4 metres—Klitki I and Klitki II. The three rows of houses formed a regular rectangular arrangement in the middle of the Market Square. Although the houses on Rynek I were oriented towards the side of the square from which one entered the

shops and where shop signs were hung, the physical proximity to Klitki makes one wonder about the practical dimension of the neighbourhood of the two streets. The houses on Rynek I had an entrance to the residential part on the side of Klitki I, in some cases entering the buildings directly from Klitki I street, in others through a tiny courtyard. All the houses on the eastern side of Rynek I had windows facing Klitki I street, over which the balconies of the two-storey houses also hung. The two streets were connected by a passage gate in the tenement house at 12 Rynek I. The residents on both sides of the narrow street thus remained in contact, or at least saw one another, passed or heard one another, or smelled the others' meals.

Apart from the passage in the gate, access to Klitki I was limited to narrow passages between the buildings, the passage on the south side being about two metres wide. Klitki II, parallel to Klitki I, even lacked an additional gate, so access to the street was limited to the passages at either end of the street.[985] Klitki II was an atypical street, with most of the buildings on one side addressed as Klitki I, and on the other as Rynek II. Thus, Klitki II was a kind of backstreet for both streets, and the entrances to the residential parts of the houses were there. Most probably the only two buildings with the address of Klitki II stood in the line of houses on the side of Rynek II, it is also possible that they had a double address.

Klitki I and Klitki II/Rynek II were built after the 1838 Market Square fire. The streets had consistent low-rise buildings; the name referred to the nature of the buildings; *klitki* means small, cramped units. Houses on Klitki streets were predominantly single-storey buildings with an attic, with commercial functions downstairs and residential functions upstairs, ranging in size from about 30 to about 100 square metres on the ground floor, and thus on average 2-3 times smaller than the buildings at Rynek I.[986] The exceptions were the two buildings on the northern and southern edges of Klitki I, which exceeded 200 metres in size. The latter stood out not only for its size but also for its appearance, as it had been built earlier than the rest of the Klitki buildings, in the mid-18th century.

Like Rynek I, Rynek II Street was divided by a large longitudinal square, about 40 metres wide. On the Klitki side stood the buildings with odd numbers; the buildings on the even-numbered side were less compact, and their sizes varied. The buildings on Rynek II were oriented towards the square that fronted them, where trading stalls were set up on trading days. In the late 1920s,

[985] The measurement plan from the 1920s indicates that there was a passage between the buildings in the northern part of the street, which was a square belonging to Ruchla Szternszajn. A postcard from the early 20th century indicates that the passageway was gated; it is unclear whether it was open in the 1920s and the 1930s.
[986] Measurement plan, early 1920s. APL, UWL-WSP, 92.

a hall was erected there (Photograph 4). It spanned almost the entire width of Market II, creating a physical barrier between the two sides of Rynek II.



Photograph 4. The view from the parish church tower on the Market Square with a new market hall on Market Square II. Klitki streets houses in front of the market hall, 1930s. Source: Regional Museum in Lubartów.

The parish church of St Anne was located on the north side of the Market Square, a few dozen metres away, towering over the landscape of the Square (Photograph 1 and Map 1). The location of the church on the north side of the Market Square, while most Lubartów residents lived on the other side, meant that the Market Square was on the Christian residents' route to the services. Adjacent to the church was a palace complex from the 18th century, built, like the church, at the behest of the then owner of the town, Paweł Sanguszko. In 1933, the palace was damaged by a fire. Five years later, the still ruined palace was bought by the magistrate and in the 1939 the palace garden was made available to the town's inhabitants and became a popular place for relaxation.[987] Market Square and its surroundings had been the entertainment centre of Lubartów already in the 1920s, when most parties, cultural events and academies were held in the Corso cinema theatre. The building stood on Kościuszki Street, between Market Square and

[987] About the investments, see Chapter 5.

the palace grounds. In the early 1930s the cinema theatre was moved to a newly built hall on Rynek II and the former Corso cinema building became the fire station and venue for cultural events.

Commercial function of the Market Square

The Market Square was defined primarily by its commercial function, this is what mostly determined the urban layout and the building functions. Lubartów underwent a quite typical evolution for a town in a central Poland, from a private market town in Modern Times to a midsize town in the 20th century.[988] In the interwar period, the Market Square remained the central place for the economic and financial functioning of the town and the region. In the 1930s markets were held twice a week in Rynek II,[989] and fairs six times a year.[990] In addition, the nearby parish church held biannual indulgences, religious festivals during which the worshippers were forgiven their sins. The indulgences were accompanied by church trade, which also spread to the Market Square.[991]

The Business Register covers enterprises involved in trade in Lubartów, including eating and drinking establishments such as restaurants and beer bars (Table 1).[992] The register includes a total of 718 businesses registered in Lubartów between 1929 and 1939, a significant number of which had operated earlier and only confirmed their business licence when the register was opened. 277 enterprises, almost 40% of all registered in Lubartów, were located in one of the four streets of the Market Square. In the case of 247 of them, it is possible to categorise the owners' denomination through comparison with the register of residents. It reveals that the businesses in Lubartów's Market Square remained a place of predominantly Jewish commercial activity. Catholics registered their businesses only at Rynek I street and Rynek II, in the latter case constituting a slightly higher percentage of the total number of traders due to four businesses registered in the hall and three more on the market square on the market day.[993]

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[988] Samuel Kassow, "Introductions," in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations*, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 3–6. Elżbieta Przesmycka, *Przeobrażenia zabudowy i krajobrazu miasteczek Lubelszczyzny* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Lubelskiej, 2001). Małgorzata Hanzl, *Jewish Culture and Urban Form. A Case Study of Central Poland before the Holocaust* (New York and London: Routledge, 2023), 88–89. Lubartów remained a private town until the second half of the 19th century.
[989] Every Tuesday and Friday.
[990] Report to the voivodeship office in Lublin about the public celebrations in 1932, 18 February 1932. APL, AML, 187. No page number.
[991] *Ibid*.
[992] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441.
[993] Unfortunately, we are unable to determine the precise location of the business on the basis of the register for the most part, the house number being indicated in 103 cases, and in addition, the numbering in many cases not coinciding with that in the residents' register or on the measurement plan.

Street Name	Catholic	Jewish	Unknown	Total
Klitki I and II		29 (88%)	4	33 (100%)
Rynek I	13 (11%)	89 (76%)	15 (13%)	117 (100%)
Rynek II	16 (13%)	100 (79%)	11 (9%)	127 (100%)
Total	**29 (10%)**	**218 (79%)**	**30 (10%)**	**277 (100%)**

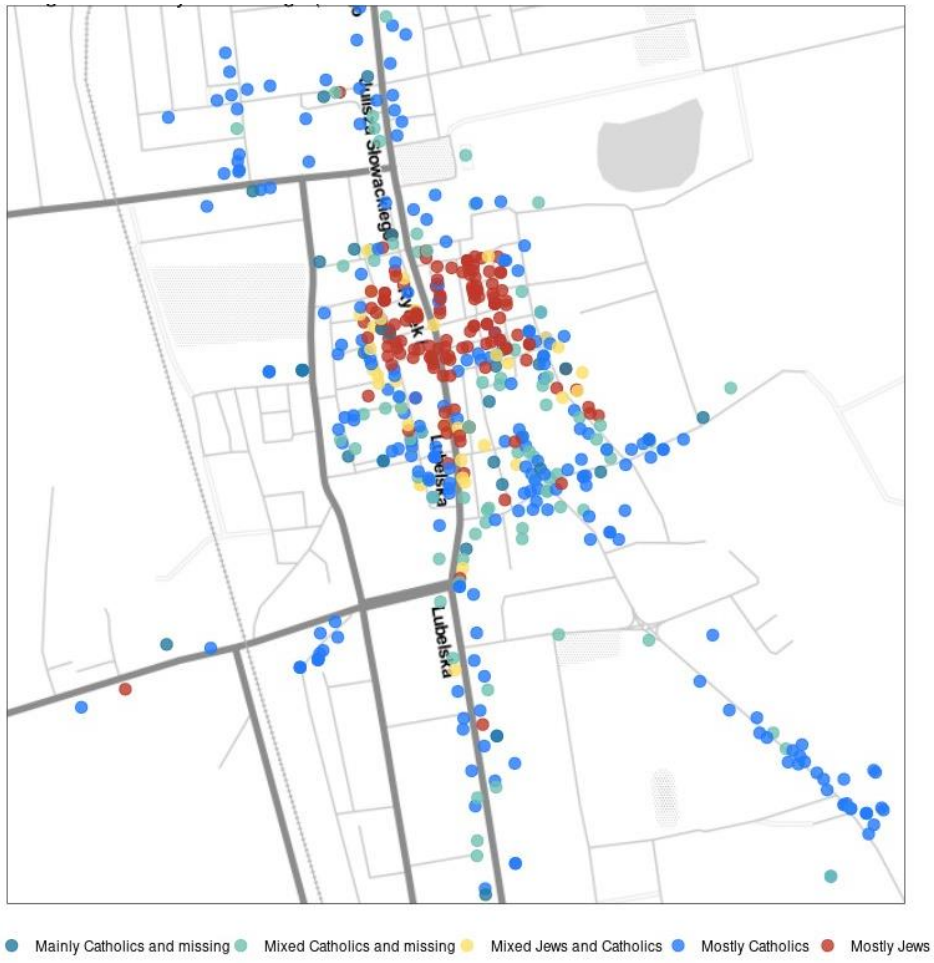
Table 1. Enterprise registered on Market Square between 1929 and 1939. Source: APL, AML, 441.

The register shows that between 1932 and 1938, the number of Catholic businesses in Rynek I grew from 5 to 9, while the number of Jewish businesses decreased from 47 to 46. At the same time, in Rynek II, there were 6 Catholic entrepreneurs from (5 to 11) and 7 Jewish entrepreneurs (from 46 to 53).[994] These rough figures indicate a slow increase in the proportion of Catholic traders in the Market Square, with a significant majority of Jewish traders remaining.

PART 2: MARKET SQUARE RESIDENTS

The Market Square was a place of concentration of Jewish residents of Lubartów. The four streets of the Market Square alone were home to 19% of all Jewish residents registered in the 1930s. The second largest concentration of Jewish residents was on the southern outskirts of the Market Square, around the area belonging to the Jewish community, with a synagogue, houses of prayer, and an old cemetery. As one moved away from the Market Square, the proportions tilted towards Catholics, with isolated exceptions on parts of the largest streets.

[994] I include all businesses operating in the years indicated, as it is not possible, based on the register, in all cases to indicate more precisely when the business started and when it was liquidated.



Map 3. Religious diversity of Lubartów in 1930s. Author: Lubartworld team. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

Street name	**Jews**	**Unknown**	**Roman Catholics**	**Total**
Klitki I and II	151 (99%)	2	0	**153 (100%)**
Rynek I	274 (85%)	8	42 (13%)	**324 (100%)**
Rynek II	322 (98%)	7	1	**330 (100%)**
Total	**747 (93%)**	**17 (2%)**	**43 (5%)**	**807 (100%)**

Table 2. Registered residents according to religion, 1932-1939. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

Of the four streets in Market Square, only in Rynek I did Roman Catholics make up a significant percentage of the registered residents (Table 2).

Between 31 July, 1932, when the residents register was completed, and 31 August, 1939, the population of Lubartów's Market Square decreased from 678 to 632. This difference was mainly due to the 46 fewer Jewish residents on Rynek I street, and the 12 more who declined from Klitki I. At the same time, the number of residents without a designated religion increased by 12 and the number of Catholics by 5 in the Rynek I street (Table 3).

Street names	Jews	Unknown	Roman Catholics	Total
Klitki I	112 (99%)	1		113 (100%)
Klitki II	17 (100%)			17 (100%)
Rynek I	199 (83%)	5	35 (15%)	239 (100%)
Rynek II	254 (97%)	7	1	262 (100%)
Total	**582 (92%)**	**13**	**36 (6%)**	**632 (100%)**

Table 3. Market Square residents on 31 August 1939. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

Changes in the proportions of the Market Square population according to religion corresponded to those occurring throughout the town. During the 1930s, the number of Lubartów residents categorised as Jews was lower than Roman Catholics and was dwindling over time; in 1932, Jews accounted for 44% of the permanent residents, in 1939—41%, while the proportion of Catholics remained at the same level of 54%, and the number of town's uncategorised residents increased almost five times, in 1939 they were almost 5% of all registered residents.[995]

Until May of 1934, Wincenty Jezior, a Catholic from Firlej, moved into Rynek II street, Rynek I street remained the only one with Roman Catholic residents. Apart from Jezior, till the end of the 1930s Catholics lived exclusively on Rynek I street, and their number increased from 30 to 35, from 11% to 15% of the street's total population. The proportion of non-Jews on the street had been at a similar level in the period prior to the creation of the residents' register. As indicated by one of the residents' registers established during the partition period, as for the ratio of Jews to non-Jews in Rynek I Street, Christians (Roman Catholics, Orthodox, and Evangelical) accounted for 14% of all Rynek I Street residents included in the register started in the 19th century.[996]

Rynek I street was the only one that lends itself to examination of inter-religious-ethnic residential contacts. In essence, I introduce a distinction between three different forms of contacts: cases in which Jews and Catholics lived in neighbouring buildings, those in which neighbourhood means sharing the same building, and thirdly, situations in which residential contacts go as far as sharing a single apartment. In these three perspectives, the question of the forms of direct contact and the characteristics of the people who live in close contact comes to the fore. Finally, and this is where I begin, it is possible to look at the streets of Rynek I as a whole—as a mixed environment, with Jewish and Catholic inhabitants. In this view, the collective characteristics of the residents are compared, and the reference points are the other

[995] Christians of other denominations made up less than half a percent of the population throughout the 1930s.
[996] Permanent residents register, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 22–33.

streets of Market Square, inhabited almost exclusively by Jewish residents since 1932. This framing will help point out the group characteristics resulting from the place of residence in the Market Square and thus demonstrate the diversity of the Jewish residents.

Who was established on Lubartów Market Square?

In the four streets of the Market Square, born Lubartowians accounted for almost three quarters of all residents registered between 1932 and 1939, which is clearly above the rate for the entire town (Table 4). Klitki I and II as well as Rynek II Street had the highest ratio of Lubartów-born residents of all the streets in the town.

Street name	Lubartów	Outside Lubartów	Unknown	Total
Klitki I	106 (80%)	27 (20%)	0	133 (100%)
Klitki II	18 (90%)	1	1	20 (100%)
Rynek I	217 (67%)	107 (33%)	0	324 (100%)
Rynek II	253 (77%)	65 (20%)	12	330 (100%)
Market Square	594 (74%)	200 (25%)	13	807 (100%)
Lubartów	6 166 (55%)	4 699 (42%)	304 (3%)	11 158 (100%)

Table 4. Market Square residents according to place of birth, 1932-1939. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

Among the streets of Market Square, Rynek I stood out, with 1/3 of its inhabitants coming from outside Lubartów. A closer examination demonstrates that the difference is due to the mixed composition of the residents of Rynek I S\street. Among Catholics, more than half of the residents were born outside Lubartów, with slightly more than 1/4 of the Jewish residents (Table 5). These proportions correspond with the proportions for all Lubartów residents registered in the 1930s, 49% of registered Catholics were born in the town, with 74% of Jewish residents.

	Lubartów	Outside Lubartów	Total
Jewish	196 (72%)	78 (28%)	274 (100%)
Catholic	19 (45%)	23 (55%)	42 (100%)
Missing Information	2	6	8 (100%)
Total	**217 (67%)**	**107 (33%)**	**324 (100%)**

Table 5. Rynek I Street residents place of birth according to religion. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

What distinguished the residents of Rynek I street from the residents of other Market Square Streets was the fact that 23 people were born outside the Lublin Voivodeship (1 on Klitki, 3 on Rynek II street), and another 3 outside interwar Poland. Towa Garfinkiel from Rynek I street was the only registered Lubartowian born in the territory of Palestine, in Tel Aviv. He did not come to Lubartów until May 1936, as a less than 2-year-old child, with his parents, native Lubartowians. They settled in the flat of Towa's grandfather, Kopel, on 11 Rynek I Street. Kopel

Garfinkiel came to Lubartów from his native Lublin in 1882 at the age of 15. In Rynek I, unlike Klitki or Rynek II, such early arrivals were proportionally less frequent than on the other streets in Market Square.

More than half of the new residents of Rynek I street arrived in Lubartów already after the establishment of the Polish state, between 1919 and 1939.The difference in this aspect between the streets of the Market Square, as well as the difference in the number of residents born outside Lubartów, was partly due to the mixed population of the Rynek I (Table 6).

Arrival period	**Jews**	**Roman Catholics**	**Unknown**	**Total**
1919-1939	36 (57%)	20 (20%)	7	63 (100%)
before 1919	40 (91%)	4		44 (100%)
Total	76 (71%)	24 (22%)	7	107 (100%)

Table 6. Period of arrival of Rynek I Street residents. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

On the town scale, of the 3250 registered arrivals of Catholics, 89% took place in the period 1919-1939, even more than in the case of Rynek I. The majority of Jewish arrivals in Lubartów (57%) took place in the period before 1919, which is slightly higher than in the case of Rynek I Street, but also of Rynek II. Among the streets in the Market Square, Klitki stands out with more than 70% of arrivals before 1919. As a result, in the 1930s Klitki I and II, inhabited exclusively by Jews, had the lowest ratio of residents arriving between 1919 and 1939 in the whole of inter-war Lubartów (7%), just ahead of Rynek II (11%). Rynek I, with 19% of interwar arrivals, was just behind the streets adjacent to the Market Square and ahead of the other streets in the town.

There are two aspects that are worth highlighting in terms of the origins of the Market's Square residents. First, that Klitki I and II residents formed the most "Lubartów-rooted" group of the residents of all Lubartów streets, both in terms of the number of people born in the town and those who came to town. Second, Rynek I residents' characteristics vary according to religious identifications, proportionally it was the Jewish residents who were more likely to originate from Lubartów, and of among newcomers, they were the ones who had statistically arrived earlier.

Livelihoods of the Market Square residents

The Lubartów Market Square was a space of economic activity primarily because of its commercial functions. Although the occupations of the residents largely corresponded to its nature, the occupational profile of the residents differed depending on where they lived within

the Market Square. To what extent were the differences in employment patterns overlap with spatial divisions? Consequently, did Jews living in Rynek I street have a similar employment structure to their Catholic neighbours?

The vast majority of the Market Square residents, around 70% of all permanent residents in the 1930s, were registered as dependent of others, which is described by categories "dependent on…" (*na utrzymaniu*), or "with…" (*przy*) (Table 7).[997] Remaining in a relationship of economic dependence on others, in the light of the register was the case of children, women, and, to a lesser extent, elderly men. The register thus presents a picture of almost total employment of men of working age. Therefore, it does not follow the dynamic change of the professional situation, which was not uncommon in the reality of Lubartów between the wars, with periods of work alternated with periods of unemployment, none of which is reflected in the reports about unemployment.[998]

Street name	**Dependent**	**Own Livelihood**	**Unknown**	**Total**
Klitki I and II	111 (73%)	39 (25%)	3	153 (100%)
Rynek I	228 (70%)	94 (29%)	2	324 (100%)
Rynek II	232 (70%)	92 (28%)	6	330 (100%)
Total	**571 (71%)**	**225 (28%)**	**11**	**807 (100%)**

Table 7. Livelihood of Market Square residents, 1932-1939. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

This is partly due to the fact that it takes into account the declared main occupation, ignoring the fact that some of the men were temporarily unemployed or did not benefit from the work they did. Thus, it does not reflect the unemployment recorded periodically by the magistrate's office, nor the temporary bankruptcies of small vendors or craftsmen.[999] At the same time, the register draws a picture of a patriarchal society with men working and women dependent on them for subsistence. Women accounted for only 31 of the 224 people in the Market Square with their own source of livelihood, which does not take into account that business were family-run and women did the bulk of the work.

Professional structure of the Lubartów Market Square residents

The main differences in the employment structure between the residents of Market Square streets concern the ratio of craftsmen to tradespeople (Table 8). In the case of Klitki and Rynek

[997] I have followed the classification of the register here and have chosen not to include to the group of dependents three students (a student cadet, religious student, and middle school student) living with their families.
[998] Records regarding the unemployment, 1933. APL, AML, 187.
[999] See Chapter 2.

II, crafts and trade accounted for about 85% of all employed persons. In Klitki, however, craftsmen were the majority, while in Rynek II they were outnumbered by tradespeople, who accounted for almost half of all those who lived from their work, as in Rynek I.

Industry	**Klitki I and II**	**Rynek I**	**Rynek II**	**Total**
Craft	20 (51%)	16 (17%)	35 (38%)	**71 (32%)**
Trade	13 (33%)	48 (51%)	45 (49%)	**106 (47%)**
Domestic workers		2	1	**3**
Manual workers	3	5	7	**15 (7%)**
Medical professions		4		**4**
Office worker		5		**5**
Public official		3		**3**
Other	3	11 (12%)	4	**18 (8%)**
Total	**39 (100%)**	**94 (100%)**	**92 (100%)**	**225 (100%)**

Table 8. Market Square residents' professions by type of industry. Source: Residents register 1932. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

According to the 1932 Residents Register the craftsmen in both streets had a strongly profiled activity: in Klitki I, 11 out of 20 were employed in crafts producing leather goods; in Rynek II, 20 out of 33 craftsmen. On Rynek I, where much fewer residents were involved in craftsmanship, they had no clear specialisation.

The residents of Rynek II with a source of income outside of trade and crafts (15%) included mostly manual workers, 7 out of 12, including Aron Goldszer, the only water carrier (*nosiwoda*) registered in Lubartów.[1000] Another group of professions were related to the Jewish communal life in Lubartów. A ritual slaughterer and two teachers of the Jewish religion lived on Rynek II.[1001] Another one, Chaja-Ruchla Rotenberg of Rynek II 16 was categorised simply as teacher, but she also might have been involved in religious teaching, as she did not appear in any list of public-school teachers in Lubartów.

Moszek Grosman, the last "Jewish teacher" on the Market Square lived on Klitki I and was one of three residents of the street making a living from occupations other than trade, crafts, and manual labour. The other two lived in the building at Klitki I 2, located on the northern edge of the street, on one side adjacent to Poprzeczna street. The inhabitants of the house at Klitki I 2 were distinguished by their occupation from all the other inhabitants of the street. The house

[1000] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 17. There were 12 more carriers registered (*tragarze*) that worked as water carriers.
[1001] Józef Berman "Jewish teacher" (*nauczyciel żydowski*), one of 13 in the register of residents, and Szloma Morgensztern "schoolmaster" (*szkolnik*), one of two. Both terms refer to teaching in the cheder. Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 16, 36 and 40.

belonged to the heirs of Wigdor Finkelsztajn and was inhabited by two families. One of the owners, Rywka-Jenta, widow of Wigdor's son, lived off renting the property—the only such case on Klitki. The second flat was occupied by Wigdor's daughter whose husband Boruch Goldfinger was a local businessman running a store, mill, and a gas station, and also a Town Councillor in 1939,[1002] while their son Jankiel-Fajwel was the only Jewish resident categorised as a "student."[1003] Boruch's daughter Rojza was also a student in 1930. After studying at the University of Warsaw, she left for Brussels in 1938, where she got involved in the international communist movement.[1004]

When characterising the professional structure of the Lubartów Market Square, it seems most significant that Rynek I stood out in terms of the variety of professions carried out, almost one third of residents did not make a living from trade or craft. Rynek I had the most diverse occupational structure, with civil servants (2), a policeman, office workers (5), medical professions (4), an engineer, a cadet, and the only religious student in Lubartów (probably a student at a yeshiva), or owners of small production facilities, a groats factory, and an electronic mill.

On Rynek I the division of occupations between the religious groups of 16 Catholics and 75 Jews was significant (Table 9). Catholics performed all public functions,[1005] the only farmer was Catholic, and among the seven Catholics engaged in trade, two ran butchers' shops and three worked in a pharmacy. Both industries were dominated by Catholics in Lubartów, all 23 registered butchers were Catholics, as were as all eight pharmacists and pharmacy owners. The pharmacy at 6 Rynek I was a family business of the Pic de Replonge family, the other Catholics on the same street living from trade are also categorised as owners of the stores (*właściciel sklepu, właściciel masarni, właściciel składu aptecznego*).

Among Jews on Rynek I street, unlike Catholics, those identified as owners—a term that refers to ownership of trade premises, not ownership of a business—are a distinct minority of eight8 of 41. The categorisation of trading professions clearly differs accordingly to the denomination. The term trader (*handlarz, handlarka*) is used in 23 cases, a category that did not apply to Catholics on the Rynek I Street. Apart from identified by the ownership of enterprises

[1002] Protocol of Town Council meeting, 17 June 1929. APL, AML, 114. Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 7.
[1003] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 105.
[1004] See Lubartworld project online visualisation and the upcoming book by Claire Zalc.
[1005] Before the war, 363 employees were registered and paid by the magistrate, county, or state budget in Lubartów, excluding the doctors of the county hospital and the staff of the state school; only four of them were Jews.

(*właściciel*) they often are categorised as merchants (*kupiec*). It seems that distinction used in the register between trader and merchant is primarily due to administrative practice in relation to different religious-ethnic groups: 25 Catholics were defined trader and 260 Jews, while there were 30 Catholic and 127 Jewish merchant.[1006]

Industry	**Jewish**	**Roman Catholic**	**Uknown**	**Total**
Craft	14		2	16
Domestic worker	1	1		2
Manual worker	2	3		5
Medical professions	4			4
Office worker	5			5
Other	8	2	1	11
Public official		3		3
Trade	41	7		48
Total	**75**	**16**	**3**	**94**

Table 9. Rynek I street residents' professions by the type of industry. Source: Residents register 1932. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48.

Not all Catholics in Rynek I treet held public positions or owned businesses. Among the Catholic residents of Rynek I was also one domestic worker and three manual workers, including Józef Jelmieniak, an agricultural worker sharing a flat with the Zalewski family. Jelmieniak most probably worked the fields owned by the apartment owner Władysław categorised as farmer-owner (*rolnik-właściciel*). At the same number 25, from 1929, one of the flats was rented by the Oniszek family of six people, who, according to the register, supported themselves only through the work of the "labourer-worker" (*robotnik wyrobnik*) Szczepan. Similarly, the manual labourer (*robotnik*) Grzegorz Aftyka from the neighbouring house at number 23 supported a family of six people with his work.

The craftsmen at Rynek I street were exclusively Jewish. They did not have a clear specialisation, as was the case at Klitki or Rynek II. The majority were tailors and hairdressers—four of each profession. Three hairdressers shared the same apartment at 7 Rynek I. Rubin Bundzman, one of them, moved to Lubartów in 1931, where he lived with his unmarried wife (*nieślubna żona*), category often used in regard to Jewish women,[1007] Fajga Lajzyrberg vel Rajzylberg, from a hairdressers' family. Fajga's father, Herszek, had worked on

[1006] While the Commercial Codex of 1934 clearly indicates "that a merchant is someone who runs a profit–making enterprise in his own name," the residents' register in this respect is inconsistent, as in the case of Jankiel-Berk Niesenbaum "trader-owner of a haberdashery shop" from 3 Rynek I. Moreover, some of those categorised in the residents' register as tradesmen were identified in the business register as enterprise owners, as was the case with Gierszon Rzeźnikiewicz of 12 Rynek I street who owned the selling soda water business.
[1007] This category was used in the register 124 times in regard to Jewish women and twice to Catholic women.

Rynek I as a hairdresser in the late 1920s,[1008] while her brother Boruch, also a hairdresser, lived at Fajga's and Rubin's apartment, as did his mother and two further relatives. In 1934, the ninth tenant, another hairdresser, Rubin Hertman, who had come from Krasnystaw in the Lublin voivodeship, moved into the same apartment on Rynek I 7.

Hairdressing was one of the professions dominated by non-Jews in Lubartów (out of 18 hairdressers recorded in the population register, 6 were categorised as Jews), but widespread among the Jewish residents of Rynek I, while not practised by residents of Klitki or Rynek II. Similarly, medical professions in Rynek I were performed exclusively by Jews. In the house at number 12 lived Maurycy Silbermann who worked in Lubartów as a private doctor.[1009] Silberman as well as feldsher Dawid Lustman from Rynek I 19, were also paid by the municipality[1010,] for treating poor patients, both Jewish and Catholic.[1011] In the same building as Dr. Silberman, at 12 Rynek I, lived the only Jewish midwife among the 8 midwives recorded in the register of residents, Pesa-Rajzla Kirszenbaum.[1012] Additionally, all the office workers living at Rynek I were Jewish, while in Lubartów they accounted for less than a quarter of all those who could be counted as office workers (such as private clerks or bookkeepers).

All the hairdressers, as well as 8 of the other 10 craftsmen in Rynek I lived on the even side of the street. This indicates another characteristic of the employment structure at Rynek I. On the even side of the street lived residents, both Jewish and Catholic, exercising the more prestigious and better paid professions: both public servants, the only doctor, as well as three out of five office workers, two factory owners, or the engineer. On the odd side, apart from those living from trade and the craftsmen, the largest groups were manual workers, Jewish and Catholic. Of the five labourers, four lived in two houses on the southern edge of Rynek I, at numbers 23 and

[1008] List of registered craftsmen of the town of Lubartów, 1929. APL, AML, 433, 19–27.
[1009] Silberman is one of 14 documented doctors operating in Lubartów in the 1930s, including 4 dentists. Only three of them were categorised as Jews in the residents' register: apart from Silberman, Ezechiel Rajch who also ran private practice, and the dentist Cywja Celjon, who worked as a school dentist in Lubartów. No Jewish doctor worked in the Lubartów poviat hospital for 80 patients, Jewish and Christian. Zbigniew Zaporowski, "Lubartów w okresie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej', in Ryszard Szczygieł (ed.), *Lubartów w dziejach od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* (Lubartów: Urząd miasta Lubartów, 2018), 418–419.
[1010] Protocol from Town Board meeting, 21 July 1938. APL, AML, 117. No page numbers.
[1011] Lidja Perlińska-Schnejder, a Catholic, described Silberman's visit on Easter morning, when Perlińska suffered from scarlet fever. Silberman, invited by Lidia's parents, jointed the family for the Easter breakfast, where he tasted all the traditional meals. Perlińska characterised Silberman as "a well–educated assimilated Jew". "He was a lovely man, direct, cheerful, friendly". Interview with Lidia Perlinska-Schnejder (born 1929), 26 October 2000. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN."
[1012] It is necessary to note that most probably in Lubartów—as was the case all over the interwar Poland—people without qualifications provided medical assistance which due to its illegal nature would not be recorded in administrative sources. This could be especially true for births, for which only some people could afford professional assistance.

25, including the three Catholics already mentioned and one Jewish labourer, Szymon-Lejb Kopelman. Thus, upon a closer look, on a scale of neighbouring buildings their residents are grouped on the basis of professions exercised, beyond their ethno-religious divisions.

The employment characteristics of the streets in the Market Square showed differences, which to some extent can be explained by the spatial layout. The employment of Rynek II residents in trade may have been a result of the street's commercial function, yet it is not possible to determine the trading venue on the basis of the Residents' Register. The residents of Klitki specialised in craft production. At the same time, however, leather products were sold in Klitki; in 1932, there were 12 such shops out of the 19 registered in Klitki I and II. Interestingly, the names of the craftsmen living on the street coincide with the names of the people who registered the shops in only two cases.[1013] However, these two cases indicate that the formula adopted in the residents' register, where only a single occupation is included, may not reflect the true nature of the residents' economic activity.

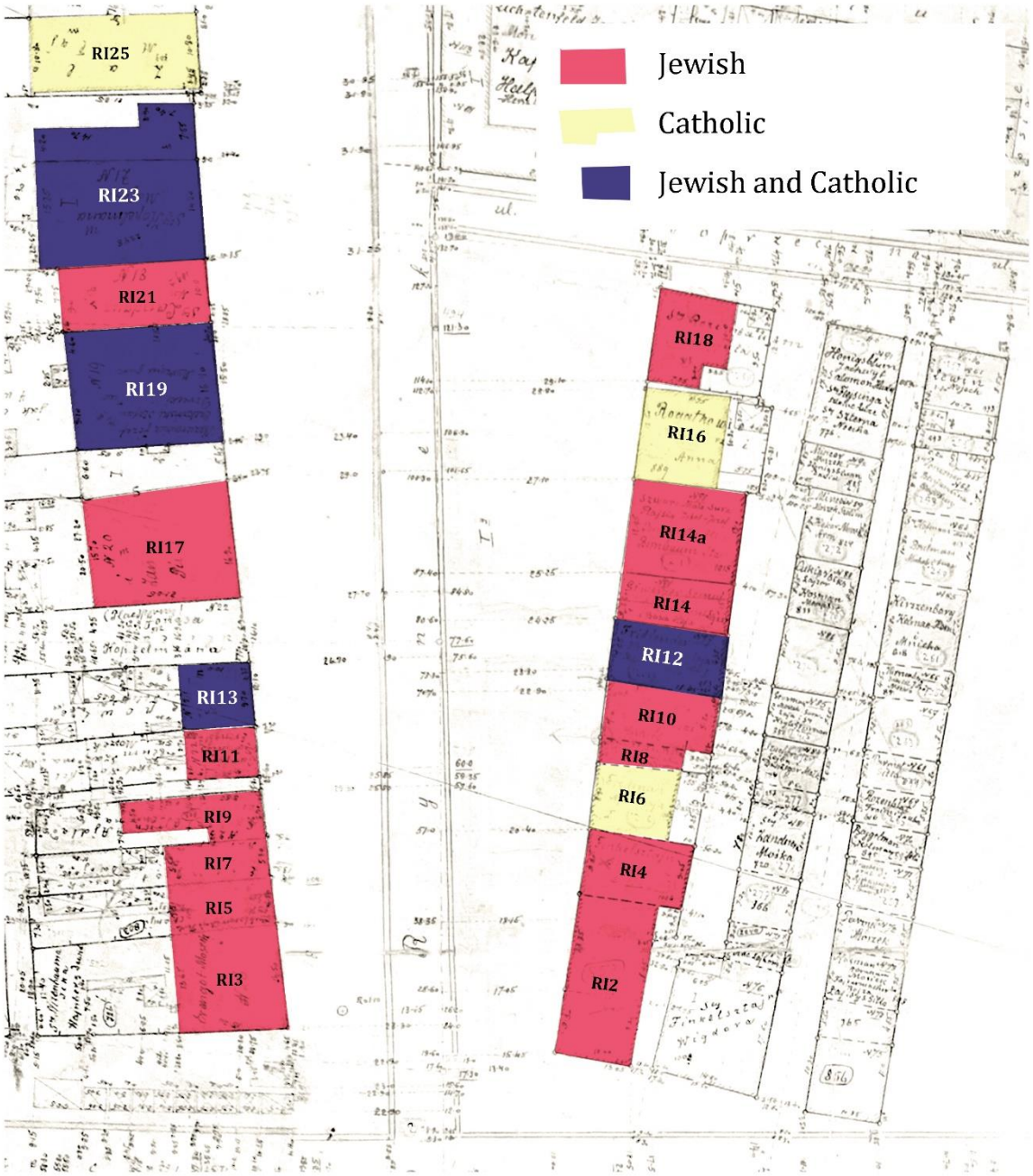
The location of Rynek I was advantageous for trade and services, while at the same time it was in some cases a designation of prestige that was associated with the profession. And so, the Jewish residents of Rynek I practised professions that were not found in Klitki or Rynek II and that were favourable to contacts with Christian residents of the town, such as medical professions or private clerks. Thus, given that almost half of those employed in Rynek I worked in trade, the residents of the street were overwhelmingly in professions that required contact with people outside their own ethno-religious group.

PART 3. RESIDENTIAL CONTACTS

House on Rynek I Street were divided by the oblong funnel-shaped square along the street. In 1932 there were one third more residents registered on the odd side of Rynek I Street than on the even side, which was not so much due to the greater number of buildings (10 to 11) but to the number of inhabitants per building (15,7 inhabitants on the odd side and 8,9 on the even side at the end of 1932, and 14.5 and 8.1 respectively at the end of 1938). The difference was largely due to the fact that 59 people lived in the house at 23 Rynek I street, more than twice as many as in the other houses on Rynek I. In addition, half of the houses on the even side were inhabited by only one family. The religious distribution corresponded to these proportions for

[1013] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 10 and 28.

all residents, with roughly 2/3 Jews and 2/3 Catholics living on the odd side of the street and 1/3 on the even side. The only larger cluster of Catholics in Rynek I was at the northern end of the street on the odd side; at the end of 1938, 17 of the 33 total Catholic residents of Rynek I lived in the two houses at numbers 23 and 25.



Map 4. Houses on Rynek I Street according to the residents' religion, 1932-1939.

An example of neighbours next door are the residents of the houses with balconies from the photograph taken during the Sea Day celebration (Photograph 4). The stage in the photograph stands before the pharmacy store at 6 Rynek I street and the colonial store at number 8. The

pharmacy was owned by Wilhelm-Dominik Pic de Replonge, who lived with his family in the same building. The Pic de Replonges, in the early 1920s categorised in the residents' register as a noble family (*dworzanie*)[1014] settled in Lubartów in February of 1920; they had escaped from Smiła, at that time in the Kiev Governorate of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. In Smiła, Wilhelm had run a pharmacy and a chemical and pharmaceutical factory. After their arrival in Lubartów, he bought the destroyed house standing at the very heart of Lubartów on Rynek I 6 street. Once the renovation was complete, the family moved in—until then they had lived in the Market Square proximity at Siedlecka street, next to St. Anne church.

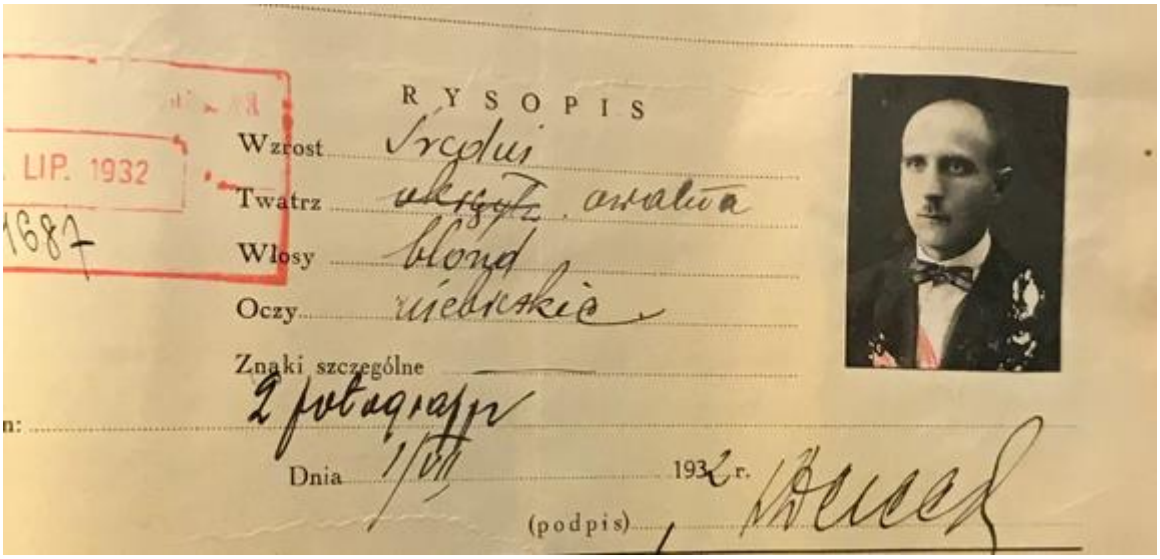


Photograph 4. Neighbours from the Rynek I street on their balconies. From the right: Finkielsztajns, Pic de Replonge, and Cytrynblums.

On the patriotically decorated balcony of the Pic de Replonge family house, elegantly-dressed people are standing—three men in suits with ties, and two women in dresses wearing hats and jewels. The sixth person is barely visible, obscured by the middle-aged man standing next to him, possibly Leonard Derecki (Photograph 5).[1015] Leonard was the husband of Marja, daughter of Wilhelm and Konstancja Pic de Replonge. Leonard and Marja got married on the 5 November 1932, and on the same day the husband moved into his in-laws' house on 6 Rynek I street. Leonard was from a well-established Lubartowian Roman Catholic family, he was one of the 109 Dereckis included in the residents' register in the 1930s. Born in 1891, Leonard was a trained pharmacist and a reserve officer from the Polish Army. Derecki's family was tied with

[1014] The first meaning of the word refers to courtier, in the register context however it might refer to estate ownership or simply a high social position.
[1015] Identification and characterisation of the Market Square residents here and later was done on the basis of the Residents' Register of 1932. Information regarding public activity was taken from multiple sources, first and foremost from the registers of organisations operating in Lubartów that list board members. In some cases, as with Leonard Derecki, I use the applications for ID cards submitted to the Town Office, which include photographs of those applying for a document.

another prominent Lubartowian family, the Filipowicz family; Genowefa, Leonard's sister, married Wacław Filipowicz, state officer in the tax office and town council member.



Photograph 5. ID application of Leonard Derecki, 1 July 1932. Source: APL, AML, 524.

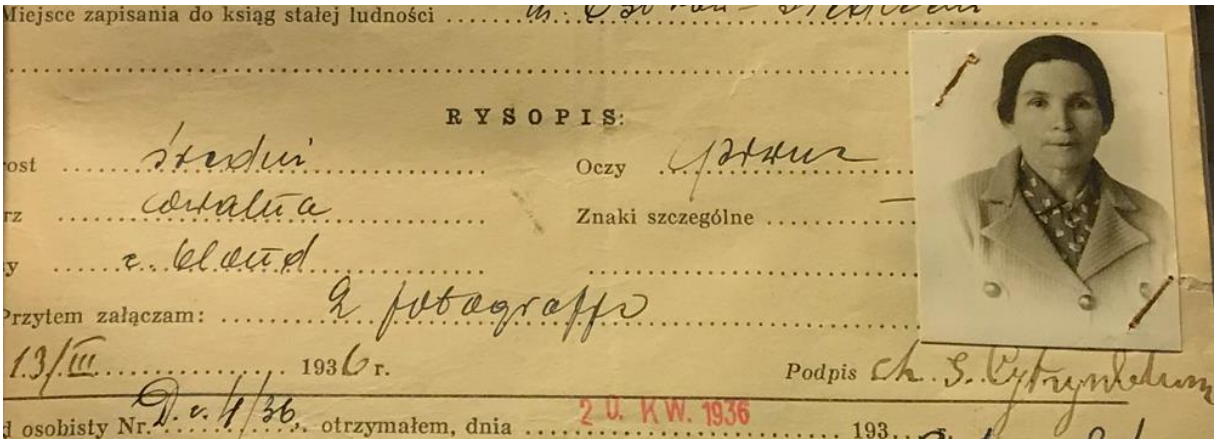
For the Pic de Replonge family, association with the Derecki family meant not only admission into an extensive network of family ties in Lubartów, but also to the town elite.[1016] Pic de Replonge confirmed his elite status when he ran as a candidate for the local government after the coup of 1926. He was a board member of the Democratic Club in Lubartów, and a candidate from the pro-government list, along with the local and state officials, including Wacław Filipowicz and other prominent citizens, merchants, teachers, and property owners.[1017] Wilhelm was also the president of the Society of Christian Mercy (Towarzystwo Miłosierdzia Chrześcijańskiego im. Św. Wincentego),[1018] an elite church-related charity supporting poorest Christians, while his wife Konstancja lead the Riflewomen's Association in Lubartów (Związku Strzeleckim Żeńskim), also politically connected with the pro-government camp.[1019]

The way in which people on Pic de Replonge balcony present themselves by their upright posture and ceremonial clothing suggests that they are well aware of the fact that they are exposed to the audience crowded around the stage just below their balcony. Their neighbours seemed to care much less about their appearance, or for the event itself. On the balcony at number 8, three women and three children are watching the Sea Day celebration. Women's

[1016] Pierre Bourdieu, *Le bal des célibataires. Crise de la société paysanne en Béarn*, (Paris, Seuil, 2002).
[1017] See Chapter 1.
[1018] Monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. See Chapter 2.
[1019] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid 1920s. APL, SPL, 90–91.

outfits are much simpler than in case of the women on the Pic de Replonge balcony, they are not dressed in ceremonial dresses or elegant hats, and leaning against the balcony's rail.

The Cytrynblum family from 8 Rynek I street arrived in Lubartów in the 1920, the same year their neighbours from number 6 moved in.[1020] Chana Sura Cytrynblum (Photograph 6) and her husband Szyja, merchant (*kupiec*) and grocery owner, were born in the mid-1870s in Ostrów Siedlecki (called Ostrów Lubelski starting from 1937), 25 kilometres North from Lubartów. In Ostrów, two of their daughters, Chaja and Łaja, and a son Abram were born. When moving into the Rynek building, the Cytrynblum family was already well connected in Lubartów. Szyja's brother, Szajko-Nachman, moved to Lubartów from Ostrów almost 40 years before his younger brother. He started a family with Marja Brondwajn, born in Lubartów in 1867. Marja's mother and nine of her siblings were all born in Lubartów and, in the 1930s, still lived there with their families.[1021]


Miejsce zapisania do ksiąg stałej ludności .....

RYSOPIS:

ost ..... Oczy .....

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Przytem załączam: .....

13/III ..... 1936 r. Podpis Ch. S. Cytrynblum

d osobisty Nr. D. c. 1/36, otrzymałem, dnia ..... 2 U. KW. 1936 ..... 193..

Photograph 6. Chana Sura Cytrynblum ID aplication, 13 March 1936. Source: APL, AML, 528.

Soon after arrival, Szyja Cytrynblum entered the elite of Jewish community in Lubartów. In the mid-1920s he became a board member of the newly founded Small Jewish Traders' Association,[1022] along with the most prominent traders in Lubartów, including two Town Council members from 1927 and two presidents of the Lubartów *kehilla* from the interwar period. The organisation was dominated by religious Jews.[1023] His son, Abram, since 1929 sat in the board of the Hechaluc Pionier, a Jewish youth movement that trained young people for settlement in the Land of Israel, and later became a head of the same organisation.[1024] His

[1020] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 162.
[1021] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40–45.
[1022] Register of organisations, unions and parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[1023] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 91–92.
[1024] Register of organisations, unions and parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92. Natalia Aleksiun," He-Chaluc," in *Polski słownik judaistyczny*, https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=19098.

engagement in the Zionist movement resulted in his emigration to Palestine in January of 1935.[1025] In 1936, a new tenant from Lublin moved in to Cytrynblum's apartment: 15-year-old Lederajch Majlich, described in the register as a family member from Lublin and a religious student (*uczeń religijny*).

The Cytrynblums and the Pic de Replonge families lived door-to-door in the most exposed location in the entire Lubartów, for nearly 20 years. From the other side, the Pic de Replonge family neighboured the Finkelsztajns from the Rynek I, another influential family in Lubartów.[1026] Szloma Finkielsztajn was the same age as Wilhelm Pic de Replonge, in the photograph he was probably an elderly man, sitting in the window with his head resting on his hands. He was a wealthy merchant and owner of a paraffin depot. Szloma was a Zionist, sitting on the board of the Mizrachi orthodox association, and a Town Board and Town Council member.[1027] His older son, Majer, born in 1902, was active in the local branches of the Zionist associations (Związek Syjonistyczny and Organizacja Syjonistyczna w Posce);[1028] Majer's brother Jankiel, two years younger, was a board member of the Bar Kochba sports club.[1029] Majer and Jankiel were accountants by profession, they both left for Radom in the late 1930s.

The houses with balconies in Rynek I street were occupied by active and influential residents of the town. Despite their similar age and public role played by Wilhem Pic de Replonge on the one hand, and his neighbours on the other, their fields of activity did not overlap at all, physical proximity and high social standing in their case did not restrict social segregation.

In the same building: the Derecki and Lustman families

Catholics and Jews, although they lived in the same houses on the Rynek I street, were not distributed evenly on Market Square. Between 1932 and 1939, there were only two Catholics individually registered in the mixed houses on the even side, while 15 grouped in three families were registered on the odd side (see map). The first thing worth noting is that throughout the 1930s, despite the high mobility of the inhabitants of Rynek I, Jewish and Catholic families occupied the same three houses on the odd numbered side of Rynek I: 13, 19, and 23, which confirms the durability of neighbourly relations.

[1025] Claire Zalc, Anton Perdoncin, and Gabrielle Escaich, "The Dynamics of Mobility and Immobility in the Face of Danger: Polish Jewish Migrations during the 1930s from Below," *Journal of Migration History*, 9:3 (2023), 323–355
[1026] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 154.
[1027] See Chapter 1.
[1028] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 90 and 92.
[1029] Register of organisations, unions and parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.

While examining the houses with mixed composition, I will address the issue of ethnic boundaries. Did occupying a single house require familiarity or common characteristics among residents from two groups? Did spatial proximity go hand in hand with social proximity in this case, and to what extent?

At 19 Rynek I Street, the Lustmans shared a house with the Derecki family.[1030] Dawid Lustman was an extremely colourful character whose rich life can only be partially captured by the town administration documents. He was born in 1877 in Kurów, 40 kilometres west of Lubartów. He arrived in Lubartów from Michów Lubartowski, another village in the area, in 1927 with his wife Paulina Lustman, twenty years younger and born in Warsaw. Paulina's name in the register was later corrected by the clerk to Perla Ruchla Arensztejn, which may mean that the Catholic name she provided was changed to match her birth certificate. On the same register page, Lustman's wife bears another name, Perla-Frymet Arensztejn, born in the same place as Perla Ruchla, but seven years earlier. Additionally, in the second entry she is not described as Lustman's wife but his "unmarried wife." The second registration took place in August 1934 after the couple's brief stay in Warsaw.

As mysterious as the identity, or identities, of Lustman's partner, remains the question of where their daughter was born. The residents' register gives two different locations: twice Lubartów and once Warsaw. If she was born in Lubartów in April 1924, which is more likely, then Dawid and Paulina/Perla must have moved to Lubartów earlier than the date of residence in the register indicates, or moved out of Lubartów after 1924, only to return later. The Lustman/Arensztejn settlement date in Lubartów seems inaccurate also in the light of the letter sent by Dawid to the town magistrate on 12 January 1928:

> "For two years, since I came to Lubartów I have been giving feldsher advice at any time, whether by day or by night, as well as at home, to destitute and poor inhabitants of the town of Lubartów without distinction as to nationality, free of charge at all, for they had no means to pay."[1031]

Lustman went on to ask for a certain sum from the town budget to pay for his services, a request which was granted. Dawid Lustman was recognised for his commitment to helping the poorest,

[1030] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 187–188.
[1031] Letter of Dawid Lustman, 12 January 1928. APL, AML, 360. The profession of feldsher, as an alternative to doctors, especially in the provinces, was widespread in the Russian partition, where feldsher schools existed. The legislation of the Second Republic of Poland entitled feldshers to perform basic nursing, rescue, basic surgical activities, and help the sick until the arrival of a doctor. In practice, despite lacking full medical training, they performed largely the same activities as doctors. Wojciech Święch, „Zawód Felczera w świetle przepisów obowiązujących w II Rzeczypospolitej," *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne* 75 (2003), 125–146.

and in 1929 the Town Council appointed him as a social worker with the right to sit on the Social Care Commission.[1032] Lustman, then over 50 years old, held this position free of charge for four years. He was one of the people who, as documented, most freely broke down boundaries between religious-ethnic groups in Lubartów. This is evidenced not only by the fact of providing assistance to the poor "without distinction as to nationality" and his language skills. Dawid Lustman was also the only Jewish resident of Lubartów linked in police reports with the Polish Socialist Party. In March 1928, together with other PPS activists, he was reported to the prosecutor's office by the police in Lubartów for spreading rumours about the resignation of Marshal Piłsudski's government on the day of the parliamentary elections.[1033] At the same time, in August of the same year, Dawid Lustman became the head Lubartów branch of the Zionist Organisation in Poland in (the so-called General Zionists, a liberal and non-Orthodox group).[1034]

Stanisław Derecki, two years younger than Dawid Lustman and his neighbour in the house at 19 Rynek I was politically involved on the side of the pro-government camp against which Lustman spoke. Derecki's links with the pro-Piłsudski formations dates back at least to the First World War. In 1918, as a member of the Polish Military Organisation (POW), founded and led by Józef Piłsudski, he actively participated in the peaceful disarming of the occupying Austrian army in Lubartów.[1035]

Parallel to his pro-independence activity, he had been a social activist; in 1916 he was one of the co-founders of Jedność, the largest Christian food cooperative in Lubartów,[1036] and ran the cooperative's first shop, located in the same house at 19 Rynek I. Since 1924 the same time he was the head of the Society of the Polish Merchants (Stowarzyszenie Kupców Polskich).[1037] In the period after the May *coup* 1926, he became politically involved as one of the members of the board of the Democratic Club, co-founding the Sanacja power elite in Lubartów, and he was also a candidate in the 1927 elections for councillor. The campaign of the Democratic Club was based on the threat of Jewish majority in the Town Council.[1038] Until the end of the 1930s, he

[1032] See Chapter 2.
[1033] Lublin voivode's report on the 1928 elections, 24 March 1928. AAN, 270/II–2, 8. Admittedly, a year earlier in the Town Council elections, Lustman did not run for elections from the PPS list but from one of the "Jewish lists". See Chapter 1.
[1034] Register of organisations, unions and political parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s–early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[1035] He is in the photograph showing the group of POW soldiers after the disarming. Regional Museum in Lubartów. https://niepodlegla100lat.blogspot.com/p/pow–lubartow.html.
[1036] See Chapter 1.
[1037] Registers of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s – early 1930s. APL, SPL, 90–92.
[1038] See Chapter 1.

remained active in the pro-government camp. In 1939, Derecki joined the openly anti-Semitic Ozon election committee for the Town Council. As a member of Ozon, he became a town councillor.

Derecki and Lustman were both politically temperamental and socially active; at the same time, Derecki was a co-founder of organisations and political movements that sought to politically and economically marginalise Jewish residents in Lubartów, while Lustman, speaking out against the Sanacja order, at the same time led a branch of a Zionist organisation that, in addition to supporting emigration to Palestine, fought for Jewish autonomy in Poland. Perhaps their example demonstrates that ideological divisions did not have to transfer into everyday life, in this case into the neighbourhood relationships. However, we do not know the emotional price that both men paid for this.

A certain intimacy between the Lustman and Derecki families is evidenced by the fact that when, at the end of 1933, Dawid Lustman and Perla Arensztejn left to Warsaw, their 10-year-old daughter, Łaja, remained in the flat at 19 Rynek I until her parents returned in August of 1934.[1039] Apart from Stanisław and his wife Helena, Łaja stayed with two of Dereckis children, 5 and 14 years older than her. After her parents' return, Łaja and her mother registered at another house in Lubartów outside the Market Square, where they joined Perla's mother. Two years later, in July of 1936, the two returned to the Derecki family house, where they stayed at least until the outbreak of war. It is not clear, however, if and when Dawid joined the family in the 19 Rynek I building.[1040]

It is not clear why Perla and Dawid left for Warsaw without their daughter, or why the family did not live together upon their return from Warsaw. The explanation could be Dawid's addiction to drugs. In mid-September 1933, the Town Council, at Lustman's request, decided to finance his stay in a sanatorium for addicted persons.[1041] The coverage of Dawid Lustman's medical expenses in 1933 was motivated by his poor financial situation. Lustman's low income was also evidenced by the lowest annual contribution to the Jewish *Kehilla* that a member of the Jewish *Kehilla* was obliged to pay, 5 zlotys in 1930.[1042] The Derecki, on contrary, ran a

[1039] In the population control book recording the departures of permanent residents of Lubartów, Łaja was initially also entered, suggesting that the family planned to move together. She was subsequently crossed out of the book with the notation „error" (*zapis omyłkowy*). Register of permanent residents' departure, 1934. APL, AML, 76, 48.
[1040] As in the case of other entries concerning the Lustman family, also in this case the manner of noting his return to 19 Rynek I street does not correspond to the adopted practises in the register.
[1041] Protocol of Town Board meeting, 14 September 1933. APL, AML, 115, 44.
[1042] The poorest members were exempt from fees though. List of *Kehilla's* contributors, 28 February 1930. APL, AML, 795, 165.

prosperous shop and supported charitable initiatives extensively.[1043] Thus, there are many signs that the Dereckis and the Lustmans were divided by material status in addition to everything else.

The house at 19 Rynek I street was approximately 180 square metres at its base and was square in shape (Photograph 7). On the ground floor, Stanisław's grocery shop was located; the living premises were upstairs. It is likely that the Lustmans/Arensztejns also lived on the same floor. In the same house Dawid received his patients and poor Jews requesting material support from the town.[1044] Both flats shared a common lavatory, which was located in the courtyard, next to the farm buildings.

Although we know much about Stanisław Derecki and Dawid Lustman due to their public activities, it is difficult to point to characteristics that might indicate an acquaintance between them before they moved in together or explain their decision to live together. One can only assume that it was convenient for the Dereckis to have a medical professional as a housemate, or that the Lustmans chose the location of the flat considering Dawid feldsher's practice, and that Stanisław Derecki himself, as an influential persona, was to lend credibility to Lustman in front of Christian patients.

[1043] "List of donors for annual unemployment assistance," *Lubartowiak*, 24 (1937), 12.
[1044] List of the Lubartów magistrate employees, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187, no page number.

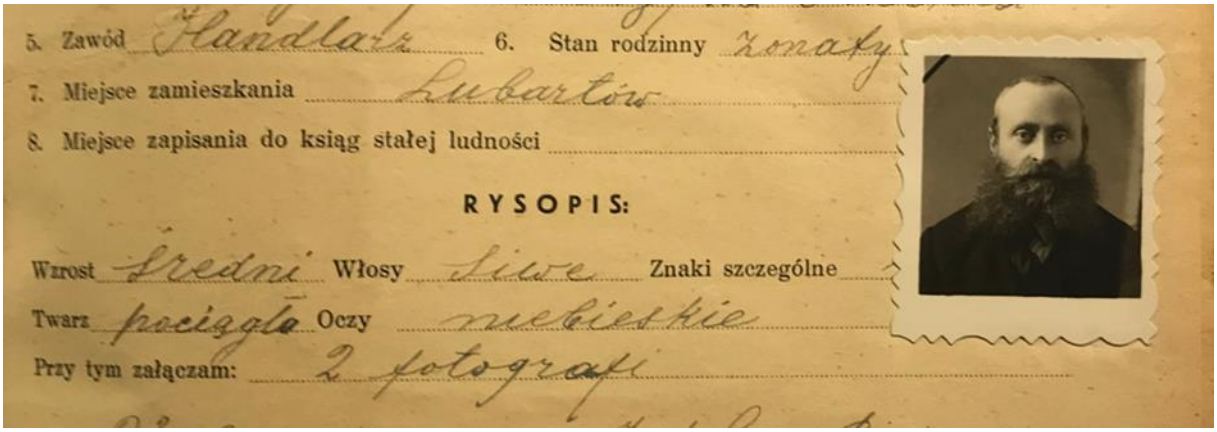


Photograph 7. Odd side of Rynek I Street during the Market Day. Two two-storey buildings with numbers 19 (further) and 23 Rynek I Street (closer), 1920s. Regional Museum in Lubartów.

In the same house—23 Rynek I residents

The Jewish and Catholic residents at 23 Rynek I Street, as Lustmans and Dereckis, share some characteristics but their acquaintance or cooperation is unproven.[1045] The Aftyka family, the only Catholic family in the building has a similar material status to some Jewish neighbouring families. The family of six lived from the work of Grzegorz Aftyka, born 1886, a labourer (*robotnik*). In 1937, 10-year-old Tadeusz, the youngest of five siblings, was included to the list of children from the poorest families in Lubartów receiving Christmas assistance.[1046] Bidermans, from the neighbouring apartment, where also public aid recipients as long as it was provided for Jewish residents in need.[1047] In January of 1931 Icek Lejzor Biderman was categorised by the social worker as unemployed. The same month the oldest daughter of Icek and his wife Fajga died. Sura-Ita was one of the five Biderman children.

[1045] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 190–199. APL, AML, 46, 2–3.
[1046] List of the poorest children in Lubartów, December 1937. APL, AML, 369, 85. See Chapter 2. Aftykas are the only Christian family from Rynek I street receiving assistance.
[1047] List of the poorest residents provided with aid, 3 January 1931. APL, AML, 363. No page numbers.


5. Zawód Handlarz 6. Stan rodzinny żonaty
7. Miejsce zamieszkania Lubartów
8. Miejsce zapisania do ksiąg stałej ludności
RYSOPIS:
Wzrost średni Włosy siwe Znaki szczególne
Twarz pociągła Oczy niebieskie
Przy tym załączam: 2 fotografi

Photograph 8. Icek Lejzor Biderman's ID application, 23 June 1939. APL, AML, 531.

A year and a half later, in July of 1932, Icek Lejzor was registered as a trader in the residents' register. This categorisation corresponds to information from business register—since 1929, Icek had run a store on Klitki Street, selling leather products (*sklep skór*).[1048]

Poor Jewish and Catholic families made up only part of the building's tenants. The house at 23 Rynek I street had a much more complex social structure. At number 1 lived the Cwajmans. Chaim-Icek, trader, who paid a contribution of 20 zlotys to the *Kehilla* in 1930, which placed him among the wealthier contributors. The median for the contributions of the 447 contributors was 10 zlotys, the same amount was paid by two other residents of the house, Srul-Icek Denemark and Abram Nachtajler, from flats number 4 and 5.[1049] At number 2, Jakób-Mordko Lichtenfeld lived with his family whose main source of livelihood was a rented estate.[1050] There are many indications that Jakób-Mordko was the same person as Jankiel Lichtenfeld, and that the property rented was the commercial building across Rynek I street, at Nowopoprzeczna 22, where Jews and Christians rented commercial spaces. Jankiel, not Jakób, also appears on all available lists of Jewish *Kehilla* contribution payers, from 1927 to 1930, as one of the most generous contributors—in 1930 he paid 50 zlotys.[1051] Jakób-Mordek's wife, Ruchla, like Dawid Lustman, held the position of social worker for two terms from 1929—she may have been behind the support given to the Bidermans.[1052] The Lichtenfelds' son, Moszek Tobiasz, studied

[1048] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 9.
[1049] List of *Kehilla's* contributors, 28 February 1930. APL, AML, 795.
[1050] Jakób Mordko Lichtenfeld also worked as a request writer and served Catholic and Jewish clients. Wincenty Kosior's application, 12 May 1939. APL, AML, 518, 121.
[1051] *Ibid*.
[1052] List of the social workers, 19 September 1929. APL, AML, 361.

at the Gymnasium, which is also indicative of the family's material status, as well as their aspirations.[1053]

When zooming in on the house at 23 Rynek I street, the great social differentiation of the tenants emerges—Jakób-Mordko Lichtenfeld from under 2 and Grzegorz Aftyka from under 10 were from two different worlds. When we get even closer, it becomes apparent that within the diversity at the building level there were internal hierarchies at the household's level. The wealthier tenants and the Kopelmans, the owners of the house, occupied the flats with the lower numbers from 1 to 6, while the aforementioned workers' families and those receiving welfare support lived on the higher floors, in flats 10 and 11. The last apartment occupied another large family in the building, the Kac family of eight lived exclusively from the work of the upholsterer Fiszel.

Living in the same apartment on Rynek I and Rynek II streets

In 1937, 29-year-old Julianna Malesa, Roman Catholic, arrived in Lubartów from Sobolew, a village nearby. She moved into the apartment of the judge in the local court, Karol Płotas and his family, Roman Catholics, where she worked as a servant. The Płotas family lived in a mansion on 78 Piłsudski atreet on the south end of Lubartów, far from Market Square. After half a year, in January 1938, when the Płotas family left Lubartów, Julianna Malesa moved to the Silbermans' apartment on the 12 Rynek I street. The Silbermans, Jews from the Tarnopol region, arrived in Lubartów in the early 1930s.[1054] Maurycy Silberman was a private doctor in Lubartów, treating Jewish and Catholic patients.[1055] He stayed with his wife Ester and brother who was a private clerk. Julianna Malesa shared the apartment with Silbermans until their migration to Lwów in the fall of 1939.

Wincenty Jezior, was a baker from Firlej, a village near Lubartów. In May 1934, he arrived in Lubartów—he was 27. He stayed with the Bajgielman family in a house at 11 Rynek II street. Kileman Bajgielman, a resident of Lubartów since 1898, ran a bakery in the same building. Jezior lived in the house at 11 Rynek II Street until the outbreak of war, with Kileman, his wife Etla and daughter Chana born, like Jezior, in April of 1907. The Bajgielmans, like the Silbermans, by employing and living with Kileman, broke two boundaries which were very rarely crossed in Lubartów: people in a close professional relationship and living together.

[1053] The high social position of Jakób Mordek is also evidenced by the fact that he was elected the first president of the *Judenrat*. See Chapter 3.
[1054] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 170.
[1055] See above.

There were only three other registered Catholics in the house of Jewish employers, the opposite did not occur. For Jezior's part, the decision to start working together is all the more curious, as both Jews and Christians were bakers in Lubartów. Jezior remained the Bajgielmans' tenant even after moving into the flat of Moszek-Hersz Kawa, an oilman from Łęczna, in August of 1937, and after Moszek and Chana's child had been born year later. All six lived in an apartment of approximately 45 square metres, below which Kielman's bakery was located.[1056]

Although we do not have any information concerning the co-living of Wincenty Jezior with the Bajgielmans, or Malesa with the Silbermans, the very fact of the work for Jewish employers, in Jezior's case lasting five years, and the daily close contacts are unquestionable. The dynamics of the relationship must also have been influenced by the fact that Malesa and Jezior were not only the only Catholics in both flats but also the only people outside the family. However, the conditions for building inter-religious-ethnic relations differed significantly in the two cases, both due to the nature of the work and of co-living. In case of Maurycy Silberman having a non-Jewish domestic worker added another dimension of interethnic and religious functioning in Lubartów.[1057] Additionally, it might have served to distinguish his social status which corresponded to his apartment location.[1058] In Bajgielman's case, the hiring of the employee was probably due to purely professional needs, which is not to say that there were no non-professional factors behind the choice made by Jezior.

PART 4: HOUSE OWNERSHIP AND HOUSE RENTAL

In order to address the house ownership on the Market Square, I mobilised the plan from the 1920s, the 1932 residents' register and, in some cases, the Jewish owners list for 1940 prepared by occupiers' administration. These help addresses the interethnic and interreligious relationships between landlords and tenants. How were these relationships limited by the property structure in the Market Square? Luckily, in the case of the four streets under investigation it almost always possible to follow the transfer of ownership during the interwar period. The 1920s plan includes the names of all lots' owners on the Market Square with three exceptions: lot number 92—2 Rynek I street in the 1932 Residents' Register, lot 75—3 Rynek

[1056] It is possible that Jezior's bed was in the bakery.
[1057] In 1937 Silberman took part in an event organized by the St. Vincent Society.
[1058] Having a non-Jewish domestic worker was common among the secular bourgeoisie in Eastern Europe. Judith Kalik, "Servants," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, https://encyclopedia.yivo.org/article/303, (6 September 2025). Malesa was one of three Christian women registered as a domestic worker in Jewish families' apartments.

II street and lot 86—the only house on Market Square with an uncertain address, 14 Klitki I or 16 Klitki I; while the 1932 Register indicates ownership whenever the person that owned the flat lived in the same building. In this case the residential status is defined as a house owner (*właściciel domu or wł. domu*). This term indicates that the ownership was not divided into flats but by shares, which was the most common legal formula in the Second Polish Republic.[1059] According to both sources, there were no non-Jewish owners of all buildings on Klitki streets and Rynek II street.

Klitki and Rynek II Streets and the limited housing options

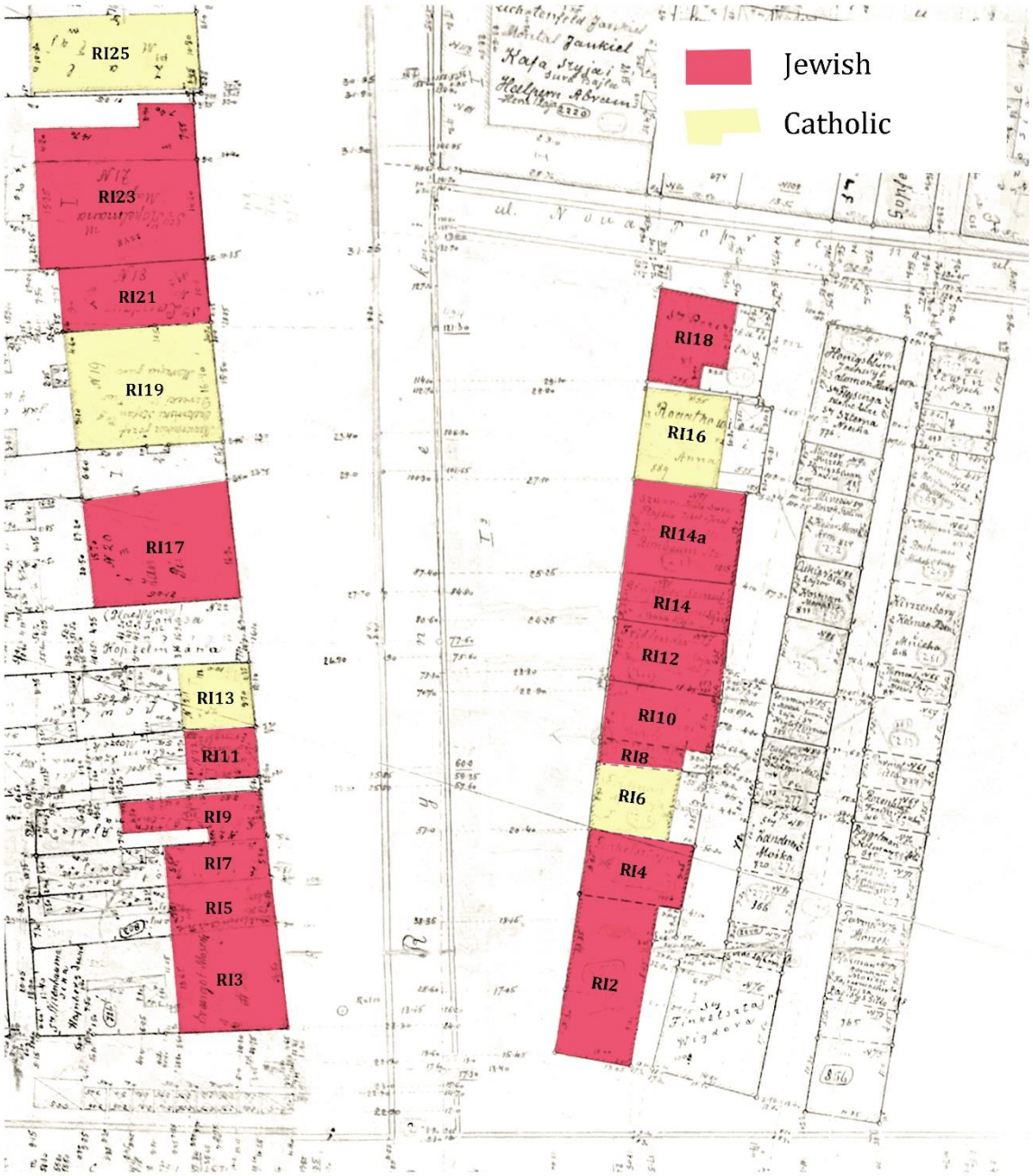
As the 1932 Register shows, most flats on Klitki and Rynek II streets were occupied by the owners or their family members, out of 25 flats only 5 were rented on Klitki I and II streets and 15 out of 59 on Rynek II, which means that residents were grouped in the house primarily on the basis of ownership and kinship. Tenants renting flats from the house owner or owners were defined as main tenants (*główny lokator or gł. lokator*) and, on Rynek II and Klitki streets, all of them were categorised as Jews. There were 6 other cases, 3 on Rynek II and 3 in Klitki I, when the renting person was defined as a subtenant (*sublokator*), a vague category that caused officials some difficulties. In practice, this commonly refers to the person who rented the room from a house owner or a main tenant.[1060] Icek-Ela Duman, as a subtenant from 16 Rynek II, however, rented the entire flat number 7.[1061]

The owners-tenants relationships included only Jewish residents of Klitki and Rynek II and all tenants had been renting flats already in mid-1932 and almost all of them stayed there at least until the September 1939. Only three main tenants on Rynek II moved out before the war broke out and the flats remained emptied after that. All of this leads to the conclusion that not only there was a small number of flats that were available for new tenants from outside the owner's family, but also there were very few possibilities (or none) to settle on both streets in the 1930s. The residential patterns depending on house ownership were yet another factor that highly limited changes in the social fabric on Klitki and Rynek II.

[1059] Instrukcja, paragraf 56, point 4. https://historia.org.pl/2021/07/05/ile–kosztowala–budowa–domu–lub–cena–zakupu–mieszkania–w–ii–rp–i–kogo–bylo–stac–na–wlasne–lokum/.

[1060] Confusion might have resulted from the way the category was introduced in the instructions for the officials. It was supposed to refer only to a situation in which the main tenant sublet the flat or a room. From the instruction it is, however, unclear how the person renting the room from the house owner should be categorised. Instrukcja Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych z dnia 27 listopada 1930 r. o prowadzeniu rejestru mieszkańców. M.P. 1930 no 291 item 411, paragraph 56.

[1061] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 42. In his case the category is written with a pen as the rest of his line, which might indicate that the entry was than in accordance with the instruction.



Map 5. Apartments ownership on the Rynek I street in the 1930s.

Defining the ownership on the Rynek I street

Among four street that are under consideration, Rynek I was the only one with Roman Catholic house owners. Measurement plan from the early 1920s includes four houses with one or more Roman Catholic owners at Rynek I street, there is not a single case of mixed ownership. Nevertheless, the 1932 residents' register includes five Roman Catholic house owners on the Rynek I Street, adding to the group Wilhelm Pic de Replonge from 6 Rynek I street, the same

building which was owned by Chaja-Dwojra Fridman in the early 1920s. Chaja-Dwojra appeared in the 1932 Residents' Register as the mother of Szoel Fridman, a merchant and shop owner living with family on the Kamionkowska Street.[1062] Szoel's name was also included on the list of Jewish property owners from February of 1940.[1063] According to the document, he owned one apartment of a value of 2,500 zlotys in 6 Rynek I street building. The comparison with the other apartments listed, proves that the Fridman's apartment was only a part of the entire building. For instance, the value of the house neighbouring that of the Cytrynblums was estimated at 6,000 zlotys and the Cytrynblums' house was more than three times smaller (Map). In this view, the 6 Rynek I street building was most likely a shared ownership, the Friedmans when selling it to Pic de Replonge in the 1920s maintained the ownership of the small part of the building, probably one of the commercial venues.[1064] Taking all of the above into consideration, I decided to acknowledge the apartment number 1 at 6 Rynek I, where the Pic de Replonge lived, as Wilhelm's property. The same building is also the only recorded example of the ownership exchange from the Jewish to the Catholic owner on Rynek I Street between early 1920s and 1939.

In the case of all the other houses in Rynek I, the owner(s) of the property from the 1920s plan, or their heirs, were included in the 1932 register of residents. It should be noted here that women's ownership according to the plan is often transferred to men in the register of residents. This happened firstly in a situation of a joint property of spouses, when a husband and wife are recorded as owners on the measurement plan, such as "Kazimierz and Anna Rogatko" or "Cytrynblum Szyja and Nechemia-Sura, spouses", while in the register the owners of the houses are only Kazimierz Rogatko and Szyja Cytrynblum. A similar transfer of ownership occurs when the heirs of a particular person are recorded as owners on the plan as in the case of 18 Rynek I street, "the heirs of Rozenbaum Szmul," while in the register instead of Szmul's daughter Ruchla her husband Josel-Dawid Karcenelin is categorised as the owner of the house. The manner in which ownership rights are recorded in the residents' register is, alongside professional activity, additional evidence of administrative discrimination against women in the document.

[1062] Register of permanent residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 42.
[1063] Census of Jewish house owners in Lubartów, 2nd half of June 1940. APL, AML, 830.
[1064] This is according to a compilation of two wartime registers, a register of people renting flats and shops as well as a commercial register.

Differences in ownership structure

Houses owned by Jews and Catholics differed in terms of ownership structure. In the case of buildings owned by Jewish owners, ownership was mostly divided. The 1920s plan identifies six plots on Rynek I street which belonged to two or more unrelated owners, four more were owned by two or more heirs of a particular person. In fact, only Jewish owned houses on Rynek I street changed the owners within the family in the 1920s and 1930s. Nine houses were entirely or partly inherited. In many cases, as at 23 Rynek I street, ownership was shared by more than one heir, leading to further fragmentation. In mid-1932, two daughters and two sons of Majer Kopelman lived in the building. As example, the plot at 3 Rynek I street, located at the northern end of the street, belonged according to the 1920s plan to Moszek Erengot, Dawid Wajnberg and the heirs of Icek Nisenbaum, born 1860, who is the only one of the three to appear in the register of inhabitants dated back to partition period, with a note of death in 1920.[1065] Among his heirs were his son Jankiel-Berko and daughter Chaja-Rywka Chodower, owners of two independent gallantry shops on Rynek II and Rynek I streets.[1066] In 1932 they both were registered as owners of the house at 3 Rynek I street, each in a separate flat with their families. Erengot and Wajnberg occupied the other two flats also as owners of the house. As a result of the split ownership of the building at 3 Rynek I, all of the four flats in the 1930s were occupied by the owners of the house, and there was no room for additional tenants.

Unlike Jewish-owned houses, those belonged to Christians were mostly property of indviduals or married couples. In the case of the Pic de Replonge, the Kempas, the Rogatkos, and the Zalewski family, their exclusive ownership of the buildings in which they lived leaves no doubt. Men in this group that were recognised as house owners in the residents' register were all of similar age, born between 1868 and 1878. Only Władysław Zalewski from the house number 25 on the edge of Rynek I street was born in Lubartów. The rest were first generation Lubartowians with no family ties to the town, yet wealthy enough to buy a house in Rynek I street, which is opposite to Jewish owners that in most cases inherited the estate. Almost two-thirds of the Jewish owners on Rynek I street, 20 out of 33, were born in Lubartów.

19 Rynek I street and 4 owners

The above examples of Kempa, Rogatko, and Pic de Replonge show that the houses on Rynek I Street were of interest to well-off newcomers who, after moving to Lubartów, co-created the

[1065] The register of permanent residents, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 13, 512.
[1066] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 3 and 48. House number are not given.

town's elite by participating in political and social life.[1067] Another example of the presence of the establishment of the most influential people in the Rynek I street is the building at number 19, co-owned by 4 men; besides the already mentioned Stanisław Derecki, it had, according to the 1920s plan, three other owners: Józef Nazarewicz, Stefan Czekański, and Jan Marzenta. Nazarewicz, born in 1858, Derecki's brother-in-law, was a generation older than the other owners of the building. From 1916 and 1919, he had run a colonial tobacco shop in Lubartów.[1068] As Ryszard Dumało points out, Jan Marzenta used to work for Nazarewicz as a sub-chief and later bought the shop at 19 Rynek I from him.[1069] A plan from the 1920s, however, indicates that Nazarewicz kept a share in the building. It is not clear how long Nazarewicz, was associated with the house at 19 Rynek I, nor how long he remained in Lubartów—he is not included in the 1932 register.

The acquaintance of the three remaining owners, Derecki, Czekański and Marzenta, went back at least to the beginning of the inter-war period. All three were socially and politically active merchants. Derecki and Czekański were elected to the Town Council under Austrian rule in 1918, and later to the Town Board, where Derecki served as vice-mayor until April of 1919.[1070] Like Derecki, Marzenta was associated with the pro-government camp after the 1926 coup. Marzenta and Derecki sat together on the board of the Democratic Club[1071] from whose list Marzenta was elected to the Town Council in 1927. He sat on the council until the outbreak of war, and during his last term of office was at the same time a member of the Town Board. At the same time, together with Derecki, he managed the Association of Polish Merchants.[1072] In 1938, when paramilitary organisations associated with the pro-government camp in Lubartów, as in the rest of Poland, were setting hierarchies in the social life of the town, Marzenta was appointed to the leadership of one of them, the Riflemen's Association.[1073] Stefan Czekański had led the same organisation in an earlier period, the mid-1920s, when the Sanation regime had not yet established itself in Lubartów.[1074] Stefan Czekański was affiliated with the pro-

[1067] Rogatko was an active member of the National movement in Lubartów. See Chapter 5.
[1068] *Polen. Adressbuch für Industrie, Handel und Landwirtschaft / Polska. Księga adresowa dla przemysłu, handlu i rolnictwa* (Berlin-Warschau: Rudolf Mosse, 1916), 495.
[1069] Ryszard Jacek Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie. Lubartów 1939–1945* (Lublin: Polihymia, 2001), 304.
[1070] List of the Town Board members, 14 April 1919. APL, AML, 72. See Chapter 1.
[1071] Register of organisations, unions, and political parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s–early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[1072] *Ibid*.
[1073] *Lubartowiak*, 12 (1938), 6.
[1074] Register of organisations and unions in Lubartów county, mid–1920s. APL, SPL, 90. From 1925, Czekański also sat on the board of the educational organisation Polish Educational Society Register of organisations, unions and political parties in Lubartów county, mid–1920s. APL, SPL, 91. Czekański was also a member of the Society of Art Lovers which organised Polish cultural life in the town in the first period of the II Polish Republic.

Piłsudski patriotic left wing of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS),[1075] increasingly critical of Piłsudski's rule after the coup of 1926.[1076] It is possible that, because of his left-wing beliefs and links to the PPS, he knew or even collaborated with Dawid Lustman, tenant of the house at 19 Rynek I street since the 1920s, or perhaps he was the link between Lustman and Derecki.

Despite the shared ownership of 19 Rynek I street, it did not happen that at least two of the owners lived in the house at the same time. Of the four owners included on the measurement plan from the early 1920s, only Stanisław Derecki and Jan Marzenta appear in the permanent residents' registers as tenants of the house at plot number 19. The former lived there at least until 1919.[1077] The Marzentas probably shared the building with Jewish families included in the same register, most likely the Grycmans.[1078] Derecki moved to the house after 1919, most probably at the time where the plot was still shared ownership.[1079] It is likely Dereckis moved into the apartment previously occupied by Marzentas, and later Lustmans occupied that of Grycmans. At that time Marzenta moved to Słowackiego Street, but he kept his shop at 19 Rynek I street until the late 1930s, and also during the war.[1080] It is not known, however, whether he or anyone else, apart from Stanisław Derecki, was a co-owner of the residential part of the building and in consequence, who rented the apartment to Dawid Lustman.

Renting apartments on Rynek I street

Despite the differences between Jewish and Catholic ownership, these have one thing in common: in most cases the house was occupied by owners or owners' family members. In the 1930s, all 21 houses in Rynek I Street had at least one owner residing. In 11 cases, the houses were inhabited exclusively by the owners and their family members. Therefore, the Rynek I Street, as on Klitki and Rynek II, although to a lesser extent, ownership and kinship ties primarily determined the distribution of housing and there was not much room left for renting.

Between 1932 and 1939, of 25 apartments, 10 were rented. Most of the 33 tenants (22) came from outside Lubartów and in the group of 6 tenants at Rynek I renting from landlord outside their religious group, only Kiwa Marymonc was born in Lubartów. In 1937, Marymonc, 35,

[1075] Register of organisations, unions and political parties in Lubartów county, late 1920s–early 1930s. APL, SPL, 92.
[1076] Czekański's political paths with Derecki and Marzenta must have parted for good in the late 1930s. In 1937, he was named by the district governor as one of three suspects for preventive imprisonment before the 1 May holiday along with leftist activist from outside Lubartów. County chief letter to the Lublin Voivode, 17 April 1937. APL, SPL, 240, 323.
[1077] The register of permanent residents, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 13, 755.
[1078] The register of permanent residents, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 22, 319.
[1079] The register of permanent residents, late 19th century–1932. APL, AML, 12, 39.
[1080] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 6 and 82.

moved with his wife Perla and their 5-year-old daughter Sura-Mala into the house of Stanisław Kempa, where a flat had become vacant after the death of the policeman Jan Urbaś. In addition to the apartment, Marymonc also rented a commercial space.[1081] Marymonc was the second Jewish tenant renting from Kempa; the Jewish bookkeeper Kontejner with his wife and children occupied an apartment in Kempas house at least since 1932. The example of Kempa, a cold meats producer at 13 Rynek I, is all the more intriguing because, as a town councillor since 1919, he was associated with the nationalist Popular National Union (ZLN).[1082]

Proportionally, as in case of Kempa, it was the Catholic landlords who were more likely to rent to Jewish tenants: that was the case in three out of four cases, with Grzegorz Aftyka from 25 Rynek I as the only Catholic tenant in a Jewish-owned building. In all situations, the landlord-tenant relationship overlaps with the residential relationship. Just as it was difficult to point out common characteristics between tenants from different ethno-religious groups, it is equally difficult to point out what the landlords had in common with the house owners. However, it is worth emphasising that the all the relationships lasted for at least two years and continued until the war broke out. Although the number of landlords renting to people outside their group in Market I street was small, the examples given prove that religion was not an unbreakable barrier when renting flats. This conclusion is further strengthened by the examples of Stanisław Kempa and Stanisław Derecki and their tenants. Political differences and prejudiced ideology did not prevent residential contacts and rental contract.

[1081] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 62.
[1082] Political composition of the Lubartów Town Council, 27 January 1927. APL, UWL-WSP, 1650, 109.

CHAPTER 5. THE MARKET SQUARE IN LUBARTÓW AS A VIEWPOINT FOR INTERRELIGIOUS AND INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

PART 1. WASTE ON THE MARKET SQUARE

Economic and social changes in the Second Republic of Poland are predominantly described in terms of modernity and modernisation. The direction of change in this perspective was developed at the central level, in ministries, offices, and state institutions by politicians, specialists, and visionaries, often modelled on the more developed Western European countries.[1083] Modernisation is also the focus of Włodzimierz Mędrzecki's narrative on interwar Poland.[1084] He points to a division between post-traditional and modern Poland. Modernity in the Second Polish Republic was scattered. According to Mędrzecki, the divisions are both geographical and social. Mędrzecki points to the modern elites, local agents of change: officials, teachers, clergy, police officers, and factory managers. In his analysis, the difference between post-traditional and modern Poland is the existence of a free-market economy and financial instruments for investment. Small-town Jewish residents, with their employment structure, professions inherited from their parents, lack of funds for investment, attachment to old forms of activity, and resistance to sanitary regulations, belonged to a post-traditional Poland.

Another way of framing modernisation in the Second Polish Republic is through the relationship between a nationally oriented state and its citizens. Kathryn Ciancia analyses the modernisation project in the ethnically and religiously diverse Eastern Borderlands, where modernisation served to strengthen the national identity of these areas. Modernisation exploited and reinforced hierarchies of citizens based on ethnic, religious, or national affiliation. To simplify this discourse, in the Eastern Borderlands of the Second Polish Republic, it was necessary to remove Russian elements constituting a backward civilisational heritage, remove the Jewish elements (*odżydzić*) that were an obstacle to modernisation, and transform

[1083] An example of this type of monograph is the newly published collection Paweł Grata (ed). *Przemiany modernizacyjne w drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 2020). Janusz Żarnowski, „Rola państwa w kształtowaniu społeczeństwa Polski międzywojennej. Zarys problemu i uwagi wstępne," in *Państwo i społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*, in Jan Żarnowski (ed.), *Państwo i społeczeństwo Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej – Metamorfozy społeczne*, 8 (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2014), 9–32.
[1084] Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, *Odzyskany śmietnik, Jak radziliśmy sobie z niepodległością w II Rzeczypospolitej?* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2023), 142–151.

Ukrainians into Poles, or at least into loyal citizens.[1085] Ethnic Poles occupied the highest position in the civilisational hierarchies. They took the responsibility for introducing modernisation and progress, as they were the only ones who understood new forms of government, democracy, which, in opposition to Russian imperial rule, was one of the tools of modernisation.

My view of changes in the urban structure of Lubartów is deeply rooted in local social dynamics and power relations in Lubartów. The perspective of the state modernisation project is an important context, but not the main focus of my analysis. I mobilise Lubartów municipal records to identify the changes required, the directions of investment, and the methods of its implementation. My perspective significantly influences the language of the analysis. A key category in examining the transformations of Lubartów is investments (*inwestycje*), used in relation to the planned changes in Lubartów. Investment is a category from the sources; it shifts attention to local actors that planned and carried out the changes. Investment, like the categories of modernisation or civilisation, implies future benefits or development. However, investment emphasises the allocation of resources and, to a lesser extent, the desired effect of change. Unlike modernisation, investments do not imply a transformation of social relations or the formation of a new type of citizen. Despite the clear ethnic coding of some of the issues (*zagadnienia*) requiring solving in Lubartów, the administrative and public discourse of change in Lubartów does not develop such a clear hierarchy between groups. Therefore, when focusing on the internal perspective of Lubartów, I do not consider it necessary to use modernity as the category of analysis.

The vision of future Lubartów was reflected in the investment plans, which were developed during Town Council and board meetings. The issue of change is firstly a matter of diagnosis: what needed to be changed in Lubartów, and who decided on it? What role did intergroup relations and prejudices play? To broaden the perspective on these issues, I also draw on the local newspapers. Were the directions of change always determined from above? To what extent did the discussions about investments antagonise Lubartów residents? Did the Jewish residents, who were marginalised in the local government, have any influence on the investments? The second group of issues concerns the implementation of change. Were all the planned investments carried out? What determined their priority? Who carried out the investments, and how? And finally, what was the position of the residents most affected by

[1085] Kathryn Ciancia, *On Civilization's Edge: A Polish Borderland in the Interwar World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 125–127.

these investments? To address these questions, I focus on the Market Square, around which many of the planned investments of the 1920s and 1930s were centred. They included sewage and waste management, as well as improvements to trading conditions—key issues for the Market Square ecosystem. I primarily investigate waste management, the investment that most significantly highlighted intergroup divisions on the Market Square and which, at the same time, is the most difficult to comprehend.

Diagnosis-mapping the waste issue in Lubartów

In July of 1923, Mayor Śliwa completed a questionnaire sent by the Association of Polish Towns, a body bringing together the towns in Poland, representing their interests vis-à-vis the national authorities and serving as a forum to exchange experience. The questionnaire concerned the state of the municipal economy and public services in Lubartów. It provides valuable insight into the living conditions of the town's residents. Among the 18 issues, there were questions on the state of the streets and pavements, the educational infrastructure, the health system, the power station or the public baths. Points 5, 6, and 7 concerned water supply, sewerage, and rubbish and waste disposal. According to Śliwa's answers, in Lubartów water was drawn from wells, 14 of which were run by the town, while "faeces and rainwater were disposed of in canals along the streets," and "waste from the town squares and markets was removed by the town rolling stock (...) there are garbage bins in the markets which are cleaned daily, rubbish is taken out of the town to a designated place."[1086]

Three years later, in 1926, at the meeting of the Town Council, the same mayor Władysław Śliwa elaborated on the practice of waste management in the town centre: "The Magistrate (...) focuses most attention on improving the sanitary condition of the Market Square II and Klitki district, where the overwhelming majority of houses have no yards and therefore no toilets or garbage bins. The amount of rubbish that was thrown out of these houses without yards, toilets and garbage bins became apparent after the paving of the second market square, where rubbish, smelly waste and human faeces are thrown out with impunity, disregarding the fact that the second market square has the largest number of grocery shops and butcher's shops. Practice has shown that the public toilets and garbage bins have had extremely negative results, as it has not

[1086] Survey of the Association of Polish Towns, 19 July 1923. APL, AML, 177, 57–61.

been possible to clean them, as the entire north-eastern district of the town has accumulated the waste and rubbish on the second square."[1087]

The Town Council, following Śliwa's speech, obliged the Town Board to address the issue of uncleanliness in the town centre. When the board decreed specific measures, the territorial scope of the waste problem was defined differently than before. The Board's resolution aimed in "raising the sanitary condition of the Jewish quarter of Klitki I and II and Market Square I and II," "the carrying out of which is hindered by the lack of courtyards on more than 100 properties, which have neither toilets nor garbage bins."[1088] The Board's resolution served to fulfil the instruction previously expressed by the Council and therefore had to accurately diagnose the problem in order to take concrete action. The Town Board widened the area requiring action to include the houses standing in Market Square I, breaking down the most common ways of framing the issue of waste to the Klitki and Market Square II. As the resolution indicates and the town's plan of the mid-1920s confirms, the houses standing on the eastern side of Rynek I street mostly did not have courtyards where waste bins could be located, let alone private toilets.[1089] The problem of waste management, then, affected the residents of all three rows of houses standing in the middle of Market Square: houses with even numbers at Rynek I street, all houses at Klitki I and II, and houses with odd numbers at Rynek II street.

Ambiguity in defining the territorial scope of the waste problem in the Market Square persisted throughout the interwar period. The status of Rynek I was of key importance. This is where the religious and ethnic boundaries of the sanitary disorder in the Market Square were drawn. The difficulty of mapping this issue was most spectacularly demonstrated in a document written by the Market Square residents themselves, who, faced with the indifference of the municipal authorities, offered to contribute financially to the necessary investment. A letter dated May 1938 to the Town Board was signed by 36 real estate owners from Lubartów's Market Square:

> "We, the undersigned owners of real estate on Klitki II, Klitki I, and Rynek II streets kindly request that the Lubartów Town Board sewer our houses. We undertake to reimburse the cost of the concrete pipes for each property owned."[1090]

[1087] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 16 January 1926. APL, AML, 105, 17. As in the previous chapter I differentiate between Rynek I street and Rynek II street when refer to the street, and Market Square I and Market Square II when refer to the square.
[1088] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 27 February 1926 APL, AML, 113, 49.
[1089] In four cases the houses had very small yards to the rear.
[1090] Letter from residents of the Market Square regarding the sewerage system, 30 March 1938. APL, AML, 343. The pages are not numbered in the file.

Although the authors of the letter presented themselves as the owners of the real estates on Klitki streets and Rynek II street, the owners of all but one of the houses standing on the even side of Rynek I street also signed the document,[1091] including two Roman Catholics, Stanisław Rogatko, the most recognised butcher in Lubartów, and Konstancja Pic de Replonge from the pharmacist family at 6 Rynek I.[1092] It seems that the omission of the name of Rynek I street, however absurd, in the text of the petition should be understood as an attempt to sustain the optics in which the problem of sanitary disorder is perceived exclusively through the prism of the Jewish inhabitants of the Market Square, identified primarily with Klitki and Rynek II streets.

This interpretation is supported by another letter to the Town Board, this time from the residents of Browarna and Kościuszki, streets bordering the Lubartów Market Square from the south and west:

> "We the undersigned residents of Kościuszko and Browarna streets report to the municipal board that the houses in Klitki I and II Streets, the Small Market [Market Square II—FZ], as well as the houses between Kościuszko and Market Squares (Nowo-Poprzeczna street) do not have tanks for liquid waste [*płynne nieczystości*], which are poured into the streets, then flow down the slopes in front of our houses, which creates extremely dangerous hygienic conditions and a stench that makes it impossible to stay outside and in the house, as the stinking fumes of these waste even penetrate into the flats."[1093]

The letter of mid-July 1939 was signed by 16 people. The first signature on the list was that of Władysław Szczygielski, a butcher residing at 4 Kościuszki street, followed by Jan Karwat, a miller from 60a Browarna street. Like the 13 other signatories from Browarna and Kościuszki streets, they were categorised in the register of residents as Roman Catholics. Surprisingly, the list was not signed by the neighbours of Szczygielski and Karwat, the Jewish residents sharing houses with them, the trader Szlema Rachsztajn from 4 Kościuszki street and Josef Herszenfeld, also a trader, a neighbour of Karwat. Kościuszki and Browarna streets were inhabited by a mixed population.[1094] Yet, the only Jewish resident signed the petition was Dawid Perec, Town Councillor, cultural and social activist for the Jewish community. Why did the rest of Jewish

[1091] Of the 36 signatures, in three cases it was not possible to decipher the signatures. The only signature missing was that of Szloma Finkielsztajn, who at the time served as a juror, as the only Jewish member on the Town Board.
[1092] The 34 remaining signatories were Jewish owners.
[1093] Letter from Kościuszki and Browarna streets' residents to the Town Board, July 1939. APL, AML, 344, 11–12.
[1094] At the time, Catholics accounted for 74% of the residents of Kościuszki and 62% of Browarna, although among the residents of the northern part of Browarna, closer to the Market Square, the proportions were more equal.

residents of the two streets not sign the list? Did they want to show their loyalty to the Jewish residents of Klitki, Rynek II, and Nowo-Poprzeczna? Or were the Jewish residents, except for David Perec, a long-time Town Councillor, excluded from the Catholic neighbours' initiative?

The complaint concerned houses inhabited by Jews, belonging to Jews, and standing in the middle of Lubartów's Market Square, at Klitki I, Klitki II and the odd numbers of Rynek II streets.[1095] Was the omission of the Rynek I due to solidarity with the Catholic inhabitants of the street, a way to protect them from stigmatisation? Was it the ethnic-religious diversity of Rynek I or maybe the representative function of the east side of Rynek I street that matters in this regard? In regard to sanitary issues in interwar Lubartów, Rynek II and Klitki functioned as if the names of the streets symbolised the problem, "the dirtiest part of the town (Klitki street with its adjacencies)," as it was called during the Town Council meeting.[1096] What was the aim of framing of the sanitary issues by the exclusively Jewish street ("the Jewish quarter")? Was the waste in Lubartów Jewish?

Ethnicising waste in Lubartów

Identifying Jewish residents with dirt was a returning motive in the interwar Lubartów press. One of the ephemeral newspapers in Lubartów, issued by the Society of Art Lovers (Towarzystwo Miłośników Sztuki), Lubartów's Christian cultural elite, in 1924, published an article about the dangers lurking in the town's streets:

> "On holidays, at the busiest points in the town, crowds of soiled Jews obstruct traffic on the street, forming clusters of barriers on the pavements and disturbing the public peace by making unpleasant, circus-like noises. Cleanliness in the streets neglected, especially in the Jewish cul-de-sacs [*zaułek*]. Stinking rubbish rots there and poisons the air, the yards transformed to rubbish dumps. Latrines in terrible condition, and even in some buildings they do not know what a latrine is. When walking past fences, step carefully. Please take care of the sanitary order in the town. Health should not continue to suffer from this."
>
> "There is one more place I must take the noble fathers of the town, namely: the famous Market Square II. What a spectacular sight appears! Huge, picturesque hills of rubbish collected only once a year, surrounded by stinking puddles of all kinds of sewage and waste,

[1095] All the houses on Nowoprzeczna had Jewish owners. Only one flat was occupied by Catholic tenants, a worker family and sub–tenants also identified as workers. APL, AML, 44, 75.
[1096] Notation as in the original. Minutes of Town Council meeting, 13 June 1935. APL, AML, 107, 50.

> over which swarms of flies, mosquitoes and other flying creatures hover, spreading all kinds of diseases. Where is the sanitation commission?"[1097]

The tone of the local newspapers' publications did not change until the end of the 1930s. In July of 1937, an article entitled "Our town" was published in "Lubartowiak," the only local newspaper at that time.[1098] The author was hiding under the Kemal Czeri pen name. The article was an attempted to create a humorous portrait of the town. To amplify the effect, Kemal Czeri uses references to the topography of interwar Warsaw:

> "Our town, dear Lubartów has taken a big step forward in recent times, perhaps even two steps forward in terms of appearance and cleanliness. Nevertheless, a lot of water still needs to flow in the Wieprz [a river near Lubartów—F.Z.] before the fathers of the town can take pride and boast of their town."
>
> "With our local 'Krakowskie Przedmieście' [the representative street of Warsaw, a reference to Lubelska Street in Lubartów] you can put up with, the promenade is good (but only on the section between the market and the station), the shops have had their make-up done, meaning that they are carefully freshly painted—the lawns by the pavement are shaved once a month without soap, cows do not walk on the pavement, so passers-by are reassured about their shoes.
>
> A different impression is given by a respectable citizen of the Wieprz valley town when he goes to Lubartów's 'Nalewki' [the central street in pre-war 'Jewish Warsaw district'], to 'Gęsia' [a street perpendicular to Nalewki in Warsaw] in the vicinity of 'Hala Mirowska' [a reference to the market hall in Lubartów's Market Square II] and takes a glance at the local courtyards, where dirt has become a tradition almost a religion. In winter, all this is sealed with frost and odours are rendered harmless in preventive custody, but in summer it is difficult to endure."

"Lubartowiak" newspaper was the only periodical published in the inter-war Lubartów, from 1932 to 1938.[1099] It was associated with the pro-government camp in Lubartów,[1100] and from the beginning had a strong patriotic tone, initially expressed mainly in the promotion of Polish statehood and civic formation, the worship of Marshal Piłsudski, and the Polish independence. The newspaper focused largely on educational issues, in line with its subtitle, "Monthly magazine dedicated to the education of older youth," and also covered local issues from the

[1097] "Do opinii publicznej," *Lewart*, 1 (1924), 4–5.
[1098] "Our town," *Lubartowiak*, 14 (1937), 3.
[1099] Alina Gromek, "Prasa lubartowska w latach 1914–1939," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 8 (1980), 133–152.
[1100] Monthly reports on magazines published in the Lublin Voivodeship, 1932–1933 and 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 558, 559, 563.

perspective of local government institutions and social organisations. Following a change of editors and publisher in May of 1935 and a change of subtitle to 'Biweekly devoted to matters of the Lubartów county', educational issues receded into the background. The newspaper began to serve the communication of the ideas and strategies of the local and state authorities even more, involving readers in the efforts of the state and local government.[1101] Since the establishment of the Camp of National Unity (Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego, OZN or Ozon) in Lubartów in the late 1930s, "Lubartowiak" had served as its propaganda tool. The chief editor of the newspaper, Władysław Klank, was the chairman of the municipal branch of the OZN and a member of the Lubartów county department, the executive body in the county authorities,[1102] and the editor in charge, Wacław Niwicki, was the secretary of the local OZN.

"Lubartowiak" was published in Polish and aimed primarily at an audience identifying with the Polish ethnicity. In general, there was little information about the Jewish Lubartów, be it prejudiced and stereotypical. Jewish inhabitants of Lubartów were perceived as an isolated group, distinct from the community with which the newspaper's editors aimed to engage. As seen in the examples provided, stigmatisation of Jewish residents combined the image of religious and cultural otherness with dirt. Jewish residents were referred to as "they" who polluted "our Lubartów". During the newspaper's initial publication period from 1932 to 1935, the visibility of Jewish residents was limited to individual business advertisements and a few anti-Semitic jokes on the final pages. These jokes reinforced stereotypical perceptions of Jews, typically portraying them as having a twisted logic and a clumsy usage of the Polish language, as well as being dirty and smelly:

> "The teacher, unable to bear the unpleasant smell coming from the impossibly dirty Josek Rozenduft, sends him home with a note telling him to wash up. Sometime later, Josek returns to school unwashed and hands the teacher a note from his father which reads:
>
> 'Josek is neither a violet nor a rose; he doesn't need to be sniffed—he needs to be taught'."[1103]

Between 1936 and 1938, anti-Semitic jokes appeared in the newspaper less often, and there were no advertisements for Jewish businesses. Despite the newspaper's increasingly nationalist profile in the second half of the 1930s and its links with the openly anti-Semitic OZN, there

[1101] Starting in 1936, a supplement entitled "Orders and Circulars of State and Local Government Authorities and Offices" was published.
[1102] Protokół nr. 9, posiedzenia Zarządu Miejskiego w dniu 27 lutego 1935. Robert Stawicki, *Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczypospolitej – zarys prawno–historyczny*, 14.
[1103] *Lubartowiak*, 2 (1932), 10. See also: *Lubartowiak*, 3 (1933), 11.

was no writing about the threat that Jews supposedly posed to national trade and industry and no questioning of their loyalty to the state. Nationalist mobilisation was carried out without open attacks on Jews. In Lubartów, Jews were only mentioned by columnists, particularly Kemal Czeri. Featured articles maintained in a humorous tone and Jewish-related topics were always an addition to the main narrative.[1104] Authors emphasised the distinctiveness of the Jews and their failure to conform to the rules of social life, acting to the detriment of the town's Christian citizens.[1105] The characterisation of Jewish residents described as "our Jews", "the chosen people" (in inverted commas) or "the minority", often referred to dirt: "the Jewish beach" was littered with eggs and newspapers; while a fetor raised above the Jewish plot with the old cemetery and synagogue.[1106]

The image of Lubartów's "Jewish quarter" is also preserved in the memoirs of the town's pre-war Catholic residents. In these late recollections, the pre-war inhabitants of Klitki appear as an anonymous mass with stereotypical characteristics. The preserved images of a dirty, smelly street constitute an established discourse about Klitki / the Jewish quarter / the Jewish part of town.

> "The Market Square, where it is now, used to be called Klitki. The whole street was just cobblers and tailors. But how it lived! It was different there. The poor lived there. There was no sewage system, and sewage flowed down this street. It was cramped. In general, there was vegetation as if they were there..."[1107]

> "There was poverty in Klitki; it stank. There was a shop at the bottom of the building and a dwelling house upstairs. The children were always snotty. When I looked through the window into the house, I saw a bed in disarray [*rozbebeszone łóżko*]."[1108]

The primary characteristic of Klitki, and thus of "Jewish Lubartów," as expressed in the memories of Christians, is poverty. This is absent from the newspaper depictions of Lubartów's Jews in "Lubartowiak". The contrast between Lubartów's Krakowskie Przedmieście and Nalewki, as described by Kemal Czeri, had first and foremost an aesthetic dimension, while

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[1104] In total, they are eight columns with references to Jews, which appeared mostly in 1937.
[1105] Kemal Czeri complains about the monopoly of Jewish cab drivers who do not serve customers on Friday evening and Saturday. *Lubartowiak*, 13 (1936), 6. Another author "Ar…" argues for a law concerning the abolition of ritual slaughter, claiming that Jews in Lubartów use kosher slaughter methods to deliberately inflate the price of meat. *Lubartowiak*, 5 (1936), 4.
[1106] *Lubartowiak*, 9 (1937), 4. *Lubartowiak*, 2 (1937), 4.
[1107] Interview with Zygmunt Pszczoła (born 1925), 17 October 2004. https://www.pmdk.Lubartów.pl/o–nas/Lubartówki–pejzaz–kulturowy/historia–mowiona/899–historia–mowiona–zygmunt–pszczola, accessed: 18 June 2025.
[1108] Interview with Maria Filipowicz (b. 1922), Marta Grzeszczak, *Zespół synagogalny w Lubartowie*, master's thesis, Lublin 2010, 122.

Lubartów's residents focused on the economic aspect ("The Jewish poor lived in Klitki, while the richer Jews lived in Rynek I").[1109]

Anti-Semitic depictions of Jewish neighbourhoods as places of filth and poverty were not unique to Lubartów; they were often described in even more graphic terms in the Polish interwar press. For instance, Garbówka, a district in interwar Tarnów mainly inhabited by Jews,[1110] not to mention Warsaw's Nalewki or Lublin's Lubartowska Street, as well as the borderland town of Krzemieniec.[1111] Anthropologists point out how the clean/dirty dichotomy produces categories: according to this view, that which is unclean—in both hygienic and moral sense—deserves to be excluded from the social body. Over the centuries, Jews, branded as unclean, have been isolated.[1112] In this regard, Lubartów's Klitki and Rynek II are interesting examples because of their location in the middle of the Market Square. Unlike the northern district of Warsaw or Tarnów's Grabówka, Klitki could not be cut off from the rest of the town. Bordered by the town's main street on one side and the main shopping square on the other, it was impossible to physically fence the area off from the town. The sanitation problem in the town centre, which was presented through in the antisemitic frame, could not simply be ignored. While the journalism in "Lubartowiak" and the inhabitants' memoirs did not address topographical complexities, mapping the waste issue required precision, particularly if specific actions were to be planned.

The town's investment policy priorities

Since at least the beginning of 1926, when the expert report was commissioned, the municipal authorities had known that a sewer system was the only effective solution for managing liquid waste in the Market Square.[1113] In 1926, timing was favourable; the period of the town's greatest prosperity was approaching. The investment impetus of the second half of the 1920s coincided with the election of new town authorities in April 1927, which included

[1109] "The rich ones lived in the main street; there were a few of these rich Jewish houses there. Klitki was the name of the street, it was the name of a street made up of very poor houses, that's why it took the name, there were called 'Klitki' ["cramped cells" – FZ]. And it was Klitki I, Klitki II, two or three such streets, I don't even know, in any case, it was probably an unofficial name, just taken for the fact that those houses looked very poor, like wooden shacks made of nothing". Interview with Helena Jabłońska (b. 1929), 13 August 2015. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN."

[1110] Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko–żydowskiego miasta. Tarnów 1918–1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austera, 2023), 75–86.

[1111] Ciancia, *On Civilization Edge*, 108.

[1112] Joanna Tokarska-Bakir, *Legendy o krwi. Antropologia przesądu* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2008), 344–346.

[1113] Minutes of the meeting of the Town Council, 16 January 1926. APL, AML, 105, 18. "Dr. Górnicki illustrated in detail the condition and in general the health of the town, pointing out that the only other way to remove the evils was probably by the installation of a sewage system."

representatives of the Jewish residents for the first time. During the budget planning process for the following year, it became apparent that there was no common vision for Lubartów, and the division had a religious and ethnic dimension.

The construction of a municipal bathhouse had been on the Town Council's list of investment priorities.[1114] By 1927, construction was already in progress. The *Kehilla* board in Lubartów responded to the decision to allocate additional funds for the bathhouse by sending a letter to the Town Board. Jewish community leaders proposed that half of the budget funds for the municipal bathhouse be transferred to renovate the *Kehilla* bathhouse, reasoning that "the Jews, having their own bathhouse, will not use the municipal one, yet they pay taxes for its completion on an equal footing with the Christians."[1115] The same argument was repeated week later by councillor Froim Akiersztajn during the Town Council meeting.[1116] His proposal was rejected by the vote of all the Christians presented.

The voting was preceded by a speech from the county governor, visiting the meeting. Answering to Froim Akiersztajn argument, he touched on the very heart of the issue of Jewish equality and the "minority" rights in the Second Republic:

> "For fundamental and formal reasons, the town cannot bear any expenses for the ritual bath, because the bath and the mikveh belong to the religious self-government and not to the territorial self-government."[1117]

The religious and cultural autonomy of the Jews in Lubartów was not supported by the local government, and the distribution of public funds, as the example of social welfare has already shown, favoured the Catholics.[1118]

At the same meeting, a resolution was passed for a long-term loan to fund a package of investments. In addition to completing the bath house, the investments included purchasing a power station and a garden. The crowning investment was the acquisition of a square and the organisation of a livestock market, which was currently located in Market Square II.[1119] At the following meeting, the council's resolution on the investment loan needed to be confirmed. On

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[1114] Survey for the Association of Polish Towns, 19 April 1923. APL, AML, 177, 60.
[1115] Town Board meeting minutes, 22 August 1927. APL, AML, 113, 111.
[1116] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 27 August 1927. APL, AML, 105, 89. Until the 1933 Act, members of the Town Board also had the right to vote at the Town Council. About Akiersztajn, see Chapter 1.
[1117] *Ibid*.
[1118] Jews, because of their employment structure, were more heavily taxed, both centrally and locally. Joseph Marcus, *Social and political history of the Jews in Poland, 1919–1939* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 1983), 222–223.
[1119] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 27 August 1927. APL, AML, 105, 91.

September 17th, 1927, attendance was exceptionally low, with as many as seven Christian councillors and board members absent. Consequently, Jewish representatives made up the majority of voters, and the council rejected the long-term loan.

During the meeting held on September 17th, the most heated debate surrounded the organisation of a livestock market and a public garden. Even the limited way in which the meeting was recorded did not mask the atmosphere accompanying the vote: the biggest guns were brought out. In his speech, Councillor Akiersztajn argued that

> "those who voted for the market did so for their own benefit because they owned land there and wanted to sell it for a high price. He also pointed out that although establishing the livestock market would likely improve the municipal budget by providing a considerable amount of income, it would simultaneously greatly hurt the merchants and traders who had shops at the Market Square."[1120]

In response, Councillor Charęziński sarcastically suggested that, for the good of the town, the Jewish community should cheaply sell the site of the old Jewish cemetery, which is adjacent to the synagogue in the town centre. The county governor, who was also angry about the loan rejection, commented: "Failing to approve a loan for the livestock market and its equipment is harmful to the state's interests and demonstrates the councillors' disloyalty."[1121] As for the garden, which councillor Akiersztajn also opposes and was rejected by Jewish and some Catholics votes, the county governor expressed that, "it was not approved due to the councillors' lack of understanding and that the Jewish councillors are knowingly committing an act that harms the town."[1122] Earlier, the starost had accused the Jews councillors of doing nationalistic politics.

Loyalty to the state was a fundamental concept applied to "national minorities" in the Second Republic, as well as in other European countries.[1123] This time, the Jewish councillors' "disloyalty" meant a disagreement with municipal investments policy—one which did not serve the interests of the Jewish inhabitants while requiring large sums of public money. Notably, the accusations of acting to the detriment of the state which the Sanacja ideology held to be of highest value, came from the county governor, who was the representative of the central authorities in the local government. Adolf Krauze, the starost, had held his position in Lubartów

[1120] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 17 September 1927. APL, AML, 105, 137.
[1121] *Ibid*.
[1122] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 17 September 1927. APL, AML, 105, 138.
[1123] See Chapter 1.

since the beginning of 1927. Previously, he had been a governor in Zamość and Lublin. In Lubartów, Krauze became famous for his enthusiasm for investment, which resulted in the district's massive debt.[1124] As evidenced by his involvement in Town Council meetings, Krauze was also eager to engage the town authorities in the investment process.

The vote on the loan marked a unique moment in Lubartów's local government history when the Christian majority lost control of the proceedings and resolutions. In addition to their surprise and frustration, Krauze and the Christian councillors showed the Jewish representatives that they acted contrary to established rules of primacy of "Polish majority". It is unclear whether the Jewish councillors' position changed due to this pressure or other factors. In any case, two council meetings later, on 9 November, 1927, the Jewish representatives voted in favour of the loans.[1125] This time, the vote was taken without discussion, and the result was nearly unanimous, with only a few abstentions. The decision was made to take out long-term loans for planned investments, primarily for the livestock market and the municipal bathhouse.

According to the meetings' protocols, all decisions on loans and investments were made either unanimously or almost unanimously for the next 12 years, without mobilising religious divisions within the council. The mayor and Town Board conducted the process of decision-making. This was also the case with the loan for the construction of the market hall at the end of 1927.[1126] The most serious objections came once more from Froim Akiersztajn, the most outspoken Jewish councillor. He was concerned about the financial burden of beginning another investment project. Thirteen council members voted in favour of constructing the hall; three voted against it, including Akiersztajn and possibly Targoński and Filipowicz who also had reservations.[1127] Even when it turned out that the investment required almost twice as much funding as anticipated, the enthusiasm of the majority of council members did not diminish.[1128]

The decision to undertake the largest investment in the town was made without consultation with the market vendors who would be most affected by the reorganisation of trade. Their businesses were to be relocated to the new hall, and most of the market booths were to be removed. Once the investment had started, vendors began expressing their concerns in petitions to the Town Board. One of these petitions, sent in late August of 1928, was signed by seventeen

[1124] Monographic description of the district town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. Pages not numbered in the file. Mariusz Mazur, "Starostowie powiatu lubartowskiego w latach 1918–1950," *Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartowska*, 18 (2013), 175.
[1125] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 9 November 1927 APL, AML, 105, 145–146.
[1126] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 7 December 1927 APL, AML, 113, 24.
[1127] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 7 January 1928 APL, AML, 105, 182.
[1128] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 5 May 1928 APL, AML, 105, 220–223.

Jewish vendors from Rynek II street.[1129] They pointed out the losses they were experiencing due to the reorganisation of trade in the market square. Their stalls had been moved due to construction, which caused damage. The relocation site was not efficient, which negatively impacted their business. In addition, the future did not look promising for vendors either. The planned removal of the stalls filled them with anxiety due to the proposed rental rates for the shops in the hall, much higher than the price of renting a stall or a booth in the square.[1130]

The reorganisation of trade on the Market Square showed the mobilisation capacity of small vendors who traded in different parts of the market and barely made ends meet. Collective petitions they sent often broke down religious and ethnic divisions.[1131] Both Jewish and Christian vendors, not only appealed, but also took action: they began moving their stalls from the designated places.[1132] Resistance to change, stemming from fears for their own livelihood, was a common reaction among the Market Square vendors. Initially, the town authorities showed some understanding toward the vendors' concerns by reducing the rent for some of them or periodically exempting them from fees. However, after moving to the halls, a significant group of the vendors could no longer afford to keep their businesses open.[1133] Later, in view of the economic crisis and the town's financial problems, local government adopted a tougher stance, which in the worst-case scenario resulted with court evictions for debtors, and vacant commercial spaces.[1134]

The reasoning behind the decision to build the trade hall is unclear. In earlier years, the hall had not appeared on lists of planned investments. The ease of obtaining a long-term loan for this type of investment was certainly important. The prospect of providing employment for many craftsmen, builders, and tradesmen, including the councillors themselves, was perhaps another factor. At least three of the councillors, two Jewish and one Christian, obtained lucrative contracts for the construction.[1135] In retrospect, the municipal authorities emphasised sanitary conditions as the primary motivation for constructing the hall. "Before the construction of the market hall in Market Square II, butcher and grocery shops were housed in wooden booths that

[1129] Letter from Market II vendors to Town Board, 30 July 1928. APL, AML, 211. Pages not numbered in the file.
[1130] Vendors' letters on the change of trade organisation in the Market, 1928–1929 APL, AML, 211.
[1131] Collective petition on the term of lease of shops in the hall, 13 December 1928. APL, AML, 670, 300–301.
[1132] Town Board meeting minutes, 19 October 1927 and 7 May 1928.
[1133] Town Board meeting minutes, 1931. APL, AML, 114, 127, 172, 207, 236–237.
[1134] Town Board meeting minutes, 1935–1936. APL, AML, 115, 85, 105, 108, 112. APL, AML, 116, 126.
[1135] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 23 May 1928. APL, AML, 113, 183. Minutes of the Town Board, 28 January 1929. APL, AML, 114, 22.

harboured rats. These booths were abolished, and the shops were moved to the brick market hall. This greatly contributed to improving sanitary conditions."[1136]

Concern for sanitary conditions did not result in another necessary and recognised investment which was the installation of a sewage system in the Market Square. Without it the sewage flowed into Market Square II, right where the modern shopping and entertainment hall was erected.[1137] The construction of the hall did not solve this problem in any way. So why was it not decided to run a sewer system before the construction of the modern shopping and entertainment hall in the late 1920s? Why did the sewerage of the Market Square not appear in the town's investment plan in the second half of the 1920s, during the period of greatest investment?

The question of the logic adopted in the town's investment hierarchy remained valid until the late 1930. In 1936, the Town Board addressed the sewage issue again and confirmed what everyone had long known: "The installation of toilet cloaks in Klitki is currently very complicated, and this issue can only be adequately resolved once the sewerage project in this part of town is built."[1138] The second half of the 1930s was an advantageous time for planning major urban investments. After a period of crisis in the early 1930s when "all investment works were stopped except for minor necessary repairs and works not requiring money," the town authorities returned to planning changes in October 1936. This was related to Lubartów's debt relief in August 1936 by the Central Savings and Debt Commission for Local Government in Warsaw. [1139] Almost half of the town's debts, amounting to 300,000, was cancelled, and the rest spread out over a longer period of time. Consequently, the Town Board prepared plans to resume the interrupted investments and initiate new ones, estimated at a value of 595,700 zlotys.[1140] The Town Council approved the 4-year investment plan without objection.[1141] At the top of the list, on the second place, was "the construction of a sewerage facility between 1937 and 1941."

Over time, however, it became apparent that the owners of the houses in the middle of the Market Square were showing more initiative than the municipal authorities. Contrary to earlier plans, the magistrate did not begin work on the sewerage system, limiting actions to

[1136] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 6 March 1934. APL, AML, 106, 243.
[1137] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 16 January 1926. APL, AML, 105, 17.
[1138] Letter from the Town Board to the State Police Headquarters in Lubartów, 27 November 1936. APL, Komenda Powiatowa Policji Państwowej w Lubartowie (KPPPL), 30, 46.
[1139] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 7 October 1936. APL, AML, 107, 109.
[1140] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 14 September 1936. APL, AML, 30, 113.
[1141] Minutes of the Town Council, 12 October 1936. APL, AML, 441, 109–110.

consultations with specialist and local governments that had conducted similar investments.[1142] In May of 1938, confronted with the lack of progress on the installation of sewerage system, the inhabitants of three rows of houses in the middle of the Market Square appealed for actions, declaring their contribution to the cost of the investment.[1143] The already quoted petition was signed by 36 house owners, 34 Jewish and 2 Catholic. In response, the Town Board claimed lack of funds and encouraged residents to raise funds to draw up a sewerage project, and promised a "certain sum" to be allocated in the 1939/1940 Town Board budget (which never happened).[1144]

The town government inaction was largely due to financial difficulties. The optimism about investing resulting from the town's debt relief quickly faded. By the end of July of 1937, the Town Council took note of the "severe financial state, making it impossible to meet the most essential public needs."[1145] The solution was further subsidies and loans. Thanks to these, the government was able to complete investments started years prior, such as the public school and market hall. The city also obtained funds to complete the livestock market on Lipowa Street, the first investment on the four-year plan's priority list. At a time when the town authorities were about to begin sewage works on the Market Square, another unplanned investment emerged. Despite a previous declaration that no funds were available for this purpose, on February 10th, 1938, the Town Council voted to take out a 40,000 zlotys loan to buy the burned-out Sanguszko Palace, north from the Market Square, and its grounds.[1146] The palace was eventually purchased in March 1938 for just over 37,000 zlotys, including transaction costs. The necessary investment to make the palace park open for the public was valued at an additional 8,000 zlotys. [1147] This investment nearly equalled half of the 1938/1939 budget.[1148] Once again, just as ten years earlier, the town failed to address the waste problem on the Market Square.

Shifting responsibility through ineffective solutions

The sanitary issue in the Market Square could not be ignored. It encompassed the centre of town where townspeople and newcomers gathered; it burdened the inhabitants of the Market Square and the surrounding streets. The "Lubartowiak" columnists presented the problem as a threat

[1142] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 28 July 1937. APL, AML, 108, 54.
[1143] Letter from Town Board residents to Town Board regarding sewerage, 30 March 1938. APL, AML, 343.
[1144] Town Board response to letter from residents of Market Square, 30 March 1938. APL, AML, 343.
[1145] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 28 July 1937, APL, AML, 108, 55.
[1146] Minutes of meetings of the Municipal Council, 10 February 1938. APL, AML, 108, 97–98.
[1147] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 26 March 1938. APL, AML, 117, no page numbers.
[1148] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 21 December 1936. APL, AML, 116, 168–176.

posed by the dirty Jews to the town and its inhabitants. The way the problem was framed determined how it needed to be solved:

> "A sanitation and decontamination team should be mobilised to disinfect all the cul-de-sacs and courtyards of the ghetto. It is possible that the inhabitants will protest, write to America that they are being oppressed, go on a protest strike on some Monday during non-working hours, organise a day of hunger strike as a sign of protest. But you should not pay attention to that and do your own thing for the benefit and glory of our town."[1149]

The anti-Semitic fantasy of forcefully sanitising the area had to wait a few more years to be realised. The author's perspective in its assumptions does not differ from that of the town authorities, who also attributed the blame to the inhabitants of the stigmatised streets. In 1926, the Town Council "required all owners of houses in Rynek II street and Klitki, which had no backyards, toilets, or garbage bins, to install rubbish boxes at their residences,"[1150] into which the waste was to be collected. The boxes were to be emptied daily. Initially, the council decreed that a watchman appointed by the municipality would empty the bins, but with the following meeting, they transferred this duty onto the residents.[1151] The magistrate supervised the installation of the litter boxes and issued guidelines with technical drawings of what the boxes should look like.[1152] Those who disobeyed the guidelines would be held responsible and charged for the bins set up by the magistrate.

The boxes, which did not work particularly well for liquid waste, completely relieved the magistrate of responsibility for the waste problem. At the same time, the boxes created a twofold burden for residents. Not only did they have to pay for the installation, but since they obtained the boxes, authorities could oblige the to maintain order under penalties set by the municipal Sanitary Commission. Sanitary inspections in the 1930s became a major problem for the inhabitants of Market Square. Those whose houses were found to be messy were penalised.[1153] The intensity and severity of the inspections increased, mainly due to the initiative of the county authorities.[1154] Starting in mid-1937, the newly appointed starost, Tadeusz Illukiewicz, ordered the sanitary committees to increase their inspection frequency to twice per

[1149] Kamal Czeri, "Nasze miasto," *Lubartowiak*, 4 (1937), 4.
[1150] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 25 January 1926. APL, AML, 105, 19. Elsewhere in Lubartów lavatories as well as garbage bins stood in the backyards.
[1151] *Ibid*.
[1152] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 27 February 1926. APL, AML, 113, 49.
[1153] Daily reports of the Polish County Police Headquarters, September–October 1936. APL, SPL, 93.
[1154] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 13 June 1935 APL, AML, 107, 49–50. Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 18 January 1937. APL, AML, 108, 9–10. Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 25 August 1937. APL, AML, 108, 68.

week. Some Christian councillors supported this, including OZN leaders Aleksander Lalka and Władysław Klank, the editor-in-chief of "Lubartowiak".[1155] Inspections meant constant harassment for the residents of Klitki and Market Square II, where there was still no infrastructure to maintain order. Being aware of this, in mid-November 1937, the municipal authorities, with the participation of the district authorities, launched two public toilets on the Market Square,[1156] returning to a solution that had already failed more than ten years before.[1157] As the sanitary inspection showed, this solution also failed.[1158] Additionally, beginning in July 1938, the leaseholders of these facilities were permitted to charge users a fee of three groszy,[1159] another burden for the residents of houses in the middle of the Market Square.

Jewish council members repeatedly spoke out against the severity of the sanitary controls. In June of 1935, councillor Szloma Ber-Cieśla, and Szloma Finkielsztajn, the owner of the house at 4 Rynek I, requested that the county governor find a solution to improve the sanitation in Klitki and stop imposing high administrative penalties for sanitary disorder "because the population is very poor."[1160] Dawid Perec additionally advocated including the real estate owners in the initiative through a Citizens' Committee formed for this purpose.[1161] In the following days, a meeting of real estate owners was called, and two of their representatives attended a Sanitation Committee meeting concerning "the installation of a primitive sewage system in the Klitki I and Klitki II districts."[1162] Although the involvement of residents did not influence the local government's actions, it affected their self-efficacy, as evidenced by the May 1938 collective letter in which they offered to contribute to the investment.

In July of 1939, faced with the failure of all the applied solutions, the residents of Browarna and Kościuszko streets, where the sewage flowed, proposed their own remedy.[1163] The proposal

[1155] Minutes of the meetings of the Town Council, 18 February 1937. APL, AML, 108, 9. "Lubartowiak" published inspection reports of the Sanitary Commission. One of them listed the names of 28 people punished for sanitary disorder, including 27 Lubartów Jews. Behind the publication of the names was a concern for the collective well–being of Lubartowians: "The public should avoid those shops and establishments spreading dirt and pathogenic germs on products of various kinds purchased in these shops." Paradoxically, the stigmatising list of 27 names with addresses is the most visible trace of Lubartów Jews in the local newspaper in the second half of the 1930s. "Penalties for disorder," *Lubartowiak*, 21 (1937), 14.
[1156] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 27 October 1937. APL, AML, 108, 81.
[1157] Minutes of meetings of the Municipal Council, 16 January 1926. APL, AML, 105, 17.
[1158] Inspection report of the Sanitary Commission, 19 September 1938. APL, AML, 343. "Public toilet in 'Klitki' closed, next to the toilet flows a stream of decomposing stinking human urine. The toilet, which was built especially for the inhabitants of 'Klitki,' who cannot build their own toilets for lack of space, does not actually exist – because it is closed."
[1159] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 27 July 1938. APL, AML, 108, 124.
[1160] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 13 June 1935. APL, AML, 107, 49–50.
[1161] *Ibid*.
[1162] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 26 June 1935. APL, AML, 107, 51–52.
[1163] Residents' letter to the Town Board, 26 July 1939. APL, AML, 344, 111–113.

directed the owners of houses on Klitki, Rynek II, and Nowo-Poprzeczna streets to construct underground sewage tanks. Browarna and Kościuszko residents attached a technical drawing and a calculation of the investment costs to their letter to the Town Board. Their proposal was authenticated by signature of Feliks Klinger, a technician employed in the county office. In response, the Sanitary Commission, chaired by Stanisław Derecki of 19 Rynek I street and including county doctor Maurycy Silberman of 12 Rynek I street, and Dawid Perec, one of the Kościuszko Street inhabitants that signed the letter, carried out another inspection. After confirming the facts described in the letter, the Commission ordered the residents of Klitki and Klitki II to construct underground tanks for liquid waste as outlined in the letter.[1164]

Waste and the limits of intergroup separation in Lubartów

In the 20 years of Lubartów self-government, no decision was made to solve the problem of waste in Lubartów's Market Square. Throughout this period, the town authorities did not take responsibility for the sanitary conditions; they only introduced *ad hoc* measures that shifted the costs and responsibility for maintaining order onto residents and estate owners. This inaction was primarily due to the Christian elite's exclusion of the Jewish inhabitants of Klitki and Rynek II Streets. This anti-Jewish discrimination is further confirmed by the town's investment policy. Using Kathryn Ciancia's categories, the Jews of Klitki did not fit into the notion of a modern Lubartów; Mayor Lipski once said that "Jews showed no interest in improving the situation." The Jews did not fit into the top-down modernisation project, and thus, modernising the Market Square was not possible as long as there were two rows of houses occupied by the Jewish residents in the middle of it. The perception of the Jews of Klitki and Rynek II streets affected their living conditions, as well as those of one third of the Rynek I residents form the odd numbered buildings. The residents' initiative to install a sewer system did not change much; the town authorities simply did not want to invest in Klitki.

And yet, the picture is not clear-cut, for at least for two reasons: firstly, because of the people inciting and deciding on the changes, the "agents of civilisation", as Ciancia calls them, or the "modern elite" as referred to by Mędrzecki; secondly, because of the location of Klitki on the map of Lubartów. The Jewish representatives in the municipal authorities could be seen as leaders of change, particularly in the period when they had the greatest influence on the

[1164] Protocol of the inspection of the Sanitary Commission, 27 July 1939. APL, AML, 344, 115. The Commission did not make a similar recommendation regarding the houses on Rynek II, presumably because they identified the residents as those from Klitki II as in the protocol of the subsequent Sanitary Commission inspection of 2 August 1939. APL, AML, 344, 120.

investments undertaken. Yet, during that exact period, from 1927 to 1934, they did not advocate for a sewer system on Market Square, despite the fact that there were opportunities to improve the conditions permanently—in 1928 and 1930, two sewerage projects were carried out, the first in front of the synagogue and the second at the Jewish baths. The cost of both was shared between the Jewish community and the Town Board.[1165] Does this mean that the Market Square issue had no spokesperson, that the residents were not represented, and the problem had other dimensions besides ethnicity—class and power relations?

In this context, two letters to the Town Board from the late 1930s are worth recalling. The first dates from May 1938, and was written by 36 houses owners from Klitki I and II, Rynek I and Rynek II streets, who requested an investment in the sewerage system. Two signatures of two estate owners are missing on this letter: the town's councillor Szloma Finkielsztajn and Town Board member's Boruch Goldfinger. The second letter from Kościuszko and Browarna streets' residents requested that the Jewish residents of Klitki street and Rynek II street be charged for the improvement of the sanitary conditions. This letter was signed by 13 Catholic residents and one Jewish resident, Dawid Perec from Kościuszki Street, town councillor. The three Jewish representatives in the local authority broke their loyalties to their ethno-religious group when deciding whether to sign the petitions. Did this mean that they distanced themselves from Jewish residents who were perceived as a problem? Did their public function in the municipal authorities influence the decisions they made?

The picture of divisions and hierarchies becomes even more complicated due to the signature of Stanisław Rogatko on the letter from May 1936, as one of two Catholic house owners. Apart from being one of the best-known butchers in Lubartów, Rogatko was also a member of the national movement.[1166] Regardless of the letter's odd formula, Rogatko stood alongside his Jewish neighbours from Klitki. Like Konstancja Pic de Replonge, Rogatko's signature provides an interesting insight into the question of Klitki as an example of the extreme isolation of a religious and ethnic group in Lubartów. The Klitki Street was identified by Christian Lubartowians as a place of Jewish poverty and filth. The isolation of Klitki was reinforced by the spatial layout of Market Square. Its isolation is evident in the names given to it ("Jewish quarter," "ghetto"), in the way it was portrayed, and in its absence from the surviving interwar photographs (unlike Rynek I). In a sense, waste management issues prevented Klitki from being

[1165] Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 25 August 1930. APL, AML, 114, 103. Minutes of the Town Board meeting, 16 August 1928. APL, AML, 114, 4.
[1166] See further.

abandoned. Due to the organic bond between Klitki and Rynek I, waste management was a common concern for the Jewish and Christian residents of the Market Square. Moreover, it was an issue that affected others and thus demanded the attention of all Lubartów residents and authorities.

PART 2. DYNAMICS LEADING TO THE 1939 COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE ON LUBARTÓW MARKET SQUARE

Anti-Jewish collective violence in Lubartów does not fit the most commonly used periodisation framework, according to which the period from 1935 to 1937 saw a culmination of violence in the 1930s Poland.[1167] The two most brutal attacks on Jews in Lubartów took place in mid-March and mid-August of 1939. In both cases, the Market Square in Lubartów was the setting, as it was a place associated with Jews and their activities. The violence in the Market Square bracketed Jewish / non-Jewish relations in the Lubartów area. In 1919, Serniki recruits, along with the village residents, attempted to stage an anti-Jewish pogrom in the Market Square.[1168] In order to understand the nature of the 1939 attacks and their chronology, it is necessary to examine the social and political dynamics that preceded them, the influence of anti-Semitic agitation, earlier acts of violence and the political evolution in the town and in the county in the 1930s.

My perspective is primarily based on administrative correspondence and reports from the Lubartów county office and the Lubartów police station. The Lubartów county chief (starost), like all other starosts throughout Poland, prepared monthly reports for the voivode, describing the most important events and the moods of the county's inhabitants. In addition to these, the county chief produced thematic reports focusing on the activities of selected groups or on specific events. The reports I mobilised are mainly signed by Tadeusz Illukiewicz, county chief of Lubartów from the beginning of April 1937. Illukiewicz's clerical career was largely associated with the Sanacja camp, to which he remained loyal until the outbreak of war.[1169] Until 1928, he had worked as a policeman, promoted to a county police chief in Drohobycz. In

[1167] Emanuel Melzer, *No Way Out: The politics of Polish Jewry 1935–1939* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1997), 53–70; Jolanta Żyndul, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935–1937*, (Warszawa: Fundacja Kazimierza Kelles–Krauza i Scholar Agency, 1994). Joanna Michlic, "Anti–Jewish Violence in Poland, 1918–1939 and 1945–1947," *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 13 (2000).
[1168] Chapter 1.
[1169] Mariusz Mazur, "Starostowie powiatu lubartowskiego w latach 1918–1950," *Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartowska*, 181.

the following years, he worked as a clerk in the county office in Chełm, where he was deputy chief from 1935, rewarded for his fight against the Ukrainian national movement and communism.[1170] From there he was transferred to Lubartów, where he was promoted to county chief position.

The starosts' reports were largely based on information collected by the police. After the May *coup* of 1926, the gradual shift from democratic forms of government was accompanied by an increased role of the political police in the state. As a result of its reorganisation, the tasks of the political police were extended to all State Police officers, who were tasked with controlling all aspects of social and political life and reporting on them in detail.[1171] The main focus was on the security and stability of state power and public order. Although the scope of surveillance covered all organisations and political parties, including those operating legally, the greatest attention was focused on selected groups, so-called subversive movements, *i.e*. communist and left-wing activists, on 'national minorities' such as Ukrainians or Jews, and on the activities of radical nationalist groups.

Reports on nationalist activism among youth and clergy, as well as the anti-Jewish actions they organised, constitute a significant portion of the surviving administrative and police documentation from Lubartów county. Due to the growing anti-Jewish agitation and violence in the second half of the 1930s, attacks on Jews, economic boycotts, and attempts of Jewish self-organisation emerged as distinct topics of correspondence between the police and the local administration. Apart from being the most complete available record of events and attitudes in the Lubartów county, the reports and accounts reflect the perspective of state institutions responsible for reporting as well as ensuring the safety of the county's inhabitants. In other words, the county chief and police officers are not only chroniclers of events but also actors who shaped the local situation. The content of the reports, the definition of the problems, and the language used raise questions about how the county authorities perceived Jews and how the county administrators and the police responded to intergroup tensions and anti-Jewish attitudes. Finally, it must be remembered that these reports found their way to the voivode's (*wojewoda*)

[1170] *Ibid*.
[1171] Zbigniew Siemak, "Policja polityczna na Lubelszczyźnie w okresie międzywojennym jako element systemu bezpieczeństwa państwa: powstanie, organizacja i działalność," *Zeszyty Naukowe / Wyższa Szkoła Oficerska Wojsk Lądowych im. gen. T. Kościuszki*, no. 4 (2011).

desk and then to the Ministry of the Interior. They shaped the central authorities' knowledge of intergroup relations and anti-Semitic sentiments and actions.[1172]

Studies of anti-Jewish violence in the late 1930s emphasise the role of economic crises and poverty combined with traditional anti-Semitism, Christian-Jewish tensions, and tensions between towns and rural areas.[1173] They also highlight "the economic actions taken by Nationalists to increase Christian participation in trade and commerce."[1174] Recently, the impact of the anti-Semitic aspect of the Nationalists' ideology has received more recognition.[1175] The years 1935–1937 are seen as a period during which "violence against Jews became a composed, deliberate, and far-reaching strategy designed to influence the imagination and attitudes of essentially all social actors."[1176] In his study of the organisation of violence by Polish radical nationalists in the Kielce Voivodeship, Kamil Kijek pointed out the long-term agitation and training activities that preceded the local explosion of anti-Jewish violence.[1177] He also noted that the economic boycott was merely a tool in the violent policy promoted by young activists from the National Party (*Stronnictwo Narodowe*, SN) and that the actual goal was to physically attack Jews until annihilation. Important contexts for the radicalisation of the Nationalists' anti-Jewish ideology and strategy were generational shifts within, and greater integration of, the provinces into the area of influence. Like Kijek and others who have drawn on reports from police and administrative authorities, I focus on the local influence of the nationalist. I address

[1172] Natalia Aleksiun, "Nihil novi? Historiografia pogromów z lat 1921–1939," in Kamil Kijek¸ Artur Markowski, Konrad Zieliński (eds.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3: Historiografia, polityka, recepcja społeczna (do 1939 roku)* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski, Uniwersytet Wrocławski Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, 2019), 109.

[1173] Kamil Kijek¸ Artur Markowski, Konrad Zieliński (eds.) *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku T. 2: Studia przypadków* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Uniwersytet Warmińsko–Mazurski, Uniwersytet Wrocławski Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, 2019). Melzer, *No Way Out*, 55–57; Alina Cała, *Żyd – wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny and Wydawnictwo Nisza, 2012), 369–373; Joanna B. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Others. The image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006). 115, 121–122; Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 359; Cellia S. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction. Jews of Poland Between the Two World Wars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 115–118.

[1174] Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2015), 308.

[1175] Alicja Gontarek, *Żydzi Mińska Mazowieckiego 1918–1939* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie–Skłodowskiej, 2015), 440–471; Kamil Kijek, „Pogrom, którego nie było, tragedia, która przyszła w zamian. Zajścia w Odrzywole, 20–29 listopada 1935 r.," in Kamil Kijek¸ Artur Markowski, Konrad Zieliński (eds.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 2: Studia przypadków*, 391–408. Michał Trębacz, "'Pod murami Jasnej Góry'. Pogrom w Częstochowie 19–21 czerwca 1937 r.," in *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 2: Studia przypadków*, 409–428.

[1176] Grzegorz Krzywiec, "Narodowa Demokracja wobec pogromów i kolektywnej przemocy antysemickiej do 1918 roku", *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3*., 375–392.

[1177] Kamil Kijek, "Zanim Stał Się Przytyk. Ruch Narodowy a geneza zajść antyżydowskich w wojewódzkie Kieleckim W latach 1931–1935," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 14 (2018), 45–79.

the radical nationalists' methods of organisation and their impact on the local population. Did the nationalists' activities provide the basis for the 1939 attacks on Jews in Lubartów? What other factors could have led to the attacks?

In Lubartów, I observe a significantly different dynamic leading to organised collective anti-Jewish violence compared to what is often described in historiography. Due to a lesser presence of radical nationalists and the strong link between the local and state government, Lubartów exemplifies a different evolution of anti-Semitic ideology and different method of violence organisation. The nature of the two 1939 violent acts also differ from the most described events, usually defined as pogroms. In its broadest sense, a pogrom is an act of collective violence against the Jewish victims "independent of the attitudes, views, and characteristics of its representatives."[1178] For Joanna Żyndul, an additional distinctive feature of a pogrom is the participation of random individuals. "What distinguishes a pogrom are its perpetrators and the course of events. A pogrom is the work of a mob seized by a common idea and acting emotionally, not according to a plan." Along with the instigators, if there are any, there are also many people in this mob who just happened to be there at the time. If these people respond to the call, 'Beat the Jews!', then we are dealing with a pogrom situation because this indicates that the hostility toward Jews in that community is so strong that otherwise peaceful people are capable of attacking, senselessly beating, and sometimes killing any Jew within their reach in certain circumstances."[1179]

The events in Lubartów do not fit this characterisation—yet they took place. The violence in Lubartów took specific forms; Lubartów residents were affected by it; and people from Lubartów and surrounding villages carried out the attacks. The Lubartów case represents less researched acts of anti-Jewish collective violence without the mass participation of local population and without large scale mobilisation of nationalist activists. Investigation of events such as those in Lubartów, not investigated in depth by the police or a prosecutor, where there was not a court case, and in which the perpetrators are not clearly linked to any organisation, require an in-depth understanding of local conditions and a multidirectional investigation.

[1178] This is a simplification of the definition proposed by Kamil Kijek.
[1179] When referring to the events in Lubartów in March 1939, I most often use the term physical violence against Jews or attacks on Jews. David Engel, "What's in a Pogrom? European Jews in the Age of Violence," in Jonathan Dekel-Chen *et al.* (eds), *Anti–Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History*, 19–37. Daniel Grinberg, "Wokół idei pogromów. Definicje, główne szkoły interpretacji, źródła nieporozumień," in *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3*, 15–23. Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 131–150.

Anti-Jewish violence in Lubartów in the perspective of the Lublin region

In the 1930s, the county chief in Lubartów and the police associated the activities of radical nationalists primarily with the National Party. In September of 1935, the Lublin Voivodeship office warned county chiefs about the growing pressure from the SN. They were instructed to report all incidents in areas of their jurisdiction. The largest and most extensive reports concerned Lublin itself, where the Youth Section of the National Party, together with former National Radical Camp (ONR) activists who had been banned in 1934, carried out a series of attacks on Jews and on Christians buying from Jewish-owned shops.[1180] "The aim of the actions was not only to fight the Jews economically, but rather to create a certain excitement and cause excesses, thus making the situation more difficult for the authorities,"[1181] the starost's report says.

County officials in other parts of the Lublin region also reported attacks on Jews in 1935 and early 1936.[1182] These attacks followed patterns repeated throughout interwar Poland.[1183] It was not until 1937, however, that the Lubartów county office recorded the first acts of collective anti-Jewish violence. These events fit into a wider trend of an increasing number of anti-Jewish acts in the Lublin Voivodeship. In response, the Voivodeship Police Headquarters ordered county commanders to closely monitor public sentiments and promptly report any potential excesses.[1184]

In the summer of 1937, two attacks were recorded in Lubartów county: in Zezulin, 12 windows in Rywka Bluman's house were broken;[1185] in Czemierniki, two residents "lightly and without reason" beat Jankel Szloma.[1186] According to police and starost reports, each situation had an explanation proving that the attacks were not motivated by anti-Semitism. Attacks on the

[1180] Report of the county chief of Lublin, 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2128, 18–25, 36–40.
[1181] Report of the county chief of Lublin, 9 October 1935. APL, Lublin Voivodeship Office, 2128, 37. The methods of ideological mobilisation and activation of youth by the Youth Sections of the SN and the methods of organising anti–Jewish actions were described in detail by Kamil Kijek. In doing so, he pointed out the connection between anti–Jewish and anti–government agitation and the real nature of the speeches, for which the economic boycott was only a conventional term for anti–Jewish violence. Kamil Kijek, "Before Przytyk. The national movement and the genesis of anti–Jewish incidents in the Kielce voivodeship in 1931–1935." The combination of anti–Jewish and anti–government issues was one of the strands of National Camp rhetoric in Poland from at least the early 1930s. Żyndul, *Zajścia antysemickie*, 10. Krzywiec, "Narodowa Demokracja," 385.
[1182] County chiefs' reports about the anti–Jewish actions, 1935–1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 2128.
[1183] Żyndul, *Zajścia antysemickie*, 42–49.
[1184] Letter from the Provincial Police Headquarters in Lublin to the District Commanders, 13 July 1937. APL, KPPPL, 253, 15.
[1185] Police reports on the incidents in Zezulin, APL, KPPPL, 293, 1–6.
[1186] Letter from the County Chief on the beating in Czemierniki, 16 August 1937. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2143, 141–143.

Blumans house, the starost explained as dealings between criminals, adding that "it was difficult to see any other motives, since in Zezulin as well as in the surrounding area, no anti-Semitic currents or tendencies have been found among the population to date."[1187] In Czemierniki, the attackers were "compulsive drunks and troublemakers," and their attack "had no anti-Jewish background and was merely a drunken prank."[1188]

The reports masked the antisemitic sentiments behind the attacks and downplayed the harm done to Jews. This optics stemmed from the prejudice of the county chief and policemen against Jews. They believed that Jews had a "tendency to bias such incidents"[1189] and that they "exaggerate the smallest incident" due to "cowardice and self-doubt."[1190] Additionally, the police officers as well as the county chief, Taduesz Illukiewicz, did not recognise the influence of political forces in the attacks on Jews. In his opinion, the attacks resulted from local dynamics and were not associated with anti-Jewish agitation.[1191] What was the purpose of framing violence against Jews in this way?

Traces of the nationalists' influences in Lubartów county

In December of 1932, the largest recorded gathering of SN supporters in the 1930s took place in Lubartów. According to the county office, around 700 people attended the meeting, of whom only about 150 were from Lubartów itself; most came from the surrounding villages. Feliks Jabłoński, a mason from Lubartów and head of the local branch of the National Party, chaired the meeting.[1192] The guest of honour was Michał Zawisza, the parish priest in Lubartów until 1933. SN leaders from the Lublin region delivered speeches at the meeting, including Seweryn Czetwertyński, a landowner from Suchowola in the Radzyń county, near the border with Lubartów county. Czetwertyński had been involved with the national movement since the beginning of the 20th century. In the Second Polish Republic, he was an MP for the national parties for three terms and deputy speaker of the Sejm in the late 1920s. Locally, Czetwertyński organised and funded nationalist activities.[1193] Despite its large attendance and the presence of

[1187] Police reports on incidents in Zezulin, APL, KPPPL, 293, 1.
[1188] Letter from the county chief to the provincial office, 2 September 1937. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2143, 143.
[1189] Letter from the county chief to the county police chief, 28 July 1937. APL, KPPPL, 253, 11.
[1190] Report of the Commander of the Police Station in Michów, 7 March 1938 APL, KPPPL, 254, 6.
[1191] Reports of the county chiefs of the Lublin Province on the anti–Jewish actions of the National Party, 1935–1937. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2128, 2143–2147.
[1192] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 November 1933. APL, Provincial Office of Lublin Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1844, 88.
[1193] From 1936, Czetwertyński was President of the National Party Board in the Radzyń district. In addition to his activities, he was a successful entrepreneur: he produced vodkas and owned the most luxurious hotel in Warsaw, the Europejski Hotel. He financed many educational and aid activities in the county. Agnieszka Gątarczyk

notable figures the county chief's report argued that in fact meeting demonstrated the weakness of the nationalists. Allegedly, half of the attendees were BBWR and peasants' parties' sympathisers who disrupted the meeting and conducted their own agitation.

The assembly was supposed to give impetus to the National movement before the local elections in the county. However, a year later the National Party still had "very small impact on the rural population of the county, conducting door-to-door agitation in the Łucka, Serniki, and Czemierniki communes, where it had the most supporters."[1194] Łucka and Czemierniki had already stood out from the other communes in their sympathies to nationalists. In the parliamentary elections of 1930, it was there that the largest number of votes was cast for the SN.[1195] In 1933 the agitation in Łucka and Serniki communes, near Lubartów, was conducted by Józef Siechanowski, a student and instructor from Lublin.[1196] Additionally, Antoni Mechowski, parish priest from Serniki, was involved.[1197]

Yet, the attention of the police focused primarily on Czemierniki at the border of Lubartów county, influenced by agitation pressure from the Radzyń county, specifically from Suchowola. There, on Seweryn Czetwertyński's estate, an SN strategy was developed, and local leaders were trained. At the beginning of March 1934, Czetwertyński organised a course "for about 90 people, mostly young, physically well-built, and of no questionable political inclination."[1198] The recruits came from neighbouring counties, including Czemierniki and Bełcząc in Lubartów County, where course instructor Szymon Szafrański was based.[1199] Regional National Party leaders, including MPs, supported the training. The aim was "to train leaders for Young

"Seweryn Czetwertyński 1873–1945" in *Słownik biograficzno–geograficzny Radzynia Podl. i powiatu radzyńskiego. Cz. 1*, 259–262.

[1194] Monthly report of the Lubartów county chief, 1 December 1933. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1844, 93.

[1195] Results of elections to the Sejm and Senate, November 1930. AAN, Lubelski Provincial Office, 270/ III/1, 53. In both municipalities, the nationalists collected almost 50% of the votes. However, the electoral result was highly affected by the non–admission of the main opposition list to the government (Centrolew) and the invalidation of 20% of the vote within the county.

[1196] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 January 1933. APL, Provincial Office of Lublin Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1843, 70. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 December 1933. APL, Provincial Office of Lublin Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1844, 93.

[1197] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 December 1933. APL, Provincial Office of Lublin Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1844, 93. Report of the county chief of Lubartów on priests affiliated with the National Party, 29 January 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2122, 16. Father Mechowski held the post of parish priest in Lubartów between 1913 and 1917. He stayed in Serniki at least until June of 1937.

[1198] County chief's report on national youth activities, 17 March 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2120, 21–22.

[1199] Szafrański leased the manor in Bełcząc from Karol Raczyński, husband of Stefania Czetwertyńska, Seweryn's cousin. At the time of Szafrański's greatest activity, connected with his attempts to build SN structures, Raczyński cancelled Szafrański's debt of ca. 10,000 zlotys. County chief's report on the activities of the National Youth, 22 June 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2120, 24. The activity of the SN in the countryside on the border of the districts of Radzyń and Lubartów was largely concentrated in the manor ecosystem – the financial contributions of the landowners, the agitation/propaganda work of the manor manager among the manor workers.

Nationalist cells, which, according to the plan, were to cover villages, communes, and counties."[1200] The course included a practical component involving attacks on passing Jews in the Suchowola area.

In the following years Nationalists remained most active in the Czermierniki area. However, the actions taken did not resonate beyond the immediate neighbourhood, and the nationalists' efforts were hampered by arrests and internal divisions.[1201] Only in August of 1937 did the starost note increased nationalist agitation in the Lubartów county.[1202] The leaflets confiscated by the police originated from Suchowola. They were reportedly authored by "an active and prominent National Party activist", the parish priest Józef Wysłocki (Wisłocki), who was associated with Seweryn Czetwertyński.[1203] One of the leaflets criticised the inhabitants of Lubartów county for their inability to compete economically with the Jews. While the struggle against Jews was ongoing in the Lublin region, as in the rest of Poland, the recipients of the leaflet "were passively watching Jews get rich at their expense."

> "Shame on you fathers and mothers for associating with Jews, take an example from your brothers from Suchowola, Radzyń, Łuków, Siedlce, Biała, Międzyrzec, Brześć and the whole of Poland you are at the tail end and why is it so. Don't just stand looking at each other, take action!"[1204]

Lubartów clergy under the nationalists' influence

In August 1937 the influence of nationalists from Suchowola reached the vicinity of Lubartów's Market Square, namely the parish church of St. Anne. The 25-year-old priest Władysław Pardyka delivered a sermon there, which in the opinion of the county chief, although "in terms of Christian ideology was contradictory in itself and in terms of thought and form was worthless, contained exceedingly strong anti-Semitic accents."[1205] Pardyka emphasised the

[1200] County chief's report on national youth activities, 17 March 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2120, 21–22.
[1201] Report on the activities of the "Young" SN and former members of the ONR in 1934–1935, 22 December 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2121, 20. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, June–August 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 27, 40–41. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 August 1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 1845, 35. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 December 1934. APL, Provincial Office of UWL-WSP, 1845, 55. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 2 December 1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 44. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 February 1937. APL, Urząd Wojewódzki Lubelski Wydział Społeczno–Polityczny UWL-WSP, 1848, 6.
[1202] Letter from the county chief to the provincial office regarding leaflets, 12 August 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 2143, 137.
[1203] Report of the county chief of Radzyń county on priests associated with the SN, 31 January 1934. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2122, 18. Czetwertyński funded the construction of the church of which Wisłocki was parish priest.
[1204] Text of an anti–Semitic leaflet, 12 August 1937. APL, Lublin Provincial Office, 2143, 137.
[1205] Letter from the county chief to the provincial office regarding leaflets, 12 August 1937. APL, UWL, 2143, 136.

destructive social and political influence of the Jews, and warned his audience that "like the Russian, Austrian and Prussian captivity, the terrible Jewish captivity [was] approaching." The county chief emphasised Pardyka's links with Wisłocki and MP Czetwertyński. Although, as the informant reported, the sermon did not make much of an impression on the assembled peasant population "because of its very little rhetorical value," it nevertheless served as a warning to the authorities as "a serious and thought-provoking symptom of the SN agitation in Lubartów," which "according to all information gathered centred in the local church."[1206]

Pardyka, who had stayed in Lubartów since 1936, was not the first priest from St Anne's parish to be associated with the national movement. These ties went back at least to the early 1930s and the activities of the priest Stanisław Krynicki.[1207] Krynicki, born in 1903, came to Lubartów after obtaining his doctorate in law from the Catholic University of Lublin in 1932. Police reports indicates that Krynicki restored the influence of the SN in Lubartów, although he was not an organiser of party structures but rather a spiritual guide and educator.[1208] Krynicki was associated with Catholic Action (Akcja Katolicka), a pan-European movement for the revival of Catholic life and the fight against secularism. Krynicki sought various methods of influence: he supported the largest Christian aid organisation, the Society of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, was patron of the local branch of the Catholic Youth Association of Poland,[1209] wrote articles for the local newspaper.[1210] In Poland, Catholic Action sought to unite the church with the state, among other things by influencing state legislation or by priests' participation in public offices and government.[1211] In 1934 Krynicki became a town councillor, on behalf of the BBWR, but left Lubartów a few months after his appointment.[1212] The case of Krynicki illustrates the relativity and interchangeability of political affiliations locally, as well as early attempts to bring closer national movement with the government camp. Despite declarations of non-partisanship, in practice in the mid-1930s Catholic Action had links with various parties: in the Lublin voivodeship most often with the Christian Democracy and the National Party, and less often with the BBWR—alliances largely resulting from local arrangements.[1213] The Catholic Action

[1206] *Ibid*.
[1207] Police report on the activities of the SN in Lubartów, early 1930s. APL, KPPPL, 228, 41.
[1208] Among others, the Saint Vincent de Paul Aid Society. See chapter 2.
[1209] The organisation in the district remained under the influence of the National Party and Christian Democracy. County chief's report on the activities of the Polish Youth Association, 8 October 1932. APL, UWL-WSP, 2233, 103–105.
[1210] Stanisław Krynicki, "Boże Narodzenie," *Lubartowiak*, 2 (1932), 1–2.
[1211] Characteristics of Catholic Action in Poland by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, June 1931. APL, UWL-WSP, 2082, 2–12. Ronald Modras, *The Catholic Church and Anti–Semitism in Poland in the Years 1933–1939* (Kraków: Homini, 2004), 61, 318.
[1212] List of newly elected councillors of the town of Lubartów, 5 June 1934. APL, AML, 80, 33.
[1213] County chiefs' reports on the activities of Catholic Action, 1931–1934. APL, UWL-WSP, 2082.

was most successful in its work with young people in the region. In 1937, in Lublin it organised a Catholic Youth Association, which attracted 10,000 members, including about 1,000 from Lubartów.

At the beginning of 1936, another Catholic Action activist arrived in Lubartów, this time from Warsaw: Stanisław Niedźwiński, a 32-year-old priest and master of philosophy from the University of Innsbruck in Austria.[1214] Father Niedźwiński became an editor and main author of the "Lubartów Parish Daily. About Youth! For Youth! With Youth!",[1215] issued just once by St Anne's parish in November 1936. A comparison of the content of the "Lubartów Parish Daily. About Youth! For Youth! With Youth!" with earlier Krynicki's articles reveals changes in the rhetoric of Lubartów's clergy over the couple of years. They both focused on service to God and the Fatherland (*służba Bogu i Ojczyźnie*) and linked Polishness with Catholicism. In the "Jednodniówka" however, the religious identity of Poles was complemented with a national identity, resulting in the concept of a "Great Catholic and Polish Nation Poland," (***Wielka Katolicka i Narodu polskiego Polska!***)[1216] a fantasy that supposed to serve as a guiding principle for Catholic youth.[1217] In addition to publishing the newspaper, Stanisław Niedźwiński is noteworthy for posting an anti-Semitic proclamation on the church building. The county chief described this as "the first act of this kind to happen in the Lubartów area."[1218]

The role of the clergy in the anti-Semitic agitation in Lubartów is unclear, as the influence of the three priests identified as National Party sympathisers is difficult to measure. None of them appears to have established a solid supporter base in Lubartów. Krynicki and Niedźwiński were in Lubartów for only two years, and there is no evidence that they were popular with the town's young people. Taking a broader view of the Catholic Church in Lubartów, it certainly played a role in strengthening the exclusive model of the Polish national community based on Catholic identity, that would become particularly evident in the late 1930s. As for maintaining links to the SN, only Father Pardyka is known to have them. When he arrived in Lubartów, he was a few years younger than Krynicki and Niedźwiński. Pardyka was also more firmly rooted

[1214] Roland Prejs, „Z dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia NMP w Kraśniku po kasacie klasztoru kanoników regularnych (1864–1970)," *Archiwa, biblioteki i muzea kościelne,* 108 (2017), 281. Father Niedzwiński was transferred to Chełmno in September of 1938, where he became pastor of the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Adam Puławski, „Same nieszczęścia wojny i tak ludzi do Boga zbliżają". Postawy księży katolickich podczas II wojny światowej na podstawie dokumentów archiwum dekanatu chełmskiego", *Rocznik Lubelski* (2018), 125–144.
[1215] *Lubartowska Jednodniówka Parafialna. O Młodzieży! Dla Młodzieży! Z Młodzieżą!*, November 1936.
[1216] Bolt and exclamation mark like in source.
[1217] *Ibid.*, 6–7.
[1218] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 3 June 1937. APL, UWL– WSP, 1848, 23.

locally, originating from the Klementowice village in Puławy county and having spent his whole life in the Lublin region.

Father Pardyka's speech, as well as the distribution of leaflets calling for a boycott and economic struggle against the Jews, both in August 1937, indicated attempts to fuel anti-Jewish sentiments in Lubartów county. The August 1937 attack by "drunk addicts" in Czermierniki should be also seen in this context, as the timing does not appear to be coincidental. According to intelligence information obtained, the August events were only a prelude to the action that was planned by the National Party in the autumn of 1937. This time the impetus was to come from Lublin, and the boycott actions were to be preceded by a major agitation campaign.[1219] "Having prepared the ground in this way, the SN was to provoke anti-Semitic excesses during a larger market," reported the starost.[1220] In Lubartów, the focus of the police was on Father Pardyka, described as "the driving force behind anti-Jewish action,"[1221] and Czesław Nawracki, a supporter of the National Party and president of the Association of Christian Real Estate Owners (Stowarzyszenie Chrześcijańskich Właścieli Nieruchomości),[1222] described as "the greatest proponent of boycotting the trade and causing anti-Semitic incidents."[1223] Ultimately, no boycott action was carried out in the autumn of 1937.

The resonance of anti-Jewish actions in Lubartów

The weakness of the National Party structures by no means meant that countrywide anti-Semitic propaganda and actions did not resonate in Lubartów county. Jewish residents feared an economic boycott and acts of violence in the late 1930.[1224] The fear was justified insofar as pogroms and attacks on Jews elsewhere intensified local resentment against Jews. In July 1936 the county chief reported:

> "Anti-Jewish action has not manifested itself in the district in any particular case, nevertheless it is gaining ever wider support especially among the rural population and regardless of political persuasion. The growing appeal of the economic struggle against the Jews was largely a result of information about anti-Jewish action in other places, as well as the defiant attitude of the Jews towards the Polish population, especially the rural

[1219] Correspondence between police and county chief on SN anti–Jewish action, September–October 1937. APL, KPPL, 228, 23–36.
[1220] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 4 October 1937. APL, UWL– WSP, 1848, 41.
[1221] County chief's note on SN action, 4 October 1937 APL, UWL-WSP, 228, 25.
[1222] See Chapter 3.
[1223] Letter from the chief of the Lubartów police station to the district command, 7 October 1937 APL, KPPL, 228, 34.
[1224] County chief's monthly report, 4 May 1936 APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 19.

> population, which had become visible in everyday contacts for some time. This attitude represented by Jews is caused by their fear of losing their economic possessions. Moreover, the exploitation of the rural population by Jews contributes to anti-Jewish sentiments spreading. The Polish population is eager to accept slogans calling for economic action against the Jews because they see this as a method to reduce overpopulation in the countryside."[1225]

The county chief, clearly anti-Jewish in his views, by the "defiant attitude" of the Jews of Lubartów meant the Jewish reaction to the court verdict in the case of the perpetrators from bloody pogrom in Przytyk in June of 1936.[1226] The Jewish residents "with no distinction of political affiliation" regarded the verdict "as a hostile act directed against the Jews by the state authorities."[1227] In protest, they began to close their shops, which was taken as "an act directed maliciously against the peasants, dictated by the desire to annoy them by making it difficult for them to obtain necessary articles from the shops."[1228] The feeling of rejection by the state authorities was reinforced not only by the reactions of the authorities and the judiciary to the acts of violence committed against Jews, but also with subsequent discriminatory moves by the government that were enthusiastically received by many Christians in Lubartów. The issue of the ban on ritual slaughter resonated most strongly in Lubartów.[1229] While the Lubartowian Jews were planning a protest strike, the local newspaper supported the government's reform and elaborated on the cruelty of ritual slaughter.[1230]

In view of the hostile attitude of the state authorities, protests by refraining from selling were a desperate measure for Jews. Given the large number of Jewish vendors, trade was the only area in which they could take action that would be apparent to the general population. The county governor and police officers perceived the Jewish protests as a threat to public order and a way of harming Christian interests. For this reason, the authorities closely monitored the Jewish inhabitants and their counteraction to boycotts.[1231] The county police commander, in his guidelines for the police stations, pointed out the threat posed by Jewish self-organisation. The activities of the Jewish Economic Committee (Żydowski Komitet Gospodarczy) which had

[1225] Monthly report of the county chief, 2 July 1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 25–26.
[1226] About the Przytyk pogrom. Jolanta Żyndul, "If Not a Pogrom, Then What?" *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, 17 (2004), 385–91. About Jewish representatives' reaction to pogrom and the court verdict, see Melzer, Melzer, *No Way Out*, 54–63.
[1227] Monthly report of the county chief, 2 July 1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 25–26.
[1228] *Ibid*.
[1229] Mieczysław Różański, Piotr Szymaniec, „Debaty wokół zakazu uboju rytualnego w II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," *Przegląd sejmowy*, 1:156 (2020), 133–138. Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 357–358.
[1230] County chief's monthly report, 3 April 1936 APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 11.
[1231] Reports of police stations from Lubartów district on Jewish counteraction, 1937. APL, KPPPL, 254.

"international connections" and whose activities "did not match the interests of Polish society or the Polish raison d'état,"[1232] were particularly feared. Reports from Lubartów did not reveal the Committee's activities, nor any other organised initiatives to defend the interests of Jewish entrepreneurs and craftsmen.[1233] They do, however, reveal an increasing distance and suspicion on the part of local government and police towards the Jewish residents.

The county chief's reports demonstrate how anti-Jewish actions in Poland and the authorities' stance towards Jews strengthened the polarisation of county residents along ethno-religious lines. They also reveal how the starost and the police commanders positioned themselves amid the tensions by siding with one of the parties. In their view, Jews bore much of the responsibility for the resentment they faced. In Czemierniki, "Jews often openly boycotted Christian shops," and "Jewish children refused to eat bread from a Polish bakery,"[1234] throughout the district speculated on grain prices,[1235] cheated Poles on the price and quality of meat,[1236] or dared to launch a protest in response to the Przytyk verdict. The language used in the reports demonstrates the extent to which the Jews from the county were excluded from the civic community. They were described as an external group, threatening the economic interests of Poles and Poland itself. The reports present a logic according to which the Jewish residents are the threatening party, not the endangered one.

What the county chief missed. Violence against Jews in Lubartów in the late 1930s

Given the bias represented by the starost and the police commanders, can their view on the situation be relied upon? Their credibility is undermined by post-war testimonies concerning ant-Jewish boycotts in Lubartów which went unnoticed by noticed by the starost and police. Aron Rachsztajn, a shoemaker and union activist in interwar Lubartów, was 22 years old in 1939:[1237]

> "In the last few years before the war, demonstrations of anti-Semitism were particularly intense in Lubartów (...) This was a period when 'picket lines' were organised, meaning that gangs of young people and even children, led by their violently anti-Semitic leader,

[1232] Guidelines of the district police chief for police stations, 17 February 1938 APL, KPPPL, 255, 5–6.
[1233] The only cases recorded from Czermierniki and Michów concerned the refusal to buy and rent premises to Christians and the purchase of land by Jews. Reports of constables from the Lubartów district on Jewish contraction, 1937–1938. APL, KPPPL, 254. 9–10. APL, KPPPL, 255, 6–7.
[1234] Monthly report of the county chief, February 1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 4.
[1235] County chief's monthly report, 3 November 1936 APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 42.
[1236] Monthly report of the county chief, February–March 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 4, 17.
[1237] List of communist activists from Lubartów district drawn up by the District Police Headquarters in Lubartów, May 1936. AAN, KPPPL, 281/IX–4, 41.

> posted themselves from early morning until late at night near Jewish shops and shouted repeatedly: 'Don't buy from Jews!' These thugs often did more than just shout abuse: they attacked their victims as soon as they felt there were enough of them. For the most part, the peasants attached little importance to the shouting and continued shopping as before."[1238]

The image drawn by Rajchsztajn corresponds with the one depicted 60 years later by Zdzisław Skaruch, 12-year-old pupil from the Lubartów primary school in 1939:

> "There was a period of some kind hostility towards Jews before the war, some kind of anti-Semitism was manifesting itself, someone was obviously controlling it there, they were setting older boys to keep watch in front of Jewish shops, so that Poles wouldn't go there, wouldn't buy there. They wrote such inscriptions, posters: 'Don't buy from a Jew', there were such hostile attitudes, but eventually the war started."[1239]

This picture, without any distinctive moments or characteristics, corresponded to the reality of many cities and towns in the Second Polish Republic. There is a chance that the perspective taken by the starost and that of interwar inhabitants of Lubartów are not at all contradictory: daily anti-Semitism, picketing in front of shops owned by Jews was such an ingrained image in the townscape that there was no apparent need to report it to the district governor. The boycott fell within the political culture of the period, at least that is how the Minister of Internal Affairs Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski saw it, justifying the economic boycott of Jews in June 1936, while condemning physical violence against Jews.[1240]

This casuistic distinction between boycotts and violence was also reflected in the procedures of the police. In mid-March 1937, the voivodeship police commissioner from Lublin sent guidelines for conduct during boycott actions to the county police chiefs.[1241] The pretext for the letter was the situation described in the document, when policemen in one of the towns intervened against anti-Jewish agitation by National Party activists. "The distribution of legal printed leaflets of an anti-Jewish nature", as well as "the picket lines," which "reprimand Poles who intend to enter a shop to buy goods with the words 'it's a Jew' 'don't buy from a Jew,' is of an entirely legal nature and in these cases police intervention is unjustified and redundant," the provincial commissioner Stanislaw Ruciński stressed. Moreover, in his opinion, police intervention in defence of Jewish vendors and their customers leads to an unnecessary

[1238] Tshubinski, Baruch (ed.), *Hurbn Levertov. A matseyve Levertov un Levertover kdoyshim* (Paris: Aroysgegebn fun di fraynṭ fun Leverṭov, 1947), 34.
[1239] Interview with Zdzisław Skaruch, 12 May 2004. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka/ Teatr NN."
[1240] Marcus, *Social and Political History*, 365–366.
[1241] Guidelines of the Voivodeship Police Chief on boycott actions, 15 March 1937. APL, KPPPL, 253, 18–19.

escalation of violence. Intervention can only occur "in cases of violence (*gwałt*) and terror related to a boycott action." Interventions, however, are best undertaken in consultation with the county chief," "who will issue appropriate directives and orders in such cases."

At the same time, anti-Semitic motivations behind attacks continued to be overlooked. From January 1937 to March 1938 there were 10 incidents of shattering windows (probably the number of incidents, not the number of broken windows) in Lubartów reported by the town police.[1242] They were collectively described as "bullies' pranks" (*wybryki łobuzerskie*) along with other offences (*e.g*. brawls, possession of dangerous tools, disturbing public peace). The increase in this type of crime was brought to the attention of the starost of Lubartów by the district police chief.[1243] In regard to these offences no documentation of police investigations has survived, it is impossible though to ascertain the circumstances of the incidents, which makes it significantly difficult to determine the scale of anti-Jewish violence. It can only be assumed by analogy with the identified and described incidents that the smashing of windows concerned mainly Jewish residents;[1244] in the case of other crimes, drawing such conclusions would be too risky.[1245]

The fact that some of the recorded physical attacks may have had an anti-Semitic basis is evidenced by the example of the Faja Łazebnik, a teenager, who between 1937 and 139 came to Lubartów from her hometown of Lenin in Polesie near the border with the Soviet Union.[1246] In Lubartów she spent a few months with her older sister Sonia. Sonia lived with her husband, a Jewish religious teacher, on Lubartów's Market Square.[1247] Faja kept two unpleasant memories from Lubartów. The first concerned an attack by a teenage boy on her and her friends in Beis Yaakov school costumes while walking in Lubartów. The attacker threw powder at the girls, from which their eyes burned, and their faces remained swollen for several days. The second memory was of Lubartów butchers throwing scraps of pig meat into a well, which

[1242] Report of the town posts commander, 27 February 1938. APL, KPPPL, 177, 29.
[1243] Report of the county police commander for county chief, 1 March 1938. APL, KPPPL, 177, 23.
[1244] Reports from Lubartów county concerning broken windows in Jewish houses, 1938–1939. APL, KPPPL, 6–8. Breaking windows was a transnational form of anti–Jewish violence, as experienced by one Jewish emigrant from Lubartów to France, Mathias Lerner, whose shop had its windows broken during the looting in October 1938 in Lyon. Yacine Chitour and Pauline Funk, "Antisemitism in Practice the Destruction of Two 'Jewish' Stores in 1930s France," *20 & 21. Revue d'histoire*, 163:3 (2024), 19–35.
[1245] From 1938 onwards, on the crime lists for the Lubartów county, which takes into account several dozen types of crimes, the district commander began to add by hand information about "anti–Jewish excesses." The only recorded case was in July 1938, when six people were "lightly beaten," which is another cover to minimise the violence against Jewish residents. In the remaining months of 1938, it was noted: "There were no anti–Jewish excesses.". Crime lists for 1938. APL, KPPPL, 286–287.
[1246] Schulman, Faye, June 21, 1998. USC Shoah Foundation, Visual History Archive, 43411.
[1247] Sonia Łazebnik, since her arrival in Lubartów in February 1937, lived at 5 Poprzeczna Street, since November 1937 at 25 Rynek I. Register of Lubartów residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 102.

prevented Jews from using the well. Lubartów was not exceptional; here, too, violence against Jews was normalised in the late 1930s, with the county authorities and the police who played their part.

Ozon and the capture of the anti-Semitic narratives in Lubartów

In a report from February 1937, the starost in Lubartów diagnosed the prevailing sentiments in the county:

> "A conviction is being formed among the public of the necessity in the present economic and political situation of a radical reconstruction of the economic and social structure of the state, the rapid implementation of land reform, the elimination of overpopulation in the countryside by industrialising the country and by Polonisation [*spolszczenie*] of trade and industry, nationalising the mines and organising the trade on cooperative principles."[1248]

The need for radical social and economic change was widely felt in Lubartów only after the economy improved. In the Lubartów area, this happened gradually. Initially, it was due to debt relief for the Polish countryside in 1935.[1249] The decisive factor was the increase in grain prices starting from the end of 1936.[1250] The need for change was additionally strengthened by demographic trends: not only was the rural population increasing, but also the post-war baby boom generation was entering adulthood in the second half of the 1930s.[1251] It was young people who were seen as the main threat to the social order:

> "The more active groups of youth seek to break out the narrow framework of the existing social organisations. The radicalisation of youth comes to the fore, creating a fertile ground for subversive elements to take control."[1252]

There was no single programme for the radical socio-economic reconstruction. The People's Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe, SL), a bloc of peasant's parties formed after the defeat in the 1931 national elections to face the governmental influences in the countryside, had its own solution. According to the SL's programme, the economy was to be based on agricultural labour on individual farms. This required a change in the structure of property through radical agrarian reform, and in the structure of trade through strengthening co-operatives, as well as in the

[1248] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 February 1937. APL, Provincial Office of Lublin Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1848, 1.
[1249] Monthly reports of the county chief of Lubartów, 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 137, 41, 48.
[1250] Monthly reports of the county chief, September–December 1936. APL, UWL-WSP, 1847, 37, 41, 48.
[1251] *Mały rocznik statystyczny 1939* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 1939), 18–19.
[1252] Monthly reports of the county chief of Lubartów, 4 November 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 44.

structure of political power through strengthening peasant self-government.[1253] This largely corresponded with expectations present in the countryside, as observed by the Lubartów county chief. Despite this, the peasant movement, which were dominant in the Lubartów county in the 1920s,[1254] did not manage to rebuild its position, also as a result of oppression by the authorities.[1255] Before the next parliamentary elections in 1935, Stanisław Tatarczak, the MP and long-standing leader county, resigned as chairman of the SL Board and left the party,[1256] to run in the elections on the BBWR lists.[1257]

For the pro-government bloc in the second half of the 1930s, the way to remodel the social and economic structure was through an ideological transformation towards nationalism,[1258] to a national consolidation of ethnic Poles. The emanation of the government camp in Lubartów was Ozon, a broad pro-government movement established in February of 1937.[1259] It mobilised citizens with the idea of national unity, which in practice meant uniting the interests of ethnic Poles with those of the state. As the example of Lubartów shows, this was not a new concept: combining the interests of the state government with "the Polish majority" had been the driving force behind the administration actions in Lubartów since the early 1920s.[1260] In the 1930s, it had evolved into the established and meticulously formulated ideology of the ruling camp. According to the OZN's programmatic documents, "the Jews were a factor undermining the natural development of the Polish nation and state forces and standing in the way of the social evolution now taking place in Poland."[1261] Mobilising anti-Jewish narratives served to bring

[1253] Catholic Action took a turn (in the Lublin voivodeship) in a similar agrarian–social direction, due to young priests coming from the countryside. Monthly reports of the county chief of Lubartów, 3 December 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 53.
[1254] The dominance of the left–wing peasant parties in the county continued until the general election of 1928. The left–wing peasant party PSL Wyzwolenie won over 52% of the vote in the provinces, while other left– and radical left–wing peasant parties gained an additional 13%. The pro–establishment bloc BBWR dominated the towns (Lubartów and Łęczna) but held only a small share of the rural electorate at less than 7%. In the following years the pro–government camp attempted to weaken the influence of the peasant leftists in the countryside and strengthen the BBWR by creating structures and hitting the opposition with police and administrative action. In 1930 general election the list of the biggest opposition bloc of peasant and leftist parties (Centrolew) was not allowed to be registered in Lublin–Lubartów electoral district. Results of elections to the Sejm and Senate, March 1928. AAN, UWL, 270/II/2, 5. Results of elections to the Sejm and Senate, November 1930. AAN, UWL, 270/ III/1, 53.
[1255] In the last elections to the rural councils (*rady gromadzkie*), they gained 226 (about 9%) seats against 1913 (78%) Ozon members and government supporters. Monthly reports of the county chief of Lubartów, 4 January 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 1849, 29.
[1256] Monthly reports of the county chief, August–December 1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 37–40, 58, 63.
[1257] Monthly reports of the county chief, 4 October1935. APL, UWL-WSP, 1846, 52.
[1258] Waldermar Paruch, *Od konsolidacji państwowej do konsolidacji narodowej: mniejszości narodowe w myśli politycznej obozu piłsudczykowskiego, 1926–1939* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie–Skłodowskiej, 1997), 247–282.
[1259] See Chapter 1.
[1260] See Chapter 1.
[1261] Quoted by Paruch, 288–289; see also Marcus, 376.

some nationalist group into the orbit of the government camp. Apart from the political function, anti-Jewish postulates, including weakening the Jewish economy, were certainly coherent with the convictions of most OZN activists.[1262] This is why, of all the demands for radical economic and social transformation, it was the call for the Polonisation of the economy that attracted the attention of the pro-government forces in Poland and in the Lubartów county:

> "The dominant issues that interest the general population are still economic matters. Particularly, the question of strengthening the Polish presence in towns through the nationalisation of trade, industry, and crafts. This issue has received significant resonance among urban and rural populations alike. All strata of Polish society appreciate Ozon's straightforward and serious manner of presenting this issue, as they regard it as one of the most important measures for the economic development of the state and the fight against urban unemployment and rural overpopulation."[1263]

"All strata of Polish society" from the county chief's report obviously did not include Jews, who still constituted over 40% of Lubartów's population.[1264] Since the beginning of 1937 they had been living in fear, not of radical nationalists from SN, but of Ozon and the government. The first recorded anxieties were in reaction to the declaration establishing the OZN.[1265] The declaration not only excluded Jews from the civic community but also promoted cultural and economic confrontation.[1266] Nationalisation of trade and industry, advocated in programs of the ruling camp, filled the Jews of Lubartów with fear,[1267] as did the local popularity of the OZN agenda.[1268] According to the county chief's reports, the establishment of the OZN was greeted with enthusiasm in the county, as new members and organisations joined the movement, while Jews were denied this opportunity.[1269] Even the organisation of the 1st of May celebrations in 1937 in Lubartów, were affected with the legitimation of an anti-Semitic course. It had annually brought together left-wing activists regardless of their religion. This time, however, Jewish activists were not permitted to participate in the May Day parade organised by the PPS due to

[1262] Jan Maria Majchrowski, "Ideologia miesięcznika 'Młoda Polska' w okresie współpracy Obozu Zjednoczenia Narodowego z Ruchem Narodowo–Radykalnym," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z Nauk Politycznych,* 10 (197), 134–137.
[1263] County chief's monthly report, 3 June 1937 APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 22.
[1264] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 39–48.
[1265] Monthly reports of the county chief, March–May 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 13, 20.
[1266] Adam Koc, *Deklaracja ideowo–polityczna obozu tworzonego przez pułkownika Adama Koca* (Prasa Polska, 1937).
[1267] Monthly reports of the county chief, February–May 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 3,13, 20, 25.
[1268] Monthly reports of the county chief, February–May 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 3,13, 20, 25.
[1269] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 4 March 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 11, 15, 18.

worries about provocation.[1270] Consequently, only 80 left-wing activists marched, while 300 Jewish leftists joined them for a rally in Lubartów's Market Square.[1271]

The fears among Jews were reinforced by news from Poland and abroad. Until mid-1937, reports continued to arrive about pogroms during which the police did not stop violence against Jews, as in Brześć Litewski in May 1937. [1272] The issue of approximately 17,000 Jewish Polish citizens displaced from Germany resonated particularly strong.[1273] Some of the displaced persons, deprived of their citizenship by the Polish authorities, were held in poor conditions in a transit camp in Zbąszyń near the German border. The Jews of Lubartów joined the humanitarian action to support them.[1274] Faced with the attitude of the Polish state authorities, the worst fears grew among the Lubartów Jews: in late 1938 and early 1939, the starost of Lubartów noted: "The Jews fear the implementation in Poland of restrictions similar to those in Germany,"[1275] and "Jews are closely following further political developments, expecting radical government action."[1276]

From words to deeds

At the beginning of 1939, the Jewish population became an obsession for the non-Jewish population in the county: "Public opinion paid most attention to the Jewish question. This question is an issue of interest today undoubtedly to all strata of the Polish population."[1277]

Lubartów was no exception. On the 22nd of February, the inaugural meeting of the National People's University in Skrobów (Narodowy Uniwersystet Ludowy), a few kilometres west of Lubartów, took place in the Lewart cinema in the hall on Market Square II.[1278] The University was founded by the Youth Service (Służba Młodych), the umbrella of youth organisations within the Ozon movement in Poland. The role of the University was to educate village leaders who would "rearrange the uncoordinated work and the often-wasted efforts into one mighty

[1270] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 3 June 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 25.
[1271] Report of the 1 May celebrations in Lubartów, 1 May 1937 APL, UWL-WSP, 240, 336–337.
[1272] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 3 June 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 25.
[1273] Rafał Żebrowski, "Obóz przejściowy w Zbąszyniu," in *Polski Słownik Judaistyczny* (https://delet.jhi.pl/pl/psj?articleId=13670 – accessed: 20 May 2025).
[1274] Monthly report of the county chief, 4 December 1938. APL, UWL-WSP, 1849, 27.
[1275] *Ibid*.
[1276] Monthly report of the county chief, 4 January 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 1849, 31.
[1277] Monthly report of the Lublin voivode, 14 February 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 2.
[1278] Report of the meeting on the opening of the National Rural University in Skrobów, 23 February 1939. APL, KPPL, 229, 28–30. Tomasz Maliszewski, *Uniwersytety ludowe w polskiej myśli i praktyka pedagogicznej do końca II wojny światowej. Wybrane problemy* (Gdynia: Akademia Marynarki Wojennej, 2021), 205–207.

deed of the Nation."[1279] In practice, it strengthened the influence of the government camp and its programme locally aimed at creating a loyal and engaged peasant elite.

The meeting took place on Ash Wednesday, a church holiday. It was preceded by a mass in the parish church from where the participants marched through the Lubartów Market Square to the market hall.[1280] The inaugural ceremony was honoured, among others, by the Deputy Minister of Agriculture Wierusz Kowalski, the Deputy Governor and the Superintendent of the Lublin School District. However, it was Major Edmund Galiant who made the biggest impression on audience. Galiant was head of the Youth Service and Commander-in-Chief of the Union of Young Poland (Związek Młodej Polski, ZMP), the leading organisation within the Youth Service. ZMP originated from nationalist youth organisations close to the radical fascist National-Radical Falanga Movement (RNR Falanga), among others.[1281] ZMP shared the OZN's ideals of a state union with the Polish ethnic nation, anti-liberalism, and anti-democracy. They were also cemented by the concept of 'soldierliness' (*żołnierskość*) seen as a way of society upbringing and a model of social organisation. It included a cult of the army and armed action, and readiness to defend the country.[1282] ZMP, contrary to the SN, referred to the traditions of the Polish legions, the cult of Marshals Piłsudski and Rydz Śmigły. Edmund Galiant, aged 30, led the ZMP starting from April 1938, after the most extreme activists led by President Jerzy Rutkowski, had left the organisation. With the change of chairman, ZMP became even closer to the OZN.[1283] Despite all these changes, ZMP still had an openly anti-Jewish agenda, as evidenced by the speech given by Galiant's on the 22nd of February in Lubartów:

> "There are five million Jews in Poland and we have to give them work, which is too hard for us. Although we do not want to fight them, we must nevertheless strive to take over industry, workshops and trade in shops. You, the young people have to go in this direction, and you will prevail and will not look for work abroad—applause."
>
> "We Poles cannot leave and let foreign people, not Poles, leave Poland—applause."[1284]

[1279] *Otwarcie Uniwersytetu Ludowego ZMP w Skrobowie*, "Jutro Polski," 11 (1939), 8.
[1280] *Ibid*.
[1281] Patryk Tomaszewski, *Od przełomu narodowego do ruchu młodonarodowego. Związek Młodej Polski w latach 1937–1939. Studium z dziejów myśli narodowo–państwowej* (Kalisz: Kaliskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2021), 19–34.
[1282] Tomaszewski, *Od Przełomu*, 67–75. J. M. Majchrowski, "Ideologia miesięcznika 'Młoda Polska' w okresie współpracy Obozu Zjednoczenia Narodowego z Ruchem Narodowo–Radykalnym," 107.
[1283] Tomaszewski, *Od Przełomu*, 57–60.
[1284] Report of the meeting on the occasion of the opening of the National Rural University in Skrobów, 23 February 1939. APL, KPPL, 229, 28–30.

The emigration of Jews from Poland, according to ZMP's programme, was the final stage to resolve the "Jewish question," after the expropriation and deprivation of civil rights.[1285] The idea of emigration of Jews as a way of improving the economic situation of the countryside was not ZMP's own idea; such a postulate can be found in the programmes of the largest centrist and right-wing political parties at the end of the Second Republic.[1286] The People's Party (Stronnictwo Ludowe), the strongest opposition party in the Lubartów district, included this postulate in its political programme, emphasising, contrary to the Nationalists, the equal rights of Jews and distancing from all forms of violence.[1287] In their view, the elimination of Jewish commercial and credit intermediation was to be carried out "softly"—through the development of co-operatives and support for Jewish emigration from Poland. The call for the emigration of Jews was therefore in the mainstream of political discourse of the period, and was also fully in line with Ozon's declarations and the government actions at the time, which was attempting by means of diplomacy and negotiations with some Jewish representatives to boost the Jewish emigration.[1288] In the context of Lubartów, the idea of a mass Jewish emigration seemed less realistic then a prospect of taking over an industry, workshops and trade, and the call "You, the young people have to go in this direction!" had potential impact on the county inhabitants gathered in the cinema hall.

The inauguration of the university in Skrobów took place in the weeks leading up to the Lubartów municipal council elections.[1289] In elections held throughout the voivodeship in the spring of 1939, anti-Jewish agitation was the OZN's electoral fuel.[1290] The inauguration of the OZN campaign in Lubartów took place four days after the inauguration of the university, on Sunday, February 26th. About 500 people, this time primarily from Lubartów, gathered at the fire station, on Kościuszki street on the vicinity of the Market Square, on the side of the parish church. At the meeting, the Catholic National Electoral Committee of the OZN (Katolicki Narodowy Komitet Wyborczy OZN) was formed with parish priest Walenty Goliński and the Prior of the Capuchin monastery, Guardian Efrem, as honorary members, and representatives of the local government of the town and county, as well as representatives of social

[1285] Tomaszewski, *Od Przełomu*, 72. "Resolution of the ZMP branch in Dobrzyń nad Drwęcą," *Młoda Wieś*, 5 (1939), 15.
[1286] Melzer, *No way out,* 131–134; Alina Cała, *Żyd wieczny wróg,* 376–379.
[1287] Sławomir Mańko, *Polski ruch ludowy wobec Żydów (1895–1939)* (Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polskiego Ruchu Ludowego, 2010), 257–266.
[1288] Majchrowski, 131–133; Paruch, *Od konsolidacji*, 275–282, 304–315; Melzer, 134–153.
[1289] See Chapter 1.
[1290] "In connection with the local government elections, the OZN has shown some activity in the urban section of the electoral OZN. It puts forward the demand for the dejewification (odżydzenie) of the municipal councils." Report of the governor of Lublin, 18 April 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 43.

organisations including Catholic Action. This group also included Czesław Nawracki, Kazimierz Dybczyński, and Feliks Jabłoński, who had previously been associated with the National Party (see list of SN sympathisers).The assembly began with a lecture by Jan Bernaś, director of the newly-opened rural university in Skrobów, who "urged all Poles-Catholics to unite in service to Poland and its Powers" and concluded with a resolution calling on "citizens of the town of Lubartów of Polish nationality and Catholic religion" to vote under the slogan "Poland for Poles".[1291]

The establishment of a rural university brought Lubartów into the orbit of the influence of a radically national youth organisation, ZMP, that was particularly active in the Garwolin county, bordering Lubartów to the north-west.[1292] In the largest towns of the county, ZMP leaders organised meetings to recruit new members. Their influence also reached into schools, where, through Parent Committees, they appealed to the School Inspector for separate institutions for Jews.[1293] Above all, however, they organised boycott actions against Jewish trade that included leaflet distribution and picketing of Jewish shops on market days:

> "The highest intensity of the action in the city of Garwolin was recorded on the 25th of January. 58 picketers took part in it. This action is generating a great resonance among the Jews and has so far generally taken place within a legal framework. The police intervened in only 5 cases, and in 2 cases reports were written on Jews attempting to make a provocation and in Ryki 2 people were prosecuted for attempting to disturb the public peace."[1294]

The town of Ryki was closest to the Lubartów county, a few kilometres from the county border and about 50 kilometers from Lubartów. With the establishment of the university in Skrobów, ZMP crossed the county border. On 20 March 1939, a month after the inauguration of the university, an organisational meeting of the ZMP was held in the Lubartów Lewart cinema, to which "Polish Catholic youth of craftsmen, workers and farmers were invited."[1295] By joining the ranks of the ZMP, the youth were to fight for "a strong Poland through the social and economic reconstruction of our state."[1296] In his report, the Lublin governor estimated the number of participants in the gathering at 800, which made it one of the largest gatherings in

[1291] *Wyborczy Biuletyn Obozu Zjednoczenia Narodowego w Lubartowie*, 9 March 1939. APL, AML, 67, 30.
[1292] Reports of the Governor of Lublin, February–March 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 5–6, 23.
[1293] Report of the Lublin voivode, 13 March 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 23.
[1294] Report of the Lublin voivode, 14 February 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 5–6.
[1295] Poster calling for a meeting of the Young Poland Association, March 1939. nn.
[1296] *Ibid*.

Lubartów in the late 1930s.[1297] The speeches were given by Henryk Puziewicz, deputy commander of the ZMP, and again by the director of the Skrobów University. In addition to them, two students from Skrobów spoke. The timing of the gathering was no coincidence; the meeting was held on Monday at 8 o'clock in the evening. The following day, a weekly market in Lubartów was to take place.

Violence on Lubartów's Market Square

The most complete account of events in Lubartów on 21 March, 1939, provides a report based on testimonies of Jankiel Montal, president of the Jewish *Kehilla*, at the county office:

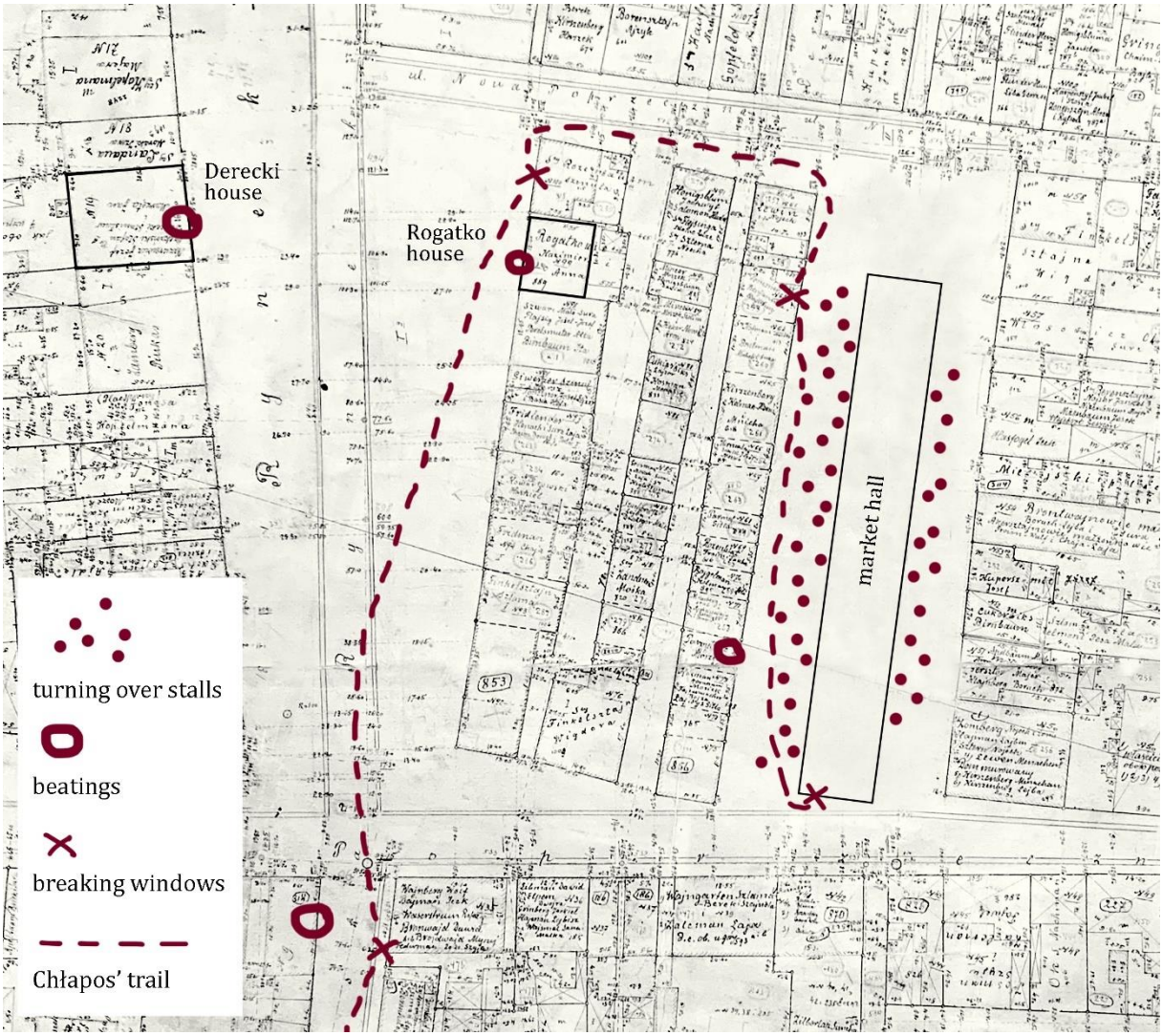
> "Yesterday, that is, on market day, various excesses took place in Lubartów, among others:
>
> 1) Literat Mendel, 24, and Ciechanowski Moszek from Ostrów were wounded with a knife—both are in hospital in Lubartów
> 2) At Bejman's Icek, Lener's Berek, and Ponczer's Józef windows were broken
> 3) several Jewish stalls were knocked over at the market
> 4) Parmet Moszek and the other cart driver were beaten
> 5) Polish school children beat Jewish children
> 6) various leaflets with unacceptable drawings were distributed in the town
> 7) all sorts of rumours are spread to inflame the Polish population against the Jews."[1298]

Police correspondence with the county chief provides additional information on the events, adds new names to the list of victims, and exposes the attackers.[1299] These reports indicate 3 PM as the time of the events, the moment the market ended, which is in line with the frequent scenario of anti-Jewish actions.[1300] Nonetheless, the two bloodiest events—the knife attacks—took place in the evening. Among the victims of the attacks, not mentioned in Jankiel Montel's account but appearing in the reports, were Gdala Perec and Len Abram, both from Lubartów. Additionally, the list of real estate with broken windows was supplemented.

[1297] Report of the Lublin voivode, 18 April 1939. APL, UWL-WSP, 184, 44.
[1298] Minutes of Jankiel Montal's testimony on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 35.
[1299] Reports of the county and town police headquarters in Lubartów on the events of 21 March 1939, March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 34 and 36–39.
[1300] Żyndul, *Zajścia antysemickie*, 42–49.

Stanisław Chłapoś from Brzostówka, less than 15 kilometres east of Lubartów in the Serniki commune, was accused for breaking the windows.[1301] His itinerary can be defined (Map 1). He probably started at Market Square II, where trade was taking place and where, around 3 PM, unknown perpetrators attacked the stalls of Jewish traders. Taking advantage of the chaos, Chłapoś was able to break the windows of Icek Lerner's fruit shop in the market hall building.[1302] Heading north, he broke a window in Józef Ponczer's saddlery shop at 25 Rynek II. On the way, he may have witnessed unknown perpetrators beating up Mojsze Parmet, a trader at 7 Rynek II. Chłapoś walked around the buildings on Klitki street from Nowopoprzeczna side, thus passing Rajzla Rozenberg's soda shop at 18 Rynek I street, where windows were broken as well. From there, he headed south along Rynek I street, where he attacked Hudys Bojm's shoemaker's shop (formerly run by Icek Bejman)[1303] at 1 Piłsudskiego street. Across the street was the hotel of Gdala Perec, who was beat up that day. From there, down Lubartów's main street, Chłapoś headed more than a kilometre south towards the house of Rabbi Mejlech Rabinowicz (64 Piłsudski street) in the vicinity of the municipal court. The rabbi's house was the only residential building attacked. Right next to the rabbi's house, in front of the court building, at 9.10 pm, Icek Ciechanowski, a cart driver from Ostrów Lubelski, was beaten and attacked with a knife.

[1301] Report of the district police headquarters in Lubartów on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 38. The proper spelling of the surname is more likely Chłopaś, a name often occurring in Brzostówka. Chłapoś does not appear in the sources. A 24–year–old person with the same name sat on the board of directors of the Rural Youth Circle "Siew", an organisation affiliated with the government camp in Brzostówka in 1933. Register of social organisations, political parties and unions registered in Lubartów district, late 1920s–mid 1930s. APL, SPL, 130.
[1302] Icek Lerner had premises number 1, on the side of Poprzeczna Street.
[1303] Register of commercial enterprises, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 11.



Map 1. Anti-Semitic attacks on the Market Square in March of 1939. Source: APL, UWL-WB, 92.

The violence in Lubartów on 21 March 1939 was of a hybrid nature. First, it manifested in different forms; secondly, it was driven by various motives. The violence took place in the context of the already mentioned conditions: demographic changes, the need for radical social transformation after the economic crisis, the influence of anti-Semitic narratives and actions, the union of the pro-government camp with the nationalists' groups and the legitimisation of anti-Jewish language. We are thus dealing with a series of social, economic, and political processes and mechanisms that led to the events of 21 March. At the same time, it was not ideologies or social structures that attacked the Jews in the Lubartów Market Square, but particular people functioning in a specific social environment, with their own experiences and life paths. Personal motivations resulting also from political and social circumstances might have pushed them to attack Jews. Deducing motives from behaviour may be unfounded; similarly, in the absence of evidence, interpreting physical violence through the prism of socio-

political conditions seems risky as well.[1304] Thus, my aim is to identify the interpretative tropes, the key dynamics that may have led to the events in the Market Square of March 1939. What were its components, who produced violence against Jews? Finally, what do the events of 1939 bring to our understanding of intergroup relations in Lubartów?

The initiative group—brothers, recruits, Lisowians

Of the 12 suspects identified by the police for attacks on Jews in Lubartów, nine came from the villages adjacent to Lubartów, seven of whom were from Lisów, a village bordering Lubartów to the north. Among the suspects from Lisów were three brothers Kluch, and three others that all had the same surname, Sysiak (Map 2). The Lisów residents acted collectively—two of them were linked to the beating of Perec Gdala and five to the beating of Icek Ciechanowski. Władysław and Zygmunt Kluch were interrogated in connection with the latter attack and sent to the District Court with a request for their arrest.[1305] With one exception, the men from Lisów were described as recruits, *i.e*. soldiers conscripted into the army who hadn't yet taken the military oath. One exception was the oldest of the Kluch brothers, 29-year-old Władysław, described as a farmer.[1306] Władysław was also the only one in the group to be described as a married man; the other recruits were bachelors or have no defined marital status.

According to a bulletin from the county chief of Lubartów, the conscription of Lisów's inhabitants from "the 1917 vintage, deferred from older years and volunteers" took place on 21 May 1938, in the building of the public school on Legionów Street.[1307] The two Kluch brothers identified as recruits, Zygmunt and Józef, were 25 and 26 years old at the time, which means that for some reason their service had been deferred earlier, or they had volunteered for the army. Their call-up was probably not related to preparations for an attack from the *Reich*, as the emergency mobilisation began on 23 March 1939, two days after the events in Lubartów, and initiallyt did not include the Lublin region.[1308] The recruits from Lisów were therefore covered by the regular conscription.

[1304] About complex background of violence see: Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 23–28. Nicolas Mariot, "Faut–il être motivé pour tuer ? : Sur quelques explications aux violences de guerre," *Genèses* 4:53 (2003), 154–177.
[1305] No files covering the police interrogation of the Kluch brothers have survived, and I have not found the Kluchs' case in the files of the Lubartów District Court, nor in the files of the Lubartów District Court prosecutor.
[1306] His brother Zygmunt was described as both a recruiter and a farmer.
[1307] "Plan przeprowadzenia poboru," *Lubartowiak,* 9 (1938), 9.
[1308] Tadeusz Jurga, *Obrona Polski 1939* (Warszawa: PAX, 1990), 186.

Józef Woliński, the 19-year-old who attacked the 79-year-old Gdala Perec with Kazmierz Sysiak, may have also come to Lubartów with the Lisów residents.[1309] Woliński had probably known Sysiak and the rest of Lisów group from earlier. He lived in Mieczysławka, on the other side of the road to Lubartów. The decision to attack Perec, just like that to attack rabbi's house, was by no means been accidental. Perec was the owner of the largest and oldest hotel in Lubartów, known by locals as the "Jewish Hotel."[1310] The hotel was one of the most distinctive buildings in the town, closing off the Market Square from the south. Perec was also known for his social activities. In the 1930s he was the president of the largest Jewish aid organisation, Gemiłas Chesed, which supported small merchants and craftsmen.[1311] The organisation, supported by the Joint, was subjected to anti-Semitic attacks as a Jewish self-organisation initiative with international connections. Perec was a religious Jew, his traditional clothing and appearance may have additionally triggered the anti-Semitic attack.[1312]

The participation of the Lisowian group, most of whom were related, in the events of 21 March, indicates that their actions was coordinated and that they came together to initiate violence in Lubartów. The aim was probably to incite various forms of anti-Jewish attacks, to draw into the violence as many people present in Lubartów that day as possible. This was to be achieved not only by attacks on Jews and their real estates, but also by anti-Jewish agitation through leaflets and the spreading of "rumours inciting the Polish population against the Jews."[1313] This was the most common pattern of anti-Jewish actions organised in the second half of the 1930s. The only element missing was a provocation, which police reports did not record.

In the early 1920s, there were fewer than 600 inhabitants in Lisów, all of whom were Catholic. In the entire municipality of Łucka, to which Lisów belonged, only five Jews out of nearly 6500 residents were registered at that time. All of them lived in areas closest to Lubartów.[1314] The commune of Łucka was one of three in the county where the National Party received around 50% of the votes in the 1930 parliamentary elections. Nationalistic agitation continued there in the following years.[1315] However, until March 1939, Lisów does not appear in the records of

[1309] Report of the district police headquarters in Lubartów on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 38.
[1310] Interview with Marta Guz, 2015. "Marta Guz – relacja świadka historii". Marta Grzeszczak–Szyszka (ed.), Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN".
[1311] See Chapter 2.
[1312] Application for an identity card, 7 June 1933. APL, AML, 525, no page numbers.
[1313] Minutes of Jankiel Montal's testimony on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 35.
[1314] *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej opracowany na podstawie wyników Pierwszego Powszechnego Spisu Ludności z dnia 30 września 1921 r. i innych źródeł urzędowych. T. 4: Lubelskie Województwo* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1924), 56.
[1315] See above.

the police and administrative authorities in the context of anti-Semitic violence. The first recorded case took place the day before the attacks on Jews in Lubartów, the day of the organisational rally of the Union of Polish Youth. At 6.15 am the Więcek brothers, 17-year-old Kazimierz and 19-year-old Tadeusz, described as workers, attacked two Jewish traders Moszek Wasersztrum and Icek Szlachtman from Lubartów on the road near Lisów.[1316] The brothers were armed with a shotgun and a pistol.[1317]

Violence among Lubartowians—Zygmunt Derecki's attack on Abram Len

One of the county police reports identified the perpetrators of the violence in Lubartów as "recruits and other Christian youths."[1318] The first group was formed by residents of Lisów. Not all of them were youngsters, Kluch brothers were between 25 and 29 years old, the age of others is unknown. The second group was more geographically diverse, aged below 20. Apart from Woliński, the latter group included Chłapoś, the only person from the area south of Lubartów presented in the reports. Chłapoś, as it is reported, acted alone. Three other suspects were Christian residents of Lubartów. One of the reports points to Zygmunt Derecki accused of beating another Lubartowian, Abram Len.[1319] Identifying the victim of the attack poses difficulties. Only one Len family was registered as permanent residents in Lubartów before the war. Judko Len, a trader from Parczew, came in February 1936 to Lubartów where he married Chana Rywka Brotmacher. Abram Len might be the same person as Judko Len. The couple lived on Poprzeczna street marking the southern boundary of the Market Square.[1320] In April of 1938, a year before the attack, a son was born to the couple. Shortly after his arrival, Judko opened a small grocery shop selling tobacco on Rynek I Street (number unknown).[1321] Stanisław Derecki, Zygmunt's father, also ran his grocery shop on the same street.[1322]

Interreligious economic relations and the way how they were narrated in interwar Lubartów is one of the potential motives for the attack on Abram Len. In Lubartów, due to the trade structure,

[1316] Entry in the investigation control book of the County Police Headquarters from January 1937 – August 1939, 20 March 1939. APL, KPPL, 299, 289.
[1317] The event was registered as a robbery attack, the first such crime recorded in the book, committed by Christians against Jews. Investigation Control Book of the County Police Headquarters for the period January 1937 – August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 299. Earlier incidents were classified as theft.
[1318] Report of the county police headquarters in Lubartów on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 38.
[1319] Report of the county police headquarters in Lubartów on the events of 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 38. Another Zygmunt Derecki included in the register of residents was less than 17 years old at the time and lived on Mickiewicza Street about 600 metres from the Market Square. Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 45, 186.
[1320] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 45, 126.
[1321] Register of commercial enterprises, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 59.
[1322] See Chapter 4.

everyone or almost everyone bought from Jewish vendors.[1323] This is indicated by the post-war recollections of the town's Christian residents, who emphasise the advantages of Jewish vendors over Christian ones: they were cheaper, sold on credit, and treated children with sweets.[1324] In this context, the transactional nature of inter-ethnic contact is evident. "Buying from a Jew" was a practice that defined inter-ethnic boundaries in Lubartów and around which hostile narratives and intergroup tensions concentrated. Reports from the county chief and accounts from pre-war Lubartów residents agree on the fact that boycott actions were largely unsuccessful in Lubartów: Christians continued to buy from Jewish vendors, which may have caused frustration on the part of Christian vendors. The narrative of taking over trade from the Jews, legitimised by the authorities, was far from becoming a reality,[1325] which only reinforced the sense of injustice.

It is possible that on that day Zygmunt Derecki was still impressed by the great organisational rally of the ZMP in the Lewart cinema. It is also possible that during the rally he applied to join the ZMP, members could be "any young Polish man and woman aged 14 to 25, by origin belonging to the national community [*wspólnoty narodowej*]."[1326] Joining the ZMP would have been consistent with Zygmunt's father's political choices—Stanisław ran for councillor in the 1939 election, from the OZN list. The ZMP was ideologically subordinate to the OZN.[1327] Since the May *coup*, Stanisław Derecki had remained loyal to the Sanacja camp,[1328] which had already mobilised voters in the 1927 local elections, warning them against the Jewish threat.[1329] Although the 1930s popularised a narrative of economic threat from the Jews throughout Poland and legitimised measures seeking to nationalise trade, economic rivalry with the Jews was present in the town from the very beginning of Poland's independence.[1330] Grocery cooperatives, including the largest one, the Christian "Jedność," co-founded by Stanisław Derecki, were established in Lubartów out of the conviction that the interests of religious and ethnic groups had to be defended.[1331]

[1323] See Chapter 4.
[1324] Interviews with Lucjan Michalak (b. 1929), 14 June 2015; Zdzisław Skaruch (b. 1928), 12 May 2004; Lidia Perlińska–Schnejder (b. 1929), 26 September 2000. "Ośrodek Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN". Interview with Mr. Marian (b. 1925). USHMM, RG–90.129.0746.
[1325] See Chapter 4.
[1326] *Statut organizacyjny Związku Młodej Polski*, Warszawa 1939, 5.
[1327] *Ibid*., 3.
[1328] See Chapter 4.
[1329] See Chapter 1.
[1330] See Chapter 1.
[1331] See Chapter 4. In the 1930s "Jedność" had two shops in the Lubartów Market Square, and two more in other parts of the town, plus a butcher's shop and a printing house. "Development of the 'Jedność' food cooperative in

The attack on Len by Zygmunt Derecki can also be viewed through the lens of the social and economic hierarchies in Lubartów. The Derecki family ran a "colonial store" (*sklep kolonialny*) where one could buy imported products in addition to basic goods. Stanisław was one of Lubartów's most distinguished merchants in town.[1332] Zygmunt was a graduate of a trade gymnasium from a wealthy and prominent family. Len, a newcomer, ran a small shop (*drobna sprzedaż*) offering basic products. The Dereckis were not only of a different religion than the Lens, but they were also of a different social-economic status, a fact additionally mirrored by their living conditions. Their position in the local hierarchy is well illustrated by the August 1939 sanitary inspection protocol signed by Stanisław Derecki as chairman of the Municipal Sanitary Commission.[1333] In the protocol, Judko Len (probably the same person as Abram) appears as one of several Jewish residents of the Market Square guilty of sanitation violations; the Lens did not have a liquid waste container. Zygmunt's prejudiced and contemptuous attitude toward Abram may have added another layer to the complex individual and group relationships that led to the anti-Semitic attack on Lubartów Market Square.

The Dereckis' house at 19 Rynek I street was one of the few in the neighbourhood where both Christians and Jews lived. The Lustman family occupied the other apartment in the building. As mentioned earlier, the differences in world view between Stanisław Derecki and Dawid Lustman did not affect their tenancy agreement.[1334] Apparently, Zygmunt Derecki's attack did not affect it either. Until the war broke out, the two families had shared the same house. Anti-Semitic prejudices and behaviour did not necessarily lead to the dissolution of neighbourly relationships. The Dereckis' relationships with Jewish residents of Lubartów advocate for a relational and situational understanding of interethnic and interreligious contacts.

Violence among Lubartowians—Jadach and Cyranek's attack on Mendel Literat

On the other side of Rynek I street, opposite the Dereckis' house, lived Kazimierz Rogatko and his family. Kazimierz purchased the house at 16 Rynek I after moving from Warsaw at the end of the nineteenth century.[1335] Until the 1920s, the Rogatkos remained the only Christians living on the even side of Rynek I. In the family house, Kazimierz ran a butcher's shop and a beer bar (*piwiarnia*).[1336] The house was inhabited by the Rogatko couple, Kazimierz and Anna, and their

Lubartów," *Lubartowiak*, 7 (1936). Roman Smyk, "70 lat Powszechnej Spółdzielni Spożywców 'Jedność' w Lubartowie," *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska*, 10 (1986), 228.

[1332] See Chapter 4.

[1333] Sanitary Commission inspection of 2 August 1939. APL, AML, 344, 120.

[1334] See Chapter 1.

[1335] Cadastral map.

[1336] Register of commercial enterprises, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 46.

daughter, Jadwiga, who was pregnant. Jadwiga turned 28 on the same day the attacks on Jews in Lubartów took place.[1337] Since January 1939, one more tenant had been living with the Dereckis—Henryk Jadach, accused of carrying out the most violent attack on 21 March, which involved severely beating and stabbing Mendel Literat.[1338]

On the 18 March, *i.e.* a few days before the attack, Henryk Jadach turned 19. Henryk was the eldest of the five children of Emilia and Bolesław, who came from Osiny in the Puławy County, bordering Lubartów to the south.[1339] Before arriving in Lubartów, the Jadach family had often moved around the Lublin area. In 1936, they arrived from Niedrzwica Wielka, about 20 kilometres south of Lublin. In Lubartów they settled at the southern end of the town, away from the Market Square, near the railway station. Although, Bolesław Jadach, Henryk's father, is categorised as a trader (*handlarz*), he did not register his own business in Lubartów. The Jadachs did not manage to settle permanently in Lubartów and at the beginning of February of 1939 they moved to Parczew. The eldest of the Jadach children, Henryk, was the only one of the family to remain in Lubartów. He moved in with the Rogatkos where he worked as a butcher apprentice to Kazimierz Rogatko.

In his attack Henryk Jadach was assisted by the year and a half younger Kazimierz Cyranek, from the southern end of Piłsudski street, a few hundred metres from the Market Square.[1340] Cyranek had come to Lubartów with his mother in August 1937 from Zabiel, about 15 kilometres north-east of Lubartów, where he had been born. In Lubartów they moved in with Kazimierz's half-brother Cezary and his wife Jadwiga, from the Budzyński family of masons in Lubartów. Cezary worked as a locksmith, which is also Kazimierz's profession as described in the police report. Based on the social characteristics, it is difficult to pinpoint the area in which Jadach and Cyranek could have had personal animosities with Mendel Literat. Literat, born in Lubartów in 1914, worked as a grocery and tobacco vendor on Bandurski street, parallel to Piłsudski street or the town's main street.[1341] In 1939 Literat stayed with his parents and a sub-tenant on Bandurski street, in a house belonging to his father Herszek, who was a shoemaker. Mendel was a few years older than Jadach and Cyranek. The men did not go to

[1337] Bronisław Kamiński, the registered father of Jadwiga's daughter moved in May; the same day the couple got married and a week after, the baby was born. Bronisław was a tax officer.
[1338] The information is included as a pencil note on the page in register with the Jadach family, Henryk was not formally registered in the Rogatkos' household. Additionally, his new address is included in the police report. Letter from the county chief of the Lubartów police, 7 October 1937. APL, KPPL, 228, 34.
[1339] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 48, 13.
[1340] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 42, 172.
[1341] Register of Lubartów residents, 1932 – late 1940s. APL, AML, 45, 30. Register of commercial enterprises, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 44, 57.

school together, had different professions and were not neighbours. It is difficult to ascertain whether they knew each other at all.

One clue as to the motivation for the violence leads to Kazimierz Rogatko, guardian and supervisor of Henryk Jadach. Rogatko had been associated with National Democracy since at least the 1920s. The peak of his involvement came in 1928, when he ran for the Sejm from the Catholic-National bloc of nationalists (Endecja), conservatives and Christian democrats.[1342] Rogatko was the only Party member still active since the 1920s.[1343] In 1933, he was described in the magistrate's report, together with Feliks Jabłoński and Kazimierz Bartz, "as individuals from the non-functioning National Democracy organisation in Lubartów, who manifest their activity during elections to legislative bodies and local government."[1344] The three men mentioned were representatives of a wider formation in Lubartów, that of SN sympathisers born in the last decades of the 19th century. They were the ones who organised the convention of the National Democrats in 1930; in 1933 they took part, together with Józef Siechanowski from Lublin, in attempts to revive the SN in the Lubartów district by joining the local board of the party.[1345] In 1937, together with the younger Aleksander Lalka, they founded the Christian Association of Real Estate Owners. The president of this organisation was Czesław Nawracki who, like most of the board members including Rogatko, was described as a sympathiser of the National Party. Nawracki in Autumn 1937 was characterised as "the greatest supporter of boycotting trade and causing anti-Semitic incidents."[1346]

Rogatko's political sympathies and acquaintances indicate that he shared or at least accepted the anti-Semitic views of the nationalists. Rogatko was a butcher (*masarz*), a profession traditionally carried out by Christians for Christians; in interwar Poland, cold cuts were mainly

[1342] Catholic National List for the Sejm, "Głos Lubelski," 2 (1928), 3.
[1343] Individual representatives of the Nationalists from the first municipal council or the leader of the Nationalists Andrzej Targoński, a councillor and short–lived juror in the second term of the Municipal Board, as well as Mayor Śliwa, died or left Lubartów. Two other councillors, identified in the late 1920s as SN sympathisers, joined the pro–government camp. See Chapter 1. Józef Krówczyński, the only member of the board of the National People's Union from the early 1920s who appeared in the county chief's reports in the 1930s, moved out to Skrobów. List of members of organisations and political parties, September 1922. APL, AML, 176, no page numbers.
[1344] A monographic description of the town of Lubartów, 24 August 1933. APL, AML, 187. Pages not numbered.
[1345] Police report on the activities of the SN in Lubartów, 25 September 1933. APL, KPPPL, 228, 8. Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 1 November 1933. APL, Lubartów Provincial Office Social and Political Department (UWL-WSP), 1844, 88. They may also have had a hand in the establishment of the University of Lubartów.
[1346] Letter from the chief of the Lubartów police station to the district command, 7 October 1937. APL, KPPPL, 228, 34.

made from pork.[1347] At the same time, for several decades he lived and worked in a building at 16 Rynek I, among Jewish neighbours. How did Henryk Jadach feel in the new neighbourhood? Previously, he had lived in an all-Catholic neighbourhood. Did the movement, the separation from his family, his daily contacts with Jewish neighbours, and finally the growing anti-Jewish agitation and anti-Semitic atmosphere in Lubartów, as well as the attacks on Jews that he witnessed, cause him to stab Mendel Literat with a knife on the evening of 21 September? Or perhaps he had already been one of the radicalising youths whom the county governor feared, those who demanded radical change, maybe one of those gathered at the rally at the Lubartów Cinema Hall on 30 March. Jadach, like Cyranek, might had already been among the youth recalled by Karol Skaruch and Aron Rachsztajn within "gangs of young people and even children, led by their violently anti-Semitic leader, posted themselves from early morning until late at night near Jewish shops and shouted incessantly: 'Don't buy from Jews!'"?[1348] Or was he one of the young butchers who threw pork in the well?

The trajectories of Jadach and Derecki are markedly different, as are the two attacks in terms of their degree of bodily harm. However, the two suspects were both young and lived on Market Square I, where both attacks took place on 21 March. By emphasising the links between the two young men and their caretakers, wealthy and well-established people in Lubartów, I indicate an intergenerational persistence in attitudes toward Jews in Lubartów. By the end of the 1930s, the differences in views and attitudes toward Jews between Kazimierz Rogatko, associated with the openly anti-Semitic National Democracy, and Stanisław Derecki, who was associated with the pro-government camp that had periodically used anti-Semitic rhetoric, were blurred. This is allegorically expressed by the attacks carried out by Henryk Jadach and Zygmunt Derecki.

Children beating up children

At the end of the 1930s, Mieczysław Breitmeier, headmaster of primary school number 2 in Lubartów, observed a change in the attitude of Christian pupils towards the Jewish pupils:

> "During the 1937-38 school year, another issue emerged that negatively impacted education (*sprawy wychowawcze*). Anti-Semitism suddenly rose among a group of schoolchildren, resulting in troubling behaviour that has taken a long time to eradicate. Anti-Semitism

[1347] In 1920 and 1930 all butchers in Lubartów were Catholics. Inventory of butchers' workshops, 11 June 1933. APL, AML, 434, no page numbering. List of foremen, journeymen, and apprentices working in crafts in Lubartów, 10 August 1922. APL, AML, 176, no page numbering.
[1348] *Hurbn Levertov*, 34.

among schoolchildren reflects the prevailing attitude in a certain section of society (*e.g.*, militant anti-Semitism [*wojujący antysemityzm*]). It constituted a serious obstacle to normal educational work, particularly in some of the higher-level classes."[1349]

Principal Breitmaier's entry provides yet another symptom of the rise in the anti-Semitic sentiment in Lubartów in the late 1930s. Mordko Rozbruch, born in 1924, and Isaac Jacobs, born in 1918, recalled their own experience of violence inflicted by Christian peers at school. "There were good relations, but eventually Jews stayed together. When there were pauses, they didn't go out, because there were Poles who injured them, hit them, so Jews stayed together"[1350]—Rozbruch testified. Staying together was also a method for a safe return home: luckily most of the Lubartów Jewish pupils lived in the same neighbourhood.[1351]

Fears among the Jewish pupils were reinforced by the fact that they made up an increasingly smaller proportion of pupils in Lubartów's public schools: in the 1934/1935 school year, 43% of the total number of pupils (394 Christian pupils to 295 Jewish pupils), a percentage that fell to 38% (405 to 247 pupils) in the last school year before the outbreak of war, which is in accordance with the demography in the town.[1352] The change, according to principal Breitmaier, was due to the influx of increasing numbers of pupils from outside Lubartów, which is confirmed when the late 1930s are compared with the early 1930s. Over the course of the second half of the decade, however, the trend was reversed, with children from outside Lubartów accounting for 7.5% of all pupils in the 1934/1935 school year and 5% four years later.[1353] In terms of physical violence and the impact of anti-Semitism in the school, topography was less important than demographics. In 1934/1935, children of 14 years and older accounted for 13% of all pupils, in 1938/1939—almost 20%.[1354] Additionally, Jewish pupils tended to finish education earlier than Christian pupils. Thus, proportionally there were clearly fewer Jewish children in the oldest classes who were more exposed to anti-Semitic narratives.[1355]

[1349] Chronicle of the common school in Lubartów, 198–199, Lubartów Regional Museum.
[1350] Mordko Rozbruch, interview by Claire Zalc.
[1351] Isaac Jacobs Interview, 13 July 1998. Visual History Archive, USC Shoah Foundation, 43172.
[1352] School Chronicle, 116–117. In the precious schoolyear, Lubartów had one comprehensive school with an enrolment of 1,295, and Jewish students made up 44%. School Chronicle, 99.
[1353] School Chronicle, 167, 194, 219. Most children started school at age seven, and school ended after seven years.
[1354] School Chronicle, 139, 220.
[1355] Grade and pupil opinion sheets from grade 1 of the comprehensive school show that Jewish pupils were leaving school earlier than Christians. In grade 5, Jewish pupils constituted almost 36% (36 out of 106 pupils), in grade 6 more than 24% (22 out of 90), and in the final grade 7 only above 10% (5 out of 48). Grade sheets of the 1st primary school in Lubartów, 1938/1939. 207–332. Jan Twardowski Primary School No. 1 in Lubartów.

Anti-Semitic violence at school was a common experience for young Jews in interwar Poland: this was often where they had first conscious contact with anti-Semitism.[1356] The first recorded cases of peer violence in Lubartów schools took place in the early years of the Second Republic and just after the introduction of universal compulsory education.[1357] In the second half of the 1930s, the school remained one of the trouble spots of inter-ethnic contact in Lubartów. At the end of May 1937, in response to the posting of an anti-Semitic proclamation on the walls of the Lubartów church, some Jewish residents "took students out of school for fear of possible excesses."[1358] The context was the events of the bloody pogrom in Brześć Litewski in mid-May 1937. At the time, the attitude of the Jews was interpreted by the starost of Lubartów as a symptom of panic; the events of March 1939, however, showed that the school was a flammable ground for anti-Jewish violence.

Police response

Based on reports, it can be indicated that the anti-Jewish violence in Lubartów on 21 March took place in two acts that started at 3 PM and around 9 PM respectively. The violence was initiated during the market with overturning stalls and breaking windows, while its second act were the knife attacks on Icek Ciechanowski and Mendel Literat. The timing of the events and the difficulty of reconstructing their sequence suggest that the police were either uninterested in the attacks or absent from the town centre when they occurred. This was in contrast to the earlier conduct of the police who in the autumn of 1937 had known in advance about the planed anti-Jewish actions, and in February of 1939 took preventive measures and were particularly alert on market days.[1359] The first surviving report from 21 March came from police officer Walter Brzoza who was on patrol duty that day between 4 PM and midnight. Brzoza refers to the event at 9.10 PM when Icek Ciechanowski was beaten and stabbed near the local court building.[1360] To the same report, in a different handwriting in pencil, information was added about the attack on Icek Literat at Market Square I. Information of the latter incident reached the police station at 11 PM, at which time the police began their investigation.[1361] As a result, the perpetrators of the most serious offences, Jadach and Cyranek as well as the Kluch brothers,

[1356] Kamil Kijek, D*zieci modernizmu. Świadomość, kultura i socjalizacja polityczna młodzieży żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2020)*,* 274–275, 281.
[1357] Marek Urban, *Polska… Polska…* (Warszawa: ŻIH, 1998), 20.
[1358] Monthly report of the county chief of Lubartów, 3 June 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 1848, 25.
[1359] Disposition of the county chief on "anti–Jewish excesses", 4 October 1937. APL, UWL-WSP, 228, 27. Letter of the county chief of police on preventive arrests, 16 February 1939. APL, KPPPL, 40–43.
[1360] Account by Walter Brzoza of patrol on 21 March 1939, 22 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 39.
[1361] Entry in the Investigation Control Book of the District Police Headquarters for the period January 1937–August 1939, 21 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 299, 290.

were arrested on 22 and 23 March respectively, and handed over to the Lubartów Court (Sąd Grodzki) with a police request for arrest. After questioning, however, the judge released the suspects, and the case file was sent to the prosecutor's office in Lublin for a decision.[1362]

The perpetrators of all the previous attacks of 21 March acted unperturbed and avoided arrest. Kazimierz Marsik, the Lubartów post commander who had held this position since at least the mid-1930s, was responsible for the police's attitude. From early 1937, like all the other local commanders in the county he received letters ordering to be suspicious of Jews and to monitor of collective mobilisation among Jews, which was interpreted as actions harmful to Christian merchants and customers,[1363] as well as directives discouraging police officers from intervening in boycott actions.[1364] Although breaking windows and beating Jewish merchants did not fit the accepted form of picketing and were closer to "acts of terror," the police from the Lubartów station did not take any action against the attacks. Nor have any traces survived of the intervention of the district commander, Józef Krzeszkowski.

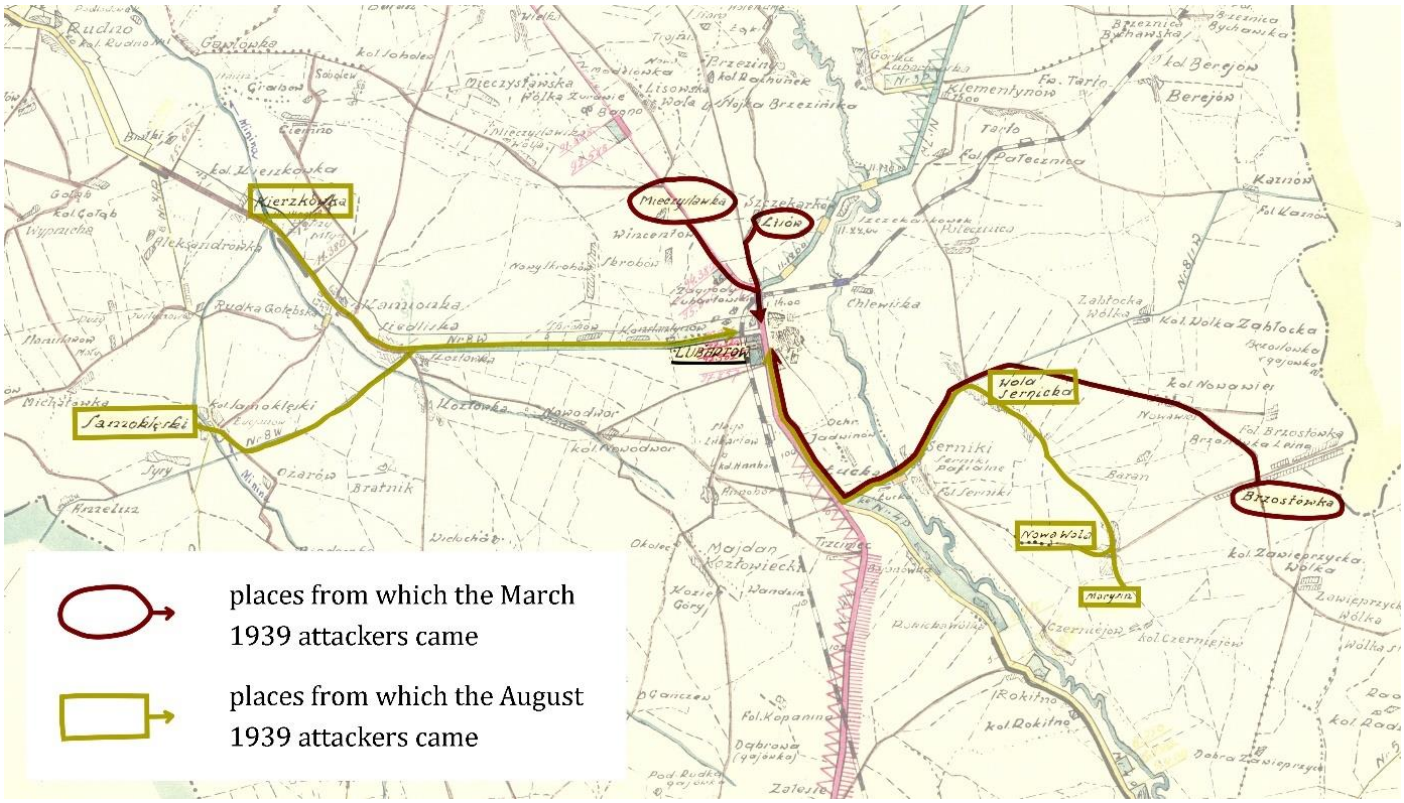
On 14 August, 1939, during another collective attack on Jews in Lubartów, the conduct of the Lubartów policemen was no different. Contrary to orders, the post under Marsik's leadership failed to put out a patrol that day and failed to enforce the ban on alcohol sales.[1365] Adam Glajc the county commander since May 1939,[1366] together with his subordinate from the county police station, stopped the attackers, in the face of the passivity of the town police.[1367]

August 1939 attacks on Jewish traders in Lubartów

The anti-Jewish attacks in August had a completely different dynamics than the events of a few months earlier.[1368] Early Monday morning on 14 August, a group of men from three villages in the Serniki area, south of Lubartów, arrived in Lubartów on two carts (Map 2). They had spent the night before drinking vodka. First, they drank in a grocery shop in Nowa Wola, where most

[1362] Report of the district commander, 27 March 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 27. I have not found the case file either in the Lubartów Municipal Court team or in the Lublin Public Prosecutor's Office.
[1363] Reports of the police stations of the district of Lubartów on the Jewish counteraction, 1937. APL, KPPPL, 254.
[1364] Guidelines of the Provincial Police Chief on boycott actions, 15 March 1937. APL, KPPPL, 253, 18–19.
[1365] Letters from the Provincial and District Commandant on the non–performance of duties by the Lubartów post, 14 August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 32–33.
[1366] Adam Glajc had previously served as district commander in Rohatyn in the Stanisławów Province in present–day Ukraine. Adam Ostanek, „Udział formacji zwartych Policji Państwowej w akcji represyjnej w Małopolsce Wschodniej w 1930 roku w świetle Sprawozdania Komendanta Wojewódzkiego Policji Państwowej we Lwowie z akcji przeciwsabotażowej na terenie powiatu bóbreckiego, brzeżańskiego, podhajeckiego, rohatyńskiego i tarnopolskiego, przeprowadzonej w dniach 21–29 września 1930 roku przez oddziały policji," *Rocznik Kresowy* 2 (2016), 179. *Na posterunku*, 47 (1937), 19.
[1367] Letter from the District Commander regarding the failure of the Lubartów police station to perform its duties, 14 August 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 12–13, 30–33. Four more pages without numbers.
[1368] Records regarding the August attack, August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 32

of them came from. Then, they drank in a shop in Wola Sernicka village, which was on their way to Lubartów. In Lubartów, the group from the Serniki area was joined by three other men from the Samoklęski area, a couple of kilometres west of Lubartów. The offenders headed toward the Market Square, where they broke 32 windows and "slightly injured" five men, four Jewish town residents and Icek Goldman from Lublin. All of the injured Lubartów residents were involved in trade; three of them owned shops registered in the Market Square.[1369] One of them was Szyja Cytrynblum.[1370] Tracking down Jewish shops for drunken assaulters was made all the easier by the fact that, starting from August 1936, as stipulated by decree, the shop owners had to display their name as it appeared on their birth certificate.[1371]



Map 2. Places from which the 1939 attackers came. Source: National Library, ZZ 17 442.

As offenders in August attacks on Jews and Jewish real estates, the police identified eight men, seven of whom were detained by the county commander. The men are collectively characterised as reservists (*rezerwiści*). Most likely, they were mobilised on the basis of the so-called "silent mobilisation," a roll call of reservists that preceded the general mobilisation at the end of August

[1369] Lubartów register of residents, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 197. APL, AML, 42, 37. APL, AML, 45, 162. APL, AML, 46, 23. Register of Entrepreneurs, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 411, 4, 12, 27.
[1370] See chapter 4.
[1371] Celia Heller, *On the Edge*, 104.

1939.[1372] The exception was Stanisław Szych, a professional soldier, cavalryman from the 21st Lancer Regiment. Three of the attackers were additionally identified as farmers and one as a mason.[1373] All of them were between 25 and 30 years old, meaning they had completed basic military service at least a few years prior. In interwar Poland, this service included 21-year-olds.

In their hometowns, the attackers were probably on Sunday leave.[1374] This leave may have included the following two days, as the 15 August was the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, a holiday in the Second Republic.[1375] The attack, thus, took place Monday morning between the two holidays. The offenders of 14 August knew well why they had come to Lubartów. They choose the nearest town where Jews lived,[1376] the one they knew and probably had visited regularly. The attack on the Jews was likely a private initiative agreed upon by two groups of reservists. Although, as in the case of the commune of Łucka, the commune of Serniki had been earlier recorded as one of the places where the National Party agitation reached,[1377] in neither of anti-Jewish violence acts any documented links between the offenders and radical nationalists are reported. Nevertheless, both attacks on Jews in Lubartów and the participation of inhabitants from different villages in the vicinity of Lubartów, show that anti-Jewish violence became more common in the region (see Map 2).[1378]

Whatever the differences in the dynamics of the events of March and August of 1939, they both make one wonder why the mobilised inhabitants of the villages around Lubartów decided to carry out attacks on the Jews in the town. The two biggest reported incidents of 1939 happened in Lubartów after the mobilisation.[1379] Keeping in mind all the previous catalysts of inter-ethnic tensions, the military factor must equally be taken into account as a factor that favoured outbreaks of violence in Lubartów. One model for understanding the pogrom violence indicates the existence of patterns of violence and norms permitting violence as a contributing factor to

[1372] About 800,000 soldiers were called up in this way, the vast majority of them mobilised.
[1373] Letters from the district commandant on the attack on the Jews, 14 August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 253, 12–13.
[1374] The possibility that they attacked Jews before joining the army is less likely due to the information that after their arrest, the offenders were taken to the station and returned by train to their units.
[1375] Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 15 listopada 1924 r. o dniach świątecznych. Dz.U. 1924 nr 101 poz. 928.
[1376] In the municipality of Samoklęski there were 56 people of Jewish religion in the early 1920s, none in the municipality of Serniki. *Skorowidz*, 58.
[1377] See above.
[1378] Another confirmation of this, was the robbery attack on 1 June 1939 on Wasersztrum by the inhabitants of Zawieprzyce (Spiczyn commune) and Rokitno (Łucka commune) south of Lubartów. It was the second event of this type at the county level. An entry in the investigation control book of the District Police Headquarters for the period January 1937 – August 1939, 1 June 1939. APL, KPPPL, 299, 301.
[1379] Investigation control book of the District Police Headquarters for the period January 1937 – August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 299.

the occurrence of collective violence.[1380] In the case of the recruits and reservists attacking Jews in Lubartów, there is a repetition. 20 years earlier, in May 1919, a group described as recruits and peasants, much more numerous than in 1939, had tried twice to carry out a pogrom against Lubartów's Jews.[1381] At the time, just like in August 1939, the recruits came from the community of Serniki.[1382]

The repeating pattern of violence does not imply that the circumstances were identical; the conditions in 1919 and 1939 differed significantly. Yet, both demonstrated that being a soldier encouraged violence against Jews while providing a sense of impunity. However, unlike in 1919, in 1939 the army and police did not stop the violence. Local courts' conduct also argue for approval for violence. In March only the perpetrators of the most brutal attacks were arrested and shortly after released. The August reservists faced no consequences. "The detainees were escorted to the Lubartów railway station, released, and driven back to their units," concluded his report county police commander Adam Glajc.

Conclusion

The attacks of 1939 had a complex background, aspects of which I have tried to point out. No strong nationalist party structures arose in Lubartów in the 1930s, and anti-Jewish agitation did not lead to pogroms. However, the nationalist influence was clearly visible in the town and the links between the SN and the 1939 attackers could be identified. Most of the attackers came from the two communes neighbouring Lubartów, with the continuity of the presence of national party sympathisers over the years. In Serniki, in addition, the local parish priest had been the leader of the movement since the 1920s. Inspiration from nationalist organisations is also indicated by the example of Henryk Jadach, a protégé and subtenant of the veteran of the national camp in Lubartów, Kazimierz Rogatko.

[1380] Mikołaj Wiśniewski, "Model przemocy pogromowej. Analizy przemocy kolektywnej na ziemiach polskich w latach 1805–1946," in *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3*, 29.

[1381] The newspaper article refers to the thousands of attackers that the army and machine guns were needed to stop. See Chapter 1.

[1382] Which was not at all the rule in the course of anti–Semitic attacks on the population during this period. The violence of the soldiers most often occurred after the liberation of the city by the troops of the Polish liberating army. Grzegorz Gauden, *Lwów – kres iluzji. Opowieść o pogromie listopadowym 1918* (Kraków: Universitas, 2019). Alicja Gontarek, "Pogrom w Łukowie podczas wojny 1920 r. przyczyny, przebieg i skutki," in *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach Polskich w XIX i XX wieku. Tom 2*, 312–315. Wiesław Passawzkowski, "Pogrom w Częstochowie 27 maja 1919 r. w świetle relacji żydowskich," in Ibid.em, 274–275. Michaił Mitsel, "Pogromy w Polsce przeprowadzone przez regularne oddziały Wojska Polskiego (1918–1919) w świetle materiałów American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee," in *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach Polskich w XIX i XX wieku. Tom 3*, 257–268.

Anti-Jewish violence in Lubartów, however, have different chronology to that which is most frequently studied. The recorded incidents of violence at school (testimonies and the school chronicle), on the streets (testimonies) as well as those recorded by the police and the starost accumulated at the end of the 1930s, between 1937 and 1939. At that time, as noted by the starost of Lubartów, anti-Jewish sentiment grew. This chronology indicates that an important catalyst for anti-Semitism was the increasing legitimisation of exclusionary and violent narratives and the normalisation of violence against Jews. As I have demonstrated, the Jews in Lubartów were systematically marginalised politically and discriminated against administratively on a day-to-day basis since the early 1920.[1383] At the end of the 1930s, the exclusion of Jews reached its peak, which apart from acts of violence, is visible in the starost optics and language as well as in conduct of police. Other symptoms can be added: the refusal to register Jewish organisations, drawing up of lists of non-Polish officials and teachers.[1384]

A component of this process was the growing rapprochement of the government camp with radical national organisations and the adoption of anti-Semitic language. The two biggest reported anti-Jewish actions occurred precisely at the time when the authorities and Christian elites of Lubartów began to use openly anti-Semitic language and exclusion of Jews from the economy, and local government and social life became a tool of political mobilisation. The local authorities and elites of the town then allied with radical nationalist groups, as evidenced by the opening of the village university in Skrobów and the onset of the ZMP activities.

Ultimately, we must consider the attitudes of Lubartów's inhabitants toward the anti-Semitic violence that occurred in 1939, which is not mentioned in the reports. The police reports present the events of March and August as if they were abstracted from their social context. We know nothing about the atmosphere in Lubartów on 21 March and 14 August, 1939, nor the attitudes of inhabitants witnessing the violence. On the one hand, the attacks on Jews did not escalate into a mass occurrence; on the other, nothing is reported about people who stood up for the victims. The non-Jewish townspeople included in the reports are three young men who attacked two Jewish Lubartów residents in the Market Square, as well as school pupils who beat their Jewish peers.

The topography of violence in Lubartów points to the Market Square and the main street of the town as places of eruption of violence. This was the case in 1919, repeated in the events of 20

[1383] See Chapter 1 and 2.
[1384] County chief decision in regard to the Kultur-Lige registration, 25 February 1939. APL, KPPPL, 240, 21. Register of non–Polish officials and public employees, August 1939. APL, KPPPL, 212.

years later. Nevertheless, outbursts of violence spared the buildings in the middle of the Market Square, Klitki I and Klitki II. These two streets constituted a safe enclave for Jews, between Rynek I and II streets. The Klitki were a stigmatised area of the town, an inner Jewish space that attackers avoided entering. Symbolically, the attacks as well waste management defined the boundaries of ethnic marking in the town centre.

CHAPTER 6. LUBARTÓW MARKET SQUARE DURING THE WAR

INTRODUCTION

The creation of the ghettos in Nazi-occupied Europe is commonly understood as step in a series of repressive measures against Jews, which included creating Jewish institutions of control, labelling, and movement restrictions.[1385] Ultimately, the construction of ghettos was seen as a final step towards the Final Solution.[1386] This perspective on the ghetto was largely shaped by the focus on largest cities; the inclusion of towns and provisional towns into the analysis undermined a number of earlier findings. Dan Michman's work took on the most polemical tone in this respect.[1387] Michman summarises his findings as follows: "the introduction of ghettos was not a 'final' step; on the contrary, it was hesitant, geographically limited, and incomplete in its distribution."[1388]

> "There was no organised and regular correlation between ghettoization and the establishment of the Judenrat and other steps to isolate the Jews, as Hilberg proposed. The erratic timing of the establishment of ghettos also rules out any inherent link with the population transfer policy."[1389]

Broadening the perspective to smaller towns enables researchers to see the decentralised nature of the ghettoization process in the occupied territories. Local differences have been expressed in terms of timing, motivations, and methods of establishing ghettos. Researchers studying the ghettoization process in the Lublin district came to similar conclusions. David Silberklang and Musiał stated that the creation of ghettos in the Lublin district was left to local factors, and that the initiative most often came from the civil authorities represented by the *Kreishauptmann* or *Stadthauptmann*.[1390] This does not mean, of course, that the creation of ghettos was unrelated

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[1385] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939–1945, vol. 2: The Years of Extermination* (York: Harper Collins, 2006), 38–39. Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), xviii.
[1386] Israel Gutman, "Ghetto," in Israel Gutman (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 579.
[1387] Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust*, translated by Lenn J. Schramm (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). See also: Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of Shtetl*, (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2009), 74.
[1388] *Ibid*., 160.
[1389] Michman, *The Emergence*, 89. The last sentence is polemic with Götz Aly, among others. Götz Aly, *"Final Solution: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jew* (Hodder Education Publishers, 1999), 79–81.
[1390] David Silberklang, *Gates of Tears. The Holocaust in the Lublin District* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014), 159–160. Bogdan Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939–1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999–2011), 130–142.

to the policies and actions of the administration at the district level or the entire General Government. Silberklang, contrary to Michman, closely links the creation of ghettos, at least in the Lublin district, with population policy and the mass resettlement of Jews from outside the district and within it.[1391]

The decentralised nature of ghettoization is one reason for its ambiguity. Discrepancies begin with the sources, which define and refer to ghettoization differently. The perception of space differs not only due to personal and institutional context, in addition, the terminology changes over time. Records from the Jewish Social Self-Help (ŻSS) in Lubartów, as well as testimonies collected by the Jewish Historical Commission shortly after the war, refer to an open Jewish district, while for most of those who gave their accounts several decades later, both Jews and non-Jews, the existence of the ghetto was a common fact. There is also no consensus among researchers on how to identify the ghetto.[1392] Consequently, there are different estimates of the number of ghettos in the Lublin district, ranging from 4 proposed by Musiał and Silberklang to 26 in the *USHMM Encyclopedia of Ghettos*.[1393] Lubartów is one of the 22 localities included in the USHMM list that do not meet the criteria proposed by Musiał and Silberklang. This makes Lubartów central to the question of the nature of the ghetto.

In occupied Poland, various forms of concentration and separation of Jews existed, ranging from closed districts, such as Warsaw or Łódź, to areas where "the entire town was a ghetto".[1394] A large part of this spectrum is covered in research by the broad and vague category of the "open ghetto," which offers many possibilities for gradation—"partially open ghetto," "semi-open ghetto," or, more subversively, "semi-closed ghetto."[1395] The "open ghetto" might be a term borrowed from the source, but it is most often mobilised as a category of analysis.[1396] Examining the situation of Jews in "open ghettos" in the General Government province was one of the goals of the collective study by the Polish Center for Holocaust Research, *Dalej jest*

[1391] Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 197–217.
[1392] Michman, *The Emergence*, 90–93. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 209–216.
[1393] *USHMM Encyclopedia,* 605. Interestingly, Robert Kuwałek, author of the entry on Lubartów in the Encyclopedia, does not mention the establishment of a ghetto in Lubartów.
[1394] Michał Szpila testimony, USHMM, RG–50.488.0308. The quote refers to Bobowa.
[1395] For more on the typology of ghettos, see Martin Dean, "Typology of Ghettos: Five Types of Ghettos Under German Administration" in Jonathan Petropoulos, Lynn Rapaport, John K. Roth (eds.), *Lessons and Legacies*, *IX: Memory, History, and Responsibility: Reassessments of the Holocaust Implications for the Future* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009), 85–105. All of these terms are used in *Night Without End* / *Dalej jest noc.*
[1396] Most authors, however, treat the "open ghetto" and other variants as a category of analysis, without quotation marks. Among the authors of *Dalej jest noc*, only Dariusz Libionka uses quotation marks.

noc.[1397] The collected studies indicate that ghettos were not a homogeneous structure, and their scope and character could vary locally, which may be another factor explaining the differences in their definition.

Local differences in the forms of the concentration, how the concentration was perceived and understood, and its variable nature prompt the use of microhistorical tools, which, through in-depth observation, allow to distance from established categorisations. Therefore, the adopted methodology is not about describing another model of concentration or adding a new adjective to describe the nature of the ghetto. Rather, it is about proposing an analytical model that will highlight unrecognised aspects of shaping space and social exclusion. I address the most fundamental aspect of segregation, as reflected in the residential and business structures of the Market Square.

My perspective is not that of the planners, nor of those at the top of the Nazi hierarchy, nor even of those implementing ghettoization locally, the "doctors of space" as Tim Cole collectively calls them.[1398] I do not have the sources that would allow me to understand the interplay of interests and the various logics behind the separation of space, as others have done.[1399] What connects my approach to the those taken by historians analysing ghetto spaces (spatial turn) is the belief that space matters, and that the Holocaust was implemented not only in space, but also through space.[1400] Housing and spatial policies were a tool of exclusion and alienation through the division into Aryan and non-Aryan space. In the case of closed ghettos, the idea of separation and exclusion ("spatial expression of exclusion") as well as control was expressed through the wall/border of the ghetto and police practices. The case of Lubartów raises the question of whether spatial exclusion boundaries must be visible. What is the nature of separation in the context of "open ghettos"?

Rather than founding my analysis on the discussions and plans of decision-makers, planners, ideologists, and officials, I examine the concentration and separation of Jewish residents of Lubartów through in-depth observation of the distribution of housing and, to some extent, commercial and service premises. Thus, the analysis remains at the practical level. How can we precisely follow the process of concentration of Jews in Lubartów? Is this process linear,

[1397] Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski, "Wstęp", in Barbara Engelking and Jan Grabowski (eds.), *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski vol. I,* (Warsaw: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018), 14.
[1398] Cf. Tim Cole, *Holocaust City. The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (New York & London: Routledge, 2003).
[1399] *Ibid*. Justyna Majewska, *Mury i szczeliny. Przestrzenie getta warszawskiego* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2024). I discuss the process of allocating and managing housing in Chapter 3.
[1400] Cole, *Holocaust City*, 14.

leading to an ever-stronger concentration of Jews and their separation from the rest of the town's inhabitants?

For studying segregation patterns, Maël Le Noc's research will be useful to me. Le Noc mobilised population censuses in order to gain understanding of spatial segregation and spatial separation between Jews and non-Jews in the northern area of the 13th district in occupied Paris.[1401] By changing the scale of analysis from neighbourhoods to buildings, Le Noc addresses the question of the effects of space and spatial characteristics on the trajectories of Jewish residents. Among other things, the relationship between the degree of concentration of Jewish-occupied apartments in buildings, and Jewish residents war trajectories, is studied. The relationship between the separation and concentration of Jews and persecution is another major issue that I aim to address.

My observation is strongly rooted in findings concerning the residential and ownership structure of the Lubartów Market Square in the pre-war period.[1402] In the case of the Market Square, as was the case with local government, the central concern is the continuity and discontinuity between intergroup and individual contacts and the nature of the intergroup boundaries. To what extent do pre-war models of spatial segregation remain valid in Lubartów? How did the hierarchies between groups of town residents affect the distribution of housing? Were ethnic divisions the only factor in determining where residents lived?

Before the war, the Market Square was not homogeneous. Internal spatial divisions mirrored local hierarchies and different forms of grouping. The questions arising in this context are the following: how did the characteristics of the space before the war translates into distinctions between Jewish and non-Jewish spaces during the war? How did discourses and practices aimed at reinforcing intergroup barriers, the ethnicization of dirt and poverty, as well as that reinforcing Polish ethnic identity of the space, such as demonstrations, boycotts, and violence,

[1401] Maël Le Noc, "Présences, proximités et disparitions. Une approche spatiale de la persécution des Juifs à Paris 1940–1944," *Histoire Urbaine*, 62 (2021), 15–36. Noc's study is among several inspiring texts in a collection where a group of French researchers combined the tools of the spatial turn with urban history. Space, in their research, serves to understand the social dynamics triggered by the persecution of Jews. Isabelle Backouche, Sarah Gensburger, and Eric Le Bourhis focus on the residential reconfigurations resulting from the occupation of apartments vacated by Jews. Their research represents a clash between quantitative research, in which they measure the spatial proximity between the occupied house and the former Jewish house, and ethnographic research, analysing the applications of people applying for Jewish apartments. Isabelle Backouche, Sarah Gensburger, Eric le Bourhis, "Spoliation et voisinage. Le logement à Paris, 1943–1944," *Histoire Urbaine*, 62 (2021), 79–102. Unlike the authors of the article, I do not have access to sources that would allow me to trace the process of occupying apartments, including declared motivations of people applying for apartments. Categorising residents in terms of their previous place of residence is one of my goals.

[1402] See Chapter 4.

resonate during the war? Agnieszka Wierzcholska directly links pre-war anti-Semitic discourses concerning city spaces and violence in the Tarnów Market Square to the attitudes and actions of non-Jewish residents during the occupation. According to Wierzcholska, extermination of Jews was the realisation of the pre-war sentiment to rid the city of Jews, of an anti-Semitic fantasy of their exclusion from the community. The seizure of Jewish property, including homes and shops, completed this process.[1403] This process was a fundamental aspect of social change that took place throughout occupied Poland and Europe as a result of the war and the Holocaust.[1404] Due to the mobilised registers, it can be traced in detail on a local scale.

During the war, the Market Square in Lubartów, just like in hundreds of other towns in occupied Poland,[1405] became a place where the most drastic acts of violence were committed against the town's residents, Jews in particular. The atrocities committed in the provinces as part of Operation Reinhardt in the General Government took place in presence or with the involvement of the non-Jewish inhabitants of towns and villages.[1406] The discussion about the position of non-Jewish actors in the Holocaust has been ongoing since at least the 1960s.[1407] The perspective I propose on the course of the second *Aktion*, focuses on the experience of Jewish victims, but also takes into account non-Jewish narratives about the events of October 1942. Omer Bartov advocated using accounts of protagonist from different groups to gain a better understanding of the local dynamics of events that he referred to as communal genocide.[1408]

[1403] Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko–żydowskiego miasta. Tarnów 1918–1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austera, 2023), 377.

[1404] Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1*945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Christoph Kreutzmüller and Jonathan R. Zatlin (eds.), *Dispossession: Plundering German Jewry 1933–1953* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020). On local scale Frank Bajohr, *"Aryanisation" in Hamburg." The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002).

[1405] This is reflected, for example, in chapters of *Dalej jest noc*, and *USHMM Encyclopaedia* articles.

[1406] According to estimates, public murders in towns during the Action may have affected between 10 and 40 percent of Jewish residents. Barbara Engelking, Jan Grabowski, "Wstęp" in *Dalej jest noc*, 24.

[1407] Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–1945* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992). In Poland, the topic is addressed predominantly by the Centre for Holocaust Research: Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień… Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); *Dalej jest noc*, op.cit.; Jan Grabowski, *Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007). See also: Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 571–584.

[1408] "My general argument here is that one of the central questions of historical research on the Holocaust in Eastern Europe—namely, the impact of local interethnic relations on the genocide of the Jews—must be analysed through a close reading of testimonies left by the protagonists in these events. I further suggest that this can be accomplished especially by examining a wide range of testimonies from a geographically limited locality." Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: personal accounts of the destruction of Buczacz, eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (eds.), *Shatterzone of empires: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 403. See also: Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).

Contrary to the common scepticism surrounding non-Jewish accounts of the Holocaust, I treat them as a credible record of the Holocaust.[1409] What do they tell us about intergroup dynamics? Does the perspective emphasising the communal dimension of anti-Jewish violence, attaching importance to long-term neighbourly contacts, apply in Lubartów? What does 'neighbourhood' even mean in the face of the occupation's disruption of social order and constant changes in the residential structure?

Sources. Challenges in matching addresses and names

The quantitative analysis of the distribution of housing in Lubartów Market Square addresses two issues. First, it examines the extent and scale of the concentration of Jewish residents. The goal is to define the area in which Jews were concentrated in Lubartów during the occupation and to compare it to the area in which they had lived before the war. Second, it examines changes in the residential structure of the four streets of the Market Square to determine who occupied the apartments and commercial premises, and when. In addition to categorising residents as Jewish or non-Jewish, the analysis takes into account their place of origin and time of arrival in Lubartów. Equally important is to determine the extent and patterns of spatial segregation. Analysing the residential structure provides the basis for a detailed, case-by-case analysis, particularly in areas along the borders of intergroup divisions on the Market Square.

I reconstructed the process of Jewish concentration in Lubartów based on an analysis of nominal sources from the State Archives in Lublin. The starting point was the situation at the beginning of September 1939, reconstructed on the basis of the register of permanent residents of Lubartów. Subsequent stages of reconfiguration in the market were tracked using registers, censuses, and lists prepared by local authorities and the Lubartów *Judenrat*. These documents were created in different ways for different purposes. Apart from the circumstances of their creation, they differ in scope and categorisation used.[1410] Therefore, comparing them requires great caution and attention to detail. The results of my analysis cannot be presented without discussing the specificity of the sources, the difficulties encountered, and the inaccuracies and gaps in the results. The mobilised sources are not neutral; they reflect the anti-Semitic practices of the occupying authorities. They are tools of repression that justify divisions and exclusion. These materials participate in the practice of domination and repression while simultaneously

[1409] Anna Wylęgała, "Late Bystander Testimonies in East Galicia: Between Memory, Identity, and Loyalties," *East European Politics and Societies*, 37:1 (2023), 272–297. Anna Wylęgała, "Niezauważony potencjał? Historia mówiona w polskich badaniach nad Zagładą," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 20 (2024), 499–509.
[1410] For details about the creation and characteristics of permanent residents, see Chapter 4. Wartime registers, see Chapter 3.

	Register of permanent residents of Lubartów	List of Jewish families remaining in the town	Census of Jews residing in Lubartów	Register of Jewish real estate	Rental register	Register of residents of Lubartów
Dates of creation	1932-late 1940	November 25th, 1939	March 1st, 1940	January 1941	September 1942—early 1943	Early 1943
Responsible institution	Lubartów town office	Lubartów town office?	Judenrat / Lubartów town office	Lubartów town office	Trust Office	Lubartów town office
Personal scope	All permanent residents of Lubartów	Jews residing in Lubartów (incomplete)	Jews residing in Lubartów	Persons occupying premises belonging to Jews	Persons renting premises belonging to Jews	All residents of Lubartów
Scope of real estate	All occupied buildings divided into apartments	All occupied buildings	All occupied buildings	Apartments and other premises belonging to Jews	Apartments and other premises belonging to Jews	All occupied buildings
Location information	Street/building number/apartment number	Street (incomplete)/building number (incomplete)	Street/building number (incomplete)	Street/building number	Street/building number	Street/building number

1Table 1. Comparison of sources mobilised in the chapter. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48. APL, AML, 519, 230-238. APL, AML, 830, 3-60. APL, AML, 854, 65-92. APL, Starostwo Powiatowe Lubartowskie (SPL), 41. APL, AML, 50-51.

documenting the traumatic experiences of Jewish and non-Jewish Lubartów residents, including the *Aktionen* and executions.

Table 1 clearly demonstrates that the sources differ. In order to trace the process of concentration and separation of the Jewish residents in Lubartów, their individual and group trajectories, as well as the fate of their property, it is necessary to find areas of comparison. First, the addresses and names of residents must be adjusted.

Determining the addresses of houses on the Market Square and referring them to specific buildings on the town map was already quite difficult in the interwar period.[1411] During the occupation of Lubartów, some of the pre-war addresses do not correspond to those from the occupation period. In many cases, house numbers change in the registers, and these changes are often temporary, as the wartime administration was not consistent in assigning house numbers and street names to buildings.

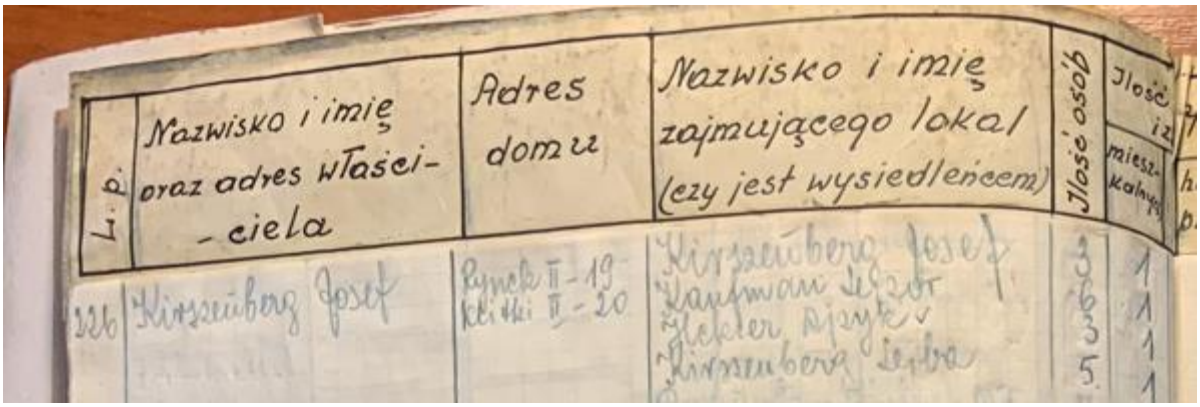
The main assumption of the study was to analyse the same buildings as before the war, on four streets of the Market Square: Rynek I, Rynek II, Klitki I, and Klitki II, regardless of address changes, while noticing these changes. As a basis for illustrating the distribution of premises, I continue to use the town plan from the first half of the 1920s, which most accurately shows the Market Square's buildings. From the moment the plan was drawn until the end of 1942, the Market Square's underwent two significant changes. First, at the end of the 1920s, the market hall on Market Square II has been constructed. Second, the house at 8 Market Square II, inhabited until the outbreak of the war, is not included in any of the war registers as it was demolished or abandoned when the war began.[1412]

In the case of residents' identities, the preliminary step was to identify the same individuals in different sources, *i.e.*, to match them. For some registers, the initial comparison was performed automatically and then verified and supplemented manually.[1413] For others, it was done only manually. Combining databases not only makes it possible to follow the individual and group trajectories but also to identify the groups. The most important group distinction for my study concerns Jewish and non-Jewish residents. In the case of the register established in 1932, this distinction is based on religion. For registers created during the war, I follow the categorisations adopted therein. The latest register, from 1943, was created after all Jewish residents of Lubartów had been deported and murdered. Therefore, I assume it only includes non-Jews. In regard to Jewish property register and rental register, which do not categorise individuals, I cross-reference the source with others that allow for identification. In accordance with the adopted principles, I exercised great caution when identifying residents, which resulted in a number of individuals whom I did not categorise as either Jewish or non-Jewish.

[1411] See Chapter 4.
[1412] Satellite photos from 1944 presents no building on the lot.
[1413] Most databases were created as a collective effort of the Lubartworld team members and collaborators. I am especially grateful to Gabrielle Escaich who did the automated matching and some of the manual matching, and Anton Perdoncin, without whose ideas, programming, and coding work the matching as well as other operations would not have been possible. https://lubartworld.cnrs.fr/en/daitch–mokotoff–soundex–for–r/.

The January 1941 Jewish property register, and 1942-1943 rental register differ from others in the way they list individuals. They both provide the name of only one person from the group occupying the premises as "the surname and first name of the occupant" (*nazwisko i imię zajmującego lokal)* in the case of the January 1941 register,[1414] and "the tenant" (*Mieter)* in the case of the 1942-1943 register.

Both registers are crucial for understanding the processes of resident exchange and transfer of premises in the Market Square, they reflect the changes caused by mass movements as well as both *Aktionen*. Additionally, unlike the registers from 1939 and 1940, they include both Jewish and non-Jewish residents, which provides a more complete picture of segregation. As both sources refer to an advanced stage of the occupation, I assumed that in both cases all residents in the household had the same ethno-religious identification as the main tenant. This is particularly important in the case of the January 1941 register, which, in addition to the identity of the main tenant, gives the number of tenants in the same household (Photograph 1).[1415] To my knowledge, no sources indicate that Jews and non-Jews occupied the same apartment with the knowledge of administrative apparatus during the war in Lubartów. However, it would be fair to admit that no document that would ban from sharing an apartment between both groups in Lubartów has been preserved.



Photograph 1. Excerpt from a page with headings from the 1941 register. Headings from the left: "Surname and name of the owner," "House address", "Surname and name of the person occupying the property (is he a displaced person)," "number of people."

PART 1. CONCENTRATION-CONCENTRATIONS. TIME AND SCALE OF ANALYSIS

[1414] However, in some occurrences two or more people are assigned to the same premises.
[1415] Admittedly, it does so in a way that is not always transparent, which is why the calculation is given as an estimate.

In a cross-sectional perspective, registers indicate a progressive concentration of Jewish residents of Lubartów on four streets of the Market Square by January 1941 (Table 2). The grouping of streets in the table results from the topography of the town and the pre-war segregation patterns. The first group includes residents from four streets around the Market Square. The second group consists of streets adjacent to the Market Square (Poprzeczna and Żabia from the south, Nowopoprzeczna from the north, 11 Listopada from the east). The last group includes streets in various parts of the town, including the two main streets of Lubartów running north to south, Piłsudski street and Legionów. At the end of August 1939, 14% and 11% of all registered Jews lived in these streets, equalling the percentage of apartments inhabited by Jewish residents.

	31 August 1939	**25 November 1939**	**1 March 1940**	**January 1941**
Streets of the Market Square	127 (18%)	36 (21%)	40 (23%)	159 (32%)
Streets adjacent to the Market Square	191 (27%)	48 (28%)	90 (51%)	214 (43%)
Other streets[1416]	390 (55%)	87 (51%)	47 (27%)	130 (26%)
Total	**708 (100%)**	**171 (100%)**[1417]	**177 (100%)**	**503 (100%)**

Table 2. Jewish families in households in Lubartów, between August 1939 and January 1941.[1418] *Sources: APL, AML, 39-48. APL, AML, 519, 230-238. APL, AML, 830, 3-60. APL, AML, 854, 65-92.*

The comparison demonstrates that the initial departures and forced resettlements, which resulted in a decrease of over 2,500 Jewish residents in the first three months,[1419] had little

[1416] On August 31st, 1939 27 streets.
[1417] I excluded from the analysed group the 16 families that have not been linked to any address. See Chapter 3.
[1418] The table does not include data from the 1942–1943 Jewish real estate register, because it is not possible to distinguish apartments from other estate.
[1419] Chapter 3. Before the war, less than 3,500 Jews lived in Lubartów. The magistrate recorded 3,411 Jews, while the resident register identifies 3,190 people categorised as Jewish. The difference is mainly due to 362 permanent residents whose religion was not specified in the register. Numerical summary of the number of residents of Lubartów for the county chief, February 1940. APL, AML, 830, 80.

impact on the distribution of Jewish residents. The only noticeable change was an increase in the concentration of Jews on the streets of the Market Square at the expense of streets further away from the Market Square. The subsequent register from March 1940 shows a drastic increase in concentration on the streets around the Market Square and, to a much lesser extent, on the Market Square itself. As a result, almost three-quarters of all apartments occupied by Jews were located on, or around, the Market Square. In January 1941, after a series of mass movements of Jews and non-Jews to Lubartów (Table 3), the proportions changed, with 9% more households registered on the Market Square, and 8% less on adjacent streets. Meanwhile, households occupied by Jews living away from the Market Square remained around one fourth of all Jewish households. The significant increase in the number of Jewish families/groups by over 300, dramatically raised the population density of Jewish residents in the town centre, and this change affected the streets on the Market Square to the greatest extent.

Conclusion about the limited character of concentration can be extended to the period until October 1942, before the second *Aktion* in Lubartów. At that time, Jews, including the pre-war residents of Lubartów, continued to live on streets outside the town centre. However, it can be observed that the area of Jewish residence was becoming increasingly dispersed. At the end of August 1939, Jews lived on 27 streets outside the town centre (other streets), in November 1939 on 18, in March 1940 on 13, in January 1941 on 10, and finally in September 1942 on 7. The area of Jewish residence outside the town centre was clearly shrinking, and interestingly, this process was independent of demographic changes caused by mass movements and the first *Aktion* (Table 3).[1420]

MASS MOVEMENTS FROM AND TO LUBARTÓW FROM SEPTEMBER 1939 TO MAY 1942

- 1,035 Jewish residents escaping Lubartów, September–December 1939
- Around 1,500 Jewish residents resettled from Lubartów, November 1939
- Around 700 Christians from lands incorporated into the *Reich*, December 1939–March 1940
- Around 1,000 Jews from territories incorporated into the *Reich*, December 1940
- 1,278 Lubartów Jews returning from Parczew and Ostrów, and other places, second half of 1940

[1420] It has to be noticed that decreasing number of streets might result from a difference between sources, since from January 1941 we are dealing with registers of Jewish real estate, it is not possible to conclude that during the war Jews in Lubartów lived only in Jewish owned real estate.

- 1,250 Jewish refugees from Lublin arrived in Lubartów, March 1941 - 1,165 Jewish refugees left Lubartów, March 1941 - Between 650 and 800 Jewish residents taken during the first *Aktion*, April 1942 - 1,580 Jews from Slovakia transported to Lubartów, April–May 1942

Table 3. Mass movements from and to Lubartów from September 1939 to May 1942. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48. APL, AML, 566. AŻIH, AJDC 1939-1941, 454. APL, Kreishauptman Lublin-Land, 141. AŻIH, ARG 45 Ring I 144.

Effects of the shifting scale of observation

When changing the scale of observation, internal differences emerge. It becomes apparent that the households were not distributed evenly within the groups, and the boundaries of the concentration area shifted. In the case of streets located far from the Market Square, the several percent decrease in the last group (Other streets) in the period up to November 1939 was mainly at the expense of Legionów street. The percentage of Jewish families living in households on Legionów Street decreased by almost half, from 11% to 6%, as from 15% to 14% on Piłsudski street. It was probably due to the occupation of buildings on Legionów street by officials and military commanders as well as the German police.[1421] By March of 1940, when the relocations within Lubartów had already taken place, the difference in proportions between the largest streets of the town had partially vanished. At that time, 8% of all Jewish families in the town lived on Piłsudski street and 4% on Legionów street.

The number of residents, as a more precise indicator, can also be used to illustrate in detail the process of concentration in the streets of the Market Square and the surrounding area, based on the situation at the end of August 1939 and the beginning of March 1940. Both the pre-war register of permanent residents of Lubartów and the register of Jews remaining in the town from March provide the names of Jews residing in the town along with the names of streets.[1422] The register from November 1939 does not allow for such a precise comparison. However, the information it contains provides a clear indication of the directions and dynamics of the processes in the Market Square (Table 4).[1423]

[1421] See Chapter 3. The public school on Legionów Street, the biggest building in town, was occupied by the German army and police battalions after their arrival.
[1422] However, there is a fundamental difference between these two. The interwar register generally records only permanent residents of the town, while the March 1940 register records everyone staying in Lubartów. In addition, the March 1940 register does not provide house numbers in some cases.
[1423] The register from November 1939 does not always include the number of family, and in the case of 39 people, it does not give the name of the street where Jewish residents lived. With one exception, these are people added by hand at the end of the list. They are not included in the chart.

Street name	August 31st, 1939	November 25th, 1939	March 1st, 1940
Klitki I	112 (4%)	>79[1424]	82 (10%)
Klitki II	17 (1%)	8	101 (12%)
Rynek I	199 (6%)	39	0
Rynek II	254 (8%)	43	4 (0%)
11 listopada	221 (7%)	>53[1425]	178 (21%)
Żabia	232 (7%)	>85[1426]	155 (19%)
Nowopoprzeczna	168 (5%)	57	66 (8%)
Poprzeczna	198 (6%)	37	41 (5%)
Other streets	1,706 (55%)	>442[1427]	208 (25%)
Total	**3104 people (100%)**	**>846 people[1428]**	**835 people (100%)**

Table 4. Jewish residents of Market Square and the surrounding streets. Sources: APL, AML, 39-48. APL, AML, 519, 230-238. APL, AML, 830, 3-60.

In November of 1939, Jews lived on all streets of the Market Square, but the proportions of residents between streets shifted compared to the pre-war period, with proportionally more Jews occupying Klitki I, and less Rynek I and Rynek II. The distribution of Rynek I street residents, as seen from the scale of buildings, adds complications to the picture that emerges from a comparison of streets. It turns out that in November of 1939, all Jewish residents of Rynek I street occupied apartments on the odd-numbered side of the street, marking the western border of the Market Square. This seems counter-intuitive due to the distance of this side of Rynek I street from the "the Jewish Klitki." However, there is an explanation for the absence of Jewish residents on the even-numbered side of Rynek I. The town authorities changed the way houses were addressed. As a result, three buildings that had been previously assigned to Rynek I street were given new addressed: odd numbers of Klitki I street, which had not existed before the war.[1429] Consequently, 24 Jewish residents of Rynek I became residents of Klitki I.

[1424] In 3 cases the number of family members was not specified.
[1425] In 2 cases the number of members was not specified.
[1426] In one case the number of family members was not specified.
[1427] In 3 cases the number of family members was not specified.
[1428] In 9 cases the number of family members was not specified. In 39 cases, the street name was not specified.
[1429] Double numbering of houses before the war occurred in the case of two buildings between Klitki II street and the odd–numbered side of Rynek II street.

The measure applied on the even-numbered side of Rynek I was not applied on the other side of the street, also for practical reasons—Legionów street was too far from the western side of Rynek I. This part of street was emptied of Jews in a different way. Before the beginning of March 1940, the Jewish residents remaining on the odd-numbered side of Rynek I were resettled from their homes. Most of the 43 people moved to Klitki I (21 people) or 11 Listopada (15 people). Among the resettled residents, the Lustman family, who before the war had lived in Stanisław Derecki's house at 19 Rynek I, stood out.[1430] Initially, at the end of November, the Lustmans were registered in another house on 23 Rynek I,[1431] in a three-story multi-family building. Before March of 1940, the Lustmans moved to Legionów, in the opposite direction to the ongoing concentration of Lubartów Jews.

The processes on Rynek II street to some extent mirrored those that took place on the other side of the Market Square. Before March 1940, some of the street's residents were resettled, and changes of address was conducted. The residents of the houses on the odd-numbered side of Rynek II were assigned to Klitki II (at least four such buildings),[1432] and on the even-numbered side, partly to 11 Listopada street (probably two buildings), as well as to the tiny Krótka street, connecting Rynek II with 11 Listopada. Before the war, no house had Krótka street address. At the end of November 1939, the street had four residents, and in March of 1940, there were already 16. In November of 1939, Chaja Łaja Akiersztajn, the widow of Froim, a Jewish teacher and Jewish pre-war councillor, lived at 13 Krótka street.[1433] Later, in March of 1940, she moved with her husband's family to the neighbouring house at 15 11 Listopada street, formerly 12 Rynek II street. It was between the houses at 10 and 12 Rynek II street that the small Krótka street ran. In January of 1941, Chaja Łaja returned to her pre-war apartment at 10 Rynek II, which was also given back its pre-war address. At that time, Krótka street lost all its residents. Over the course of several months, Chaja Łaja changed her address four times, moving between two buildings located a few meters apart.

As a result of address changes and resettlements, only one Jewish resident was registered on Rynek II in March 1940. Hersz Łaszczewski, a 24-year-old hatter born in Lubartów, moved

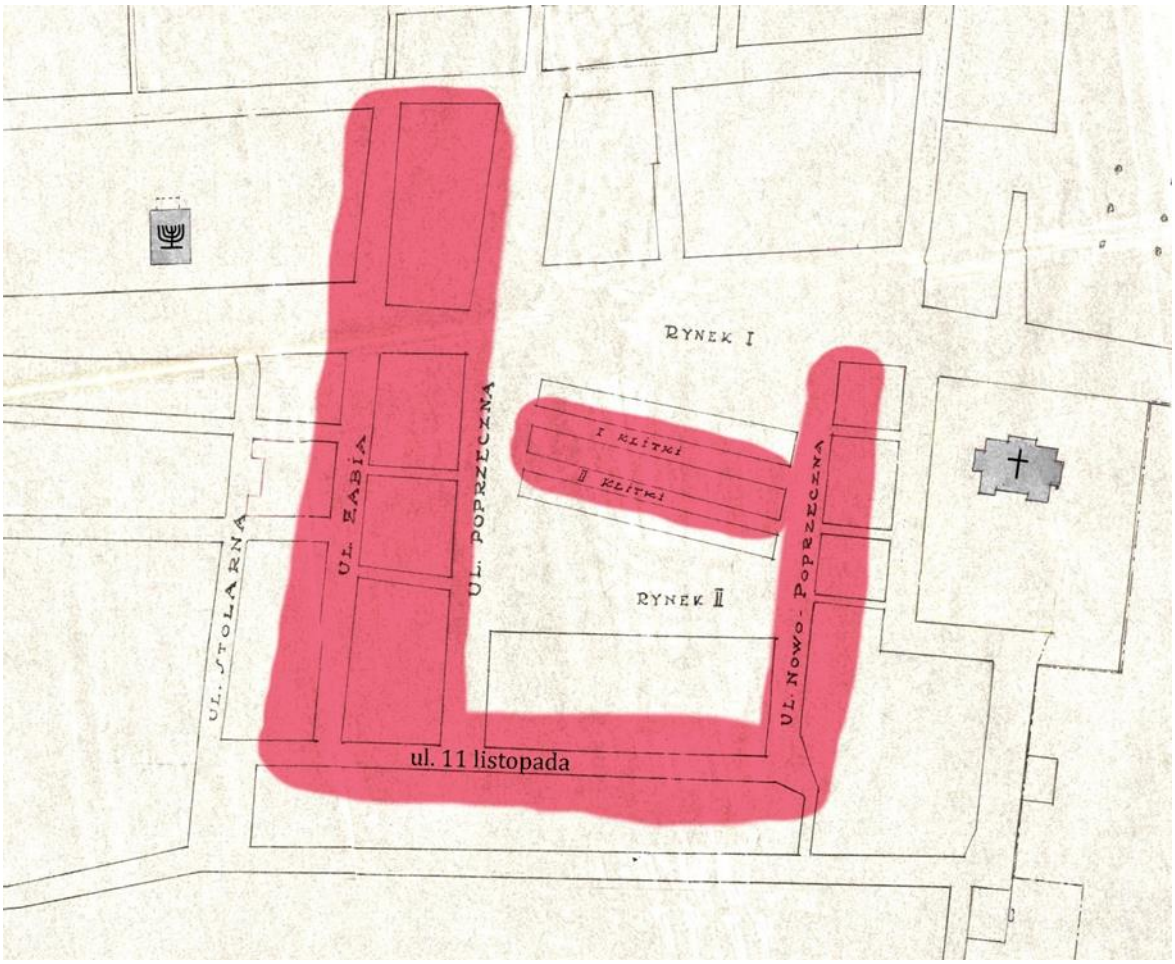
[1430] See Chapters 2, 4, and 5.
[1431] In November of 1939, Jewish residents no longer occupied apartments in houses belonging to Catholics.
[1432] Interestingly, this also applied to Klitki I and Klitki II (at least two buildings). In the case of seven families, the building number on Klitki II is missing, which makes it impossible to determine on which side of the street the buildings were located.
[1433] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 230. Earlier, since 1932, Chaja Łaja had been registered with her daughters Syma and Matla in an apartment on 10 Rynek II street, mid 1920, which she had owned since at least the mid–1920s. She shared the property with her husband. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 21.

into the house previously occupied by the Wassersztrum family.[1434] In late 1930s, Hersz, the youngest of the siblings, remained at home on Nowopoprzeczna street with his elderly parents, whom he supported.[1435] Just before the outbreak of the war or shortly after, Hersz's sister Blima joined the family. During the November 1939 forced movements, she was allowed to remain in the town due to her mother's illness,[1436] while Hersz might have remained due to his craft profession. At the end of November of 1939, after the mass displacement of Jews from Lubartów, Hersz lived at Rynek II, which was a prelude to the later relocation of the entire family. In January of 1941, the entire Łaszczewski family was already living at number 12.[1437] The fate of the Łaszczewski family confirms the earlier observation about the integration of Jewish families in the face of uncertainty and early anti-Jewish persecutions.[1438] It also demonstrates that, paradoxically, the forced resettlements of Jewish residents gave those who remained in the town opportunities, and may have encouraged others to arrive in Lubartów. Finally, the Łaszczewski family case provokes questions about the nature of the concentration of Jews in the Market Square. Was it the intention of the authorities (and which ones?) to leave Rynek I and Rynek II streets without Jews? If so—then what was Hersz Łaszczewski doing in March of 1940 at 12 Rynek II?

The complete displacement of Jewish residents from Rynek I and almost complete displacement from Rynek II, whether by administrative actions or forced resettlement, was accompanied by a significant increase in the number of residents in Klitki (Table 4). Almost half of all residents of Klitki I and II streets as well as on odd-numbered Rynek II street registered in March of 1940 had not been registered there in November of 1939, 87 out of 183 people.[1439] As a result of the "address policy" and relocations, in March of 1940 the number of residents of Klitki increased, with over 90 more residents registered at addresses on Klitki II than in November and over 80 more residents than at the end of August 1939. Thus, in March 1940, the Market Square became not so much an area where Jewish residents were concentrated, but one where, at the streets level, boundaries were established. Klitki I and Klitki II remained "Jewish streets," while Rynek I and Rynek II became "Aryan streets." At the same time, the divisions were much less clear at the building level, as the boundaries of "Aryan and Jewish spaces" ran through the buildings.

[1434] Census of Jews residing in Lubartów on 1 March, 1940. APL, AML, 830, 59.
[1435] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 39.
[1436] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 232.
[1437] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 70.
[1438] See Chapter 3.
[1439] In this group, 25 people were not registered in November of 1939, the rest were registered on other streets.

As the Jewish population of Market Square shifted towards Klitki, the surrounding streets became denser. By March of 1940, more than half of the Lubartów Jewish residents lived in these streets (Table 4). Between November 1939 and March 1940, the largest increase in residents was recorded in Żabia street and 11 Listopada street. Consequently, the centre of gravity of the Jewish population shifted slightly south and east from the Market Square. (see map 1).[1440]



Map 1. The area of concentration of Jewish residents in March of 1939. Map source: APL, SPL, 895, 37-38.

It is impossible to determine how clear the boundaries of the Jewish concentration area in the Market Square were in the early stages of the war. While the demarcation of the outer boundary on Rynek I street did not pose any difficulties due to forced relocations, the demarcation of in-buildings boundaries seems to have been largely a formal procedure. Probably, all the divided

[1440] The missing house numbers in the March 1940 register does not allow for precise demarcation of boundaries. It refers to 32 houses on 11 November street, 14 on Żabia street, 1 on Nowopoprzeczna street, 4 on Poprzeczna street, 8 on Klitki I street, 7 on Klitki II street. Due to the correlation between the number of missing house numbers and the number of new residents, it can be assumed that the lack of house numbers is caused by the confusion associated with moving and/or the housing situation not being fully established.

houses already had separate entrances. Did the introduction of new addresses involve restrictive divisions inside buildings? Did it require and entail a reorganisation of space, *e.g.*, through the exchange of apartments? Or perhaps the division of houses was a mere formality, with the March 1940 register intended to prove that there were no Jews left on Rynek I and Rynek II. Was it the goal set for the town government by Germans? Regardless of the unclear circumstances, the intention behind the measure seems clear: it was to remove Jewish residents from Rynek I and Rynek II streets and assign them to two narrow streets between these two and those surrounding the Market Square.

PART 2. RECORDING THE CHANGE AFTER MASS RELOCATIONS—JANUARY 1941 JEWISH REAL ESTATE REGISTER

The model of concentration of Jewish residents in and around the Market Square stood the test of time (Table 2). After a year when hundreds of Jewish and non-Jewish displaced persons arrived in Lubartów (Table 3), the Market Square and its surroundings continued to be the place of residence for over 70% of all Jewish families/groups registered in apartments owned by Jews. At the same time, the model of separation, according to which Jews did not live on Rynek I and only to a limited extent on the even-numbered side of Rynek II, was dismantled (see illustration). Jewish residents returned to both sides of Rynek I, and Rynek II, including its even-numbered side, became a street inhabited predominantly by Jews. At the same time, most of the buildings with previously changed addresses returned to their pre-war addresses. However, the shifts in housing distribution from the first stage of the war left a lasting mark on the residential structure of the Market Square. They created space for new tenants, many of whom continued occupying apartments at least until 1943.

At the time the January register was completed, the population of Lubartów equalled pre-war numbers, with slightly more non-Jewish inhabitants. I estimate that there were approximately 5,500 Poles and fewer than 3,000 Jews in Lubartów.[1441] At the same time, the composition of

[1441] No source information has been preserved regarding the number of inhabitants of Lubartów at the beginning of 1941. The last one, which differentiated between Poles and Jews, dates from the beginning of October of 1940, *i.e.* before the return of a large group of Lubartów Jews to the town and the arrival of a large group of Jewish deportees from Mława. According to this data, 5,484 Poles and 1,233 Jews lived in Lubartów. Two months later, a report by the ŻSS mentioned 2,450 Jews in Lubartów, while the number of deported Jews who arrived in Lubartów was estimated at around 1,000 at the time of their arrival. However, it is known that a large part of them were immediately transferred to neighbouring towns, and some left the town on their own. The ŻSS report for January 1941 mentions the departure of 455 refugees, which reduced the number of refugees in the town to 396. Report on the activities of the ŻSS Aid Committee, February 1941. AŻIH, AJDC, 454, 64. List of the Town Board to the Bank Cukiernictwa, 5 October 1940. APL, AML, 853, 65. Letter from the chairman of the ŻSS in Lubartów

both groups was very different from before. Mass movements of 1940 largely shaped the residential and business structure of the Market Square. However, the distribution of apartments was not only due to migration; intergroup hierarchies, population management policies, and the logic of persecution played their role.

The persecution of Jews included the practical, but not yet formal, deprivation of the right to decide on their own real estate and to earn money from renting, which accelerated the mass resettlements and departures of Jews in the first months of the war.[1442] Among the approximately 2,500 Jewish residents who left the town, 349 owned over 700 apartments, more than 40% of all apartments in Lubartów.[1443] On just four streets around the Market Square, 171 apartments remained "ownerless" in June of 1940.

The register from January 1941 reflects a fundamental redistribution of Jewish property in Lubartów.[1444] In addition to residential properties, it also includes commercial, industrial and utility premises. In total, the register lists 264 people occupying Jewish premises on the Market Square, 195 of whom rented apartments,[1445] with Jews accounting for over 80% of them, compared to 67% in Lubartów as a whole.

Street name	**Non-Jewish main tenants**	**Jewish main tenants**	**Total**
Klitki I	3	35 (92%)	38 (100%)
Klitki II	1	8	9 (100%)
Rynek I	28 (54%)	26 (46%)	54 (100%)
Rynek II	4	90 (96%)	94 (100%)
Market Square	36 (18%)	159 (82%)	195 (100%)
Other streets	263 (43%)	344 (57%)	607 (100%)
Total	**299 (37%)**	**503 (67%)**	**803[1446] (100%)**

Table 5. Main tenants occupying Jewish apartments in January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

to the AJDC in Warsaw, 17 December 1940. AŻIH, AJDC 1939–1941, 454, 56. Report about the Jews in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.

[1442] See Chapter 3.

[1443] List of vacant houses owned by Jews, 20 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 130–136. For more information about the list, see Chapter 3. The number of apartments recorded by the town office was 1,700. Numerical summary of residents and apartments in Lubartów, February 1940. APL, AML, 830, 80.

[1444] About the context of creation, the January 1941 register, see Chapter 3.

[1445] 32 apartments on Market Square remained unoccupied.

[1446] In the case of the four main tenants, it was not possible to assign identification.

The January 1941 register also allows to calculate the number of inhabitants. The values are based on the assumption that family members or groups shared the same identification. The number of people living in the Market Square in January 1941—which included both Jews and non-Jews—is much higher than in August of 1939 (see chapter 4). The number of residents increased by 60% in Rynek II and 40% in Klitki I, mainly due to an increased number of Jewish residents. Rynek I is the exception; partly due to different ownership distribution, there were four real estates belonging to Christians that were not included in the 1941 register.

Street	**Non-Jewish tenants**	**Jewish tenants**	**Total**
Klitki I	11 (7%)	147 (93%)	158 (100%)
Klitki II	6 (16%)	31 (84%)	37 (100%)
Rynek I	99 (47%)	110 (53%)	209 (100%)
Rynek II	15 (4%)	344 (96%)	359 (100%)
Total	**131 (17%)**	**632 (83%)**	**783 (100%)**

Table 6. Number of residents of the Market Square in apartments belonging to Jews in the Market Square in January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

By November of 1939, no Jewish residents remained in Christian-owned houses. At the same time, the non-Jewish residents of Lubartów from other parts of the town first moved into these houses at 13 and 19 Rynek I street. After Stanisław Kempa, the owner of 13 Rynek I, died in January 1940, his daughter Aniela Targońska moved in.[1447] She rented apartments to two Christian families from Lubartów: the Unkiewicz/Cyranek family, whose son Kazimierz was one of the suspects of the knife attack on Rynek I in March 1939; and the Duda family, whose subtenant was Marianna Malesa. Before the war, Marianna had been a servant in the home of Dr. Silberman, who lived across the street.[1448] Marian Rybacki, a baker from Lubartów, moved with his family into another Christian-owned building at 19 Rynek I street. They most likely moved into the apartment vacated by Dawid Lustman and his family, the only vacant apartment in the building. After arriving at Rynek I in the Derecki family's house, they moved to Gitla Weberman's neighbouring house.[1449] In short, as the 1943 population register demonstrates, Catholic families remained in their homes on Rynek I street throughout the war. The number of Catholic residents in these houses remained stable: 28 in August 1939 and 26 in early 1943.

[1447] Lubartów residents register, 1943. APL, AML, 51, 189.
[1448] See Chapter 5.
[1449] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 77.

Considering the real estate's belonging to Catholics, it is evident that, by January 1941, there were fewer Jews than non-Jews living on Rynek I Street, and the total number of residents surpassed that of August 1939.

However, it was not the pre-war residents of the town who constituted the majority of non-Jews in Rynek I street and on the other three streets of the Market Square. Jewish apartments were not initially available to them. Most of the 12 Christian families from the town occupied them only in November and December of 1940, at least six months after apartments were emptied.[1450] In January of 1941, the vast majority of non-Jews in the Market Square were new residents of the town (see table 7). They were the first to be given the opportunity to occupy the emptied houses. This applies in particular to the 15 families categorised in the register as resettled persons (*wysiedleńcy*). This group included Christians who had been forcibly displaced, mainly from areas incorporated into the *Reich*. With one exception, all displaced families that settled on the Market Square came from the vicinity of Inowrocław.[1451] The Town Board was obliged to provide them with apartments vacated by Jews immediately after their arrival in December of 1939. It seems that in the initial period after their arrival in Lubartów, Christians from Inowrocław were directed exclusively to one street in the Market Square-Rynek I.[1452]

	Displaced persons	**Arrived on their own**	**Pre-war Lubartów residents**	**Total**
Klitki I	3			**3**
Klitki II			1	**1**
Rynek I	12	8	8	**28**
Rynek II		1	3	**4**
Total	**15**	**9**	**12**	**36**

Table 7. Origin of Catholic main tenants on the Market Square, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

The remaining nine non-Jewish families from outside Lubartów came to the town on their own. In this group, only two cases of the main tenant's origin from the Lubartów area are documented, while the others came from more distant areas.[1453] This group included the

[1450] The exception in this group was the working-class Aftyka family, registered in the same house as before the war, at 23 Rynek I street.
[1451] See Chapter 3.
[1452] Three families from Inowrocław, from Klitki, did not settle there until February of 1940. For the context for deportees' arrival and the Town Board role in the flat's distribution, see Chapter 3.
[1453] The 1943 register of residents lists their place of birth.

Sawicki family, who had fled from Brest-on-the-Bug in fear of the Russian occupation.[1454] Marian Sawicki, the head of the family and a pre-war doctor, was mobilised into the army before September of 1939. His combat trail ended near Warsaw, where the family reunited. From there, the Sawicki family headed to Lubartów, where Marian, through his connections in Lublin, was offered a position in the Lubartów public Health Insurance Fund (Kasa Chorych). Before the Sawicki family obtained their own apartment, they stayed for a while with the Krzyk family. Edward Krzyk was one of the OZON leaders in Lubartów before the war and the secretary in the county office, a position he kept during the war.[1455] The Sawicki family, despite the support of one of the most important official in town, had to wait before moving into their chosen apartment.[1456] Eventually, the Sawicki family moved to the house at 10 Rynek I street, the building with passage to Klitki I street. The building was owned by the Kowartowski family, one of the families on the 1933 photograph.[1457] The Kowartowskis escaped from Lubartów in the autumn of 1939 in the opposite direction than the Sawicki family, under Soviet occupation and further deep into the USSR, thanks to which they survived the war.[1458]

Street	**Displaced persons**	**Arrived on their own**	**Pre-war Lubartów residents**	**Total**
Klitki I	4	2	29 (83%)	35 (100%)
Klitki II	2		6	8
Rynek I	4		22 (85%)	26 (100%)
Rynek II	13	2	75 (83%)	90 (100%)
Total	**23 (17%)**	**4 (3%)**	**132 (83%)**	**159 (100%)**

Table 8. Origin of Jewish main tenants in the Jewish-owned apartments on Market Square, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

Unlike the Catholic residents, the Jewish residents of Market Square were mostly from Lubartów. Over 80% of the main tenants listed in the January 1941 register were pre-war residents of the town (see Table 8), and there were no major differences between the streets of

[1454] Interview with Stefan Sawicki (born 1927), November 2013. *Lubartów wczoraj i dziś*, Kanał S TV, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZordHaLbqi8 (accessed: 23 September 2025).
[1455] See Chapter 3.
[1456] Interview with Stefan Sawicki, *Ibid*. Before moving to the house at 10 Rynek I, where the Sawicki family settled for good, the family lived for some time on the opposite side at 13 Rynek I in the Kempas family house, where the Lubartów branch of Kasa Chorych was located.
[1457] See Chapter 4.
[1458] Thomas Chopard, "Fuir la Pologne et survivre à la Shoah en Union soviétique," *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 69:3 (2022), 56.

the Market Square. A more substantial distinction concerns the relationship with the occupied apartment. The register distinguishes between owners and tenants and provides the installation date for tenants.

Street	**No**	**Yes**	**Total**
Klitki I	13 (37%)	22 (63%)	35 (100%)
Klitki II	5	3	8
Rynek I	17 (65%)	9 (35%)	26 (100%)
Rynek II	61 (68%)	29 (32%)	90 (100%)
Total	**96 (60%)**	**63 (40%)**	**159 (100%)**

Table 9. Jewish families on the Market Square living in the same apartments as before the war, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

While the four streets of Market Square do not differ in terms of their residents' places of origin, Klitki I stands out in terms of continuity of residence (Table 9). Almost two third of tenants in the street had remained in the same building since before the war. This coincides with the ownership structure in Klitki I, where most of the 35 apartments were occupied by their owners (Table 10). Unlike residents of other Market Square streets, Klitki I residents were not forced to resettle within the town. The apartments of those who had left the town before the war, whether forcibly or not, remained unoccupied because non-Jews did not intend to stay or were not being allocated there.[1459] Consequently, 14 pre-war residents who had left Lubartów before March of 1940 returned to their pre-war apartments. In 12 cases, the apartments were tenants' property. The example of Klitki I shows that apartments could remain a strategic resource for Jewish residents. This testifies to the uniqueness of Klitki I above all else. No other street in the town had a proportionally large number of owners occupying their own flats; only on Kościuszki street did they constitute half of the residents.[1460] Overall, in Lubartów only 29% of apartments remained inhabited by Jewish owners.

The situation was completely different on Rynek I street, where only six owners remained in their apartments. Józef Karcenel, a merchant who had left Lubartów with his family in the first

[1459] List of vacant houses owned by Jewish residents, 20 June 1940. APL, AML, 833, 130–136. In mid-1940 there were over 42 flats still available on the streets of the Market Square: 13 at Klitki I, 14 at Klitki II, 12 at Rynek II, and only three at Rynek I street. The address in the document corresponds the March 1940 register. Over 100 houses in the adjacent streets remained unoccupied.

[1460] On the streets neighbouring with the Market Square, the ratio ranged from 19% on Poprzeczna street to 27% on 11 Listopada street.

months of the war, found his apartment occupied when he returned to Lubartów at the end of 1940. Teofila Panek moved in shortly after the Karcenels were forced to leave.[1461] She was one of the few newcomers to Rynek I street from the Lubartów area. Born in 1893 in Górka Lubartowska, less than ten kilometres north of Lubartów, she probably moved into the Karcenels' apartment with her four children, including two adult sons. The Karcenels had no choice but to move into Grosman's apartment on Klitki I Street. A comparison of the trajectories of the residents of Klitki and Rynek I in the early stages of the war, the former being a street inhabited exclusively by Jews before the war, and the latter having a mixed population, shows that deeper segregation correlates with lower exposure to persecution.

Street name	**Non-owners**	**Owners**	**Total**
Klitki I	17 (49%)	18 (51%)	35 (100%)
Klitki II	6	2	8
Rynek I	20 (77%)	6 (33%)	26 (100%)
Rynek II	64 (61%)	26 (29%)	90 (100%)
Total	**105 (66%)**	**54 (34%)**	**159 (100%)**

Table 10. Jewish tenants on the Market Square occupying their own apartments, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

On Rynek I and II Streets, pre-war tenants constituted about one-third of all Jewish residents. On both streets, the apartments were largely occupied by families who returned to Lubartów in the second half of 1940: 13 families on Rynek I and 51 families on Rynek II. These families appeared on Rynek II as early as mid-1940, when returning to Lubartów still carried the risk of arrest.[1462] Of the returning families, a large proportion had not previously lived in the same building. Only 20 families from Rynek I street and two families from Rynek II returned to their apartments, which confirms the observations of the ŻSS employees that Jews were not allowed to return to their apartments outside "the Jewish district.[1463] This was the case of the widow Szosia Goldrajch, née Rozenblat, owner of the building at 33 Piłsudski street, the main street of the town. When she returned to Lubartów at the end of 1940, all five apartments in the building were already occupied by non-Jewish families, her family apartment by the Borkowski

[1461] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 67.
[1462] See Chapter 3.
[1463] "All these re–emigrants did not obtain their apartments and are placed in cramped streets designated for the Jewish quarter." Report about the Jews in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.

family from Suwałki, a town under Soviet occupation. Szosia and her children moved into the apartment of her relative, Dawid Rozenblat, taking advantage of his absence from the town,[1464] another proof of the importance of kinship ties in the face of persecution.

Family relationships add another layer to the interpretation of the January 1941 register, related to the high proportion of pre-war Lubartów residents among the Jewish main tenants on the Market Square in January of 1941 and the small number of arrivals of Jews travelling on their own. In Lubartów, Jewish families integrated when faced with war uncertainty and repression encountered in the first months of the war. In practice, this often meant bringing together relatives from different households.[1465] This practice also applied to relatives from outside the town who came to the homes of their family members in Lubartów. In the January register, they are recorded only as numbers in the "number of persons" column, hidden behind the identity of their Lubartów relatives.[1466] One such newcomer relative was Tamara Frydman, who, as a 10-year-old orphan in October of 1946, just before leaving for Palestine, wrote an account of her wartime experience.[1467]

"Just before the war broke out, I left for Lubartów because my grandmother was there," Tamara Frydman begins the part devoted to her stay in Lubartów. Her grandmother, Nachuma Nirenberg (née Najdem), came from the Puławy area and had been a Lubartów resident since marrying Srul from Lubartów in 1908.[1468] In the early 1930s, the couple lived at 46 Browarna street, parallel to Rynek II and 11 Listopada street, east of the Market Square, in a house belonging to the Dulanowski family of bricklayers, who were their neighbours. At the end of the 1930s, the couple lived with their youngest son, the 20-year-old Icek Judek. The older children, including Tamara's mother Chaja, were living outside Lubartów at the time. In the 1930s Chaja became involved with Szoel Frydman, a writer from Kazimierz Dolny, a town in the Lublin region 60 kilometres west of Lubartów, where they started a family together.[1469] Tamara was born in Kazimierz Dolny in 1936.

[1464] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 64.
[1465] Cf. Chapter 3.
[1466] Therefore, the four main Jewish tenants from outside Lubartów, who are not identified as displaced persons, are only a small part of a larger group. Even in their case, based on the surnames popular in Lubartów, it can be assumed that they had previous connections with Lubartów.
[1467] Tamara Frydman's testimony, 5 October 1946. Ghetto Fighters House Archive, 02893 collection, 5212.
[1468] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 39, 90.
[1469] Szoel Frydman worked in Kazimierz Dolny as a bank manager and store administrator. As Leyb Rashkin, he wrote the acclaimed novel *Di mentshn fun Godlbozhits* ("The People of Godlbozhits") in the mid–1930s. Frydman fled the German invasion to the Soviet Union. He died in the Brest ghetto. https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/rashkin-leyb.

When Tamara was three years old, she and her mother moved to Lubartów while her father fled to the Soviet Union to escape the Germans. In Lubartów, Tamara's grandparents owned three buildings in the town—an important asset in uncertain times. Initially, Chaja and Tamara lived on Browarna Street, where they were registered in November 1939 at their grandparents' house.[1470] Three months later, after the Lubartów Jews were concentrated around the Market Square area, the Nirenberg/Frydman family moved to an apartment at 10 Klitki II street, the same address where Tamara's grandfather had previously run a fabric store.[1471] The family was accompanied by Tamara's great-grandmother, 80-year-old Chaja-Perla Najden.[1472] It is possible that the need to care for an elderly woman enabled the family to remain in the town during the forced displacement of autumn 1939.

Before moving to the Market Square, the family moved to another house, a 15-room building co-owned by Tamara's grandmother, at 10 Cmentarna street. However, in early 1940, the building was taken over as a school for non-Jewish children.[1473] The example of the Nirenbergs, like that of Szosia Goldrajch, shows the relativity of the value of real estates for Lubartów Jews during the war. While the grand building at 10 Cmentarna street and another shop on the same street had provided solid financial security for the Nirenbergs at the outbreak of the war, by early 1940 they were worthless. The January register shows that the Nirenberg family, like Szosia Goldrajch and most other Jewish owners, did not receive any money from renting out both real estates on Cmentarna street. On the other hand, the cramped commercial premises on Klitki II street proved to be the most durable asset, providing the family with shelter until October 1942.

The forced displacement of Jews in November of 1939 paved the way for the deportation of Christians from territories annexed by the *Reich*.[1474] The first deportees from Inowrocław arrived in Lubartów in December. In the deserted Market Square, they occupied entire apartments. A year later, Jewish deportees from Mława arrived in Lubartów with very limited housing opportunities; they often moved into apartments already occupied by Jewish

[1470] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 230.
[1471] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 73.
[1472] Census of Jews residing in Lubartów on 1 March, 1940. APL, AML, 830, 59.
[1473] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 58. Before the war, Józef Federbusz's cheder was in the same building.
[1474] See Chapter 3.

tenants.[1475] In January of 1941, Boruch Goldsztajn from Mława moved to the apartment of local Jewish family at 23 Rynek I street.[1476]

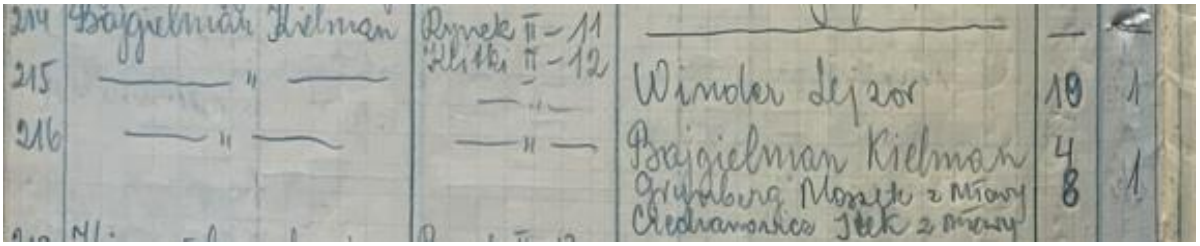
Boruch Goldsztajn, 75-year-old rabbi, under the name of Baruch Goldstein left a short account of his evacuation from Mława to Lubartów and his stay in the town.[1477] "We were assigned, that is, the four of us, a place with a dentist, they had one daughter." The dentist in question was Dawid Lustman, and his daughter was Chaja Arensztajn. Baruch Goldstein continues:

> "We became refugees all of a sudden, you know, depending on what people could give us (...) It was, it was disastrous. And we couldn't simply depend on one meal a day [offered by the ŻSS soup kitchen—FZ]. It is simply—on many occasions, simply the people were kind enough, people we stayed with, to share a meal with us, which they had not too much of."

Shortly after his arrival, due to the lack of earning opportunities, Boruch Goldsztajn left the apartment at 23 Rynek I and left Lubartów for his hometown of Mława. Sometime later, the rest of his family joined him, except for his two grandmothers, who died in Lubartów and were buried there in the Jewish cemetery.

The January 1941 register distinguished between families who stayed in the same apartment. The names of main tenants for Jewish deportee families were usually written in smaller letters below the names of other tenants, sometimes squeezed between them. This corresponded to the chronology of movements and illustrated the process of densification in the apartments occupied by Jews (Photograph 2). Refugees from Mława were the last of many who had arrived in Lubartów. After escapes, forced evacuations, and moves within the town, from the end of 1939 to the beginning of 1941, the following groups moved to the Lubartów Market Square: Lubartów Jews resettled within the town, non-Jewish deportees, non-Jews and Jews who came to Lubartów on their own, non-Jewish Lubartów residents, Jews who had been forcibly displaced from Lubartów, and Jewish deportees from Mława region. Apart from chronology, what determined the distribution of apartments on the Market Square among these groups? Is it possible to identify patterns according to which the residents were grouped in the Market Square? Are housing conditions, neighbourhood, and the location of the building in the Market Square indicators of hierarchy among residents?

[1475] About the displacement of Jewish deportees from Mława, see Chapter 3.
[1476] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 76.
[1477] See Chapter 3.



Photograph 2. Fragment of the 1941 Register page. Source: APL, AML, 854.

Apartments: distribution, segregation, and hierarchies

The distribution of apartments on the Market Square between Jews and non-Jews follows a certain pattern (Map 2). Proportionally, most buildings with Jewish residents were located in the centre of the Market Square, and the further away from it, the fewer buildings with Jewish residents there were, and the more non-Jewish ones there were. The fewest buildings occupied by Jews were located on the odd number side of Rynek I street, furthest from the centre. The layout of the houses on the even-numbered side of Rynek I street and Rynek II street was irregular, with mixed and Jewish houses intertwined. The map demonstrates a much greater presence of non-Jews in the Market Square than before the war. Not only did they predominate in buildings on Rynek I Street, where they clearly had been a minority before the war, but they also appeared on other streets where they had not previously lived.



Map 2. Main tenants from apartments on Market Square in January 1941. R=Rynek, K=Klitki, P=Poprzeczna, N=Nowopoprzeczna.[1478]

At the 2 Klitki I street, in a house belonging to the Goldfinger/Finkielsztajn, one of the wealthiest and most influential Jewish families in the town, three families of Christian deportees from Inowrocław settled.[1479] The house stood out from the others in Klitki because of its size and location (Photograph 3). Facing Poprzeczna street, the house had side entrances from Klitki I, and its wall formed a narrow passageway leading to Klitki I, effectively separating Klitki from Poprzeczna street (Photograph 4). In January of 1941, apart from three non-Jewish families, one of the owners, Chaskiel Goldfinger, and his family continued to live in the house. From the second half of 1940, the house at 2 Klitki I street was as also the seat of the *Judenrat*.

[1478] The map includes houses owned by non-Jews.
[1479] See Chapter 4.



Photograph 3. Poprzeczna street, 2 Klitki I street building first on the right, 1930s. Source: Regional Museum in Lubartów.



Photograph 4. View on Klitki I street from Poprzeczna street. On the left 2 Rynek I street, on the right 2 Klitki I street, circa 1940. Source: unknown.

The second house on Klitki street, which was inhabited by non-Jews, stood at the other end of Market Square on the Nowopoprzeczna side. The Lewi merchant family owned the house, but

none of them remained in Lubartów after November of 1939. As indicated in the 1941 Register, on 1 December, the building was occupied by Wacław Urbański, a man in his forties with a family of five, who had been a tax collector at the town hall before the war. In contrast to the building on 2 Klitki I street, the house at 28 Klitki II street stood out from the others on both Klitki streets due to its modest size: it was a single-story brick house. It was the only house on Klitki streets that did not adjoin the others in the same row; it was separated by a narrow square and a courtyard. Therefore, the choice of these houses as places of residence for non-Jews was not accidental; they were the most distant from other buildings on the two Klitki streets.

Rynek II Street retained the previously established division into the odd-numbered side, adjacent to Klitki, and the even-numbered side on the other side of the market hall. Most buildings on the odd-numbered side, hold double address, Rynek II street and Klitki II street.[1480] Buildings on Rynek II/Klitki II were inhabited almost exclusively by Jewish families, except from the house at the extreme end of Klitki II/Rynek II which was occupied by the Urbański family. The even-numbered side, on which the number of Jewish residents had been drastically reduced between November 1939 and March 1940, was more mixed. Four non-Jewish families lived there, including one family of refugees from Inowrocław, the Walentowicz family. This family of displaced persons lived in house numbered 14, which housed the Polish aid organisations, the Red Cross and the Principal Protective Council (Rada Główna Opiekuńcza) which run a kitchen for refugees in the building.[1481] Walentowicz, as a cook, may have been employed to prepare meals for those in need.

The Gągolewskis' move to 16 Rynek II street may also have been related to the main tenant's occupation. Ryszard Gągolewski, born 1917, was employed as a projectionist at the cinema located in the market hall, a few meters from the house. The Gągolewski family had lived in Lubartów for at least three generations. As a boy, Ryszard stayed on Mickiewicza Street with his grandmother Wiktoria and aunt Helena. Both women performed unskilled manual labour (*wyrobnice*). In the early 1930s, Ryszard's grandmother received support from the town "as unfit for work and supporting her orphaned grandson,"[1482] the town office continued to support her during the war.[1483] In January of 1939, the 22-year-old returned to Lubartów after his stay in Warsaw.

[1480] I consistently follow the register order of street names in address.
[1481] Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie. Lubartów 1939–1945* (Lublin: Polihymia, 2001).
[1482] Application of Wiktoria Gągolewska, January 1941. APL, AML, 362, no page numbers.
[1483] List of the poorest residents of Lubartów, 27 February 1941. APL, AML, 797, 18.

The Gągolewskis, like the Ligęza and Kisielewski working-class families, also living on Rynek II, shared the building with Jewish families. The living conditions between Jewish and non-Jewish families varied considerably. While the two-person Gągolewski family occupied two rooms, the 38 Jewish residents of the same building, including the owners, occupied 15 rooms, which still provided relatively good conditions compared to the general housing situation of Jews on Rynek II street (Table 11). The seven-member Kisielewski family occupied four rooms in the house at 6 Rynek II street, while their Jewish neighbours, refugees from Mława, Chil Ulert and his subtenant, were housed in a commercial space on the ground floor of the building. The adaptation of commercial premises had been practised before, as shown by the example of the Nirenbergs. At the end of 1940, in view of the mass arrivals of refugees, housing shortages, and restrictions on housing for Jews, this became a common solution.[1484]

Housing conditions were certainly one of the aspects that attracted non-Jews to the Market Square area. Another one was the price. Before they were managed by the trusteeship, Jewish apartments had been free of charge and their owners had nothing to say in the matter. There is no evidence of a mechanism that would require non-Jews tenants to make rooms available in already occupied apartments. As a result, with each new group of Jews arriving in the town, the standard of living of Jewish tenants worsened, and inequalities in housing conditions grew between the groups. In January of 1941, apartments occupied by Jewish residents had an average of one and a half more people per room than apartments occupied by non-Jews (Table 11).

Street name	**Non-Jewish households**			**Jewish households**		
	Tenants	**Rooms**	**Tenants per room**	**Tenants**	**Rooms**	**Tenants per room**
Klitki I	11	4	2,7	147	46	3,2
Klitki II	6	3	2	31	9	3,4
Rynek I	99	51	1,9	110	36	3
Rynek II	15	9	1,7	344	100	3,4
Total	**121**	**67**	**1,8**	**632**	**191**	**3,3**

Table 10. Number of people living in apartments on the Market Square in January of 1941.[1485] Source: APL, AML, 854.

[1484] Report about the Jews in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.
[1485] Measuring density by the number of people per room can be misleading, as the size of the rooms could vary, even within the same house. However, it is still the best indicator available.

Inequalities in housing conditions at the street level were also reflected within buildings, as shown by the example of Rynek II street. The inequalities were often more complex than ethnic or religious distinctions. Before the war, the property owners and wealthier Jews had lived on the lower floors of the 23 Rynek I street, while working-class families lived on the upper floors. One of these families was the Aftyka family of Catholics. Despite significant changes in the residents' composition, the building retained some pre-war characteristics during the war. The Aftykas remained in the building, while new tenants occupied the vacated apartments. Consequently, by January of 1941, 18 main tenants occupied the apartments in the building, including nine Jewish and nine non-Jewish individuals, 13 of whom were pre-war residents of Lubartów. Despite their different wartime trajectories, the non-Jewish tenants of the house had similar professional backgrounds. Grzegorz Aftyka was joined by three other manual labourers from Lubartów and elsewhere. The house at 23 Rynek I became a kind of refuge for the less prosperous residents of the town, such as Anna Tokarzewska, the only person from Rynek I street included in the list of the poorest non-Jewish residents of Lubartów that required support.[1486] Among the Jewish residents, the similarities are more difficult to grasp. The register from January of 1941 reveals a blending of socio-economic distinctions and of pre-war hierarchies among Jews, a consequence of forced relocations and the loss of property.

Although, according to the register, some Jews moved into the 23 Rynek I street building earlier than their non-Jewish neighbours, their living conditions were significantly worse. All Jewish families in the building shared apartments with others. Overall, twenty-nine non-Jewish residents occupied 17 rooms, comparing to 34 Jewish residents occupying nine rooms. In practice, this meant that while Anna Bocian and Wanda Tokarzewska, two single women, shared a two-room apartment, while Szosia Kopelman, a 29-year-old single woman and co-owner of the building, was forced to share a three-room apartment with 13 other tenants, the Bursztyn family, who had not been registered in Lubartów before the war, and the Benowicz family, pre-war residents of Legionów street. While the discrimination against Jewish residents in the distribution of apartments is clear, not all Jewish families were in an equally difficult situation, just as not all non-Jews enjoyed comfortable living conditions. In the building at 23 Rynek I street, one room was occupied by both Anna Bocian and the five-member family of Aleksander Belcarz. Among the Jewish residents, the neighbours of Szosia Kopelman, who had little more than one-fifth of a room at her disposal, were the Lustman/Arensztajn family, who

[1486] List of the poorest residents of Lubartów, 27 February 1941. APL, AML, 797, 18.

until January had occupied a three-room apartment on their own. It is possible, however, that Dawid Lustman received patients in the same apartment.[1487] When comparing the living conditions of the Lustmans/Arensztajns with those of other Jewish residents of the building, it is not surprising that refugees from Mława, Boruch Goldsztajn and his family, ultimately moved into this apartment—the living conditions must have determined where the refugees were placed.

The provision of accommodation for the resettled Jews in occupied apartments was most likely carried out based on humanitarian mobilisation, through Jewish institutions (Judenrat, ŻSS). According to a report drawn by a representative of the ŻSS, the town authorities did not participate in the apartment's distribution for Jewish refugees.[1488] However, it is unclear to what extent the acceptance of refugees into occupied apartments was voluntary. Various factors were probably involved, including the openness of potential hosts,[1489] the determination and resources of those in need, and the ability to persuade of aid organisations.[1490] All this took place in conditions where the refugees were deprived of basic means of living, exhausted by several days of detention and transport, largely sick and old, and lacked medical care. Many of them, like Boruch Goldsztajn's grandmother, died shortly after arriving in Lubartów.[1491]In addition, the financial, organisational, and housing capabilities of the Jews of Lubartów were severely undermined at this stage because of repression and anti-Jewish measures. Apart from the deprivation of Jewish property and looting, most of them lost their source of income. The Jews of Lubartów had suffered greatly, and helping refugees was an enormous effort that not everyone was prepared to make. The situation was not made any easier by the ongoing winter.

On page 66 of the January 1941 register, under the name of Henoch Frydlander, owner and main tenant of the apartment at 12 Rynek I street, there is an illegible name and surname erased with an eraser, and the note "from Mława" also erased, but still legible. Before the war, Henoch

[1487] Mayor's request for electric lighting in Dawid Lustman's apartment, 31 December 1940. APL, AML, 830, 182. The case is complicated because in January of 1941 Lustman occupied another premises on Rynek I, described as a dentist's office.
[1488] Report about the Jews in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.
[1489] The Joint report points to solidarity among the Jews of Lubartów. *Ibid*.
[1490] In the Warsaw ghetto, the Housing Office (later the Housing Department) at the Judenrat was responsible for accommodating refugees. It planned and supervised the distribution of housing, took over apartments, and prepared them for occupancy. Aleksandra Bańkowska and Maria Ferenc–Piotrowska (eds.), *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy, t. 27: Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna w Warszawie (1939–1943)*, (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2017), 802. In Lubartów, there was certainly no such specialised unit. It was only the Joint envoy in early 1941 that led to the establishment of a Commission to Help Refugees, composed of three members of the ŻSS and three of the *Judenrat*.
[1491] Report about the Jewish situation in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47. Note on the displaced from Mława, no date. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, no pagination.

Frydlender sold fabrics at Rynek I, and, more importantly, was the president of the Jewish kehilla in the mid-1930s.[1492] The building at 12 Rynek I street, co-owned by Frydlender, was one of the town's landmarks, featured in a photograph from the Sea Day celebrations in 1933.[1493] Before the war, the apartments in the building at 12 Rynek I, partly owned by Frydlander, were rented only by Jewish families, including the Silbermans mentioned earlier.[1494] According to the November 1939 register, no Jewish families stayed at 12 Rynek I and 69-year-old Henoch Frydlender was initially not included on this list of Jews who were allowed to remain in the town. He was added to the end of the list without an address, which may mean that, contrary to the earlier decision, he managed to avoid displacement.[1495] A few months later, the four-member Frydlender family was registered in an apartment at 11 Klitki I, in one of the houses on Rynek I street, which was assigned a changed address. In practice, this meant that the Frydlenders managed to stay in the same building as before the war. In January 1941, when the entire house was restored as 12 Rynek I street, the Frydlender family occupied their four-room apartment. They rented another apartment in the same building to Alfons Prus, a doctor from Białystok, and Henoch was one of the few owners listed in the register as receiving monthly rent.

The Frydleners' pre-war status, resources, and probably great determination allowed them to remain in their apartment, an attractive location for Lubartów residents and deportees alike. The row of two-story houses with balconies on Rynek I street was inhabited by non-Jews with established position or well-paid professions: the Catholic family of pharmacists and chemists Pic de Replonge/Derecki (number 6), Stanisław Góralewski, injured veteran and civil servant from Inowrocław with his daughter Seweryna, nurse at the Lubartów hospital (number 8),[1496] the aforementioned family of Dr. Sawicki (number 10), and Dr. Adolf Prus with his family (number 12). The first three families occupied entire buildings on their own, while the Frydlenders had four rooms at their disposal for a family of four. The living conditions of the Non-Jews and the Frydlenders were better than those of the other residents of the Market Square, even some of the Frydlenders' neighbours. In the same house at 12 Rynek I, the four-

[1492] Minutes of the Town Council meeting, 6 March 1934. APL, AML, 106, 241.
[1493] See Chapter 4. A group of women standing on the balcony of the house at 12 Rynek I.
[1494] See Chapter 4. Maurycy Silberman, a doctor from Lubartów, left with his wife for Lviv in the fall of 1939, his brother left for Chile in August of the same year, and their housekeeper, Julia Malesa, moved to the other side of the Market Square, to the Kemp family's house. APL, AML, 45, 170.
[1495] List of Jews remaining in Lubartów, 25 November 1939. APL, AML, 519, 237.
[1496] Seweryna Góralewska's personal questionnaire, February 1942. APL, AML, 793, 54.

room apartment was occupied by three Lubartów-related Jewish families, of a total of 14 people.[1497]

How, then, can we explain the removal of the family from Mława from the Frydlender apartment register? Were the refugees initially assigned to the apartment removed as a result of intervention? Did they leave Lubartów and find a better place? Why did other refugees not move there? The need for accommodation was enormous; there were apartments in Lubartów where nine refugees occupied one room. The Frydlenders were not the only Jewish family on the Market Square who, despite relatively good conditions, did not share their apartment with refugees.[1498] Such cases raise questions about the role of social class distinctions in providing personal assistance, the impact of social position on one's ability to maintain a certain standard of living, and the methods used to maintain one's social position within groups subject to repression.[1499]

Towards complete "Aryanisation" of trade-commercial and industrial premises on the Market Square

The January 1941 register includes all real estate belonging to Jewish residents. In addition to apartments, commercial and industrial premises as well as utility rooms, mainly storage rooms, were also listed.[1500] The division into categories applied in the register allows for a consistent distinction between industrial and commercial premises (table). With regard to selected premises, the list provides information on the form of activity or lack of activity in the occupied premises, consistently in the comments section.

Street name	Commercial	Industrial	Industrial and commercial	Total
Klitki I	6	3		9
Klitki II	5			10
Rynek I	50	5	2	57

[1497] Apart from the Frydlenders, only one other Jewish family had exclusive use of four rooms.
[1498] Hersz Kierszenberg, another member of the Lubartów Kehilla before the war and a Lubartów merchant, lived in a four–room apartment at Rynek II Street with his family of two, while in the smaller apartment of his neighbour Dawid Honiksblum, the owner of the building and a pre–war timber merchant with three refugees. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 95.
[1499] The living conditions of the *Judenrat* employees did not differ significantly from those of other Jewish residents. Their apartments housed between two and four people per room. None of the members of the *Judenrat* listed in the register shared their apartments with refugees. It should be noted that two other members of the *Judenrat* are not registered.
[1500] Real estate in the latter category was most often found in combination with others; on the Market Square, storage rooms were an addition to both apartments and shops.

Rynek II	12	4		16
Total	**78**	**12**	**2**	**92**

Table 11. Jewish-owned industrial and commercial premises on the Market Square in Lubartów in January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

As with apartments, the premises differed in terms of the number of rooms. The largest commercial premises, located at 17 Rynek I street, had five rooms. However, the vast majority—75 premises—consisted of one room. There were many more commercial premises registered on the Market Square than industrial ones, the majority of them located at Rynek I street. Considering the pre-war data from the business register, the small number of premises on other streets is surprising.[1501] It is possible that those responsible for the register considered some of them unsuitable for business or classified them as residential rooms.

One fourth of the premises have no assigned user and are categorised as vacant (*puste*) (Table 12). This applies mainly to Rynek II and Klitki II street, which were primarily inhabited by Jewish tenants. It is puzzling why these empty premises were not made available to Jewish refugees who arrived in December, as has been documented in other cases. Perhaps the inability to bring the premises up to living standard was the deciding factor, mainly due to the need to heat the premises at that time of year.[1502] The premises may also have been vandalised. It is documented that Jewish-owned property was looted at least twice before January 1941: once by the Germans during an organised campaign in the first weeks of the war, and again by Lubartów inhabitants after Jewish residents were displaced.[1503]

Street name	**Non-Jewish**	**Jewish**	**Empty**	**Cooperatives**	**Total**
Klitki I	2	6	1		9
Klitki II	3	2	5		10
Rynek I	45	4	7	1	57
Rynek II	1	4	10	1	16
Total	**51**	**16**	**23**	**2**	**92**

Table 12. Commercial and industrial premises on the Market Square, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

[1501] See Chapter 4.
[1502] Report about the Jews situation in Lubartów, early January 1941. AŻIH, ŻSS, 646, 47.
[1503] See Chapter 3.

The table confirms that in January 1941, non-Jews took over nearly all of the commercial and industrial properties owned by Jewish residents of Lubartów. This process resulted from a series of repressive measures that restricted Jewish economic activity and property rights. [1504] Mass movements were instrumental in occupying Jewish premises and accelerating the process of "Aryanisation." The situation for Jewish entrepreneurs in the Market Square looks even worse when we realise that occupying a commercial or industrial property did not mean running a business. Of the nine commercial premises assigned to Jews, as many as five were out of service (*nie do użytku*) or designated for another function (as a storage room or granary). Judging from the register, Jews barely participated in registered trade or industry on the Market Square.

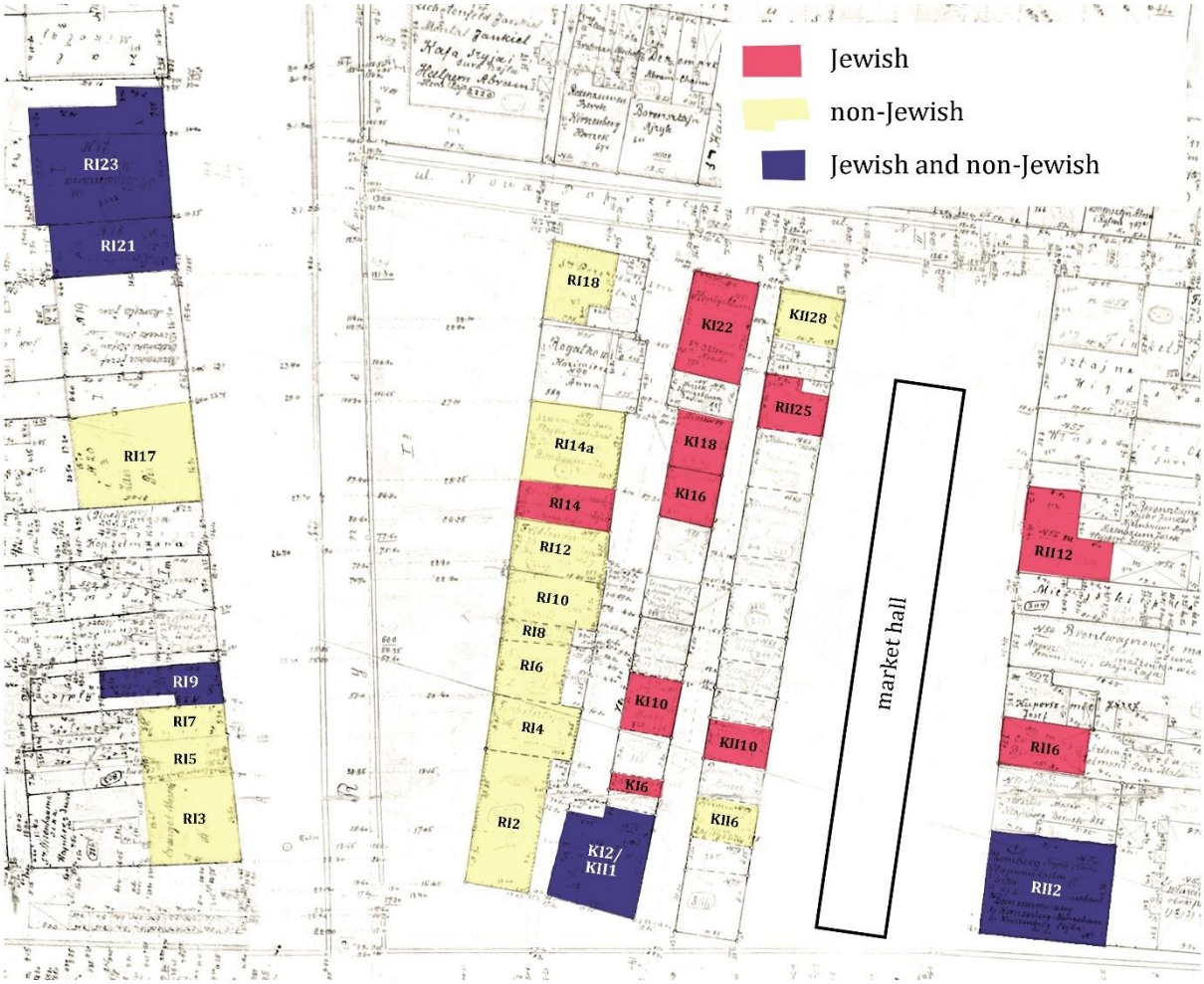
An analysis of the register confirms earlier findings regarding craft production in Lubartów.[1505] Non-Jews occupied industrial premises on the Market Square rarely; the only three were located at 23 Rynek I street, two of which were occupied by hairdressers. With a few exceptions, non-Jewish pre-war residents of Lubartów and deportees did not have the qualifications to perform the crafts practised by Jewish residents before the war. The pre-war potential for Jewish craft production was not maintained on the Market Square during the war. Only 7 premises occupied by Jews are described as industrial, with some operated as services, such as Dawid Lustman's dental surgery at 9 Rynek I street, or Moszek Landau's mangle at 21 Rynek I street.[1506] Therefore, my analysis does not clarify how the craftsmanship of the Jews who were allowed to remain in Lubartów in November 1939, was utilised.[1507]

The topography of the distribution of commercial and industrial spaces largely mirrors that of apartments (Map 3). Non-Jews occupied the most premises on Rynek I street. The "Aryanisation" of premises on Rynek I street formed yet another dimension in reinforcing the non-Jewish character of the street. Close-ups of the houses reveal that buildings that had once been exclusively occupied by Jewish enterprises were now exclusively occupied by non-Jewish entrepreneurs. Examples include the house at 2 Rynek I street. The last bastions of Jewish entrepreneurship on Rynek I street were at 9 (Lustman's office), 21 (Landau's mangle), and 14, where the pre-war owners kept their properties. In January of 1941, the house at 14 Rynek I,

[1504] For example, Chil Ulert from Mława at 6 Rynek II. See above.
[1505] See Chapter 3.
[1506] Lustman, who most often worked as a feldsher, was the only Jewish medical professional in the town from January 1940. It is possible that, due to the lack of available specialists, that he also took on the role of dentist. List of doctors, dentists, paramedics, and midwives in Lubartów, 15 January 1940. APL, AML, 791, 8.
[1507] See Chapter 3.

owned by the Giwercer brothers—the merchant Hersz and the mill owner Szmul—was the only house on Rynek I inhabited and used exclusively by Jewish residents.

The concentration of premises occupied by Jews in Klitki is explained by the continuity of the street's ownership structure. Half of the commercial and industrial premises occupied by Jews remained with their owners, while another five were used by the same individuals as before the war. The topographic distribution, with smaller buildings on Klitki, also explains why premises assigned to Jews were much more scattered—16 premises in 14 buildings—than those assigned to non-Jews. Non-Jewish entrepreneurs dominated in buildings with more commercial premises; on 2 Rynek I street, for example, they occupied a total of ten premises. In total, 51 non-Jewish businesses occupied 17 buildings on the Market Square.



Map 3. Occupants of Jewish-owned business and industrial premises on Market Square, January 1941.

From the image of overlapping topography of apartments and commercial premises, only individual premises stand out. In the building at 2 Rynek II street and 5 Klitki II/6 Rynek II, inhabited exclusively by Jewish residents, Maria Niewiadowska and Maria Gordyszewska ran

their shops. In 1941, Maria Niewiadowska was a nearly 40-year-old widow from Lubartów with two children. She lived in her father's house on Piłsudski street, a few hundred meters from the Market Square.[1508] She occupied Moszek Kosman's premises at 5 Klitki II/6 Rynek II to run a store selling clay pots.[1509] Running the shop was probably an economic necessity for Maria and her family, as in the 1930s, Maria's father, a blacksmith in his 70s, was the sole breadwinner for the family of seven. Maria Niewiadomska took over Moszek Kosman's premises in January 1940.

With regard to commercial premises, the January 1941 register is the first important piece of evidence of the "Aryanisation" of trade on the Rynek I street. Only five of the premises occupied by non-Jews had been rented by them before the war. This does not mean, however, that most of the premises went to newcomers, as was the case with apartments. In January 1941, 26 of the 51 premises were occupied by pre-war residents of the town (Table 13).

Street name	**Deportees**	**Arriving on their own**	**Pre-war Lubartowians**	**Total**
Klitki I	2			2
Klitki II			3	3
Rynek I	6	16	23	45
Rynek II		1		1
Total	**8**	**17**	**26**	**51**

Table 13. Non-Jews occupying commercial premises and businesses belonging to Jews, January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

The pace of the process is difficult to determine, as in most cases the date of occupation is not precise. Newcomers, like the residents of Lubartów, occupied the premises from December 1939, shortly after the mass resettlement of Jewish residents. The latest recorded occupation, in January 1941, concerns Josef Honiksblum's premises in the building at Rynek I. Stefania Wojtasik, with two small children, came to Lubartów on her own after the outbreak of war from Radom.[1510] Originally from the Lubartów area, she was born in Nasutów, and in the late 1920s got married in Lubartów. Her arrival in Lubartów can be seen as a return to her homeland, perhaps motivated by the opportunities that arose in the town after the departure of most of its

[1508] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 154.
[1509] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 88.
[1510] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 65.

Jewish residents. She lived at 13 Piłsudski street, in a house inhabited by families of tax officials, opposite the synagogue, 200 meters from the store at 2 Rynek I street where she sold groceries and stationery.[1511]

A documented connection with the town or region is one of the characteristics of people who moved to Lubartów and took over the commercial premises owned by Jews. This group included both people born in Lubartów, such as Jan Sekuła, aged 20, who returned to his hometown in November of 1939 and opened a hat factory at Rynek I, as well as those who had previously lived in the town, such as Józef Szpanowski, a merchant at Rynek I since December 1939, whose daughters were born in Lubartów in the 1920s (and his wife's family had lived here as well).[1512] However, the available information does not allow for far-reaching conclusions. The 16 non-Jewish entrepreneurs who came to the town on their own and occupied commercial and industrial premises on the Market Square constitute a diverse group of people from different parts of pre-war Poland.[1513]

The process of occupying commercial and industrial premises was largely independent of the occupation of apartments, in terms of organisation, chronology, and the people involved. With the exception of the non-Jewish residents of Klitki, those who occupied commercial premises did not usually live in the Market Square. This is also supported by the data presented, which shows differences in the composition of non-Jewish groups occupying apartments versus commercial and industrial premises (Tables 7 and 13). Unlike apartments, which went to newcomers more often, residents of Lubartów and people connected with Lubartów were much more involved in taking over commercial premises. Additionally, commercial premises were largely unavailable to Jews excluded from legal trade in the town. Most likely, there were no barriers for non-Jews interested in occupying/allocating commercial premises, as was the case with the distribution of apartments, which were first allocated to non-Jewish deportees from the territories incorporated to the *Reich*.[1514]

[1511] Business register, 1929–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 81.
[1512] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 175. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 176.
[1513] 9 out of 16 are included in the 1943 Register of Residents of Lubartów, which includes their place of birth and not their last place of residence.
[1514] It is also possible that among non-Jewish Lubartowians the pressure on taking over apartments was much weaker than on occupying the premise. The fact that starting a business required financial resources and a network of contacts may also have played a role. In addition, commercial and industrial premises in Lubartów were placed under trusteeship sooner than residential premises. According to the register from January 1941, 37 of the premises occupied by non-Jews on the Market Square were paid for at the Municipal Savings Bank.

The register of Jewish real estate does not provide a complete picture of commercial premises distribution because it only includes properties belonging to Jews. During the war, shops owned by local Christians continued to operate on Rynek I street and possibly on Rynek II street. Additionally, a market hall operated continuously on Market Square II, where the town office rented out commercial space. Before the war, Jews from Lubartów operated in venues in market hall, which was most probably no longer the case in 1941.[1515] On Market Square II, as before the war, fairs were organised, periodically interrupted, e.g., during the typhus epidemic.[1516] Despite the fact that there were few Jewish commercial premises occupied by non-Jews, Market Square II remained a central place for local trade for non-Jewish residents.

In September 1940, "Nowy Głos Lubelski," a Polish-language newspaper and propaganda tool for the occupation authorities, published a colourful description of the market day in Lubartów. The beginning of the article suggests that the regular fairs in Lubartów had ceased to be organised for some time before September 1940:

> "The Lubartów fairs have been known for a long time, and now, every Monday, sleepy Lubartów comes to life again. People come from all directions, by cart and on foot. The carts are loaded with their own products. Pedestrians carry baskets and panniers."
>
> "The Market Square is an irregular rectangle, and the part of the square closer to the main street is occupied by long rows of loaded carts. The carts carry folk crafts, mainly potato baskets (...) Other carts carry fruit and vegetables. You can find pieces of canvas, sheepskin coats, and hemp ropes. Stalls are set up right next to the hall. The stalls are piled high with the products of urban craftsmen, such as shoemakers, bakers, and confectioners, while others sell accessories: mirrors, razors, belts, ties, scarves, and many other items."
>
> "The traffic is getting heavier among the passages created by stalls and tables. Housekeepers are milling about, having sold their rural goods, now looking for things to buy. Jews are sneaking through this crowd."[1517]

Although the article predates the creation of the 1941 register by almost six months, the exclusion of Jews from local trade, despite their presence on Market Square, did not change over time. In fact, it became more pronounced due to the growing number of Jewish residents

[1515] In total, the register of entrepreneurs identifies 12 sellers in the 1930s, including 7 Jews. During the war, all 7 recorded sellers were non-Jews. It is difficult to determine the exact number of tenants in the hall on the basis of the business register because in many cases the addresses of the businesses only include the street name.
[1516] From January to May 1942, no fairs were held in Lubartów due to a typhus epidemic. The county chief's decision to restore the fairs in Lubartów, 30 May 1942. APL, AML, 797, 214.
[1517] "Jarmarki lubartowskie," *Nowy Głos Lubelski: jedyne polskie pismo wychodzące na terenie Gubernii Lubelskiej*, 136 (20 September 1940), 4.

on Rynek II street. The mass arrival of Jews in the second half of 1940 prevented the implementation of plans to transform Market Square II into an Aryan space or to restrict the presence of Jews. Rynek II street, which was dominated by Jewish residents and non-Jewish traders and had periodic markets and fairs, provides another perspective on the nature of the separation in the "Jewish district" in Lubartów. The street remained open, giving Jews the opportunity to move freely within the town while also being open to the outside world and becoming a trade centre for the entire region.

Conclusion

The register from January 1941 illustrates the social change that took place in Lubartów as a result of the departure and forced resettlement of Jewish residents during the first months of the war. Local Jews who remained in the town, as well as those who returned at the end of 1940, deprived of their property rights and the right to conduct business, occupied the premises that were left under discriminatory conditions. The situation of the Jewish refugees was even more tragic; they were at the mercy of aid organisations and Jewish residents of Lubartów. By January of 1941, the impoverishment and degradation of Jews' living conditions in Lubartów was already well underway. The repression and harm done to Jews created opportunities for non-Jews in Lubartów. For those forcibly displaced to Lubartów, this meant, above all, the possibility of finding housing. For pre-war residents occupying commercial premises, it provided an opportunity to earn money and expand their businesses. For those in the most difficult situation, it created the possibility of survival and for social advancement.

At the same time, during the war, the Lubartów Market Square reflected the permanence of social hierarchies and divisions. The distribution of houses and commercial premises was carried out in accordance with the previously existing hierarchies and patterns of segregation. This applies to the distribution of residential premises between Jews and non-Jews, with the result that the presence of non-Jews increased in areas which were not stigmatised as Jewish, especially Rynek I street. The stability of the hierarchy was also expressed in intra-group divisions. Houses with balconies, previously inhabited mainly by wealthier Jews on Rynek I street, were allocated to well established non-Jews, while 23 Rynek I street was inhabited mainly by manual workers and people in a worse economic situation, as it had been before the war, similar to Klitki and Rynek II streets, previously inhabited exclusively by Jews.

PART 3. RENTAL REGISTER 1942-1943

The two registers, the January 1941 Jewish property register and the 1942-1943 rental register, are closely linked. While the earlier one served to take inventory of Jewish real estate before it was placed under trusteeship, the 1942 register was a product of the trusteeship administration, documenting payments and arrears for rented Jewish real estate. Although both registers record persons and institutions occupying/renting premises belonging to Jews, both the methodology used to produce the two documents, as well as information they provide, are different.

The lack of distinction between residential, industrial, and commercial premises in the 1942-1943 rent register is of fundamental importance. Due to this omission, a comparison of both documents must be made at the level of all premises without distinguishing their functions. When it comes to people renting the property, the 1942-1943 register always provide only one person, while the 1941 register sometimes recorded more than one occupant of an apartment, focusing on families or groups staying together, specifying the premises' size.[1518] Apart from the significantly smaller amount of information, the register started in the second half of 1942 has one feature that the earlier one lacks—it is dynamic. The register covers the period from September 1942 to May 1943. This allows us to trace the fate of tenants and apartments in a dramatic period for the Jews in Lubartów, as well as the trajectories of Jewish owned property, before, during, and after the second *Aktion*.

Similar to the previous register, the rental register documents the population's situation following dramatic upheavals: the arrival of Jewish refugees from Lublin, the first *Aktion* against Jews in Lubartów in April 1942, and the arrival of Slovak Jews in Lubartów.[1519] Starting in late autumn of 1941, typhus spread through Lubartów. This, in addition to hunger and dire living conditions, contributed to increased mortality in 1941 and 1942.[1520] Although the register of Jewish real estate does not directly record these events and processes, it allows to examine their effect on the distribution of Jewish property on the Market Square. As for the January 1941 register, I will begin with a general overview of the Market Square social structure in September of 1942, considering changes within Jewish real estate. By shifting the scale and

[1518] Of course, there is a chance that the existing premises from 1941 were divided into smaller units in the 1942–1943 register, but the smaller number of premises in the latter suggests that this was not the case and that rent was settled through a main tenant, and that one residential premises could be occupied by more than one group/family. This would also be evidenced by the almost complete occupancy of Jewish–owned real estate on Market Square in 1942. The register lists only four unoccupied premises.

[1519] The last list of residents compiled before the register was created indicates that in mid–August, there were a total of 3,002 Jews in Lubartów, with a non–Jewish population of 6,340, excluding Germans. There were 117 Germans in Lubartów at that time, including the *Volksdeutsche*. Information on the population of the town for food supply purposes, August 18, 1942. APL, AML, 856, 131.

[1520] Claire Zalc and Franciszek Zakrzewski, "Tentatives d'épuisement de non–lieux : les cimetières juifs de Lubartów, Pologne," *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah*, 215:1 (2022), 151–189.

framing the observation carefully, I will search for the patterns in the property distribution, and follow individual trajectories of Market Square residents and entrepreneurs.

Street name	**Jews**	**Non-Jews**	**Institutions and commercial cooperatives**	**Total**
Klitki I	37 (84%)	6 (14%)	1 (2%)	**44 (100%)**
Klitki II	9 (75%)	3 (25%)		**12 (100%)**
Rynek I	30 (28%)	72 (69%)	3 (3%)	**105 (100%)**
Rynek II	93 (90%)	5 (5%)	5 (5%)	**103 (100%)**
Final total	**169 (64%)**	**86 (33%)**	**9 (3%)**	**264 (100%)**

Table 14. Individuals and institutions occupying the Jewish real estate on the Market Square in January 1941. Source: APL, AML, 854.

Street name	**Jews**	**Non-Jews**	**Unknown**	**Institutions and commercial cooperatives**	**Total**
Klitki I	32 (82%)	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	**39 (100%)**
Klitki II	6 (75%)	1 (13%)		1 (13%)	**8 (100%)**
Rynek I	21 (24%)	61 (71%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	**86 (100%)**
Rynek II	84 (88%)	6 (6%)	5 (5%)	1 (1%)	**96 (100%)**
Final total	**143 (62%)**	**71 (31%)**	**8 (3%)**[1521]	**7 (3%)**	**229 (100**

Table 15. Individuals and institutions renting the Jewish real estate on the Market Square in September 1942. Source: APL, SPL, 41.

The discrepancy in the methods used to prepare the two registers (Table 14 and 15) may have contributed to the fact that the number of people renting in the Market Square in September 1942 is lower compared to that from a year and a half prior. Nonetheless, this does not affect the general conclusion from the comparison: from January 1941 to September 1942, Jews and non-Jews remained on all streets of the Market Square, and the proportions of both groups remained consistent within the streets. This general conclusion conceals the drastic changes that took place in the composition of both groups of residents.

[1521] Of the eight unidentified persons, only one rented premises after the Second *Aktion* of October 1942–Adalbert Wirkman from Rynek I street.

More than one-third of all premises on the Market Square in September of 1942 were rented by people other than those who had occupied them a year and a half earlier (see table 16). In order to understand the reasons for such drastic changes, it is necessary to take a closer look at the composition of both groups. Is it possible to identify events and processes that contributed to this shift? If the change in the social structure of the Market Square was a result of general processes and events, was there still room for planned housing policy? When considering the reasons for these movements, I will address the relationship between repression and housing policy.

Group	**No**	**Same premise**	**Total**
Jews	52 (36%)	91 (64%)	143 (100%)
Non-Jews	21 (30%)	50 (70%)	71 (100%)
unknown	8 (100%)		8 (100%)
Total	**81 (36%)**	**141 (64%)**	**222 (100%)**

Table 16. Individuals occupying premises in September of 1942 in the same buildings as in January of 1941, September 1942. Source: APL, SPL, 41.

When looking at the changes in the Market Square from the perspective of the outflow of residents, a significant number of those who occupied premises in January did not continue to rent them in September 1942 (table 17), *i.e*. 41% of all occupants in January 1941. This group included proportionally more Jews (45%), although the percentage of non-Jews is also high (31%). The group of individuals who stopped occupying the Market Square premises included both residents and business owners. Of the Jews, the vast majority, 71 people, were recorded in apartments, while more than one third of the non-Jews, 10 people, occupied commercial premises. With knowledge of the events that influenced the demographics in Lubartów and the individual trajectories recorded in other registers, one can indicate the reasons for their departure.

Street name	**Non-Jewish tenants**	**Jewish tenants**	**Total**
Klitki I	4	17	21
Klitki II	2	3	5
Rynek I	20	17	37
Rynek II	3	39	42
Total	**29**	**76**	**105**

Table 17. Main tenants in Jewish property on the Market Square in January of 1941 not included in the register in September 1942.

According to the permanent resident registry, 21 main residents of the Market Square were victims of the April *Aktion*, (83 residents when include families' members). They were taken from of all streets of Market Square, except for Klitki II.[1522] Within the streets, it is possible to distinguish the houses whose residents were more affected by the deportations than others. At 8 Klitki I street, three main tenants were deported during the *Aktion*, including the widow Perla Świrk, who was staying with three children aged between 2 and 6.[1523] It is possible that the family's chances of survival were undermined by the death of Perla's husband, the shoemaker Aron Świrk, in May of 1941.[1524] Aron's brother of the same profession, who was 10 years older, was left alive with his family at 8 Klitki I house.[1525] 18 people from the Świrk family house were victims of the *Action* in April 1942. Another possible victim was Dwojra Laska from Mława and her two subtenants, who were not included in the 1942-1943 rental register.

Like families without fathers, women without partners were particularly vulnerable to deportation. Szosia Kopelman, a woman living alone at 23 Rynek I street, was another victim of the *Aktion*. She was taken along with her subtenants, the Benowicz family. Aron, the father of the Benowicz family, was 53 years old in 1942. It is likely that during the selection at the synagogue square,[1526] he was considered too old or not fit enough to avoid deportation. The only member of the family to survive was the 20-year-old Szulim. In April of 1942, age again determined the fate of 72-year-old Henoch Frydlender from 12 Rynek I street. Earlier, during forced resettlements and relocations, he had managed to stay with his family in his house on the Market Square, retaining a spacious apartment for his exclusive use. Henoch, who belonged to the pre-war Jewish elite of the town did not hold any position in Jewish institutions during the war, was unable to save himself and his family during the first *Aktion*.[1527]

The characteristics of the Jews from the Market Square in Lubartów who were affected by the operation confirm my colleagues' earlier findings based on the 473 pre-war permanent residents, all registered as deported during the *Aktion*.[1528] However, the 1942–1943 register

[1522] 7 from Klitki I, 4 from Rynek I, 10 from Rynek II.
[1523] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 62.
[1524] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 107.
[1525] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 41, 143.
[1526] Yosef Honigsblum, "Megiles levertov" in *Hurbn Levertov*, 7; "Levertover in di negl fun di daytshn un 'judn–rat'", *Ibid*., 34. Zalc, Perdoncin and Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 96–101.
[1527] Our team's research has shown that officers of the Judenrat, the Jewish police, the ŻSS, and their first– and second–degree relatives were more likely to survive the April action.
[1528] Zalc, Perdoncin, and Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 96–101.

provides a broader perspective on the selection process, extending beyond the group the group of 473. According to preserved documents, the number of Jews included in the April *Aktion* far exceeded the number of permanent residents of Lubartów categorised as deported. Depending on the source, the difference ranges from nearly 200 to nearly 350 people, which corresponds to the estimated number of Jewish refugees from Mława at the beginning of April of 1942.[1529] The rental register support the hypothesis that the first *Aktion* in Lubartów largely included people who had arrived in town after the outbreak of the war, like Jewish refugees who had arrived in the town at the end of 1940. Of the 23 main tenants registered in the Market Square in January 1941 as displaced persons from Mława, only one was included in the 1942-1943 register.[1530] This lead, which requires further research on a town-wide scale, would indicate an additional dimension of selection in 1942: those least rooted in the local community and at the same time least recognised by the local administration were among the targeted.

Pre-war residents of Lubartów, victims of the *Aktion*, and missing newcomers, totalling 47 people, constitute a large proportion of all 71 main tenants not included in the 1942-1943 rental register. The trajectories of remaining 24 people, all pre-war residents of Lubartów, remain largely unknown. Some information about their deaths is included in the permanent residents' register, as in the case of Aron Świrk. Before September 1942, the Giwercer family, who resided in the house at 14 Rynek I street (the only house on the street occupied by Jews alone in January of 1941), also died. Icek-Hersz Giwercer, the owner of the house, died on 26 October, 1941; his wife, Szandla, died three days later. This suggests that they died of an infectious disease, possibly typhoid fever.[1531] Alter Perelmuter from 14a Rynek I, the Giwercers' next-door neighbour, also in his 70s, may have died of the same cause, in December of 1941.[1532] Between January 1941 and April 1942 all Perelmuter family members died. Alter's son Hersz died before his father. Doba Perelmuter, Alter's wife and sister of Icek-Hersz Giwercer, was deported from Lubartów in April of 1942. The Perelmuters and Giwercers were the last Jewish owners of the two-story houses with balconies on the even-numbered side of Rynek I street. After the April *Aktion*, none of the Jewish families from the photograph commemorating the Sea Day celebration remained in Lubartów.

[1529] See Chapter 3. Report on the situation in Lubartów, 1 April 1942. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, 3.
[1530] This refers to Szmul Rociążek (Raciążek). Apart from a slight difference in the spelling of the surname between registers, there is also a discrepancy in the addresses. Rociążek moved from 20 Klitki I to 14 Klitki I, three houses away.
[1531] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 171.
[1532] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 179.

According to reports by Dr. Ryszard Preis who was responsible for monitoring the epidemiological situation among Jews in Lubartów, the incidence of typhus was relatively low. Between November 1941 and January 1942, in the peak of the typhus epidemic, the Preis recorded six deaths of Jewish residents.[1533] Two more people died in February, including Abraham Berszlaka from Rynek II Street.[1534] Despite my scepticism about the scale of typhus mortality presented, it is unlikely that typhus was a significant cause of turnover among tenants in the Market Square.

Of the 29 non-Jewish residents occupying Jewish-owned property in January 1941 who were not registered in 1942, the majority did not live in the town before the war—17 people, including 11 deportees from Inowrocław. All new tenants from 17 Rynek I street, that had arrived in the town after the war began, vacated their premises. The only person who remained in the building was Marian Dygnarowicz, a pharmacist who had run a pharmacy there since 1938.[1535] Dygnarowicz took advantage of his neighbours' departures to occupy more properties. Non-Jewish entrepreneurs on Rynek I street rarely abandoned their premises. Of the 45 non-Jews occupying commercial or industrial premises on Rynek I street in January of 1941, only six did not rent them a year and a half later. One of the premises, a vodka and tobacco shop at 14a Rynek I street, was transferred after the death of Paulina Borek, pre-war town resident, to her son Jan, a teacher who came to Lubartów at the beginning of the war.[1536] This is not the only case of transferring of Jewish own real estate within the family.[1537] It might have taken place "right under the noses" of the rightful owners who did not have a say in the matter. Alter Perelmuter, the owner of the commercial premises occupied by the Borek family, was still alive when Jan took over the premises from his mother. In the same premises, before the war, Perelmuter had been selling bread and soda water.[1538]

[1533] The Giwercers did not appear in the lists of typhus victims in Lubartów. The first recorded cases of typhus in the Market Square date back to December of 1941. Report on cases of typhus in Lubartów, 2 February 1942. APL, AML, 798, 128.
[1534] Report on the situation in Lubartów, 1 April 1942. AŻIH, ŻSS, 643, 3. Report on typhus cases, 21 February 1942. APL, AML, 798, 146.
[1535] The rent register form notes that in September 1942 the part of the house he occupied was given the separate address of 17a, a fact difficult to explain.
[1536] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 73.
[1537] Maria Urbańska replaced her husband Wacław. Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 48.
[1538] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 22.

New tenants on the Market Square

The period preceding the final extermination of Jews is often associated with the processes of ghettoisation and concentration of Jews.[1539] Jews who were soon to be deported were concentrated in designated areas, where it was easier to control them and later carry out mass *Aktionen*. The reality of the Lubartów Market Square seems to be more ambiguous. On the one hand, the spatial distribution of premises, as presented in the rent register, did not change significantly until October 1942. On the other hand, considering the number of new tenants and the scale of occupancy, the changes in the Market Square between January 1941 and 1942 can be understood as another step towards reinforcing the divisions in the Market Square in accordance with the logic of separate Aryan and Jewish spaces.

Street name	**Jews**	**Non-Jews**	**Unknown**	**Total**
Klitki I	13	1	2	16
Klitki II	6	1		7
Rynek I	8	16	1	25
Rynek II	25	2	6	33
Final total	**52**	**20**	**9**	**81**

Table 18. New tenants on the Market Square streets after January of 1941, September 1942. Source: APL, SPL, 41.

On Rynek I street, non-Jews occupied most of the vacant premises (table 18). At the same time, the number of Jewish tenants increased most significantly on the other streets of the Market Square. The strengthening of the non-Jewish presence on Rynek I street was mainly due to pre-war town residents who occupied premises previously vacated by newcomers—14 out of 16 new tenants. By September of 1942, pre-war residents accounted for two-thirds of all non-Jewish tenants renting Jewish premises in the Market Square: 47 out of 71, compared to 39 out of 86 in January 1941. Among Jewish tenants, however, the opposite trend was observed: the number of newcomers more than doubled the number of Jews from Lubartów who moved to the Market Square or changed apartments within the area after January 1941 (Table 19).

	Newcomers	**Pre-war residents**	**Total**
Jews	36	16	52

[1539] See Introduction.

Non- Jews	3	17	20
Unknown	9		9
Total	**48**	**33**	**81**

Table 19. New tenants on the Market Square in September 1942. Source: APL, SPL, 41.

As in the case of vacating premises on the Market Square, the occupation took place gradually, and the rent book for the years 1942-1943 only partially reflects the dynamics of this process. The register barely reflects the relocation of Lublin Jews who were resettled before the creation of the Lublin ghetto in March of 1941.[1540] The arrival of a new group of refugees is recorded in a report drawn by the Lubartów branch of ŻSS. At that time, 1250 Jewish refugees arrived in Lubartów, and in the same month, most of them, *i.e*. 1165, left the town.[1541] It is unclear how many of them remained in Lubartów in the following months, but unlike the refugees from Mława, the Jews from Lublin do not appear in the 1942 ŻSS reports.

A second, even larger group of refugees arrived in Lubartów from Slovakia shortly after the first *Aktion*, in April and May. The first transport departed from Trnava and Nitra, two cities east of Bratislava, and the refugees arrived in Lubartów via Lublin.[1542] The new residents were mainly women, children, and elderly men; men capable of working were taken to the Majdanek camp.[1543] Initially, after arrival in Lubartów they were placed in barracks on the grounds of the old Jewish cemetery between Legionów and Piłsudski streets, a few dozen meters south of the Market Square.[1544]A report by the gendarmerie in Lubartów mentions 1,580 Czechoslovak Jews resettled in Lubartów without luggage or food, 360 of whom were resettled to Ostrów, Kamionka, and Firlej due to lack of housing.[1545] Another transport, this time from Trebisov in eastern Slovakia, arrived on 8 May. Initially, the refugees were placed in a pre-war gymnasium

[1540] The Lublin Judenrat listed the names of 470 refugees, with a note in the title stating that these are not all those who were deported, while historians most often treat the document as a complete list of those who were displaced. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 182–183. Partial list of people sent to Lubartów, 17 March 1942. APL, Jewish Council in Lublin, 153, 76–79.
[1541] Report on the activities of the ŻSS Aid Committee for March of 1941, April 1941. AŻIH, AJDC, 454, 74. Studies do not mention the departure of Lublin Jews. Kuwałek, "Lubartów", in Geoffrey P. Megargee, Martin Dean and Mel Hecker (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945, Vol. 2*, Part A (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 673–674. Kuwałek, Sygowski, "Z dziejów," 83. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 182–183. Mojżesz Apelbaum recalls that 75% of Lublin Jews resettled to Firlej near Lubartów immediately returned to their city on their own. Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 6.
[1542] Katarína Hradská (ed.), *Holokaust na Slovensku 8. – Ústredňa Židov (1940–1944)* (Bratislava: Klemo, 2008), 486–487.
[1543] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 8. Tatiana Berenstein, "Martylogia, opór i Zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie lubelskim," *Biuletyn Instytutu Historycznego*, 21 (1957), 39.
[1544] Mirosław Derecki, "Kromka chleba," *Gazeta Lubelska*, 23 (1993), 5.
[1545] Summary about Jewish refugee movements, April 1942. APL, Kreishauptman Lublin (KL), 141, 137.

building. All 841 Slovak Jews who arrived were to be resettled soon after.[1546] Thus, the number of Jews living in Lubartów before the second *Aktion* in October 1942 exceeded 3,000, and about half of them came from Slovakia.[1547]

The arrival and presence of Jews from Slovakia is one of the most prominent themes in the Lubartów Christians' narratives about Jews during the war. Mirosław Derecki, a writer born in 1936 into the Pic de Replonge/Derecki family of pharmacists from 10 Rynek I street, recalled the arrival of Jews from Slovakia in the town. Sawicki drew attention primarily to the appearance and behaviour of the newcomers, which he found in contrast to that of the locals:

> "They differed from our Jews. They did not wear traditional headgear and yarmulkes. Their women had wavy hair and instead of wigs, wore hats. They were dressed in fashionable, woollen costumes, and their husbands [dressed] in suits. They did not put on armbands with the blue star, but they had stars made from yellow material on their breasts. Despite being forced to sleep in the dirty straw left by horses, every morning they went from the barracks clean and neat. The Poles from Lubartów as well as the local Jews were very curious about them. And, the Jewish policemen, armed with sticks and quite often brutal toward the Lubartów Jews, lost self-assurance when meeting with the Slovak Jews. The inhabitants of the barracks on Legiony Street were not in Lubartów for very long. Suddenly they disappeared."[1548]

Historians have accepted the last sentence uncritically, yet it contradicts the information provided by the gendarmerie, the mayor, and the Town Board.[1549] The stay of Jews from Slovakia in Lubartów is additionally documented in the 1942-1943 rent register. Other documents—lists of Jews from Slovakia compiled after their arrival in the General Government—indicate that those included in the register are only a fraction of those who settled permanently in Lubartów.[1550] Upon the arrival of new residents, the housing stock on Market Square was handled similarly to the way this had been done over a year earlier when Jewish refugees from Mława arrived in Lubartów. Twenty-three Jews from Slovakia rented vacant

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[1546] Report of the *Landkommissar* in Lubartów, 9 May 1942. APL, KL, 141, 114. Moszek Apelbaum, head of the ŻSS in Firlej, referred to the distribution of Jews from Slovakia in localities near Lubartów: "All the heads of the ŻSS from the entire district were summoned to the *Landrat*. There, we were told that each of us had to take a certain number of women and children and take care of them." Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 8.

[1547] Information on the population of the town for food supply purposes, 18 August 1942. APL, AML, 856, 131. According to information from the Town Board, 1,504 Jews from Slovakia were resettled to Lubartów. Information from the mayor to the county chief, 2 September 1942. APL, AML, 789, 97.

[1548] Derecki, "Kromka chleba," 5.

[1549] Kuwałek, "Lubartów", 673–674.

[1550] List of Slovak Jews deported to Lublin District, April–May 1942. Selected records from Czech National Archives. Ministry of Finance of the Czechoslovakian Government–in–Exile in London, Fond JAF 819.

apartments. However, most of them were housed in apartments already occupied by Jewish residents. During this critical housing period, all available spaces were used to provide shelter for refugees, including Jewish institutions and the Jewish hospital that had opened during the war.

Based on the lists, it is impossible to determine precisely how many Jews from Slovakia lived in the Market Square, and in which apartments.[1551] However, the lists do indicate numerous cases of refugees who lived in apartments occupied by Jewish tenants. Thus, the rental register does not reflect the scale of the presence of Jews from Slovakia in the Market Square. Their arrival and the renewed increase in the number of Jewish residents in the town radically changed residential relations in the Market Square. With the shrinking number of apartments occupied by Jews, living conditions for Jews in Lubartów were the most difficult yet.

Two distant worlds. Market Square from the perspective of non-Jewish residents

According to accounts from Christians in the 2000s, the Market Square was divided into two worlds. Stefan Sawicki, born in 1922, who moved with his family to the Kowartowski house on Rynek I street in 1940, had a view of both worlds every day. In an interview in 2013, Sawicki described:

> "Our windows faced the Rynek [Market Square I—FZ] on one side and the Jewish quarter, the so-called Klitki, on the other, where all the people [Jews—FZ] from Lubartów were concentrated, living in such cramped conditions and so on."[1552]

In his account, Stefan Sawicki did not notice the Jews on Rynek I street—neither his neighbours from the house next door, nor those from the building at 23 Rynek I street, where he worked during the war to avoid being sent to forced labour. The Sawickis lived right next to the gate leading to Klitki, this imaginary Jewish universe consisting of two narrow streets in the middle of the town. That was where the only person whom Sawicki remembered from among the hundreds of Jewish residents in his neighbourhood, came from. It was the "old Jew from Klitki" who brought water to the Sawickis.

The "old Jew from Klitki" personified all Jews. In a sense, all contacts between Lubartów Non-Jews and Jews during the war, as described years later, are based on the theme of crossing the

[1551] In many cases, the address given on the lists is "*Judenrat*," while the person rent the room according to the rental register.
[1552] Interview with Stefan Sawicki (b. 1927), November 2013. *Lubartów wczoraj i dziś*, Kanał S TV. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZordHaLbqi8 (accessed: 23 September 2025).

border between worlds. Mila, the protagonist of another testimony, a Jewish woman from Czechoslovakia, born in 1930, also came from Klitki:

> "They brought Jews from Czechoslovakia and here, where the Market Square is, there were the so-called Jewish Klitki, small shops of poor Jews (...) And they brought Jews from Czechoslovakia to this place. The Germans drove them all there and they stayed there for some time. They were not really allowed to leave."
>
> "My mother found out that there was a Jewish woman there who was a very good seamstress, a Czech woman. And my mother managed to take this Jewish woman home to do some sewing for us. And indeed, she sewed beautifully. She didn't look like a Jewish woman at all, she was blonde. She had difficulty with Polish, but she was Czech, so it was easier. She stayed with us for about a week, she would go to her family at night, and in the morning, she would come and help with the sewing. And my mother always gave her something for her family. Her name was Mila."[1553]

In many other accounts Jews from Slovakia were associated with Klitki. "They brought a terrible number of Jews from Czechoslovakia to Lubartów and put them all in these Klitki, and they were so cramped that it was awful," recalled another Lubartów resident, Lucjan Michalak, born in 1925.[1554] After the refugees arrived, the crowded Klitki made the greatest impression on observers because of how cramped the buildings were. The deeply rooted perception of the street was certainly also influential, as Klitki was both Jewish and crowded. It was there, in Klitki, a distant and inaccessible reality from the perspective of outside observers, that the drama of the Jewish experience during the war unfolded. Ryszard Dumało, author of a book about Lubartów during the war and Lubartów resident since late 1939, shared his memories about Klitki:

> "At the end of 1941, Klitki were transformed into a ghetto. From that moment on, Jews were not allowed to live outside the ghetto or leave it. The Lubartów ghetto was not surrounded by a wall or a fence but was separated from the Poles only by narrow streets. It was guarded by their own police and by other police forces. The most clever ones escaped through passages known to them and obtained food from the Poles. Some Poles became rich, and a few Jews lived better. In the ghetto, there was increasing poverty, malnutrition, and overcrowding. Infectious diseases, typhus, and dysentery spread, but were kept well hidden. Mortality rates were rising.

[1553] Interview with anonymous woman (b. 1930), September 2011. USHMM collection, RG–90.129.0749.01.01.
[1554] Interview with Lucjan Michalak (b. 1929), 14 June 2015. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN."

Outside the ghetto, it was a different world. There was plenty of food brought in by local peasants, and large markets and fairs were held."[1555]



Photograph 5. Market Square I, May 1942. Author: Gustaw Andraschko.

Gustaw Andraschko, photographer for the "Krakauer Zeitung," a German newspaper published in the General Government, intended to capture the contrast between Jewish and Aryan spaces in Lubartów centre. In his photo from May of 1942, St. Anne's Church occupies the centre of the picture, while most of the frame below is filled with the empty Market Square I space, with a few people standing by the shopping arcade of Jakub Lichtenfeld on Nowopoprzeczna Street. All the premises in this long building had been taken over from their Jewish owners long before the photo was taken.[1556] The aforementioned Waleria Majewska had been selling household goods and accessories there since February, and in the shop next door, Anna Wodeztky, also a *Volksdeutsch*, sold perfumes and photographic equipment.[1557] In the photo, on Nowopoprzeczna Street, behind the corner building at 18 Rynek I street, a dense group of dark figures stands. Their silhouettes have been additionally drawn in by hand for stronger effect. The figures stand there as if the line of houses on Rynek I street marked an impassable border.

[1555] Ryszard Dumało, *Z dziejów harcerstwa lubartowskiego 1915–1949* (Lublin, Zakład Poligraficzny Kopia, 1996), 56.
[1556] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 76.
[1557] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 90, 91. File on the case of Anna Wodetzky, 1944–1947. IPN Lu 319/543.

Andraschko, an employee of a German propaganda newspaper, obviously does not have a neutral view.[1558] But is this not precisely the boundary between the two worlds that non-Jewish residents felt and talked about? To what extent are we dealing with a perception of internal divisions within the Market Square that reinforced intergroup divisions, perceiving complete separation where there was none? The way in which non-Jews construct narratives about the spaces of the Market Square contradicts what is indicated by the rent register and refugee lists. Jews still lived on many streets in Lubartów, including Rynek I street. There was no question of complete separation between the two groups in Lubartów.[1559]

Market Square I—an increasingly Aryan space?

The projection present in the narratives about Rynek I street and Klitki obviously has complex roots, about which we can only hypothesise. Through narratives about the isolation of Jews and their confinement in a separate world, it was easier to distance oneself from the tragedy of the Jews. The distance also resulted from long-standing perceptions of the Jewish presence in the town. The concentration of Jews residents and their situation under the occupation regime further entrenched the Jews in Klitki and made their image even more coherent, fostering the pre-war desires to break the dominance of Jews in the local economy.

However, it cannot be denied that, at the most basic level, the presence of non-Jews in Rynek I Street was becoming more pronounced, while that of Jews—less and less so. In September 1942, non-Jewish tenants already occupied three-quarters of all Jewish property in Rynek I street, and there were additional five buildings belonging to Catholic owners. The non-Jewish character was also expressed in the complete exclusion of Jews from trade on the street. The register of enterprises in Lubartów records the activities of 60 enterprises on Market Square I run by private individuals, exclusively non-Jewish. Three additional enterprises were cooperative stores, including "Rolnik," offering agricultural equipment and farm supplies, at 23 Rynek I street, where Stefan Sawicki worked.

Jewish businesses operating on Rynek I street ceased to function. Moszek Landau, who ran a mangle in January 1941, was included in the *Aktion* in April, along with his wife and three daughters.[1560] The premises at 21 Rynek I street were taken over in May 1942 by Cecylia

[1558] The photograph from Lubartów is one of the 150 taken by Andraschko in the NAC collection, mainly presenting cities and towns of occupied Poland.
[1559] At the end of November of 1941, a Lublin newspaper emphasised this with regret: "It should be noted that there is no Jewish district in Lubartów; Jews live in various parts of the town, without any special restrictions imposed by the Town Board." "Żydzi w Lubartowie," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, 270 (1941), 3.
[1560] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 195.

Kowalska,[1561] who had not been registered in Lubartów before the war. The county authorities issued a permit to run the mangle as soon as on 30 April, 1942.[1562] In this case, the takeover of the premises and the business took place immediately, facilitated by efficient administrative procedures. Dawid Lustman, who in January of 1941 rented premises at Rynek I 9 for a dental surgery, continued to rent the premises until October of 1942, but there is no confirmation that his business continued to operate during this period, as on 4 July, 1942, Dawid Lustman was formally stripped of his medical license.[1563]

Business activity on Rynek I street was linked to the process of accumulating premises within a single building, a process that concerned non-Jews only. This process is difficult to document due to differences in how records were kept in 1941 and 1942. The most evident example is 7 Rynek I street, a building owned by Berek Nisenbaum. In January 1941, three people shared the rent in this small building. By September 1942, only one of them, Gertruda Mantejewska, was renting the entire building. Mantejewska (née Fischer) was born in Usch, in western Germany.[1564] She arrived in Lubartów in September 1939 with her husband Antoni, a dentist from Nakło nad Notecią, near the Polish German border, who was several years older than her. In Lubartów, at 7 Rynek I street, where the couple lived, Gertruda ran a haberdashery shop.[1565] Antoni ran his dental practice next door to Dawid Lustman's.

Numerous moves between January 1941 and September 1942 created opportunities for developing businesses. In this way, new social hierarchies crystallised on Rynek I street. Some tenants who had arrived at the beginning of the war, such as Mantejewska, had already settled in Lubartów, developed their businesses, and improved their living conditions.[1566] The path to social advancement often began with a move to Rynek I Street and was followed by subsequent moves within the same street. Aleksander Borzęcki, born in Lubartów, returned to the town during the war to live at 23 Rynek I, where he ran a barber shop, took advantage of the vacancies in the Giwercer house at 14 Rynek I where only one of the five Jewish tenants in January 1941,

[1561] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 77.
[1562] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 96.
[1563] List of persons practising medical professions, April 4, 1942. APL, AML, 973, 71.
[1564] Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 51, 43.
[1565] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 77. Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 88.
[1566] Another example is Marian Dygnarowicz, who between January and September of 1941 took over additional premises in the building at 17 Rynek I, where his pharmacy was located. The rent he paid was 235 zlotys, which was equal to the monthly fees of the seven other occupants of the building.

remained in September 1942. Borzęcki rented an apartment there, leaving his barbershop at 23 Rynek I street.[1567]

The apartment on 23 Rynek I street that Borzęcki vacated was soon occupied by new residents looking to improve their housing situation. The replacement of residents in the building was on a large scale. Borzęcki was one of five non-Jews who emptied an apartment in the building, as did another five Jewish tenants. Among those who left the building was Grzegorz Aftyka, a manual labourer and the only non-Jewish tenant in the building before the war. The profile of the new occupants often matches that of the previous residents. The emptied apartments were occupied by manual workers: Feliksa Jezior, a widow over 60 years of age, described as a labourer,[1568] and Jan Mitura, a labourer/unskilled worker, both of them pre-war residents of Lubartów.[1569] Michał Zyga, in his twenties, one of seven siblings, also moved to the same building. He was another Lubartów resident on the Rynek I street who returned to the town during the war.[1570] For many, moving to Rynek I street also meant savings: despite high inflation, rents for Jewish real estate remained low until the end of the war.[1571] Renting a smaller apartment from a private individual could be more expensive.

Until the second *Aktion* in October of 1942, 23 Rynek I remained the most ethnically and religiously diverse building on the Market Square. Apart from seven non-Jewish tenants, the apartments were still rented by six Jewish families, including three Jews from Slovakia. Although they arrived in the General Government in the same April transport from Trnava, they came from different towns: 53-year-old Helena Rajs (Reiss) from the town of Sered, Leopold Szteiner (Steiner), 10 years older than Rajs, from Modranka, and the oldest, 70-year-old Jakub Winter from Trnava. Jews from Slovakia rented the cheapest apartments in the building for 5 or 6 zlotys per month. Gotlef Jakub and Szmul Goldsztajn, pre-war residents of Lubartów, also paid 6 zlotys. None of the seven non-Jewish tenants paid as little for their apartments.

The disparity in rents reflected the size, function, and perhaps standard and location of the premises. It can be considered an indication of the housing conditions observed earlier in the January register (table 10). In general, Jews renting in the same building paid lower rents than non-Jews. This further emphasised the stronger presence of non-Jews on Rynek I street. Not

[1567] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 73, 146.
[1568] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 149. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 40, 177.
[1569] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 42, 139.
[1570] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 84.
[1571] See Chapter 3.

only did they occupy more premises, but they also occupied larger ones. The space on Rynek I street, including domestic spaces, was becoming increasingly Aryan.

Of all the houses on Rynek I street, the house at number 11 was an exception. Szama Honiksblum, the building's pre-war owner and resident, lived there.[1572] Honiksblum, a saddler, used to run his own shop in the same building.[1573] His rent in 1942 was the highest of all Jewish tenants. Honiksblum paid 20 zlotys a month to rent his own house, while his two neighbours, non-Jewish families displaced from Inowrocław, paid 15 and 6 zlotys.[1574] Szajndla Landau was another Jewish pre-war resident of Lubartów who broke the image of the Market Square as a space increasingly inaccessible to Jews. She moved into an apartment at 17 Rynek I street, which in January of 1941 was occupied by non-Jews only. Szajndla's example contradicts the conclusion that emerges from other moves to Rynek I street, namely that Jewish tenants could only occupy apartments previously occupied by Jews. Szajndla's return to her husband's apartment, recorded in the register in September 1942, took place after many months and several moves. Starting in March of 1940, *i.e*. after the forced removal of Jews from Rynek I street, the Landau family first lived on Nowopoprzeczna street, and in January of 1941 on Bandurski street, away from the Market Square.[1575] Between January 1941 and September 1942, the composition of tenants in the 7 Rynek I street building changed completely, providing Szajndla Landau with many opportunities to return to her family apartment. Her example, as well as that of Honiksblum, highlights the impact of property ownership on the situation of Jews in the later stages of the occupation. But could the status of property owner still have meaning after the introduction of the trusteeship administration, which formally stripped Jews of the power to make decisions about their own real estate?

Market Square II and Klitki. Jewish Residents, non-Jewish trade

Between January 1941 and September 1942, the houses on the Poprzeczna street edge of Market Square—20 Poprzeczna street (previously 2 Klitki I street), 1 Rynek II, and 3 Rynek II—became the centre of Jewish life in Lubartów. In September of 1941, Jewish institutions Judenrat and ŻSS were located there, as was Szejwa Wajnberg's shop. The shop on 1 Rynek II street was the only one in town authorised to provide sugar to Jews.[1576] Moszek Feldman, the

[1572] List of real estate owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 77. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 45, 168.
[1573] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 29.
[1574] Szama Honiksblum was not included in the register of entrepreneurs during the war period.
[1575] Census of Jewish house owners in Lubartów, 2nd half of June 1940. APL, AML, 830, 135.
[1576] Food distribution records, 1942. APL, AML, 856.

chairman of the Judenrat, set up his pottery shop in the same building. [1577] In 1942, Dawid Perec, the chairman of the local branch of the ŻSS, rented the premises next door where his wife, Chaja, ran the only Jewish-run cooking establishment registered in Lubartów: a "tea and breakfast room."[1578] Because of the concentration of Jewish institutions and businesses, the southern edge of Klitki/Rynek II became the most crowded area, especially during critical moments, such as before *Aktionen* or after the arrival of deportees to the town.[1579] Despite this, no-Jewish tenants remained in the house at 2 Klitki I whose addresses had changed to 20 Poprzeczna street. A second building with non-Jewish residents was also formally separated from Klitki—28 Klitki II was renamed 5 Nowopoprzeczna.



Map 4. Individuals renting Jewish owned property on the Market Square, September 1942. R=Rynek, K=Klitki, P=Poprzeczna, N=Nowopoprzeczna.

[1577] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 79.
[1578] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 91. A few houses away, at 11 Rynek II, the Jewish Sanitary Commission had its office. The commission was established in response to the outbreak of typhus in the town.
[1579] The building next to the Judenrat, on the other side of Klitki, at 2 Rynek I, housed the Grundstücksverwaltung, responsible for managing Jewish real estate—another sensitive location on the side of Poprzeczna street.

In fact, the distribution patterns of Jewish-owned properties in Rynek II and Klitki had not changed much since January 1941 (map 4). New non-Jewish tenants moved into buildings that had been previously occupied by non-Jews. Alojzy Nadrajkowski, a merchant from Inowrocław, moved into the building on 16 Rynek II street where the cinema operator Ryszard Gągolewski lived.[1580] Nadrajkowski arrived in Lubartów at the end of 1940, a year later than most deportees from Inowrocław. At 16 Rynek II, he took over the soda water factory belonging to the Rozenbaum family.[1581] Nadrajkowski was one of the few non-Jews renting Jewish owned commercial or industrial premises on Rynek II Street. Although the rent register does not distinguish between residential and commercial premises, the small number of non-Jews renting on Rynek II Street indicates that Jewish shops were still not occupied here.

The business register kept in Lubartów since the end of 1941 sheds a different light on the commercial relations on Market Square II. According to this register, excluding the market hall, 17 businesses were run by non-Jewish entrepreneurs on Rynek II street. Fifteen of them are not listed in the rent register, which implies that there were commercial and service premises on Rynek II street that were not considered as owned by Lubartów Jews in September 1942. The history of the transfer of ownership of these premises remains unclear, as does the question of who formally owned them. The last complete list of real estate owners dates from the mid-1920s and does not include any non-Jewish owners on Rynek II street.[1582] Did the Jewish owners on Market Square II sell or transfer their premises? If so, when and under what conditions?

Eight of the premises in question were probably a continuation of pre-war businesses.[1583] Businesses run by non-Jews on Rynek II Street, like the premises they rented, were located at the southern and northern ends of the street, with the largest number in the building at 2 Rynek II, where as many as five businesses were recorded. The register of entrepreneurs indicates that Rynek II in the last period before the second extermination campaign maintained its commercial and service function, which went beyond the cyclic fairs and shops in the market hall.

Street name	Non-Jewish	Cooperatives	Jewish	Total
Klitki I	2			2

[1580] Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 51, 61.
[1581] Business register, 1939–1940s. APL, AML, 441, 65 and 91. Moszek's wife, a widow since 1935 and co–owner of the building at 16 Rynek II street including the soda water factory, was deported from Lubartów with her son and grandson in April of 1942. Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 89.
[1582] Cadastral map, 1920s.
[1583] The uncertainty stems from the lack of house numbers for pre-war businesses.

Klitki II	1		1	2
Rynek I	54	3		57
Rynek II	24[1584]	1	3	31
Total	**81**	**4**	**4**	**89**

Table 20. Businesses registered on the Market Square, September 1942. Source: APL, AML, 441.

Residential contacts on Rynek II street, however, remained rare. Władysława Kicińska was the only person who moved into an apartment on Rynek II street that had been not previously occupied by a non-Jewish tenant. In January 1941, Kicińska, pre-war resident of Lubartów, lived at 53 Browarna street, in an apartment owned by Dawid Blankleder.[1585] The 43-year-old manual worker (*robotnica-wyrobnica*), was alone in Lubartów; in mid-July 1940, her one-year-old daughter Zosia died. In September 1942, Kicińska shared a house at 6 Rynek II Street with a 62-year-old Adolf Bergier from Trnava. Kicińska and Bergier recreated the arrangement that had existed in the same building in January 1941 between Jan Kisielewski, a pre-war resident of Lubartów, labourer, and Chil Ulert, a Jewish refugee from Mława.[1586] Once again, the intergroup boundaries on Lubartów Market Square were broken by people from socio-economically disadvantaged groups. This is also indicated by the division of the premises at 23 Rynek I street, where Christian manual labourers continued to live next to Jewish tenants. It is unfortunate that people like Kicińska or Kisielewski did not leave any accounts after the war. Their narratives about the group divisions in the Market Square and ghettoization may have differed greatly from those preserved by people living outside the Market Square and in non-mixed houses on Rynek I street.

Conclusion

The 1942-1943 rent register shows that the segregation model of Market Square, which had emerged in January 1941, was further stabilised and strengthened. Rynek I street was even more dominated by non-Jewish entrepreneurs and residents. With the exception of houses on the edges of both streets, Klitki remained exclusively occupied by Jews. Rynek II Street was mainly inhabited by Jews, though there was significant commercial activity by non-Jews that extended beyond properties owned by Jews. In the long-term perspective, the pre-war model of segregation remained in force on Market Square. The distribution of rented premises clearly

[1584] Including seven businesses registered in the market hall.
[1585] List of real estates owned by Jews, January 1941. APL, AML, 854, 82.
[1586] In September of 1942, Jan Kisielewski moved away from the Market Square. The fate of Chil Ulert remains unknown.

shows that non-Jews in Lubartów had an advantage in allocation of the premises and that the social structure of the Market Square changed *de facto* under their terms.

The chronology of mass movements in Lubartów did not leave much room for a consistent policy of ghettoization. First attempts to separate Jews from no-Jews on the Market Square, expressed in the March 1940 register, did not succeed due to the influx of deportees and the return of Jewish residents to Lubartów. The April *Aktion* created another opportunity for change, but with the arrival of Jews from Slovakia, the separation of spaces in Lubartów's Market Square did not take place again. Despite the lack of a master plan, the direction of changes in the Market Square was very clear, and facilitated by the repression of Jews, the economic superiority of non-Jews, and, finally, the favour of the administration.

And yet, the "Aryanisation" of Jewish property was primarily a social process, requiring initiative from the people. It was an expression of individual and group aspirations, also resulting from the pre-war views on social and economic relations in Lubartów and in the country. The war did not cancel out pre-war antagonisms and aspirations. The mass persecution of Jews and the racist hierarchy imposed by the occupiers further distanced non-Jews from Jews, making it easier to participate in the robbing of Jews. The scale of social change must also be considered. The groups and actors involved in the takeover of Jewish-owned properties went beyond the pre-war community of Lubartów, not to mention the pre-war neighbours of the Jews from the Market Square. It is difficult to identify two residents, Jewish and non-Jewish, who were neighbours in the same building both before the war and in October 1942. Does it make sense to highlight the communal aspect of repressions and violence in this context?

The example of Lubartów, as revealed by the analysed records, shows that the massive redistribution of Jewish-owned premises took place long before the second *Aktion* in October 1942. The "void left by the Jews" was gradually filled, starting at the end of 1939, just after massive movements of Lubartów Jews. The complexity of the process, its various dynamics and multi-stage nature, as well as the variety of groups involved, are rarely described in depth in studies, where the seizure of property is most often perceived as a one-off act.[1587] The dynamic of this process is complex, and yet its linearity easily grasped, particularly on Rynek I street where non-Jews took over an increasing number of properties. This dynamic was also

[1587] This is expressed, for example, in Agnieszka Wierzcholska's conclusion regarding Tarnów: "To put it figuratively, the German extermination of Jews paved the way for peasants to take over market stalls." Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 377.

reflected on a town scale in the decreasing number of streets where Jews lived in Lubartów.[1588] In light of these findings, the second *Aktion* in October of 1942 did not constitute a fundamental turning point in the redistribution of premises but rather allowed the process to be completed. By October 1942, most Jews were already living in houses that were of no interest to non-Jews. Additionally, the extermination of Lubartów's Jews did not affect property ownership. After the *Aktion*, Jewish real estate remained under trusteeship, as before. It was only after the end of the occupation that it became possible to take ownership of the Jewish houses, which did not happen automatically.[1589]

Was there a ghetto in Lubartów? The answer depends on the applied categories and definitions. Administratively speaking, no ghetto was established: in mid-1941 and later, in February of 1942, the German civil administration reported that there was no ghetto in Lubartów.[1590] This report clearly contradicts the memoirs of some Christian Lubartów residents, including Lucjan Michalak, who recalled the ghetto being fenced off on two sides and guarded by two Jewish policemen.[1591] According to Michalak, Jews were not allowed to leave the ghetto freely. An analysis of the municipal records reveals that almost starting from the beginning of the war, most Jewish residents in Lubartów were concentrated in an area of several streets in the town centre. The concentration area in and around the Market Square remained open; Jews could leave it, and the limits of their movement in Lubartów were defined by the town borders. This area was also open to outsiders. The most notable example of this was the commercial function of Market Square II which place were Jewish residents lived and where weekly markets were held.

At the same time, there was no complete physical separation between Jews and non-Jews in Lubartów. Both groups shared streets and houses. The Market Square can be therefore viewed as a space where residential segregation was expressed at various levels: at street level (Klitki) and at apartment building level (Rynek I and II streets).[1592] These two models of segregation

[1588] See above.
[1589] Łukasz Krzyżanowski, *Ghost Citizens: Jewish Return to a Postwar City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 2020), 208–264. Alina Skibińska, "Problemy rewindykacji żydowskich nieruchomości w latach 1944–1950. Zagadnienia ogólne i szczegółowe (na przykładzie Szczebrzeszyna)," in Jan Grabowski and Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych 1939–1950* (Warszawa: Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2014), 492–573.
[1590] Report of Lublin–Land District Office regarding establishment of the ghettos, 6 February 1942. APL, Urząd Okręgu Lubelskiego, 270, 12. Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung*, 136 and 143.
[1591] Interview with Lucjan Michalak (b. 1929), 14 June 2015. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN."
[1592] Tim Cole and Alberto Giordano, "Microhistories, Microgeographies: Budapest, 1944, and Scales of Analysis" in Claire Zalc and Tal Bruttmann (eds.), *Microhistories of the Holocaust* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016), 113–128.

had a major impact on the lives of Jewish residents. Sharing a house with non-Jewish neighbours created opportunities for contact and potentially better access to supplies not available to Jews. At the same time, there were differences in the status of Jews and non-Jews, in housing conditions, and restrictions on staying outside the home (curfew). Leaving a flat in a mixed neighbourhood could involve greater dangers, such as round-ups for work.[1593] All of this might have resulted with an internal division of the buildings into Jewish and Aryan spaces, where the common space, as on the scale of the Market Square, was assigned according to racial hierarchies, Jews being ghettoised in their apartments.

The concentration of Jews in Lubartów was a form of violence, as well as a restriction on commercial activity, restriction of movement, and a method for "Aryanisation" of Jewish property. Jews in Lubartów did not have freedom to live where they wanted, and only some of them had the opportunity to remain in their own houses. The living conditions of Jews in the Market Square, the displacement to smaller apartments, overcrowded housing, and restrictions on movement and economic life, this is how antisemitic power was exercised through space on the Market Square. The spatial expression of exclusion was not expressed via walls and policing, but the Market Square certainly became a space of exclusion.

PART 4. THE SECOND *AKTION* IN LUBARTÓW

"Not far from my grandmother's house, in a narrow street just in front of the Jóźwiak family home, an SS officer shot an elderly Jewish woman who was trying to reach Nowy Dwór. She did not respond to his sharp "Halt!" and "Zurück!" hoping to reach the safety of Stodolna Street. She lay on her stomach in a crooked old wig with her mouth towards the ground which was stained red in that spot. The SS officer left, and all of us—children and adults—stood and watched in silence. That day, my parents decided that I had to go to my grandparents in Karczmiska village. When I returned to Lubartów a few months later, there was not a single Jew left."[1594]

In October of 1942, violence against Jews was nothing new in Lubartów, and non-Jewish residents had often witnessed it before. The first act of collective violence took place in the

[1593] *Hurbn Levertov,* 8. Separation from the outside world affected the sense of security of Jewish residents. Ferenc, *"Każdy pyta, co z nami będzie". Mieszkańcy getta warszawskiego wobec wiadomości o wojnie i Zagładzie* (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2021), 111–112. Majewska, *Mury i Szczeliny*, 118.
[1594] Marian Derecki, "Kromka Chleba [A Slice of Bread], *Gazeta w Lublinie,* 95 (1993), 5; translation cited as in Robert Kuwałek, "Lubartów Ghetto," on holocaustresearchproject.org-Website.

Market Square when German soldiers gathered the Jewish residents of Lubartów and made them stand there for hours while the soldiers looted their homes, shops, and workshops.[1595] The cruelty and crimes against Jews in Lubartów were often intentionally displayed, such as the humiliation of religious Jews in the streets or the hanging of Szmul Finkielsztajn in the square in front of the synagogue in the town centre.[1596] Jewish residents were forcibly removed from their homes and moved within the town. In April of 1942, they were taken to the square where the synagogue stood for selection. All of this was done in public, in front of the non-Jewish residents of Lubartów.

The second *Aktion*, which took place in October 1942, differed from previous events primarily due to its extreme cruelty and definitive nature. After the Jews were transported to extermination camps, several days of killings took place in the town and its surroundings. Only a few Jews who worked for the Germans, and a group of those in hiding, remained. Accounts of the Second *Aktion* come from Jews who escaped before the trains left Lubartów station and from Christians who shared their stories about these events years later. The first accounts of Jewish survivors were written shortly after the war as part of the work of the Central Jewish Historical Commission, included in the Yizkor Buch published in Paris.[1597] Tamara Frydman described her experience in her resume from 1946 written in a Jewish orphanage in Poland. Other accounts of Jewish survivors include video and written testimonies from the 1990s and 2000s that were submitted to the Yad Vashem, the USC Shoah Foundation, and the USHMM.[1598] The accounts of non-Jews consist primarily of memoirs written several decades after the events, as well as video testimonies and audio interviews from the 2000s mostly from the Brama Grodzka/ Teatr NN collection.[1599]

[1595] See Chapter 3.
[1596] See Chapter 3.
[1597] For this part I use testimonies of Maria Plech and Mojżesz Apelbaum given just after the war before Central Historical Commission of CKŻP and two account from the Memory Book, Yosek Honiksblum, and Aron Raykhshteyn.
[1598] I use two testimonies of Raya Barnea from the Yad Vashem, Apolonia Charęzińska and Maria Watnicki (Plech) from the USC Shoah Foundation collection and Victor Fishman from the USHMM.
[1599] A relatively large number of interviews with non–Jewish residents of Lubartów about the Holocaust, especially the events of October 1942, have been preserved, but unfortunately, they are mostly incomplete. I am using five video interviews from the collection of the "Brama Grodzka/Teatr NN" Center. Five audio interviews with anonymous pre–war residents of Lubartów were conducted by Katarzyna Chmielewska as part of Joanna Tokarska-Bakir's project. Marta Grzeszczak, author of a master's thesis on the synagogue in Lubartów, included excerpts from interviews with 11 pre–war residents of the town in her work. The people quoted by Grzeszczak in her thesis largely overlap with those from the collection of the Brama Grodzka/Teatr NN, as Grzeszczak herself conducted some of the interviews for Brama Grodzka/Teatr NN. In addition, I use published excerpts from the memoirs of Apoloniusz Zawilski, Mirosław Derecki, and Ryszard Dumała. It is worth noting that I only use existing interviews. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 30.

Anna Wylęgała as well as Piotr Sadzik recently have noted that interviews with non-Jews who witnessed the Holocaust continue to be marginalised in Holocaust research.[1600] Undoubtedly, the reluctance to use the accounts of non-Jewish witnesses is associated to the issue of their position within the events, their involvement in the Holocaust,[1601] which will produce obvious manipulations and untruths;[1602] the problem remains of the attempts to categorise the attitudes of non-Jews, which has been debated for several decades.[1603]

My research perspective is similar to that proposed by Sadzik, who analysed several dozen video accounts of non-Jew from the Shoah Foundation Collection:

> "The audiovisual materials collected in oral history archives clearly demonstrate the diversity of attitudes and the multitude of perspectives on events, which is obscured by the singular and present figure of the 'Polish witness' (...) Not the abstract figure of the 'Polish witness,' but the many voices of a significant and diverse group of specific witnesses who are finally worth being given a voice. I assume that only such grounding of the analysis in the specifics of individual testimonies allows new theoretical proposals to be derived from this material."[1604]

Just as there is no single perspective of Jewish survivors, there is no single perspective of non-Jews, which does not mean that mechanisms for producing and internalising collective memory, as well as collective amnesia and the repression of guilt, are not at work.[1605] While adopting the same research position as Sadzik, I am not sharing his ambition to expand the typology of the

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[1600] Anna Wylęgała, "Niezauważony potencjał? Historia mówiona w polskich badaniach nad Zagładą," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 20 (2024), 499–509. Piotr Sadzik, "'Naoczniśmy widzieli.' Polscy świadkowie likwidacji gett na prowincji–analiza źródeł oral history," in Barbara Engelking (ed.), *Oto słychać i oto widać. Świadkowie Zagłady w okupowanej Polsce* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2023), 88.

[1601] Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień… Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); *Dalej jest noc*, op. cit.; Jan Grabowski, *Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011); Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007). Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, 571–584.

[1602] Wylęgała, „Niezauważony potencjał?", 508.

[1603] The theoretical background of contemporary research is presented in a comprehensive article by Roma Sendyka. Roma Sendyka, "Świadek jako bystander, świadek jako witness. Podziały i sojusze kategorii," in Barbara Engelking (ed.), *Oto słychać*, 24–77. Mary Fulbrook, "Bystanders: Catchall Concept, Alluring Alibi, or Crucial Clue?," in Christina Morina and Krijn Thijs (eds.), *Probing the Limits of Categorization: The Bystander in Holocaust History* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018), 15–35. Elżbieta Janicka, „Obserwatorzy uczestniczący zamiast świadków i rama zamiast obrzeży. O nowe kategorie opisu polskiego kontekstu Zagłady", *Teksty Drugie*, 3 (20018), 131–147.

[1604] Sadzik, "Naoczniśmy widzieli," 89.

[1605] Maryla Hopfinger, "Wszyscy jesteśmy świadkami. Zamiast wstępu," in Maryla Hopfinger and Tomasz Żukowski (eds.), *Opowieść o niewinności* (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2018), 7–52. Anna Wylęgała, "Late Bystander Testimonies in East Galicia: Between Memory, Identity, and Loyalties," *East European Politics and Societies*, 37:1 (2023), 272–297.

"Polish witnesses," so as "to verify and reconfigure the very understanding of the category of the 'Polish witness,' as well as to outline the broad spectrum of positions 'Polish witness' occupied." The microhistorical method allows us to focus on individual experience, specific situations and attitudes, social and cultural dependencies, with no need to mobilise general analytical categories. It shows possible attitudes, specific situations, ways of experiencing and describing them.

My analysis focuses on the second *Aktion* and the events that followed immediately afterwards. These events were observed directly by non-Jewish residents of Lubartów. I compiled non-Jewish accounts of the action alongside a handful of testimonies from Jewish survivors, which are of primary importance as they provide the perspective of people who were directly persecuted. Non-Jewish accounts not only testify to the attitudes and behaviour of non-Jews towards the Holocaust and its victims, but they may also serve as a reliable record of memories of the local atrocities. As such, they may also provide information about the fate of persecuted Jews that cannot be found in testimonies given by Jewish survivors. Presenting events through accounts personalises the perspective on the atrocities. Specific individuals witnessed the tragic events of October, and I attempt to contextualise their experiences within the chronology of events and the topography of the town.

Following the atrocities of the Second *Aktion* in Lubartów

> "There was great misery in Lubartów. Actions were taking place in all the surrounding towns, and we knew that the same fate awaited us. In the first half of October 1942, Jews from all the surrounding villages and settlements were brought to Lubartów. We already knew what this meant, because the Germans always did this before deporting such a town."[1606]

Maria Plech, a young woman from Michów, had lived in Lubartów for two years before October 1942. She moved after marrying Mojżesz Plech, Lubartów resident. Her awareness of the impending tragedy stemmed from the information reaching Lubartów and the surrounding area about the mass murders of Jews and deportations in other towns in the Lublin region.[1607] The pattern was always the same.

[1606] Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 3.
[1607] Mechanisms of disseminating information about the Actions and their impact on the emotions and attitudes of Jews threatened with displacement in the General Government. Maria Ferenc, *"Każdy pyta, co z nami będzie"*, 392–439. Maria Ferenc–Piotrowska, "'Czarna, ogromna chmura wisi nad nami i na pewno spadnie…' Żydzi w miastach i miasteczkach Generalnego Gubernatorstwa wobec wiadomości o Akcji Reinhard," *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 15 (2017), 295–324.

In early October, a decree was issued ordering the forced relocation to Lubartów of Jews living in nearby towns such as Firlej, Ostrów Lubelski, Parczew, Kamionka, and Tarło. Mojżesz Apelbaum was in Firlej at the time:

> "A decree was issued that Jews from all towns in the Lubartów district must go to Lubartów. I gathered the Jews in Firlej and urged them to resist this decree. I argued that the young and healthy should go to the forest. Only 50 people followed my call. I went to a priest I knew and asked him to hide my family, but he refused, saying that he was afraid to keep children in his home. My wife and mother decided to go to Lubartów. We didn't want to be separated, so we all went together. There, we were accommodated by the *Judenrat*."[1608]

According to the Rental register in October 1942, non-Jewish residents of Rynek II and Klitki Streets did not pay their monthly rent for their premises. In the days leading up to the second *Aktion*, only Jewish residents remained on both streets, and trade in shops rented by non-Jews ceased. The same happened on Żabia and Poprzeczna streets, south of the Market Square, where non-Jewish rents expired in September. Buildings from these streets may have been prepared to accommodate Jews from surrounding towns who were sent to Lubartów. Victor Fishman's account indicates this, as he and his family were forcibly moved to Lubartów from Parczew before the Second *Aktion*.[1609] On the Rynek I street, as on most streets of the town, non-Jewish tenants remained, often sharing buildings with Jewish neighbours. As indicated by a letter in Hungarian from the end of September, preserved in the Yad Vashem archives, some of the Jews were housed in barracks on the site of the former Jewish cemetery during this period.[1610] Before the *Aktion* began in Lubartów, 6,000 to 7,000 Jews were gathered.[1611]

"On 11 October , the deportation took place. They surrounded the Jewish district and, with the help of the Jewish police, emptied all the apartments and lined us up in the market square."[1612] Those expelled from their homes included all the Jews living in the town. Maria Plech lived with her husband and their several-month-old daughter Elke in her husband's family home at 38 Piłsudski street, about 70 meters south of the Market Square:

[1608] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 11–12.
[1609] Interview with Victor Fishman, 28 October 1993. USHMM, RG–50.085.0001.
[1610] Victor Fishman from Parczew was among the Jews forcibly moved to Lubartów. USHMM, RG–50.085.0001
[1611] *USHMM Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, part A, 674. Silberklang gives the number of 3,000 deported during two operations, which corresponds to the number of Jews in Lubartów before the forced resettlements to Lubartów in early October. Considering the newcomers from nearby towns, there must have been many more victims of deportation. Silberklang, *Gates of tears*, 329.
[1612] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 12.

> "A blue Police [Polish Police—FZ] entered my apartment and ordered me to get dressed and go out with my child to the Market Square. I was given so little time that I was unable to dress myself or my child. I wrapped her in a blanket and left. My husband was not at home; he was working for a German. There was terrible panic in the streets, people didn't know what they were doing. On the way, I managed to escape and went to my husband's workplace."[1613]

Among those who managed to escape the round-up in the Market Square was also 6-year-old Tamara Frydman:

> "One morning, our grandmother came to us and said that the Germans were deporting Jews. My mother immediately packed a few things, and we fled to a shelter in the courtyard. Our grandmother might have fled too, but as we were leaving, the key creaked in the lock and the landlord's daughter noticed it and went to report Grandma to the Germans."[1614]

Grandmother, Nachuma Nireberg, probably came to her daughter and granddaughter from the house at 9 Rynek II street, which her husband had owned and rented until October 1942.[1615] Tamara Frydman and her mother had also lived in the same house, it is unclear when they moved out. On the day of the *Aktion*, however, they were outside the Market Square. Tamara's grandparents' house did not have a yard, and it is unlikely that family would have sought shelter in the vicinity of the Market Square, where Jews were rounded.

Among the Jews forcibly gathered in the Market Square, there was also no Moszek Frydman, the chairman of the *Judenrat* and owner of a shop at Rynek II street.[1616] As Aryeh Barnea describes in a collective testimony published in 1987 by the Israeli Lubartów *Landsmannschaft*:

> "The Nazis informed the Council that its members and their families were allowed to stay in town. During the deportation, they were to lock themselves in the Council building. If one more Jew was found in the building, all those present would be killed.
>
> A group of frightened Jews arrived at the door of the building. They shouted at the top of their voices, knocked on the door, and tried to open it. What should the Council members have done? Almost everyone barricaded the entrance, knowing the fate that awaited them and their families if they opened the door."[1617]

[1613] Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 3.
[1614] Tamara Frydman's testimony, 5 October 1946. Ghetto Fighters House Archive, 02893 collection, 5212, 2.
[1615] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 83. The same house before and at the beginning of the war had the address of 10 Klitki II street.
[1616] Interview with Raya Barnea. Yad Vashem, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J–ImT5bzshQ.
[1617] Aryeh Barnea, *Yahodi Lubartov vehisviva*, *op. cit*., 36.

Most likely, the Judenrat was directed to shelter in the Goldfinger/Finkielsztajn family building at Klitki I 2, the main seat of the Judenrat.[1618]

Despite his position as chairman of the ŻSS in Firlej, Dawid Apelbaum was not saved by the Germans. He remained in the Market Square with hundreds of others. He left only a one-sentence testimony from there: "The district police commander, Kiko, was extremely active, beating and abusing people inhumanely."[1619]

Wiktor Fiszman from Parczew was also in the Market Square, where he was separated from his wife and two children there. Fiszman and a group of young men were loaded onto a truck and taken to Majdanek.[1620]

Non-Jewish residents observed the events in the Market Square. Stefan Sawicki, an 11-year-old boy from 10 Rynek I street, in a house above the passage from Klitki I street to Rynek I, recalled in his account the story of an "old Jew from Klitki" who had brought water to the Sawicki family's apartment before the *Aktion*:

> "In 1943, when all the Jews were being taken to concentration camps and shot on the way, he tried to find shelter somewhere and came up our stairs, into our apartment, and they shot him on those stairs. I remember looking out the window and seeing him lying there, and it was such a shock to me, like the abuse of a human being. It was the first time I had encountered something like that, and I was a naive boy."[1621]

Zdzisław Skaruch, the son of a teacher from Lubartów, who was 14 years old in 1942 and lived on Kręta street, south of the Market Square, also witnessed the violence and murder of Jews:

> "The suffering of those Jews was truly terrible, and we saw how they were dragged out of their homes. Some did not want to leave—older people, real Jews, with beards, dressed in such clothes. As Jews, the old ones dressed like that, prayed. They dragged them out onto the street by force—it was violence. They were shot en masse, sometimes burned alive. (...) Some tried to hide somewhere with their friends, but in appalling conditions—in basements, in villages, because Jews also lived in villages, or sought refuge there."[1622]

[1618] My assumption is based on Raya Barnea's description of her impressions after leaving the hiding place. The second building occupied by the Judenrat was located at 57 Legionów Street.
[1619] The identity of the policeman could not be established. See Chapter 3.
[1620] Interview with Victor Fishman, 28 October 1993. USHMM, RG–50.085.0001.
[1621] Interview with Stefan Sawicki (b. 1927), November 2013. *Lubartów wczoraj i dziś*, Kanał S TV, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZordHaLbqi8 (accessed: 23 September 2025).
[1622] Interview with Zdzisław Skaruch (b. 1928), 12 May 2014. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".

Jews used all available contacts in their search for survival. The Honiksblums, Josek and Blima, pre-war Lubartowians, took refuge with Stefan Czekański, an old acquaintance, a non-Jewish Polish merchant, who hid them: "With my old friend Czekański, it had been decided beforehand that in an emergency I would hide in his attic."[1623] Sara, one of the Jewish deportees in Lubartów after escaping from the Market Square went to Marta Guz's house.[1624] In the period preceding the second *Aktion*, Sara, a teenager, had come to Marta Guz's house at 42 Browarna street, which was east of the Market Square, parallel to 11 Listopada street. Sara took care of Tadek, the Guz's son, born in March 1942:

> "And then, when there was a pogrom against the Jews and they were taking everyone away, my mother gave her a skirt, an apron, dressed her like a peasant woman, a long-sleeved blouse and a headscarf. We gave her food and said, 'Listen, you can't stay here, because everyone will tell others, that one will tell another one. Just go somewhere in the countryside, and we agreed that she would go. We gave her food, and she left."[1625]

While most Jews from Lubartów were being held in the Market Square, Maria Plech, with her six-month-old daughter Elke and husband Mojżesz, was also seeking refuge in Lubartów. Mojżesz's German employer did not allow the family to take shelter during the *Aktion*. The family made their way back across the fields to their apartment on Piłsudski street, where they had previously prepared a hiding place:

> "We made our way through the fields to our house, which was located right next to the military police station. We entered the town unnoticed, as all the military police and non-Jewish residents were 'busy' with the *Aktion*. The apartment had been completely looted. We had a shelter, where several people were already hiding when we arrived. We hid there. The window overlooked the street. After about an hour, we saw Jews being led away. They were walking with bundles and looked like real prisoners."[1626]

Among those being escorted was Mojżesz Apelbaum: "We were walking to the station, and the local people were singing to us, 'The Jews are going to the contingent.' On the way and in the Market Square, 200 Jews were killed by thugs."[1627]

[1623] Interview with Marta Guz (b. 1928), 6 June 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".
[1624] Sara's identity remains unknown.
[1625] Interview with Marta Guz (b. 1928), 6 June 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".
[1626] Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 4.
[1627] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 12.

Apoloniusz Zawilski, 30 years old in 1942, head of the ZWZ/AK intelligence post who had arrived in Lubartów in 1941, had a good view of the column of Jews being escorted, because he lived at 7 Piłsudski street, at the exit from the Market Square:

> "A dense crowd of frightened elderly people, women, and children with bundles on their backs, sometimes with carts, bent under the weight of their meagre belongings at the very beginning of their long journey. Within the first 200 meters, bundles and bags were already scattered on the ground. Schutzmen [the *Schutzmannschaft*—FZ] kicked them onto the pavements with their boots, chasing away their unfortunate owners. Jewish policemen with yellow patches on their stiff round caps walked silently beside them."[1628]

Non-Jewish accounts do not mention hostility or satisfaction on the part of the town's residents watching the persecution of Jews, but they often refer to robbery of property abandoned by Jews. One of them, shared anonymously his childhood memory:

> "There used to be a brick house here, where a man lived. When they took the Jews away, one of them dropped his suitcase. Maybe it was too heavy or maybe he was weak. A man ran out of the house and grabbed the suitcase. A German saw this and shot the man with the suitcase."[1629]

[1628] Apoloniusz Zawilski, *Kamienne Zegary* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1973), 323. It is the earliest published non–Jewish account of the events of October 1942 in Lubartów.

[1629] Interview with anonymous Lubartów resident (b. 1934), USHMM, RG–90.129.0748.01.01. Dumało: "More and more often, their bundles fell out of their hands, and they couldn't bend down to pick them up, pressed by the stylus and rushed by the police. The police did not throw them aside, but human hyenas were already waiting for them." Dumało, *Z dziejów*, 57. The information about packages left behind by Jews also appears in Marta Guz's account. Interview with Marta Guz (b. 1928), 6 June 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".



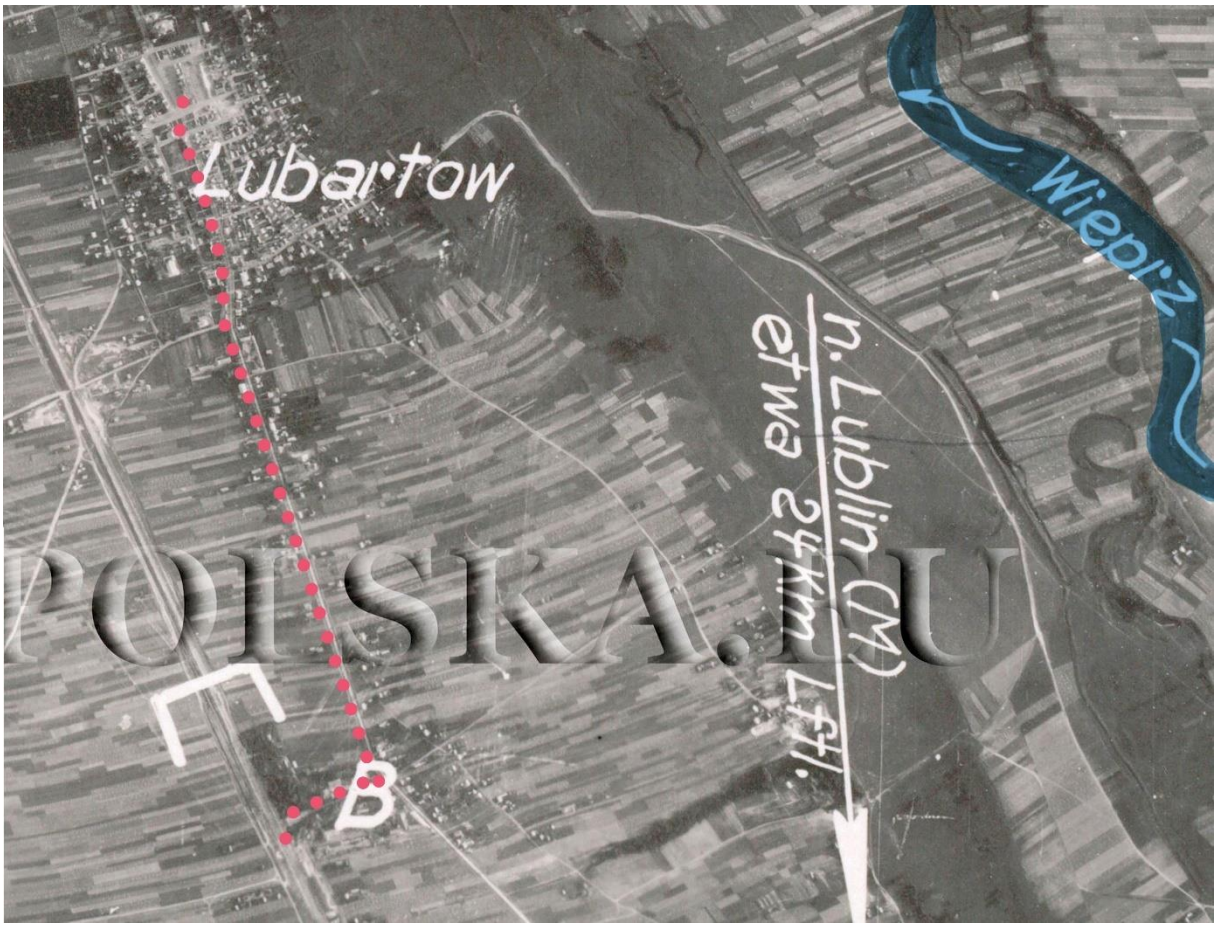
Photograph 6. Piłsudski Street in the late 1930s. Source: Regional Museum in Lubartów.

For almost two kilometres Jews walked along Piłsudski street. The first section, about 600 meters long, ran through a part of the street that was renovated in the 1930s. This section had trees on both sides of the street and pavements, as well as dense buildings along the street (Photograph 6). The second section, from Nowodworska Street onward, had much less dense buildings, and instead of pavements there were narrow, well-trodden paths, separated from the street by ditches (Photograph 7).[1630] On both sides of the road, apart from houses, there were fields. It was probably on this section that some of the Jews decided to escape, across the fields towards the green areas, in the direction of the Wieprz River (Photograph 7), as remembered by the non-Jewish residents of the town:

> "And some Jews fled again, in this direction. They fled towards Wieprz. Because there was such panic, they fled and stopped somewhere in the bushes for a while. Jewish women, not knowing where to go, whether here or there, as they say, stopped there. Some of them were killed by the Germans who were walking around there.
>
> By the river here?

[1630] Interview with Marta Guz (b. 1928), 6 June 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".

Yes?"[1631]



Photograph 7. Aerial photo of Lubartów and surroundings with the marked route from the Market Square to the railway station, mid 1940s. Wieprz river on the right. Source: National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

Executions are the most frequently repeated narrative about the *Aktion* in the accounts of non-Jewish residents. The executions on Cicha street cemetery, where about 300 Jews were killed, are particularly well remembered.[1632] Ryszarda Karwat, a 9-year-old girl in 1942, lived on Mickiewicz Street, where the Germans led Jews to the new cemetery to be shot:

> "There was a road where the kindergarten building [Krzywe Koło street—FZ] is located. There was nothing else there towards the Jewish cemetery. I saw them leading Jews to the

[1631] Interview with anonymous Lubartów resident (b. 1934). USHMM, RG–90.129.0748.01.01. Nine-year-old Janina Karwat also recalls executions in the area between the town and the river. "There were gardens not far from the Jewish cemetery. One day, my friend Alina and I went for a walk in the gardens. The Germans took a Jewish woman there, dragging her. She begged them to leave her alone. They shot her with a pistol there in the meadows behind the hospital. Mąka took her and buried her in the cemetery. For two years, no grass grew in the place where she was murdered." Interview with Ryszarda Karwat (b. 1933), 22 July 2011. Marta Grzeszczak, *Zespół synagogalny w Lubartowie* [master's thesis] (Lublin: UMCS, 2011), 121. See also Dumało: "Some young Jews escaped from the ghetto through the city to the meadows towards the Wieprz River. Local gendarmes chased them on bicycles and shot at the fugitives. Lemke [Janke – FZ], who was equally cruel to Poles, excelled at this. Those who managed to escape beyond the Wieprz River joined in partisan units, there were two such units in the People's Army." Dumało, *Z dziejów*, 58.

[1632] Zalc and Zakrzewski, "Tentatives d'épuisement," 151–189.

> cemetery. They shot them at the cemetery in 1942-43. My friend and I were near the cemetery when the Jews were being executed. I will never forget how the bodies of people were lying under the wall. Rubinstein's daughter was lying under the wall in her coat and hat. They then buried everyone in one pit."[1633]

Of those murdered, only a few victims are remembered by name. We can identify them because they belonged to the most recognised Jews in Lubartów. In the interviews conducted, two names often appear: Szloma Rubinsztejn, the former president of the *kehilla*, and the owner of the shoe shop, Mrs. Olberg, Tauba, the owner of a pharmacy warehouse at Rynek I Street,[1634] before the war, and at 2 Rynek II in 1942, which she run after the death of her husband, Dawid-Lipa, a member of the Town Board in 1936. Rubinsztajn and Olberg were mentioned in the interviews as one of the few remembered Jews, also in the context of the pre-war period. "Mrs. Olberg," as she was most often described, was "intelligent" and "elegantly dressed," even "clean." Rubinsztajn was described as "rich," his shop was "very well stocked" and "elegant," and his family was also "elegant."

The death of Tauba Olberg and her family was described by Maria Rusinek, born in Lubartów in 1933:

> "Mrs. Olberg and her family were shot at the Jewish cemetery. The Germans did not forbid Polish children to watch the execution. They even wanted the young people to look at it. Mrs. Olberg, her daughter, granddaughter, son-in-law, and her husband were at the execution. Mrs. Olberg was very smartly dressed. I will not forget when grandmother said to her granddaughter: 'Don't be afraid, we must all die.' The Germans ordered them to undress, but they refused. They shot them and went for another turn."[1635]

The situation has been described in quite a literary manner. Maria Rusinek, then 9 years old, evoked an eloquent memory in which the proud attitude of "Mrs. Olberg" corresponds to how she was perceived before her death and remembered after the war. Apoloniusz Zawilski, the author of the earliest Polish testimony on the *Aktion* of October 1942, also noted the dignified attitude of the Jews in the face of imminent death:

[1633] Interview with Ryszarda Karwat (b. 1933), 22 July 2011. Marta Grzeszczak, *Zespół synagogalny*, 121.
[1634] It is worth recalling that the Rubinsztajns' death at the cemetery was recorded in the permanent residents' register. This shows that officials were involved in the circulation of information about killings and registered them, during or just after the war. Rubinsztajn family members' deaths were the only ones recorded in the register from the Second *Aktion* victims. Zalc, Perdoncin and Escaich, "Mises à l'épreuve de l'attachement," 100.
[1635] Interview with Maria Rusinek (b. 1933), 28 August 2011. Marta Grzeszczak, *Zespół synagogalny*, 132.

> "Later, the sounds of single shots began to reach our ears. This was the end of those whose inner strength refused to obey. This is how Dr. Preiser ended his life, with the only difference that he did not stop on the way but slapped a convoy soldier in the face for killing an old woman. Finkelsztajn, having learned about the planned evacuation of the ghetto earlier, took his family to the Jewish cemetery and killed them one by one. He took his own life last. The whole of Lubartów listened to the shots coming from the cemetery."[1636]

Preiser was a Jewish children's doctor from Poznań and arrived in Lubartów during the war.[1637] Finkelsztajn's identity is not sure. Both Preiser and Finkelsztajn, according to testimonies, did not give in to German orders and violence, and chose to die on their own terms, which in the author's eyes deserves to be remembered.[1638] These examples should be viewed in relation to the Polish cultural category of "heroic death," which is to deserve respect and which Jews were to prove only in exceptional situations.[1639]

A group of thousands of Jewish residents of Lubartów found themselves at the train station. Mojżesz Apelbaum was among them: "Three thousand Jews were taken away. They put us in 70 wagons. People were forced inside with rifle butts, but at the last moment before loading into the wagon, I managed to escape."[1640]

Aron Rajchsztajn, Memory Book author, who was not in Lubartów that day, wrote about the shootings at the station.[1641] Maria Plech saw the bodies of shot Jews on the tracks when she was wandering around the outskirts of the town in search of a safe place. In the following days, the hunt for Jews began, and Yosek Honiksblum, who was hiding at the time with a pre-war acquaintance, wrote:

[1636] Zawilski, *Kamienne zegary*, 322–323. Maria Plech probably refers to the same story in her testimony, which she learned about from her neighbour shortly after the operation. Testimony of Maria Plech, 18 September 1946. AŻIH, 301/1884, 4.
[1637] Ryszard Peiser's personal questionnaire, February 1942. APL, AML, 793, 68.
[1638] Ryszard Dumało expresses an even clearer idea of the "decent death" of some of the Lubartów Jews, who were "pushing and without shouting, they walked calmly, holding hands, shot in their clothes," unlike those who formed "a gray crowd of old people, women with children, dull, intimidated by [...] pagans, by the Vlasovites [Russians' formation that fought under German command – FZ] and their own policemen in round caps with yellow rims and the Star of David." Dumało, *Wojna. Okupacja. Wyzwolenie*, 267–268.
[1639] In the classic variant, this applies to Jews fighting for freedom, *e.g*. to the insurgents in the Warsaw ghetto. Maria Janion, *Bohater, Spisek, Śmierć. Wykłady Żydowskie* (Warszawa: W.A.B., 2009), 34–37. Another reference is the heroic fight and death of the soldiers of the Jewish regiment under the command of Berek Joselewicz during the Kościuszko Uprising in 1794. Joselewicz himself was killed near Kock in 1809 as an officer in the Duchy of Warsaw army. Maria Janion devoted the first part of the book to him and his portraits in culture.
[1640] Testimony of Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 October 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 11.
[1641] Interview with Marta Guz (born 1928), 6 June 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka–Teatr NN".

> "In the town, there were still seven or eight hundred Jews trying to hide. The Germans searched everywhere and shot any fugitive they found. This hunt went on for three days; then it became known that the *Aktion* had been carried out."[1642]

Post-war files from the August trials indicate that German gendarmes and police officers participated in the executions.[1643] Izaak Pud was a witness at the trial of Lucjan Rejchelt, a member of the Schutzpolizei accused of murdering Jews. Pud, who was one of those who survived *Aktion* in the Judenrat building, recalls the Judenrat's efforts to save the captured Jews:

> "After the Jews were displaced from Lubartów, some of them hid in various houses and basements in Lubartów. I remember it was between 11 and 18 October, 1942, and I was a member of the Judenrat in Lubartów at the time. There was an agreement between the German gendarmerie and the Judenrat that if a Jew was caught, he would be taken to the Judenrat. The Judenrat was responsible and had to report to the gendarmerie whenever they requested. The head of the gendarmerie received a lot of money for this agreement. Between 11 and 18 October, 1942, I don't remember the exact date, the military police caught 18 Jews and brought them to the Judenrat. Beczka [Reichelt] saw all this from the sidelines and informed the police chief with whom he had come, and in my presence, all 18 of them, he shot with the police chief."[1644]

The executions usually took place at the new Jewish cemetery near the gendarmerie headquarters. Among the witnesses to the arrests and shootings, apart from Pud, were Polish police officers and a gravedigger. The participation of non-Jewish residents of the town in the arrests and shootings was barely documented during the post-war trials. The only clue comes from another testimony of Izaak Puda:

> "In October 1942, Julius Kittel was a gendarme. In a restaurant where I was in the next room, he and Janke boasted that they had shot 28 Jewish people and that they had to drink and eat well. They also said that they gave candy to the children for revealing where the Jews were hiding."[1645]

Most of the quoted non-Jewish accounts are recollections from childhood. Children were wandering around the town during and after the *Aktion*. For the children, the town was a place

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[1642] Yosef Honiksblum, *Hurbn Levertov*, *op. cit*., 8.
[1643] Julius Janke case file, 1946. IPN GK 164/4676. Files in the case of Julius Kittel, 1946. IPN GK 164/4800. IPN references. Kurt Reichelt case file, 1946–1947. IPN Lu 319/1022.
[1644] Testimony of Izaak Pud in the trial of Kurt Reichelt, 23 October 1946. IPN Lu 319/1022, 13–14.
[1645] Testimony of Izaak Pud in the trial of Julius Kittel, 9 April 1946. IPN Lu 164/4800, 8. 45:00 Poles informed on Jews to the Germans. Because the Germans paid them.
46:20 Poles hid them because they wanted to profit. The Jews had gold. They left, then returned, and the Poles received Jewish rewards. RG–90.129.0746.01.01.

of play and exploration. The Germans probably treated their presence with greater leniency than that of adults.

> "And then finally the day came when they drove everyone out of their apartments—there were abandoned apartments and basements. We boys, of course, were curious and went in to see what was going on, we even used those rooms to smoke cigarettes. The streets and houses were littered with what was left behind—papers, books, some of their religious objects."[1646]

Entering vacant Jewish apartments was a common practice. Non-Jewish neighbours were not always motivated solely by curiosity. Maria Plech, who returned to her home on Piłsudski Street a few hours after the *Aktion* started, found her apartment completely plundered. The practice of looting Jewish apartments was not considered taboo by non-Jewish residents in late accounts:

> "The Jews left their homes, beds, clothes, and bedding. The beds had iron frames and decorations. Knobs at the back and front. And then some Poles, whoever needed it, took it. Some of the Poles took it for themselves. As they say: they took clothes, garments, or something like that.
>
> And there were no penalties for that?
>
> Some took them at night, you see. Not during the day, but in the evenings and at night, so that no one would see them."[1647]

The looting of property set the limits of what is said (or what can be said, perhaps) by the non-Jewish Lubartowians in 2000s.[1648] The accounts do not mention any hostility or active participation by non-Jews in denunciations or murders of Jews in Lubartów during the *Aktion*, as documented by the accounts of Jewish survivors. Even the participation of Polish police officers is not mentioned.

Observing the persecution of Jews during the *Aktion* was not neutral. The presence of non-Jews and their gaze may have affected the course of events, potentially facilitating the extermination process by hindering escape or assistance. Lubartów residents did not look from behind the curtain; they describe events which they witnessed closely. The close witnessing mixes with a

[1646] Interview with Zdzisław Skaruch (b. 1928), 12 May 2014. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN".
[1647] Interview with anonymous Lubartów resident (b. 1934). USHMM, RG–90.129.0748.01.01. Ryszard Dumało was even more blunt: "Greedy Poles rushed into the abandoned ghetto, looking for loot and gold." Dumało, *Z dziejów*, 58.
[1648] This might be explained by the mechanism of self–censorship or communal loyalty.

distanced attitude.[1649] When describing crimes against Jews, non-Jewish Lubartowians do not identify the victims, Jews are treated as a homogeneous group. Except for a few commonly recognised and repeated names, usually protagonists of heroic narratives, they do not mention individuals they knew or had known before the war, such as neighbours or schoolmates.

Testimonies of survivors and accounts of non-Jews confirms the conclusions of research on the position of non-Jewish residents towards the liquidation actions in the provinces. First, non-Jewish residents were present during the violence and murders that took place in Lubartów. Second, in many cases actions of non-Jews was decisive for the life or death of Jews.[1650] Tamara Frydman, whose grandmother was betrayed by the landlord's daughter, survived thanks to "Mucharski, a Pole," who brought food to the hiding place, and to the people who, in the following days, organised Tamara's transport with her mother to Warsaw.[1651] Mucharski was either Antoni or Bolesław, one of two brothers who were underground fighters from Łomża. They came to Lubartów at the end of 1939.[1652] From 1940, brothers ran a household goods store called "Tanie Źródło" in the market hall on Market Square II. The store was a contact point for the Home Army. Tamara's grandparents, the Nirenbergs, lived on Market Square II, and at one point Tamara herself lived there with her mother. Perhaps this is how the two families came into contact, thanks to which Tamara and Chaja Frydman survived. Apelbaum survived in hiding in the priest house in Firlej, the same one who had previously refused to give shelter to the Apelbaum family. Maria Plech survived with the help of a peasant family who hid her in a barn, while her daughter survived with the Wysocki Catholic family. Both the Plech and the Honiksblum case emphasise the importance of pre-war interethnic relations for survival. The two cases, of Sara and of Tamara Frydman, allow to expand the conclusion on relationships established during the war. Sara, a Jewish woman from outside Lubartów, returned after several days to Marta Guz's house. Due to the lack of spatial isolation between Jews and non-Jews in Lubartów during the war it was possible to establish contact that could have brought rescue in the future. She then went into hiding in a hollow tree in the palace park in Lubartów, where

[1649] Natalia Aleksiun, "What Happened in Dolina? Reconstructing Communal Genocide in Eastern Galicia." in Roland Borchers, Alina Bothe, Markus Nesselrodt and Agnieszka Wierzcholska (eds.), *Das Oestliche Europa Als Verflechtungsraum. Agency in Der Geschichte*., (Berlin: Metropol, 2021), 51.
[1650] "Neighbours in Boryslaw. Jewish Perceptions of Collaboration and Rescue in Eastern Galicia," in Frank Bajohr, Andrea Löw (eds.), *The Holocaust and European Societies. Social Processes and Social Dynamics* (New York: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2016), 251–254.
[1651] Tamara Frydman's testimony, 5 October 1946. Ghetto Fighters House Archive, 02893 collection, 5212.
[1652] Wiesław Stępiński, *Antoni Mucharski (1912–1995)*, "Lubartów i Ziemia Lubartowska," 13 (1996), 571–573.

Marta Guz brought her food for a week or so, until Sara left the town.[1653] They met again after the war, in Lubartów.

Life's go on. Market Square after the Second *Aktion*

In January of 1943, the mayor of Lubartów informed the Lublin district doctor about the sanitary condition of the flats emptied by the Jews in October of 1942.[1654] The first group of flats, including apartments on Rynek I street, had been occupied immediately after the Jews moved out and had not been disinfected because of the presence of new tenants. The second group of 53 flats had been renovated and disinfected before the new tenants moved in. This group included apartments from the selected houses on the even side of Rynek II street and on the edge of Klitki streets. The remaining houses were to be demolished. This group included the most buildings on Klitki streets and on Rynek II street.

Not all the apartments on Rynek I Street were taken over by non-Jews. Szama Honiksblum, a saddler, continued to pay the rent for a large apartment in house under number 11. Honiksblum was one of the Jewish craftsmen who remained in Lubartów to work for the Germans.[1655] Honiksblum rented his apartment continuously until January 1943. Judging by the rent amount—20 zlotys, Szama kept his workshops, where he and maybe other craftsmen performed work for Germans. Szama's three sons were allowed to stay with their father.[1656]

The remaining premises occupied by Jews on Rynek I street until October 1942 were mostly immediately taken over by new tenants, most often by neighbours from the same building (see table 21). At 12 Rynek I street, in a house belonging to the Frydlander family, two tenants shared three premises vacated by Jews: Adolf Prus, a doctor from Białystok, and Wacław Ostrowski, a butcher and resident of Lubartów since 1936. Both had been registered at the same address since January 1941.[1657] Dawid Lustman's premises across the street at number 9 were taken over by Jan Sekuła, a young hatter, one of the Lubartów residents, who returned to the town after the outbreak of the war.[1658] Sekuła had previously rented large premises in the building. Since November only one neighbour remained in the building, Stefan Plewa who

[1653] After some time, Sara changed her hiding place. She survived the war and after the war she came to Lubartów, where she met Marta Guz. She owed her survival of the war to a priest who obtained papers for her.
[1654] Report on sanitary state of Jewish apartments, 12 January 1943. APL, AML, 793, 197.
[1655] Yosef Honiksblum, *Hurbn Levertov*, 8.
[1656] *Ibid*.
[1657] Register of permanent residents of Lubartów, 1932–1940s. APL, AML, 46, 145.
[1658] Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 51, 62.

rented a small apartment for which he paid 6 zlotys.[1659] Plewa was a physical worker, a stoker, in Lubartów since 1940. The takeover of apartments previously occupied by Jews on Rynek I Street reinforced inequalities in the number and size of occupied premises; those paying the lowest rents most often did not occupy the vacated premises.[1660]

The vast majority of properties on Rynek I street were occupied immediately after they were vacated by Jewish tenants; only two of them were taken over in December and four more remained vacant. The pace of the "Aryanisation" process suggests that non-Jewish neighbours initiated it, as they were in the best position to occupy the vacated apartments. The collection of rent from new tenants can be considered as a form of legalisation of the takeover; no applications for the apartments or decisions on their allocation have survived. From the point of view of the trusteeship management, the immediate development of the apartments was the easiest solution, allowing for the maintenance of rent flow. Additionally, the takeover protected the properties from vandalism, which continued in the following weeks. The district office in Lublin pointed out that it was impossible to prevent theft from abandoned properties in the district's towns due to the lack of staff.[1661] All movable property was stolen, including windows, doors, and floors. The destruction of the buildings was used to justify dismantling them, as it was impossible to disinfect them due to the lack of windows and doors.[1662]

Street name	The same owner	Neighbour	New tenant	Unoccupied	Total
Rynek I	1	10	4	4	19 (9 houses)
Rynek II	0	2	21	23	46 (5 houses)

Table 21. The occupation of empties premises in the first month of availability, November 1942 (Rynek I) and January 1943 (Rynek II). Source: APL, SPL, 41.

The occupation of premises on Rynek II street had a completely different dynamic. On contrary to Rynek I street, where most of properties were occupied right away, the process of occupying Rynek II street stretched from January to May 1943. In the first month, only half of the available properties were occupied, with a further 9% being occupied in subsequent months, leaving a significant number of apartments vacant.

[1659] Plewa was a stoker by profession. He came to Lubartów in May 1940 with his wife Agnieszka. Register of Lubartów residents, early 1943. APL, AML, 51, 102.
[1660] Sekuła as a craftsman might have worked for Germans.
[1661] Note regarding Jewish estates in Lublin–Land County, 23 December 1943. APL, AML, 1112, 16. (German)
[1662] Report on sanitary condition of Jewish apartments, 12 January 1943. APL, AML, 793, 197.

The social composition of the two streets also differs as new people have occupied Jewish properties. Unlike on Rynek I street, only two premises on Rynek II street were taken over by a non-Jewish neighbour: both at 16 Rynek II, by the merchant Alojzy Nadrajkowski from Inowrocław, who according to the register returned to the building after an absence of three months. The small number of neighbours was due to the fact that non-Jews had been clearly in the minority among the tenants of undemolished buildings, in three out of six there were no non-Jewish tenants before the second *Aktion*. The departure of Jewish residents from Rynek I street primarily created an opportunity to consolidate the property holdings of individuals and businesses already located there, the undemolished houses on Rynek II street provided an opportunity to improve the living condition or to start an enterprise. While in Rynek I street, pre-war Lubartów residents rented 60% of 55 occupied Jewish properties, in Rynek II street, only 5 of 22 premises were occupied by people registered in the town before the war.

In Klitki, only houses inhabited by non-Jewish residents were spared demolition, two buildings on the edge of Klitki I and Klitki II streets. They both had been separated from Klitki by the address change before the *Aktion*. The Urbański family, who lived in a house on 5 Nowopoprzeczna street (before as Klitki II 24/Rynek II 25), remained in their apartment throughout the entire period. Catholic residents of the two-storey Goldfinger house at 20 Poprzeczna Street (before as 2 Klitki I) also remained in rented properties. This building served as the *Judenrat* headquarters until November. Information about the *Judenrat*'s fees for November corresponds with the account of Raya Barnea, who worked as an office clerk for the *Judenrat* during the war. Raya, as Frajda Wajnberg, was one of the those allowed to hide in the attic of the building for the duration of the *Aktion*.[1663]

The *Judenrat* employees and their families left the headquarters a few days after the start of the *Aktion*. They were ordered to bury the bodies of the victims.[1664] The *Judenrat* employees, along with others, including members of the Jewish police, were left in Lubartów until the beginning of November.[1665] As part of an agreement with the German commander, members of the *Judenrat* were to be sent to the camp in Łęczna. The rest, including Frajda, with their families, were sent to the Piaski ghetto. This event was also remembered by non-Jewish observers. Helena Jabłońska, from Lubartów, aged 13 in 1942, went with a friend to watch the Jews

[1663] Testimony of Raya Barnea, 10 August 1982. Yad Vashem Archival Collection, file number: 7096, item Id: 3563540, 3.
[1664] *Hurbn Levertov*, 8.
[1665] Testimony of Raya Barnea, 10 August 1982. Yad Vashem Archival Collection, file number: 7096, item Id: 3563540, 3.

marching to Łęczna.[1666] According to the rental register, after the dissolution of the *Judenrat*, its premises were occupied by a company for one month, and later were designated as the seat of the Serniki commune office.

The vision of Klitki as a street completely emptied of its Jewish residents after the *Aktion* was challenged by one tenant, Małka Tunkielszwrac in the building at 22 Klitki I street. According to the rental register, she paid the rent for November 1942.[1667] From late 1939 onwards, she occupied the same room in 22 Klitki I street. In September 1942, her son, Szloma, rented the apartment in the same building. Szloma like the rest of Jewish residents of Klitki, paid the last rent for October. Małka's rent, 3 zlotys per month, was the lowest of tenants included in the register. In 1942, she was 61 years old and a single woman with no documented links to the Judenrat or the occupation authorities. It is impossible to deduce from the available sources why she was not included in the April 1942 *Aktion*. Even more puzzling is the fact that she rented a room in the Klitki house in November 1942. The rent payment cannot be justified as a clerical error, as Małka's it is the only one recorded on the entire page of the register and the only one recorded in Klitki. Furthermore, the payment had an individual number assigned to it, as did all other payments in the register, meaning the entry includes the rent amount and a unique number. Was Małka Tunkielszwarc the last resident of Lubartów Klitki?

Demolition of Jewish Lubartów

The demolition of houses owned by Jewish residents in Lubartów began long before the mass murder and deportation. Although each time it was justified by the condition of the buildings, material needs,[1668] or aesthetic considerations, the issue of demolition was also linked to the question of what in Lubartów's Market Square and, more broadly, in Lubartów itself could be transfer in non-Jewish object. Beyond its practical dimension, the demolition was correlated with the stigmatisation of Jewish buildings. From this point of view, the synagogue had no chance of remaining in Lubartów. Although new uses were found for it, as the synagogue served as a refuge for Jewish soldiers of the of Polish army, stable for German military horses, and perhaps as a granary, it was demolished in 1941.[1669] The material from the demolition was used to build a dairy established next to the Sanguszko Palace.[1670]

[1666] Interview with Helena Jabłońska (born 1929), 8 December 2015. Ośrodek „Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN".
[1667] Rental register, 1942–1943. APL, SPL, 41, 83.
[1668] See Chapter 3.
[1669] Yosef Honiksblum, *Hurbn Levertov*, 8. Derecki, "Kromka Chleba," 5.
[1670] Derecki, "Kromka Chleba," 5.

The first demolition of a private house involved the so-called Jewish Hotel run by Gdala Perec. This real estate was jointly owned by nine Jewish families.[1671] The building stood at the junction of Piłsudski street at the exit from the Market Square. The mayor and the town engineer argued that demolition was necessary:

1) "The building disfigures the town with its appearance,
2) Its location hinders traffic, as the pavement is narrow (about 1 metre) and the street is 7 metres wide.
3) There is no immediate danger of collapse, but the partially wooden wall was rotten."[1672]



Photograph 9. Hotel run by Gdala Perec, 1930s. Source: Regional Museum in Lubartów.

The demolition was requested in February 1940, at a time when most of the Jewish residents from before the war were out of town or had been resettled within Lubartów. The hotel owner, Gdala Perec, and his family were forced to move to nearby Żabia street. According to a collaboration newspaper issued in Lublin, the material from the demolition of the house was sold at a public auction:

> "We have previously reported extensively on the demolition of one of the ugliest buildings in downtown Lubartów, the so-called Jewish hotel located between Piłsudski street, Żabia,

[1671] Inspection report, February 1940. APL, AML, 849, 1.
[1672] *Ibid*.

> and Poprzeczna streets. The material remaining from the demolition was recently sold at a public auction by the municipal authorities."[1673]

In its section devoted to local affairs, "Nowy Dziennik Lubelski" returned several times to the issue of "Tidying up Lubartów." In the same issue, the newspaper reported that the Lublin County Office had approved the Town Board's request to demolish "the second building disfiguring the town centre, the so-called 'Lichtenfeld block,'" located between Poprzeczna, Rynek I, and Kościuszki streets. "This building will be demolished because it obstructs the view of the front of the parish church, which is one of the most beautiful churches in the Lublin region, from the Market Square." The "Lichtenfeld block," which appeared in the photo discussed (Photograph 5), was ultimately not demolished, probably due to non-Jewish merchants taking over the shops owned by Jewish residents. After the second *Aktion*, the emptied premises of the Jewish owner Majer Sztulman, were occupied by Waleria Majewska, the aforementioned *Volksdeutsche* and wife of Franciszek, the mayor of Międzyrzec. The building was not demolished until the end of the German occupation.

Arguments based on aesthetic considerations formed the basis of anti-Semitic discourse regarding buildings belonging to Jews in Lubartów. As demonstrated by the case of the "Lichtenfeld block", which was clearly associated with its Jewish owner, the stigmatisation of buildings did not have to be legitimised by the occupying authority, since the building ultimately provided premises for the town's most influential non-Jews.[1674] Over time, the newspaper editors softened their tone towards the building while continuing to emphasise its Jewish ownership and unfortunate position in relation to the church.[1675]

As in the pre-war period, Klitki were the main target of anti-Semitic discourse. Wartime journalism about the Klitki streets sounds like an extension of the pre-war 'Lubartowiak' columns:

> "Right next to the Market Square, in the vicinity of the municipal market hall, there are two typically Jewish streets. From early morning, Jewish types wander around the Market Square and adjacent streets, seemingly without any purpose, conducting some kind of business, secretly carrying something under the hems of their coats, rags in bags. A few

[1673] "Dalsze porządkowanie Lubartowa," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, 34 (1941), 4.
[1674] See above.
[1675] "On the opposite side, the view of the church is obscured by a block of old houses, formerly Jewish property, now housing a row of shops." "Migawki z Lubartowa, Porządkowanie miasta," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, 240 (1942), 4.

> days ago, a large quantity of vodka and leather was found stored in the home of a certain Jewish Klitki resident.
>
> This year, the so-called Jewish hotel, a habitat of filth, was demolished, and later there was discussion on demolishing Klitki. The matter somehow died down, and this part of the Market Square continues to be a torment for the town due to the danger of infectious diseases and for aesthetic reasons."[1676]

The article served to expresses anti-Semitic ideology and fosters hostility towards. The idea that Jews posed sanitary threat a notion that had already been expressed prior to the war—gained additional traction during the occupation. Before the war, lice and Jews were already being linked.[1677] During the war, Jews were blamed for the spread of typhoid fever and propaganda, and administrative regulations were aimed primarily at them.[1678]

In essence, the demand to demolish Klitki represented the desire to eliminate the Jewish population. Not only did Klitki symbolise the Jewish presence in the town in anti-Semitic propaganda and the popular view of the residents, but it was also the place with the highest concentration of Jewish residents. From the point of view of the occupation authorities, both functions of Klitki had practical applications, first for propaganda purposes and second in terms of housing. Klitki was needed only as long as Jews remained in Lubartów.

The demolition of the Klitki did not take place until after the Jews staying in town had been murdered and deported. Outside the Klitki, demolition mainly affected the streets that were home to the largest Jewish populations during the war, particularly Żabia street, which bordered the kahal plot. Information about the demolition was recorded in the rent register alongside the date. The houses on the odd-numbered side of Rynek II Street, Klitki II even-number on the other side,[1679] were demolished one by one from Poprzeczna street: the first house at Rynek II 1 on the 5 February, and the last at number 25 on the 28 February 1943. No date or information about demolition was recorded for the buildings at Klitki.[1680] It seems most likely that this information was simply unnecessary in the rent register, since all the houses with addresses in Klitki were demolished, it was not possible that the register was filled in incorrectly by

[1676] "Żydzi w Lubartowie," *Nowy Głos Lubelski*, 270 (1941), 7.
[1677] Rzeźnicka, Maria (b. 1927), 5 September 2016. Ośrodek "Brama Grodzka – Teatr NN".
[1678] Regulations and administrative decisions concerning the prevention of typhus, 1941–1942. APL, AML, 792, 54, 59, 68, 75, 88, 101, 183. The code of conduct towards Jews and non–Jews was clearly different and was also aimed at stigmatising Jews. Among the guidelines was, among other things, the obligation for "all lice–ridden and dirty Jews" to wear a sign saying: "Caution! We are lice–ridden, dirty and contagious with typhus." Similar signs were also to be hung on houses where Jews suffering from typhus were staying.
[1679] Only one building had an even–numbered Klitki II street number, Klitki II 2.
[1680] Including 2 Klitki II.

confusing rented houses with demolished ones. In any case, this document and any others I have examined do not provide the date of demolition of the row of houses between Klitki I and Klitki II streets.

Aerial photographs from the mid-1940s clearly show that Klitki no longer exists (photograph 8). Only two houses remain at the ends of the streets that had already been assigned to Poprzeczna and Nowopoprzeczna streets. Apart from one photograph, no images of Klitki and Klitki II have survived. Klitki is only remembered through the accounts of the town's Christian residents; Jewish survivors did not mention it. Klitki was used to produce otherness through the space, "Othering":[1681] Narratives about Jews in Lubartów focus on Klitki, recalled as crowded, poor and dirty. Klitki were seen as a place of Jewish isolation and concentration, as well as Jewish suffering. Pre-war and wartime depictions are so intertwined that they are sometimes impossible to distinguish from one another.



Photograph 8. Aerial photo of Lubartów Market Square and its surroundings, mid 1940s. Source: NARA.

The narrative about Klitki is also a narrative of a rejected neighbourhood. And this is doubly true: Klitki are narrated from the outside, with the narratives confining Jews to a cramped ghetto, separating their fate from that of non-Jews. At the same time, Klitki allowed people to overlook their Jewish neighbours on Rynek I or Legionów street. Although there was no complete separation of Jews from non-Jews in Lubartów, the division into Jewish and Aryan spaces is inscribed in the memory of non-Jewish Lubartów residents. The boundaries of this division ran between Klitki and Rynek I street, just as it had been imagined before the war.

[1681] Cole, *Holocaust City*, 30.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In January of 1943, executions of the last Jews "legally" remaining in Lubartów took place in the new Jewish cemetery, on Cicha street on the south-eastern outskirts of the town.[1682] That same month, a new register of town residents was started.[1683] This register opened a new stage in the history of Lubartów, and for the next 1,5 years Lubartów remained a town with no Jewish residents.

The relations of Jewish and non-Jewish town residents of Lubartów in the previous 35 years, i.e. since the establishment of the Second Republic of Poland, was the theme of my thesis. In the first part of my dissertation, I addressed the local government in Lubartów: the distribution of power and its consequences on policies introduced by the interwar local government. With regard to the war period, I addressed the issue of the role of the town office in implementing Nazi policies and the continuities and discontinuities in the conduct of Lubartów's government between the interwar and war periods.

With the January 1943 executions in the Cicha street cemetery, residential relations between Jews and non-Jews – the focus of the second part of my thesis – came to an end. I examined Lubartów's Market Square located in the very centre of the town, and the patterns of spatial segregation, along with the dynamically changing residential structure. A few months after the second *Aktion* in Lubartów in 1942, most of the apartments occupied by Jewish residents were already occupied by new non-Jewish tenants. In January of 1943, the last apartment on the Market Square belonging to Szama Honiksblum, one of those executed, was emptied and two months later occupied by a new tenant, a non-Jewish craftsman Aleksander Chalibura.

Exclusion in the interwar Lubartów

When studying interethnic and interreligious relations in interwar Lubartów government, the issue of exclusion came to the fore. As my research demonstrated, Jewish residents were systematically excluded from participating in the local government. The strength of Jewish representation on the town council and town board never corresponded to the religious composition of the town, nor to the number of people eligible to vote from both groups. Furthermore, it was not until 1928 that the town's first and only Jewish resident was employed

[1682] Questionnaires of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in Poland, 1968. IPN BU 2448/570, 163-164.
[1683] Lubartów residents register, early 1943. APL, AML, 50-51.

in the magistracy. My objective was to study precisely what caused this situation, to address the mechanisms of ethnic exclusion at the local level.

Records from administrations of all levels enabled me to reveal factors and actors contributing to the exclusion of Jews from town decision-making in Lubartów. This included the nationwide legislative framework, as well as decisions and actions taken by officials. In my research, I identified instances of mobilisation and collaboration involving state, voivodeship, county, and town administration. Nevertheless, the mayor and the town board, as well as county officials, proved to be of fundamental importance for the distribution of local power and the implementation of discriminatory policies in Lubartów. The strength of the local architecture of exclusion was also largely due to the involvement of some Christian town elites who were linked to the local government members through organisational, political, and kinship ties – connections that I managed to establish using databases with registered town residents or organisations operating in the town.

All electoral processes for the town authorities were conducted under the direction of Christian officials and elites of the town. My research revealed that since 1918 they aimed at maintaining control over the town government by the "Christian/Polish majority." A thorough analysis of town office and county records enabled to identify several mechanisms of exclusion. Via close reading of records that included such nuances as delays in correspondence, phrasing, cross-outs, or additional notes on documents, I have gained better understanding of the officials' conduct. The methods used to limit Jewish participation in the government changed over time and depended on political and social conditions. The measures taken included obstructing and disabling the registration of voters and candidates' lists and extending the terms of office of town council, increasing the participation of Christian voters by expanding the town boundaries and elections' scheduling, setting criteria for candidates that excluded those without a proficient knowledge of Polish, and finally, in the 1930s, the creation of "compromise lists" that only included pro-government candidates, with the number of seats allocated to Jewish candidates predetermined. Although some of these restrictions came from national regulations, they were enforced by municipal and county administrations as well as election commissions selected from among the Christian elites of the town.

As my case study of social care policies introduced in Lubartów demonstrated, the exclusion and marginalisation of Jews in the municipal authorities resulted in discriminatory decisions and policies taken by the town council and town board. The town's resources were thus intended primarily to serve the Christian residents. A distinctive moment in the dynamics of the

intergroup relations in Lubartów were the 1927 elections and the period of government immediately following them, when Jewish representatives joined the town council and board and attempted to influence municipal policies. Of all the examples of breaking the discriminatory logic of town management that I have observed, the social care reform of the late 1920s, which I studied in depth, was the most notable.

Since the May Coup of 1926, Lubartów had followed a path of strong ties with the central government. The Christian elites in power in Lubartów were associated with the pro-government BBWR and Ozon blocks. Therefore, the political evolution in Lubartów fits to some extent into the classic periodisation which sees the end of 1927 and the first half of the 1930s as the best period for Jews in interwar Poland – which is linked to Józef Piłsudski's own position in regard to Jewish citizens.[1684] At the same time, it cannot be overlooked that the 1927 elections, most beneficial for Jewish candidates in Lubartów, were organised during a transitional period, and that the pro-government group during the campaign used an anti-Semitic rhetoric. Additionally, as the example of social care shows, the re-exclusion of Jews from access to public resources began already in the early 1930s. The process of restricting political forces independent of the ruling camp, and marginalising Jewish residents, progressed gradually until 1939 in Lubartów, with 1935 (Piłsudski's death) not constituting a decisive turning point in this process.

As I have pointed out, discrimination of Jewish residents was also practised by the local police and county authorities, who, on the one hand, blamed Jews for the anti-Semitism they encountered and, on the other hand, downplayed anti-Semitic actions. I have identified these elements as important factors contributing to the accumulation of violence in Lubartów between 1937 and 1939. I pointed also to the influence of the National Party (SN) in the county, which had not developed structures in the town of Lubartów. Nonetheless, the chronology of the two largest acts of violence in Lubartów in March and August 1939 indicates that the direct impetus was the articulation of anti-Semitic rhetoric by the local elites, as well as their rapprochement with a radical nationalist youth organisation that legitimised anti-Semitism. Therefore, the local dynamics of the accumulation of anti-Jewish violence in Lubartów in the second half of the 1930s differ from those most often described which occurred between 1935 and 1937 and emphasised the influence of the SN.[1685] In addition to emphasising the influence of the

[1684] Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 69.
[1685] Natalia Aleksiun, "Nihil novi? Historiografia pogromów z lat 1921–1939," in Kamil Kijek¸ Artur Markowski, Konrad Zieliński (eds.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3: Historiografia, polityka,*

Lubartów elites, in the context of two acts of collective violence from 1939, I also drew attention to the participation of recruits in the events and the context of the approaching war, which is rarely brought up in research on antisemitic violence in the 1930s. The dynamics I have pointed out are all the more important because they led to accumulation of violence just before the war's outbreak and therefore provide a background for Jewish/non-Jewish relations during the war.

The participation of Jewish residents in the town's government, especially the town councils, has been the subject of many studies.[1686] Yet, none of these studies revealed evidence of such strong mechanisms for limiting access to power and exclusion, as the ones which functioned throughout the interwar period in Lubartów. The novelty of my findings stems partly from the questions I raised and how I approached them through the archival base including much of town office records that are not often used. At the same time, my observations undoubtedly point to local conditions that contributed to exclusion: the weakness of political parties in the town; very strong intergroup separation; and the lack of a tradition of elected self-government, among other things.

Interwar Market Square: levels of segregation, stigmatisation, and violence

The analysis devoted to the Market Square focused on interethnic relations seen from the perspective of residential contacts as well as mechanisms of exclusion through stigmatisation and violence against Jewish residents.

I studied residential contacts in the Market Square using databases that allow for a change in the scale of observation, and enable shifting and careful framing of the observed areas. When viewed from a town-wide perspective, the interwar Market Square appeared to be an ethnically segregated space. However, the picture took on a different appearance when the scale of observation was changed. In the Market Square, interethnic residential proximity included neighbouring houses and apartments within the same building, with Jewish and Christain residents even sharing the same apartment. Furthermore, my research revealed similarities in

recepcja społeczna (do 1939 roku) (Warszawa: Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski, Uniwersytet Wrocławski Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, 2019). It is worth noting that information about violence in March and August 1939 comes from reports of the county police station. The most accessible and frequently used reports by the county chief and voivode did not mention these events.

[1686] See Introduction in Chapter 1.

the characteristics of Jewish and Christian neighbours, which indicated that ways of grouping on Market Square transcended ethnic divisions.

The specificity of the Lubartów Market Square resulted from its unusual layout, with two streets of low-rise buildings inhabited exclusively by Jewish residents located in the very centre, the two Klitki streets. Through the Klitki streets case I addressed the anti-Semitic discourse and stigmatising as factors reinforcing intergroup divisions in Lubartów. My study of Lubartów newspapers from the interwar period revealed that Jewish residents were identified with filth and blamed for the sanitation disarray in Lubartów. The publications' focus was on the Market Square and Klitki streets which also served as a reference point for the pre-war non-Jewish residents' narratives about Jews in Lubartów. In their accounts, these residents emphasised filth, poverty, and overcrowding on the Klitki streets and perceived its residents as alien.

Stigmatisation was also used as a frame for the waste management policies adopted in Lubartów. The town government's approach of ethicizing sanitation problems went hand in hand with a reluctance to invest in solving difficulties of waste management. The Klitki study contributes to research about the place of ethnic groups in urban modernisation and investments policies. It demonstrated that a significant obstacle to the inclusion of groups of Jews residents in investments policies to improve the urban environment was the way they were stigmatised as a group unsuitable for modernisation.

The Market Square and its immediate surroundings were also the site of anti-Semitic propaganda in the late 1930s, calling for the exclusion of Jews from both the economy and municipal authorities. Two brutal attacks in March and August of 1939 centred around the Market Square as a place of concentration of Jews and Jewish entrepreneurship. Although among the offenders were residents of Lubartów, most of them came from nearby villages. In analysing the dynamics leading up to the two acts of violence in 1939, I focused on the influence of anti-Semitic rhetoric and the attitude of the town elites and the police. I also observed the rise of anti-Semitic sentiment in the countryside through the prism of the starost's reports emphasising economic and demographic tensions. However, I believe that in regard to the 1939 attacks, there is still room for further investigation covering interethnic relations between rural and town residents, especially Jewish, taking into account trade dependencies and the ways in which the two groups perceived each other.

Continuities and discontinuities in intergroup relations in Lubartów

One of the main objectives of my doctoral research concerned the continuity and discontinuity between the interwar period and the war in the areas of local government and the Lubartów Market Square that I studied. With regard to former, I addressed the recently discussed issues of the position of local authorities in the system of civil administration in Nazi-occupied Europe and their participation in the implementation of discriminatory and genocidal policies.[1687] First, I noted the ambivalence of the Lubartów local government's position under German rule. On the one hand, town officials were limited in exercising their power; in addition to being subordinate to the German civil authorities, the magistrate had to recognise the authority of the German military and police. On the other hand, the knowledge of local conditions and population as well as experience in administrating the town gave them some room for manoeuvre. Due to the not fully defined scope of competences and the dynamic situation, the position of the local government largely depended on the personal futures of the mayor and county chief, his supervisor. The German authorities left Aleksander Lalka, who had been mayor before the occupation, in office, and the other officials were also retained, which was the first aspect of continuity between the two periods.

In regard to Lubartów mayor actions complete obedience to his German superiors and his reluctance to make independent decisions came to the fore. Consequently, the mayor and town council implemented anti-Jewish policies, and Lalka's three-and-a-half-year service in office is evidence of his effective collaboration with the German authorities. Although, town's records indicate very limited initiative on the part of the town authorities, the degree of involvement of the authorities was difficult to estimate, due to a lack of records. In fact, my research pointed to a broader problem when studying the actions of actors contributing to forcing Nazi policies at the *meso* level.[1688] The period in which the Lubartów authorities had the most room for manoeuvre, when the involvement of superior authorities was limited, is actually the most poorly documented.

The records that have been preserved, consisting largely of correspondence with the county chief and applications sent to the town office by the Jewish residents, have enabled me to identify additional characteristics of the mayor's and town office's conduct. My aim was not to evaluate the municipal government's responsibility for crimes committed against Jews, but to

[1687] See Introduction to Chapter 3.
[1688] Evgeny Finkel and Scott Straus, "Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry," *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 7 (2012), 55–67.

analyse its actions in light of conduct before the war. From a local Lubartów perspective, mayor's actions during the war were consistent with the pre-war exclusion of Jews and their treatment as second-class citizens. Wartime town government showed no sign of responsibility for the fate of Lubartów Jewish residents: the mayor treated the presence of Jewish residents in the town as an unnecessary burden and sought to reduce their numbers in the town. In addition, the exploitation of Jewish residents became one of the ways of administering the town, as in the case of forced labour or housing. Jewish-owned apartments and businesses premises served to ensure better conditions for the non-Jewish residents and to improve town economy, also for a benefit of the magistrate and its officials, while at the same time impoverishing Jews and worsening their housing conditions.

In the case of the Market Square, I sought for patterns of continuity in the relations between residents and in residential segregation. My study contributes to debates concerning the forms and methods of concentrating and separating Jewish residents in towns of General Government, the issue of the so-called open ghettos.[1689] Analysis based on registers allowed me to identify the directions of the housing policy pursued in Lubartów, starting with the first attempts to concentrate Jewish residents in Market Square and its vicinity in early 1940. Ultimately, despite enormous changes in the social structure of the Market Square and the breakdown of most intergroup neighbourly relations, the segregation model stabilised from January 1941 onwards and resembled that of before the outbreak of war.

The change in the scale of analysis, as in the case of the pre-war period, complicated the picture of the isolation of both groups, as spatial segregation took place at various levels: streets, houses, flats. Moreover, during the war period, despite the rotation of residents, some Jewish and non-Jewish residents in neighbouring buildings or in the same houses shared professional characteristics or social position, which also followed the pre-war patterns. However, the fact that they occupied the same house did not mean that Jewish and non-Jewish residents had the same living conditions: as the analysis of wartime records shows, Jewish dwellings were much more crowded than those of their non-Jewish neighbours. Furthermore, Jewish residents were subject to restrictions and genocidal policies, which did not apply to their non-Jewish neighbours. All of this resulted in an internal division of the buildings into Jewish and Aryan spaces, and Jews being ghettoised in their apartments. Although no separate district was created

[1689] See Introduction to Chapter 6.

in Lubartów to seal off all Jewish residents, Market Square remained an oppressive space of exclusion.

This complex picture was not confirmed by non-Jewish Lubartów residents accounts. From their perspective presented years later, the Market Square during the war showed complete spatial separation between Jews and non-Jews. This perception of the Market Square to some degree refers to the pre-war period, when Klitki were already called a ghetto. The increase in the number of residents during the war and the dire living conditions further reinforced the stigmatising image of the street. The Rynek I, most prominent street of the Market Square, on the other hand, was seen as a non-Jewish space, which to a certain extent reflected the changes in the distribution of housing and commercial spaces on the street.

During the war, a process of "Aryanisation" of homes and businesses took place on the Market Square. Presenting the chronology of this process, as well as carefully identifying the people involved, was possible due to the created datasets and combination of quantitative and qualitative approach. In the context of Lubartów, this process did not mean taking ownership of the property but occupying it. Importantly, not only pre-war residents were involved: houses owned by Jews were first allocated to Christian deportees. The occupying of businesses, on the other hand, was the domain of non-Jewish Lubartów residents. The inhabitants of nearby villages played only a minor role in the seizure of Jewish property.

The flight of Jews from Lubartów at the beginning of the war and the forced displacement created an opportunity that was grasped by the non-Jews. The rapid pace of the "Aryanisation" process in Lubartów indicates, on the one hand, a determination in non-Jews to improve their living conditions, but also a willingness to participate in the robbery, which led to extreme impoverishment of the Jewish residents. The occupation of Jewish property certainly cannot be explained by a single factor. As I have attempted to show, the life trajectories of the non-Jews involved in this process varied greatly. At a general level, however, the dehumanisation, repression and deprivation of rights of Jews undoubtedly contributed to non-Jewish residents accepting the Nazi hierarchies, which might have affected the dynamics and scale of the occupation of Jewish property. Although I cannot say to what extent pre-war interethnic relations in Lubartów influenced the conduct of the town's inhabitants during the war, the anti-Semitic rhetoric used by the town's elite, the exclusion and the municipal government discrimination against Jewish residents, as well as attack from 1939, undoubtedly constitute an important context for wartime intergroup dynamics.

Perspectives for further research

The results of my research point to areas of research and questions that might form a basis for future research. The first issue that could be explored refers to fields of intergroup contact that have not been thoroughly addressed in the thesis. This could be approached in different ways.

For biographical approach, cases of Józefa Maria Sztajfman and Maria Pogonowska, the only two recorded converts from Lubartów who remained in a relationship with Catholics, could form an interesting parallel study. Both women arrived in Lubartów in the mid-1920s and survived the *Aktionen* and mass murder of Jews in 1942. At the same time, they had a very different social positions, one being the wife of the county doctor and member of Christian charities another worked as a housemaid. Their personal histories could make a contribution to our understanding of how mixed marriages and families functioned in Nazi-occupied Europe, as seen from a pre-war perspective, the subject largely neglected until recently[1690]

Schools in Lubartów could offer another perspective for observing the interethnic relations as well as mechanisms of discrimination.[1691] There are exceptional sources found in Lubartów: evaluation forms with written opinions about students and the school chronicle, which, due to lack of time, I used only occasionally in my thesis. Regarding the issue of interethnic relations in interwar public schools in Poland, my study could be contextually supported by databases embedding students as well as teachers in the various social backgrounds in Lubartów.

Within the field of intergroup relations, I have not directly addressed the issue of social classes. The databases at the Lubartworld team's disposal, particularly registers and censuses, allows to study social classes extensively on the scale of the entire town. At the time of preparing my doctoral thesis, this task was beyond my capabilities. It requires a tremendous amount of work on a quantitative analysis and adoption of a theoretical model.[1692] Class analysis could be beneficial not only in relation to intergroup relations in interwar Lubartów, but also to gain an

[1690] Natalia Aleksiun, "Networks of Dependence and Love: Jewish–Gentile Relationships in Nazi-Occupied Poland," in *Poland under German Occupation, 1939-1945: New Perspectives*, Jonathan Huener and Andrea Löw (eds.) (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2024), 41-64. "Survivor Testimonies on German-Jewish 'Mixed Marriages': Historiography, Potentials and Challenges," *S:I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation*, 8:3 (2021), 4-19.

[1691] Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko-żydowskiego miasta Tarnów 1918-1956* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2023), 211-254. Anna Landau-Czajka, *Syn będzie Lech* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytu Historii PAN, 2006), 372-382. Kamil Kijek, *Dzieci modernizmu. Świadomość, kultura i socjalizacja polityczna młodzieży żydowskiej w II Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków, Budapeszt, Syrakuzy: Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2020), 123-152.

[1692] If I follow this lead, I will most probably collaborate with my colleague Anton Perdoncin who has already began work in coding for class analysis.

additional level of understanding of the wartime social landscape of Lubartów and the individual trajectories of Jewish town residents.

The 1943 caesura adopted in my thesis differs from the time frame most commonly used to examine the wartime trajectories of Jews, which extend to liberation or to the time immediately following the war period. Having already conducted research at the Institute of National Remembrance and oral history collections, my aim is to trace the fate of the Lubartów Jews who survived in Lubartów and during the second *Aktion* went into hiding. For this purpose, I intend to conduct more research on the pre-war villages in the vicinity of Lubartów and the relations between their inhabitants and those of Lubartów, especially the Jews of Lubartów.

In my doctoral thesis, I examined the process of occupying properties and changes in ownership up until 1943, when the last Jewish residents vacated them and soon afterwards occupied by non-Jews. My findings, complicates the picture of the seizure of Jewish homes by pointing to its multi-stage nature, non-linear structure and the involvement of many actors. My inquiry, therefore, opens up perspectives for the research devoted to post-war acquisition of ownership of apartments and the restitution attempts by Jewish owners and their heirs.

In my work I have tried to address the trajectory of refugees and deportees who ended up in Lubartów during the war. However, I have a strong feeling that much more could, and should, be done in this regard. Newcomers from various parts of pre-war Poland, as well as from outside the country, constituted a significant part of the population in many towns of the General Government, yet they remain mostly ignored or only marginally included in the narrative of the war and the Holocaust.[1693] Examining the trajectories of refugees and deportees beyond the place of deportation would challenge the perception of refugees as a homogeneous group lacking individual characteristics. This kind of research requires a transnational approach and will benefit from international cooperation. In the case of Lubartów it would require the involvement of researchers from Slovakia and Hungary.[1694]

[1693] Of all the territories of the General Government, the most attention was devoted to refugees in the Warsaw ghetto, mainly due to the availability of materials from the Ringelblum Archive. Andrzej Żbikowski, "Żydowscy przesiedleńcy z dystryktu warszawskiego w getcie warszawskim, 1939–1942 (z pogranicza opisu i interpretacji)," in *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, Dariusz Libionka (eds.), (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007), 223–269; Ruta Pups-Sakowska, „Opieka nad uchodźcami i przesiedleńcami żydowskimi w Warszawie w latach okupacji hitlerowskiej," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, 65–66 (1968), 73–104. *Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy*, t. 27: Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna w Warszawie (1939–1943), Aleksandra Bańkowska, Maria Ferenc-Piotrowska (eds.), (Warszawa: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, 2017).

[1694] Some of the refugees in Lubartów who arrived on transports from Slovakia were Hungarian Jews. Letters written in Hungarian from Lubartów in September 1942 have been preserved at Yad Vashem.

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Table 16. Individuals occupying premises in September of 1942 in the same buildings as in January of 1941, September 1942.

Table 17. Main tenants in Jewish property on the Market Square in January of 1941 not included in the register in September 1942.

Table 18. New tenants on the Market Square streets after January of 1941, September 1942.

Table 19. New tenants on the Market Square in September 1942.

Photograph 5. Market Square I, May 1942. Author: Gustaw Andraschko.

Map 4. Individuals renting Jewish owned property on the Market Square, September 1942. R=Rynek, K=Klitki, P=Poprzeczna, N=Nowopoprzeczna.

Table 20. Businesses registered on the Market Square, September 1942.

Photograph 6. Piłsudski Street in the late 1930s.

Photograph 7. Aerial photo of Lubartów and surroundings with the marked route from the Market Square to the railway station, mid 1940s. Wieprz river on the right.

Table 21. The occupation of empties premises in the first month of availability, November 1942 (Rynek I) and January 1943 (Rynek II).

Photograph 9. Hotel run by Gdala Perec, 1930s.

Photograph 8. Aerial photo of Lubartów Market Square and its surroundings, mid 1940s.

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Komendantura Placu w Lublinie
Komendant Żandarmerii Dystryktu Lubelskiego
Posterunki Policji Polskiej w Dystrykcie Lubelskim
Komendant Policji Bezpieczeństwa i Służb Bezpieczeństwa w Lubline
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ABSTRACT AND KEYWORDS

This thesis contributes to scholarship that explores the role of pre-war social and power structures in the dynamics that led to the Holocaust, by including the non-Jewish local population into the analysis. Adopting a pre-war perspective on the war and the Holocaust has been instrumental in identifying continuities and discontinuities in interpersonal and intergroup relations, administrative practices and the socio-spatial order in Lubartów, town in Poland with mixed population. The thesis addresses the role of ethnic and religious distinctions in the process of social grouping in Lubartów as well as the internal differentiation of groups. It is based on a unified set of sources, mostly administrative records, which enabled the maintenance of a consistent perspective across both time periods. The thesis adopts a narrative focused on selected areas of intergroup relations, namely local government and urban space.

The study about local government explores the links between the pre-war marginalisation of Jews in the local government as well as administrative discrimination, and the role of the local authorities in enforcing anti-Semitic and genocidal measures during the war. It examines the electoral processes for the Town Council in interwar Lubartów and the administrative efforts to restrict the voting rights of Jews and to maintain the "Christian majority" in power. The analysis demonstrates the role of religious and ethnic divisions as a persistent factor in shaping local policies, and in the conduct of the administrative apparatus. The wartime actions of the mayor and town board are characterised by their obedience to the German superiors in implementing anti-Jewish measures. Nonetheless, case studies reveal that the town government took some initiative and that exploiting Jewish residents became an instrument of governing the town.

The analysis of urban space focuses on Lubartów Market Square, which was the main location for intergroup interaction in Lubartów, as well as being a site with a complex residential and ownership structure. The analysis seeks to identify continuity in relations between residents and in patterns of residential segregation. Examining datasets derived from nominal sources allows the analytical scale to be adjusted, enabling segregation models and intergroup residential contacts to be recognised at various levels. Regarding the war period, the study focuses on the concentration and separation of Jewish residents. Analysis based on registers enables to recognise the housing policies pursued in Lubartów during this period. The study also demonstrates that the occupying the Jewish-owned property was a multi-stage process. It drew upon pre-war group hierarchies and simultaneously sought to establish new social hierarchies that expanded beyond the pre-war population of Lubartów.

Key words: Microhistory, Jews, Holocaust, interwar Poland, ethnic groups, exclusion, discrimination

RÉSUMÉ ET MOTS CLÉS

Cette thèse contribue aux recherches explorant le rôle des structures sociales et politiques d'avant-guerre dans les dynamiques qui ont conduit à la Shoah, en incluant dans l'analyse la population non-juive locale. L'adoption d'une perspective d'avant-guerre sur la guerre et la Shoah a été déterminante pour identifier les continuités et les discontinuités dans les relations interpersonnelles et entre les groupes, les pratiques administratives et l'ordre socio-spatial à Lubartów, ville en Pologne. La thèse aborde le rôle des distinctions ethniques et confessionnelles dans le processus de regroupement social à Lubartów ainsi que la différenciation interne des groupes. Elle s'appuie sur un ensemble unifié de sources, principalement administratives, qui ont permis de maintenir une perspective cohérente sur l'ensemble des deux périodes. Elle propose un récit axé sur certains domaines en particulier, à savoir le gouvernement local et l'espace urbain.

L'étude de l'administration locale explore les liens entre la marginalisation des Juifs dans le gouvernement local d'avant-guerre, la discrimination administrative et le rôle des autorités locales dans l'application de mesures antisémites et génocidaires pendant la guerre. Elle examine les processus électoraux du conseil municipal dans l'entre-deux-guerres à Lubartów et les efforts administratifs visant à restreindre le droit de vote des Juifs et à maintenir une « majorité chrétienne » au pouvoir. L'analyse démontre le rôle des divisions religieuses et ethniques en tant que facteur persistant dans l'élaboration des politiques locales et la conduite de l'appareil administratif. Durant la guerre, les actions du maire se sont caractérisées par leur obéissance aux supérieurs allemands dans la mise en œuvre des mesures anti-juives. Néanmoins, des études de cas révèlent aussi que le gouvernement municipal a pris certaines initiatives et démontrent que l'exploitation des résidents juifs est devenue un instrument de gouvernance de la ville.

L'analyse de l'espace urbain se concentre sur la place du marché de Lubartów, qui était le principal lieu d'interaction entre les groupes ethno-confessionnels à Lubartów, ainsi qu'un site présentant une structure résidentielle et foncière complexe. Elle vise à identifier la continuité dans les relations entre les habitants et dans les schémas de ségrégation résidentielle. L'examen des bases de données provenant de sources nominales permet d'ajuster l'échelle d'analyse, ce qui rend possible la reconnaissance des modèles de ségrégation et des contacts résidentiels entre les groupes à différents niveaux. Concernant la période de la guerre, l'étude se focalise sur la

concentration et la séparation des résidents juifs. L'analyse de registres permet de montrer la politique de logement menée à Lubartów pendant cette période. L'étude montre aussi que le processus d'appropriation de biens juifs s'est déroulé en plusieurs étapes. Il s'est appuyé sur les hiérarchies de groupes d'avant-guerre et a simultanément cherché à établir de nouvelles hiérarchies sociales qui s'étendaient au-delà de la population d'avant-guerre de Lubartów.

Mots clés : Microhistoire, Juifs, Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres, Shoah, groupes ethniques, exclusion, discrimination

RÉSUMÉ DÉTAILLÉ EN FRANÇAIS

Microhistoires d'exclusions : Juifs et non-Juifs à Lubartów. Administration locale et espaces urbains dans une ville polonaise, 1918-1943.

INTRODUCTION

Je ne me serais jamais lancé dans des recherches sur Lubartów sans Claire Zalc et son projet ; c'est elle qui a choisi Lubartów comme lieu d'étude. Mon travail dans le cadre du projet Lubartworld consistait initialement à saisir collectivement le registre des habitants de Lubartów des années 1930. En novembre 2019, je suis devenu doctorant dans le cadre du projet Lubartworld. Pendant plusieurs années, je suis resté le seul locuteur natif polonais de l'équipe. Compte tenu des intérêts de recherche des membres de l'équipe, du plan directeur de recherche pour l'ensemble du projet, de mon intérêt pour les archives et de mes compétences linguistiques, il était évident que ma thèse porterait sur la vie sociale de Lubartów dans la première moitié du XXe siècle et que les archives polonaises constitueraient le corpus principal. Cependant, il m'a fallu un certain temps pour clarifier le cadrage de ma thèse, ce qui a nécessité des recherches archivistiques supplémentaires, des lectures et des discussions avec Claire Zalc et d'autres membres de l'équipe, ainsi qu'un temps et un travail empirique considérables.

Lubartów était située au cœur de la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres, à environ 30 kilomètres au nord de Lublin et 150 kilomètres au sud-est de Varsovie. À la fin des années 1930, elle comptait plus de 8 000 habitants, dont les Juifs et les catholiques romains constituaient les groupes dominants. Elle a été fondée au XVIe siècle en tant que ville privée de la famille Firlej en raison de son emplacement sur une route commerciale[1]. À l'époque, l'économie de la ville bénéficiait également de la proximité de la rivière Wieprz, un affluent de la Vistule. Les céréales produites dans la région étaient transportées par voie fluviale jusqu'à Gdańsk, puis vers l'Europe occidentale[2]. Elle est restée une ville privée jusqu'en 1866, date à laquelle elle a été

[1] Elżbieta Przesmycka, *Przeobrażenia zabudowy i krajobrazu miasteczek Lubelszczyzny*, Wydawnictwo Politechniki Lubelskiej, Lublin, 2001, p. 163-191.
[2] Rita Aldenhoff-Hübinger Rita, Catherine Gousseff et Thomas Serrier (dir.), *Europa Vertikal. Zur Ost-West-Gliederung im 19. Und 20. Jahrhundert* [Les verticales de l'Europe. Sur la division Est-Ouest au XIXe et XXe

intégrée à la partition russe de la Pologne. En raison de l'effondrement des empires européens après la Première Guerre mondiale et à la suite de nouvelles reconfigurations en Europe centrale et orientale, les habitants de Lubartów ont vécu dans cinq États différents au cours de la première moitié du XXe siècle. Ma thèse se concentre sur deux périodes, lorsque Lubartów a fait partie de la Deuxième République polonaise (1918-1939) et lorsqu'elle a fait partie de la Pologne occupée par l'Allemagne (1939-1944).

La spécification du groupe à analyser a fait l'objet de discussions au sein de notre équipe dès le début du projet, car les décisions initiales allaient influencer le travail de l'équipe pendant les années à venir. Elles revêtaient une importance fondamentale, en particulier dans le contexte du travail quantitatif prévu. Le dilemme concernait l'inclusion des non-Juifs de Lubartów dans la recherche et, par conséquent, leur inclusion dans les bases de données créées. Finalement, la plus grande base de données comprend tous les résidents enregistrés à Lubartów, quelle que soit leur religion. Comme je prévoyais d'étudier les relations entre Juifs et non-Juifs et de couvrir l'ensemble de la population de la ville, cette décision m'a permis de formuler bon nombre de mes questions de recherche. Au cours de mes travaux ultérieurs, l'étendue de la population que j'ai étudiée a évolué en fonction des questions posées.

Groupes sociaux à Lubartów

J'ai étudié les habitants de Lubartów à travers le prisme des groupes sociaux et des frontières entre les groupes[3]. La première étape pour l'étude des relations entre les groupes a été pour moi de dépasser l'image d'une séparation extrême entre Juifs et non-Juifs et d'aborder le rôle fondamental des distinctions ethniques et religieuses dans le processus de regroupement social à Lubartów. Je me suis inspiré des travaux universitaires traitant de manière générale du *shtetl,* qui rejettent l'image de communautés ethniques isolées dans les petites villes et perçoivent les villes à population mixte comme des lieux d'interaction interethnique, voire d'intégration, où fonctionnent des réseaux de relations et de dépendance[4]. Suivant cette approche, j'ai essayé d'identifier les lieux et les moments où les divisions interethniques rigides ont été dépassées.

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siècle], Göttingen, Wallstein, 2016 ; Catherine Gousseff, *Exchanging Peoples: How Borderlands became the Soviet boundary between Ukrainians and Poles (1944–1947)*, Berlin et Boston, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2025.

[3] Frederick Barth, « Introduction », *in* Frederick Barth (dir.), *Ethnic groups and boundaries. The social organization of culture difference*, Bergen, 1969, p. 9-38 ; Pnina Werbner, « Intersectionality and situationism. Towards a (more) dynamic interpretation of Ethnic Groups and Boundaries », *in* Thomas H. Eriksen et Marek Jakoubek (dir.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today. A Legacy of Fifty Years*, Londres, Routledge, 2018, p. 117-132.

[4] Adam Teller, « The Shtetl as an Arena for Polish Jewish Integration in the Eighteenth Century » et Anna Orla-Bukowska, « Maintaining Borders, Crossing Social Relationships in the Shtetl », *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry,*

Au départ, je pensais que le résultat de mes recherches consisterait à mettre en évidence les domaines dans lesquels l'appartenance à un groupe n'était pas déterminée par la religion ou l'ethnicité. Mes recherches portaient initialement, outre l'espace de la place du marché et l'administration locale, sur l'école, la verrerie, les organisations sociales et les partis politiques, avec un accent particulier sur les actions des communistes locaux. Conformément à mes hypothèses, mes recherches ont donné des résultats modérés, indiquant l'énorme ampleur de la séparation entre les deux groupes[5]. Ce n'est qu'avec le temps que j'ai compris que l'importance de mes recherches ne résidait pas nécessairement dans le fait de mettre en évidence des cas de franchissement des frontières ethniques. En me concentrant sur les domaines d'interaction intergroupes, j'ai pu identifier les forces qui rapprochent les groupes, ainsi que celles qui mobilisent et renforcent les divisions intergroupes. Cette approche me permet également de mieux comprendre les différenciations internes aux groupes.

Mon expérience dans l'étude des registres m'a appris à respecter les catégories des sources, et ce sont celles-ci que j'utilise le plus souvent lorsque je fais référence aux groupes étudiés. Je mobilise les catégories de manière flexible, en fonction de ma compréhension de leur utilisation dans les sources[6]. À cet égard, l'approche microhistorique présente l'avantage de permettre une lecture contextuelle approfondie des catégories socialement mobilisées. La catégorisation selon la religion (*wyznanie*) est l'une des plus couramment utilisées dans les sources administratives que j'ai mobilisées – dans les registres des résidents, sur les demandes de carte d'identité ou dans les rapports de police. Elle est également la plus importante pour mes recherches, car elle me permet d'identifier des individus et des groupes. En ce qui concerne les groupes ethniques à Lubartów, les deux distinctions les plus couramment utilisées dans les sources sont juif/catholique et juif/chrétien[7]. Ces deux paires de catégories sont appliquées dans mon travail de manière contextuelle, en fonction de la composition du groupe auquel elles se réfèrent ainsi que, dans certaines situations, de l'auto-identification des individus et des groupes. En ce qui concerne la période de la guerre, en revanche, j'applique aux habitants de Lubartów la

vol. 17, 2004, p. 25-40 et p. 171-196 ; Steven T. Katz (dir.), *The Shtetl. New evaluation*, New York University Press, 2007 ; Israel Bartal et Scott Ury, « Between Jews and Their Neighbours in Eastern Europe since 1750 », *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 24, 2012, p. 3-30.

[5] C'est également l'un des principaux résultats de l'aspect quantitatif de notre projet : https://visualizing-lubartworld.org/chapter-1/17.

[6] Claire Lemercier et Claire Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities: An Introduction*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2019, p. 61-71.

[7] Bien sûr, la catégorie chrétienne est plus large que celle des catholiques et inclut les chrétiens orthodoxes et les évangéliques. Ces deux groupes représentaient moins de 0,5 % des habitants de Lubartów dans les années 1930. Registre des résidents permanents, 1932-1940. APL, AML, 39-48.

distinction entre Juifs et non-Juifs, qui, à mon avis, reflète le mieux la logique des divisions communautaires intergroupes dans la réalité de l'occupation nazie.

Période

La période couverte par ma thèse s'étend de 1918 à 1943 et correspond étroitement aux questions de recherche que j'ai posées. Elle diffère de la chronologie du projet Lubartworld, qui couvre la période 1920-1950[8]. Le décalage de 1920 à 1918 coïncide avec l'émergence d'un nouvel État polonais, l'un des nombreux États d'Europe centrale et orientale après la Première Guerre mondiale, qui était la concrétisation d'aspirations nationales de longue date[9]. À Lubartów, deux mois après le désarmement des troupes d'occupation autrichiennes, la décision d'organiser des élections pour le conseil municipal a été prise fin décembre 1918. Le processus électoral qui a suivi a discriminé les résidents juifs et a conduit à leur exclusion de la participation à la gouvernance de la ville. Dans le même temps, la période antérieure à 1920 a été marquée par des tensions sociales et des troubles – début 1919, une tentative de pogrom a eu lieu dans la ville. Ces événements sont au cœur de mon récit sur les relations interethniques dans la ville.

Ma thèse couvre également la période de la guerre et de la Shoah à Lubartów. À partir de 1939, Lubartów se trouvait à l'intérieur des frontières du district de Lublin au sein du Gouvernement général créé par les Allemands dans le territoire occupé de la Pologne. En ce qui concerne la guerre, j'aborde l'attitude des autorités locales envers les habitants juifs de Lubartów et leur participation à la mise en œuvre de politiques anti-juives, ainsi que la ségrégation spatiale, la ghettoïsation et les contacts résidentiels entre Juifs et non-Juifs. Le meurtre de la plupart des Juifs vivant à Lubartów a laissé ces deux questions sans suite. Les habitants juifs de Lubartów qui ont survécu à la deuxième *Aktion,* comme dans d'autres villes du Gouvernement général, ont cherché refuge en dehors de la ville[10]. Au niveau des autorités locales, les chefs de village

[8] Ryszard Szczygieł (dir.), *Lubartów w dziejach. Od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności*, Lubartów, Urząd Miasta Lubartów, 2018, p. 396 ; Stanisław Wiśniewski, « Lubartów i okolice w 1918 », *Lubartów i ziemia lubartowska,* no. 14, 2000, p. 52.

[9] Włodzimierz Borodziej et Maciej Górny, *Nasza wojna. Tom 2. Narody 1917-1923*, Varsovie, Wydawnictwo W.A.B/ GW Foksal, 2018 ; Paul Gradvohl, « Des luttes fratricides à la gloire de l'injustice subie : grande guerre et petites guerres dans la mémoire hongroise du premier conflit mondial », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, vol. 228, no. 4, 2007, p. 71-80.

[10] Barbara Engelking et Jan Grabowski (dir.), *Dalej jest noc. Losy Żydów w wybranych powiatach okupowanej Polski,* Varsovie, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2018 ; Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień… Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945*, Varsovie,, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011 ; Jan Grabowski, *Judenjagd. Polowanie na Żydów 1942–1945. Studium dziejów pewnego powiatu*, Varsovie, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011 ; Barbara

ont joué un rôle plus important que les autorités municipales dans l'aide ou la dénonciation des Juifs cachés[11]. Ainsi, dans un certain sens, le cadre géographique que j'ai adopté limite le cadre temporel. En ce qui concerne la deuxième partie de mon travail consacrée à la place du marché, la seconde *Aktion* a mis un terme à la présence juive sur la place du marché. Le sort réservé aux biens juifs pendant la guerre a également été scellé. Au cours des premiers mois de 1943, les maisons appartenant à des Juifs sur la place du marché ont été soit occupées, soit démolies.

Explorer les continuités et discontinuités dans les relations interethniques et interreligieuses

L'un des principaux objectifs de mon travail était de relier l'entre-deux-guerres et la guerre en tant qu'éléments d'analyse équivalents. La perspective d'avant-guerre sur la guerre et la Shoah est essentielle pour identifier les continuités et discontinuités dans les relations interpersonnelles et intergroupes. Une hypothèse similaire a récemment été émise par Omer Bartov et Agnieszka Wierzcholska[12], qui ont souligné comment les relations multiethniques d'avant-guerre ont contribué à l'instauration et au maintien de l'ordre nazi et ont largement façonné le parcours du groupe persécuté. Si ces deux ouvrages constituent pour moi une référence importante, je chercherai toutefois dans ma pratique à obtenir une plus grande cohérence dans le choix des documents et la perspective adoptée sur les événements des deux périodes.

Dans l'ouvrage de Bartov sur Buczacz, un récit aux perspectives multiples sur la période d'avant-guerre, s'appuyant sur les archives de l'administration locale et les témoignages de représentants de nombreux groupes ethniques, s'est transformé en un portrait collectif des auteurs et des mécanismes de l'anatomie du génocide, écrit du point de vue des archives administratives et judiciaires nazies et, dans une moindre mesure, de la trajectoire de la survie. De plus, les trajectoires des habitants non juifs de Buczacz sont abordées comme si elles étaient isolées du récit de la Shoah, de sorte que la dimension communautaire de l'expérience n'est pas clairement articulée.

Engelking, Jacek Leociak et Dariusz Libionka (dir.), *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim,* Varsovie, Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007.

[11] Tomasz Frydel, « *The Polish Countryside as a Gray Zone: Village Heads and the Meso Level of the General Government, 1939-1945* », *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2023, p. 202-228.

[12] Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2018 ; Agnieszka Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie. Życie i śmierć polsko-żydowskiego miasta Tarnów 1918-1956*, Cracovie, Budapest et Syracuse, Wydawnictwo Austeria, 2023. Une perspective similaire a également été adoptée dans des monographies antérieures : Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews and Ukrainians 1919-1945*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2002 et Rosa Lehmann, *Symbiosis and Ambivalence. Poles and Jews in a Small Galician Town*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2001.

La structure du livre d'Agnieszka Wierzcholska est plus proche de ma proposition. Outre un aperçu général des relations interethniques d'avant-guerre, Wierzcholska consacre une étude détaillée au gouvernement local et aux écoles de Tarnów avant la guerre. Cependant, l'analyse réfléchie et bien documentée de Wierzcholska sur le déroulement de la guerre et de la Shoah n'est pas une continuation directe du récit d'avant-guerre ; le lien avec les conclusions de l'entre-deux-guerres est largement contextuel et théorique, plutôt qu'empirique.

La manière dont le sujet est abordé dans les deux ouvrages, l'absence de continuité stricte au niveau de l'observation et des sources utilisées, m'ont amené à me demander s'il était possible, et en mobilisant quels types de sources et d'outils, de mener un récit abordant plus directement l'existence d'une continuité ou d'une discontinuité dans les relations intergroupes au sein de communautés diverses confrontées à des événements qui sapent l'ordre social.

Sources et méthodes

Lors de la collecte des sources, il était important d'identifier un corpus qui permettrait une observation continue. Pour une partie de ma thèse, les registres et recensements qui ont été conservés et qui ont souvent été poursuivis pendant l'entre-deux-guerres et la guerre permettent de maintenir l'observation dans la même zone de Lubartów, à savoir la place du marché, afin de suivre les changements dans la structure sociale et l'évolution des schémas de ségrégation intergroupes. D'autre part, une riche collection de sources provenant de l'administration locale de Lubartów permet de faire le lien entre la marginalisation politique des Juifs dans le gouvernement local pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, les politiques discriminatoires locales et le rôle joué par le gouvernement local dans la mise en œuvre des politiques nazies pendant la guerre.

Ma méthodologie d'utilisation des bases de données s'est développée au cours d'un travail collectif sur le registre des résidents. Bien que mes tentatives pour apprendre le langage du codage et mener des recherches quantitatives plus complexes aient été largement infructueuses, j'ai trouvé le courage d'utiliser largement les bases de données, de faire du codage simple ou de croiser des variables et d'apparier des bases de données[13]. C'est à ces méthodes que je dois une grande partie de mes résultats. Cette première expérience m'a également aidé à comprendre et à utiliser de manière consciente les registres que j'ai trouvés à un stade avancé de mes travaux concernant l'enregistrement des locataires d'appartements appartenant à des Juifs pendant la guerre. Ces ensembles de données, parmi d'autres, permettent de passer librement de l'échelle

[13] C. Lemercier et C. Zalc, *Quantitative Methods in the Humanities: An Introduction*, *op. cit*.

d'analyse de l'ensemble de la population de Lubartów à celle de groupes et d'individus, et vice versa. Le changement d'échelle pouvait s'accompagner d'un déplacement et d'un cadrage minutieux des zones observées. Cela s'est avéré particulièrement utile pour aborder les modèles de ségrégation et de concentration sur la place du marché de Lubartów (chapitres 4 et 6). Pour les recherches sur la Shoah, les ensembles de données créés permettent en outre de suivre les trajectoires des individus et des groupes persécutés, mais aussi de saisir les déterminants sociaux de la persécution (chapitre 3)[14]. Enfin, dans le contexte d'une recherche s'étendant sur 25 ans, les ensembles de données permettent de faire le lien entre l'entre-deux-guerres, la guerre et la Shoah en examinant les dynamiques sociales locales à travers le prisme des contacts et des hiérarchies sociales d'avant-guerre.

Malgré les avantages liés au travail sur les registres, un moment décisif dans ma recherche a été celui où j'ai réalisé que je pouvais adopter une approche différente de celle des autres membres de l'équipe Lubartworld. J'ai décidé d'abandonner mes tentatives de codage et de me tourner vers des sources non nominatives. Je me suis concentré sur la recherche dans les archives des institutions locales, principalement les registres municipaux, du comté et policiers. Outre les documents utilisés par d'autres chercheurs, tels que les journaux locaux, les rapports des chefs de comté ou les procès-verbaux des réunions du conseil municipal, j'ai eu recours à des ressources moins utilisées de la mairie, qui montrent comment Lubartów était administrée au quotidien. Elles permettent d'aborder la question de la discrimination et de l'exclusion de certains groupes de citoyens, et de comprendre l'importance du travail administratif pratique. Parmi d'autres sources, j'ai également étudié les registres des organisations, des partis politiques et des syndicats, qui sont essentiels pour comprendre la logique derrière les processus de regroupement social à Lubartów.

Mon approche des documents administratifs repose sur une lecture très attentive. Deux points me semblent essentiels dans cette approche. Premièrement, ces documents ont une histoire : leur examen doit tenir compte du contexte de leur création, notamment des personnes impliquées, de leur objectif et de leur méthode, ainsi que des étapes de leur production. Ce contexte permet de déchiffrer les relations de pouvoir complexes qui se cachent derrière les documents, tant au sein de la hiérarchie administrative que dans les relations entre les

[14] Pierre Mercklé et Claire Zalc, « Peut-on modéliser la persécution ? Apports et limites des approches quantifiées sur le terrain de la Shoah », *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales,* vol. 73, no. 4, 2018, p. 923-957 ; Nicolas Mariot et Claire Zalc, « Reconstructing Trajectories of Persecution: Reflections on a Prosopography of Holocaust Victims », *in* Claire Zalc et Tal Bruttmann (dir.), *Microhistories of the Holocaust*, Oxford et New York, Berghahn Books, 2016, p. 85-112.

fonctionnaires et les habitants de la ville[15]. Les habitants de Lubartów ne sont pas restés passifs dans cette relation, car les documents reflètent largement leurs actions, leurs initiatives et leurs stratégies (demandes de soutien, recours, etc)[16].

Une lecture attentive des documents implique également le respect de la complexité matérielle des sources. J'accorde une attention particulière à toutes sortes d'interférences, aux changements d'écriture et d'outils utilisés, aux notes en marge, aux ratures et aux soulignements[17]. Cette dimension de la lecture ajoute souvent un autre niveau de compréhension des stratégies adoptées par la personne impliquée dans la production, la transmission ou la réception des documents. Elle peut non seulement modifier la compréhension des actions administratives, mais aussi remettre en question l'image des bureaux et de l'administration en tant que machine gérée de manière centralisée et fonctionnant selon des directives et une logique uniformes, ainsi que montrer les limites des formulaires administratifs et des catégorisations[18].

Un autre ensemble de sources que j'utilise est constitué de récits de résidents juifs et non juifs de Lubartów couvrant à la fois l'entre-deux-guerres et la période de guerre. Il s'agit notamment de témoignages recueillis par la Commission historique juive ou de mémoires publiés dans le *Yizkor Buch* de Lubartów, ainsi que d'entretiens vidéo avec des survivants juifs enregistrés entre les années 1980 et 2000. Je les juxtapose aux récits de résidents non juifs de Lubartów, provenant de différentes sources, principalement des entretiens vidéo de la collection Ośrodek « Brama Grodzka- Teatr NN » et des entretiens audio de l'USHMM enregistrés à Lubartów en 2011. Ces témoignages offrent différentes perspectives sur la réalité sociale et les contacts interethniques à Lubartów. En ce qui concerne la guerre, j'aborde la question de la dimension

[15] Claire Zalc, *Denaturalized. How Thousands Lost Their Citizenship and Lives in Vichy France*, Cambridge, Massachusetts et Londres, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020.
[16] Simona Cerutti et Massimo Vallerani, « Suppliques. Lois et cas dans la normativité de l'époque moderne », *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques. Revue électronique*, no. 13, 2015 ; Didier Fassin, « La supplique. Stratégies rhétoriques et constructions identitaires dans les demandes d'aide d'urgence », *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales,* vol. 55, no. 5, 2000, p. 955-981 ; Asquer Enrica et Ceci Lucia (dir.), *Scrivere alle autorità. Suppliche, petizioni, appelli, richieste di deroga in età contemporanea,* Rome, Viella, 2021.
[17] Claire Zalc, « Discretionary Power in the Hands of an Authoritarian State: A Study of Denaturalizations under the Vichy Regime (1940–1944) », *The Journal of Modern History,* vol. 4, 2020, p. 821-822 ; Anya Bernstein et Elizabeth Mertz (dir.), « Symposium on Bureaucracy: Ethnography of the State in Everyday Life », numéro spécial, *Political and Legal Anthropology Review,* vol. 34, no. 1, 2011, p. 6-7 ; Sylvain Laurens, « Les agents de l'État face à leur propre pouvoir. Éléments pour une micro-analyse des mots griffonnés en marge des décisions officielles », *Genèses,* vol. 72, 2008, p. 26-41.
[18] Morgane Labbé, « La statistique d'une minorité sans nom : les "Tutejsi" dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres », *in* Paul Bauer, Christian Jacques, Mathieu Plésiat et Máté Zombory (dir.), *Minorités nationales en Europe centrale. Démocratie, savoirs scientifiques et enjeux de représentation*, Prague, CEFRES, 2011, p. 131-153.

communautaire de la Shoah à Lubartów à partir d'entretiens et de témoignages de Juifs et de non-Juifs[19]. Les cartes et les photographies ajoutent une autre perspective sur les relations sociales à Lubartów. Elles sont utilisées pour illustrer les questions liées à la ségrégation spatiale dans la ville et à la vie communautaire dans l'espace public. Les photographies proviennent principalement de collections locales à Lubartów.

Structure de la thèse

Ma thèse est divisée en deux parties correspondant à deux domaines d'observation des relations interethniques et interreligieuses à Lubartów. Les deux parties couvrent les périodes de l'avant-guerre et de la guerre ; la rupture chronologique dans la thèse sert à souligner la recherche des continuités et discontinuités dans ces deux domaines sélectionnés. Dans les deux cas, je me concentre sur des aspects peu étudiés, tels que la continuité des modèles de ségrégation dans les petites villes ou l'ethnicisation de la question des déchets dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres.

La première partie concerne les collectivités locales. Au début, en ce qui concerne Lubartów entre les deux guerres, j'aborde les méthodes de sélection des gouvernements locaux et les restrictions à la participation au processus électoral (chapitre 1), ainsi que les conséquences de la répartition du pouvoir dans les collectivités locales sur les politiques locales, avec l'aide sociale comme étude de cas (chapitre 2). Le dernier chapitre de la première partie est consacré à la question de la relation entre l'attitude discriminatoire des autorités municipales pendant la période d'avant-guerre et leur participation à la mise en œuvre de politiques anti-juives pendant la guerre.

La deuxième partie se concentre sur la place du marché de Lubartów. J'examine tout d'abord la structure résidentielle de la place du marché dans l'entre-deux-guerres, les relations interethniques entre les habitants et la structure de propriété sur la place du marché (chapitre 4). J'aborde ensuite la question de la délimitation interethnique de la place du marché à travers le prisme des déchets, de l'antisémitisme et de la violence physique à l'encontre des Juifs. Le dernier chapitre (chapitre 6) traite des changements résidentiels survenus sur la place du marché

[19] Omer Bartov, « Communal Genocide: personal accounts of the destruction of Buczacz, eastern Galicia, 1941-1944 », *in* Omer Bartov et Eric D. Weitz (dir.), *Shatterzone of empires: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2013, p. 399-420 ; Anna Wylęgała, « Late Bystander Testimonies in East Galicia: Between Memory, Identity, and Loyalties », *East European Politics and Societies,* vol. 37, no. 1, 2023, p. 272-297.

pendant la guerre, aborde les questions de la ghettoïsation des Juifs à Lubartów et du sort des propriétés appartenant à des propriétaires juifs.

PARTIE I. ADMINISTRATION LOCALE DE LUBARTÓW, 1918-1943

CHAPITRE I. LA RÉPARTITION DU POUVOIR DANS L'ADMINISTRATION LOCALE DE LUBARTÓW DANS L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES

Introduction

Bien que cela ne fût pas évident, le nouvel État polonais était fondé sur les valeurs de tolérance, en tant que république basée sur le principe d'égalité des citoyens, indépendamment de leur sexe, de leur position sociale, de leur nationalité et de leur confession religieuse, avec en outre la garantie de la liberté individuelle, de la liberté d'expression, de réunion et de religion, ainsi que le droit d'utiliser sa langue maternelle dans la vie publique[20]. Il s'agissait d'une situation sans précédent pour les Juifs de Pologne. Dans le même temps, ils sont devenus une « minorité nationale », ce qui était également une nouveauté par rapport à la réalité d'avant-guerre des monarchies multiethniques[21]. Les citoyens juifs de Pologne ont obtenu des garanties internationales de leurs droits civils et nationaux collectifs, y compris ceux liés à l'éducation et à l'autonomie culturelle[22]. Cependant, être une « minorité » signifiait également exister dans une relation avec la « majorité », également comprise en termes ethnonationaux.

En référence aux États créés après la Première Guerre mondiale en Europe centrale et orientale, Rogers Brubaker a introduit la catégorie de « *nationalizing state* »[23]. Le *nationalizing state* était fondé sur la croyance en l'existence d'une « nation centrale », définie en termes ethnonationaux, qui détient un droit exclusif inhérent à l'État : « la communauté politique existe en tant que communauté politique *de* et *pour* la nation centrale »[24]. Dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres, les « *ethnic Poles* » constituaient la « nation centrale ». Les « minorités », y compris les citoyens juifs, quelle que soit leur attitude envers l'État, n'ont jamais été pleinement acceptées comme appartenant à la nation. Dans la réalité d'un *nationalizing state*, il n'était pas question de respecter pleinement leurs droits, même le droit à l'autonomie culturelle. La tension

[20] Włodzimierz Mędrzecki, *Odzyskany śmietnik, Jak radziliśmy sobie z niepodległością w II Rzeczypospolitej?*, Cracovie, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2023, p. 47.
[21] Włodzimierz Borodziej et Maciej Górny, *Nasza wojna. Tom 2. Narody 1917–1923*, Varsovie, Wydawnictwo W.A.B/ GW Foksal, 2018, p. 395.
[22] Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1983, p. 35-37.
[23] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*,Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Le Cap, Singapour, São Paulo et Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 79–106.
[24] *Ibid.,* p. 84.

entre le fait d'être citoyen de l'État et d'appartenir à une « minorité » était au cœur de l'existence politique des Juifs dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres. L'une des stratégies fondamentales des autorités étatiques et de l'appareil administratif pour résoudre cette tension consistait à abandonner l'égalité civile, à discriminer, exclure et opérer des différenciations entre les citoyens[25]. Comment les mécanismes d'exclusion fonctionnaient-ils au niveau des collectivités locales ? Faisaient-ils partie des stratégies utilisées par les collectivités locales pour organiser la vie communautaire ?

La mise en place d'une administration locale forte est devenue l'un des principes fondateurs de la Deuxième République polonaise lorsque le nouvel État polonais a été créé après la Première Guerre mondiale[26]. On pensait que l'administration locale pouvait être un outil de modernisation, permettant aux régions sous-développées de la Pologne de rattraper leur retard[27]. L'autonomie administrative dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres était mise en œuvre à trois niveaux : voïvodie, comté et commune – municipalité dans le cas de Lubartów[28]. L'organe législatif à Lubartów était le conseil municipal (*Rada Miasta*), élu au suffrage universel. La mairie (*Zarząd Miasta*), comprenant le maire et le maire-adjoint, était élue par les conseillers municipaux. Le système d'autonomie administrative garantissait que les autorités municipales étaient formellement indépendantes de l'influence de l'État, tous les pouvoirs découlant directement ou indirectement des élections. Ses tâches ont été définies dès 1919 et comprenaient l'administration de la ville et de ses ressources, l'aide aux pauvres, la planification et la gestion des investissements, la protection de la santé, la politique fiscale de la ville, le traitement des questions de logement et le soutien aux institutions éducatives et culturelles.

Dans les études consacrées aux collectivités locales de la Deuxième République polonaise, une attention particulière a été accordée aux conseils municipaux en tant que lieux où était mis en

[25] Ezra Mendelsohn, « Interwar Poland: Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews? », *in* Chimen Abramsky *et al.* (dir.), *The Jews in Poland,* Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1986, p. 130–139 ; Emanuel Melzer, *No Way Out: The politics of Polish Jewry 1935–1939*, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press, 1997.
[26] Regina Pacanowska, « Państwo wobec samorządów. Od zmiany w systemie finansów komunalnych do ustawy scaleniowej z 1933 r. », *in* Andrzej Piekara et Zygmunt Niewiadomski (dir.), *Samorząd terytorialny : zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne : praca zbiorowa*, Varsovie, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1998, p. 88.
[27] Jan Żarnowski, *Polska 1918–1939. Praca. Technika. Społeczeństwo*, Varsovie, Książka i Wiedza, 1999, p. 281-282 ; Aleksander Zawadzki, *Finanse samorządu terytorialnego w latach 1918–1939*, Varsovie, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, 1971, p. 80. En 1923, Lubartów ne disposait ni d'égouts, ni de réseau d'approvisionnement en eau, ni de réseau de gaz, ni de bains publics. La centrale électrique n'a été ouverte que dans les années 1930. Enquête de l'Union des villes polonaises, 19 juillet 1923. APL, AML, 57–61.
[28] Robert Stawicki, *Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczypospolitej – zarys prawno–historyczny*, Varsovie, Kancelaria Senatu, 2015, p. 9-14. Dans la pratique, dans la majorité des voïvodies, y compris celle de Lublin, l'autonomie locale n'a pas été mise en place.

œuvre le postulat démocratique du dialogue intergroupes dans l'élaboration des politiques locales, et où les représentants de différents groupes avaient la possibilité d'exprimer leurs besoins. Il a été noté que les collectivités locales servaient les intérêts municipaux, résolvaient les problèmes courants et prenaient des initiatives dans l'intérêt de tous les habitants, quelle que soit leur appartenance religieuse ou ethnique[29]. La méthode de sélection des conseillers par le biais d'élections à la proportionnelle, avec un pourcentage important de « minorités nationales », y compris des citoyens juifs, a donné aux groupes autres que les « *ethnic Poles* » une influence qu'ils n'avaient pas au parlement national.

Compte tenu du rôle fondamental des autorités locales dans les relations sociales dans les villes de la Deuxième République polonaise, de leur influence sur la vie des habitants et de leur rôle en tant qu'outil permettant d'exprimer les intérêts des groupes, mon travail se concentre sur l'analyse du fonctionnement du gouvernement local de Lubartów. Je commence par les processus électoraux, la manière et les circonstances de la nomination des autorités, qui ont abouti à la composition du conseil municipal et de la mairie de Lubartów. J'ai mis en évidence les facteurs internes qui ont pu influencer le processus électoral, tels que l'attitude du gouvernement local et des hiérarchies locales, les relations intergroupes et les attitudes électorales des habitants. J'ai étudié comment ces facteurs s'entremêlent avec les tendances nationales, les changements au sein du gouvernement central, les transformations dans la conception et la forme du gouvernement local et les sentiments antisémites. Je me suis en particulier intéressé aux divisions ethniques et religieuses et à leur rôle dans la répartition du pouvoir, tout en tenant compte des divisions intra-groupes.

Le déroulement de la campagne électorale, l'opinion publique qui accompagnait les élections et, surtout, les résultats des élections étaient une préoccupation pour les autorités à tous les niveaux. Mes recherches couvrent donc les archives de la ville, du comté et, dans une moindre mesure, de la voïvodie de Lublin. Ces archives permettent de comprendre comment le processus électoral a été planifié et mis en œuvre. Elles permettent également de retracer la dynamique des relations mutuelles entre les représentants des autorités à différents niveaux.

[29] Hanna Kozińska-Witt et Marcos Silber, « Introduction », *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, vol. 10, numéro special « Jewish Participation in Municipal Self–Administrations in East–Central Europe », 2011, p. 119 ; Alina Cała, *Żyd – wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła*, Varsovie, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny et Wydawnictwo Nisza, 2012, p. 343 ; A. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie*, *op. cit.*, p. 93 ; Hanna Kozińska–Witt, « Jews in Cracovian municipal council in the Polish Second Republic (1918–1939). Some general remarks », *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia,* vol. 14, 2016, p. 145–146 ; Hanna Kozińska-Witt, « Przerwane tradycje? Żydzi w wielkomiejskich samorządach Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej: Kraków, Poznań i Warszawa », *Teksty Drugie,* vol. 5, 2013, p. 127-140.

L'administration publique s'est impliquée de diverses manières, notamment en influençant le déroulement et le résultat du processus électoral. La manière dont les fonctionnaires perçoivent et décrivent la réalité sociale et politique de Lubartów, et la façon dont ils l'imaginaient, constituent une dimension supplémentaire de mon analyse.

La période de transition. Mise en place de l'exclusion dans le gouvernement local de Lubartów

Les élections municipales de 1919 à Lubartów, les premières dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres, se sont déroulées pendant une période particulièrement difficile dans les relations entre les habitants juifs et chrétiens. Dans la région de Lublin, il y a eu des agressions contre des Juifs, des accusations de sympathies bolcheviques lancées contre eux, ainsi que des accusations de collaboration avec les autorités d'occupation en retraite[30]. Le chef du comté de Lubartów a signalé plusieurs tentatives de pogroms dans la région de Lubartów en 1919. Les 14 et 18 mai, des paysans recrutés à Serniki, près de Lubartów, ont tenté d'organiser un pogrom à Lubartów, mais ils ont été arrêtés par l'armée et la police. La situation tendue s'est aggravée avec la paupérisation de la population et les difficultés d'approvisionnement, qui ont également conduit à des accusations contre les Juifs engagés dans le commerce. La concurrence économique a constitué un autre front. Les troubles sociaux, ainsi que le chaos administratif de la période de transition, ont certainement influencé le processus électoral fin 1918 et début 1919.

Le processus électoral de 1919 a été mené d'une manière qui a rendu difficile, voire impossible, la participation des résidents juifs de Lubartów. Son déroulement n'était pas clair et les autorités municipales et du comté n'ont pas informé les résidents juifs des étapes suivantes. Les Juifs n'étaient pas représentés au conseil municipal sortant, ils ne travaillaient pas au bureau de la mairie et ne prenaient pas part aux nominations des membres du comité électoral principal. Ils n'avaient donc aucune connaissance de l'organisation des élections. Mes recherches ont également mis en évidence des manipulations de la part du comité électoral et des retards dans les réponses aux représentants juifs, ce qui a rendu encore plus difficile l'inscription des résidents juifs en tant que candidats ou électeurs.

L'exclusion des Juifs de la participation au processus électoral a été favorisée par des circonstances extérieures, principalement la réglementation électorale peu claire, qui imposait des exigences élevées à ceux qui souhaitaient voter, avec un délai limité pour satisfaire à ces exigences. Le fait que le polonais soit la seule langue de communication avec les citoyens sur

[30] Konrad Zieliński, *Stosunki polsko–żydowskie na ziemiach Królestwa Polskiego w czasie pierwszej wojny światowej*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2005, p. 347–413.

les questions électorales a ajouté une autre dimension à l'exclusion. En résumé, l'accès des résidents juifs aux institutions gouvernementales locales à Lubartów était inégal et limité dès le départ. Compte tenu de la démographie de 1919, permettre aux résidents juifs de voter conformément à leurs droits constitutionnels aurait pu bouleverser complètement l'équilibre des pouvoirs dans la ville. La crainte de laisser des représentants juifs entrer dans le gouvernement municipal et la lutte pour maintenir la « majorité chrétienne » à Lubartów sont restées une préoccupation commune pour les autorités à tous les niveaux au cours des années qui ont suivi.

Préserver la « majorité chrétienne » au sein du gouvernement local entre 1919 et 1927

Le conseil municipal de 1919 fut élu pour un mandat de trois ans, jusqu'en 1922. Cependant, en vertu de la loi du 30 mars 1922, la durée du mandat pouvait être prolongée par décision administrative jusqu'à l'adoption d'une nouvelle loi électorale. À Lubartów, il a duré jusqu'en 1927. En conséquence, pendant huit ans, les habitants juifs de Lubartów, qui constituaient la majorité de la population de la ville, n'ont eu aucune influence sur la gouvernance municipale. En empêchant les habitants juifs de Lubartów de participer aux élections de 1919, le gouvernement de la ville est resté entre les mains de l'élite chrétienne. Dans le même temps, cela n'a pas supprimé les facteurs essentiels qui ont généré un sentiment de menace, à savoir principalement l'avantage démographique des habitants juifs et leur volonté de participer aux élections et aux autorités municipales. Les décisions prises par le gouvernement municipal au cours des années suivantes, en particulier par le maire, visaient à empêcher la perte de la « majorité chrétienne/polonaise » au sein du gouvernement municipal. Les autorités gouvernementales avaient toutes les cartes en main, car l'exclusion des Juifs au niveau local coïncidait avec celle au niveau provincial et national.

La principale préoccupation était d'augmenter le nombre d'électeurs chrétiens. Depuis 1922, Władyslaw Śliwa, en tant que maire, a fait valoir la nécessité d'annexer les zones adjacentes de Zagrody Lubartowskie afin d'augmenter le nombre de résidents chrétiens de la ville et de maintenir la majorité au conseil municipal. Ce faisant, il puise dans le réservoir du nationalisme polonais, d'où il tire sa rhétorique d'une confrontation entre les éléments nationaux et l'utilisation de catégories nationales et religieuses. Il attribue aux « Juifs », considérés comme des étrangers, le projet de prendre le contrôle des villes et des villages. Il fait ainsi *de facto* de

l'annexion de Zagrody un acte de légitime défense nationale-chrétienne contre la menace juive[31].

Ce n'est que quelques années plus tard, le 15 février 1927, que le gouvernement central adopte une résolution sur l'incorporation du village de Zagrody Lubartowskie et des zones environnantes à Lubartów à compter du 1er avril 1927. La croissance démographique a eu lieu 16 jours avant les élections locales et le dernier jour où le bureau municipal pouvait préparer les listes électorales pour le conseil municipal. 264 habitants, dont seulement 3 Juifs, des zones nouvellement incorporées figuraient sur les listes. Tout cela indique que l'organisation des élections et l'incorporation des zones suburbaines à Lubartów ont été précisément synchronisées.

Le calendrier du processus électoral de 1927 s'est avéré essentiel. Les élections à Lubartów se sont déroulées selon un calendrier individuel, et la date était la plus précoce de toutes les villes de la voïvodie de Lublin. Le calendrier a permis aux habitants de Zagrody d'être inscrits sur les listes électorales à la date limite d'inscription. En même temps, le calendrier tenait compte des déplacements saisonniers des maçons pour leur travail. Les élections ont eu lieu le dernier week-end avant le départ de la plupart d'entre eux. Sur les 196 maçons inscrits sur les listes électorales, 173 ont voté, soit plus de 88 % des personnes habilitées à voter. Le taux de participation élevé allait de pair avec le nombre élevé de maçons sur les listes de candidats, avec pas moins de 32 sur les trois listes chrétiennes. Depuis le XVIIIe siècle, la maçonnerie était une profession traditionnelle à Lubartów, exercée presque exclusivement par des chrétiens.

Non seulement une forte participation des résidents chrétiens, mais aussi un accord entre tous les acteurs sociaux et politiques, étaient nécessaires pour maintenir le pouvoir entre les mains des chrétiens. Le maire Śliwa et le chef du comté ont cherché à former un bloc unique de candidats chrétiens pour les élections, ce qui serait avantageux en raison du système électoral. Le maintien de « l'unité chrétienne », également appelée « unité polonaise », ou plutôt le danger de son effondrement et de la perte de contrôle sur les institutions gouvernementales locales, est devenu un outil de mobilisation de l'électorat et une arme dans la lutte politique à Lubartów, en particulier pour les candidats pro-gouvernementaux qui ont utilisé l'agitation antisémite, présentant les Juifs comme une menace pour le gouvernement local.

[31] Joanna B. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Others. The image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2006 ; Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Learn to Hate*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000 ; Grzegorz Krzywiec, *Polska bez Żydów*, Varsovie, IH PAN, 2017.

Le processus électoral à Lubartów peut servir d'illustration du fonctionnement du *nationalizing state* au niveau local[32]. La croyance en la suprématie d'une « nation centrale » ayant un droit inhérent à gouverner était profondément ancrée dans les institutions et chez les responsables locaux qui ont mobilisé les ressources disponibles pour mettre en œuvre ces mesures depuis les débuts de l'État polonais. La mise en place d'autorités locales chrétiennes a été réalisée grâce à des décisions administratives et à une coordination efficace des autorités à tous les niveaux. Le point de vue des autorités locales, municipales et régionales sur la question de la composition ethnoreligieuse ou ethnonationale de Lubartów est proche de la doctrine de la « majorité polonaise », sur laquelle les nationalistes ont fondé leur campagne parlementaire en 1922[33]. Comme le montre l'exemple de Lubartów, la réflexion sur l'autonomie locale en termes ethnonationaux était déjà profondément ancrée au niveau local à cette époque.

À la recherche d'une représentation des citoyens de Lubartów – Élections de 1927

Le dimanche 24 avril 1927 a eu lieu le seul scrutin populaire à Lubartów pendant l'entre-deux-guerres. En raison de l'absence de restrictions à la constitution de listes électorales et à la participation au vote, les élections locales de 1927 à Lubartów ont fourni une perspective précieuse sur la complexité sociale de la ville. Elles pourraient servir d'étude de cas pour observer comment les citoyens de Lubartów se sont regroupés lors de l'établissement des listes électorales et du vote. Les élections ont donné lieu à un taux de participation de plus de 80 % et à la formation d'un nouveau conseil municipal à la composition très complexe (Tableau 1). Les élections ont entraîné un changement complet, aucun des conseillers sortants n'ayant obtenu de prolongation de son mandat.

Les conseillers ont été élus à partir de six listes de candidats. Deux d'entre elles regroupaient des résidents juifs de Lubartów, auparavant absents des autorités locales. En outre, deux nouvelles forces politiques sont apparues sur la scène politique de Lubartów : le Club démocratique pro-gouvernemental, sous la bannière du Comité électoral polonais pour la réparation de l'économie municipale, et l'Unité des travailleurs, représentant les employés de la verrerie. Comme cela a déjà été démontré, les affiliations ethnoreligieuses ont été politisées à Lubartów dès le début de la domination polonaise. Lors des élections de 1927, elles sont devenues le critère de base pour la division des listes électorales.

[32] R. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, *op. cit.*, p. 79-106.
[33] Paweł Brykczyński, *Primed for Violence: Murder, Antisemitism, and Democratic Politics in Interwar Poland*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2016, p. 120-144, 153-159 et 257-260.

Dans la perspective adoptée par le chef du comté, la logique des divisions entre les candidats et les groupes chrétiens était déterminée à Lubartów par les affiliations politiques et professionnelles ainsi que par les questions de résidence. Les candidats juifs, en revanche, étaient regroupés en fonction de leur situation matérielle et de leur position sociale, ainsi que de leur source de revenus. Dans le même temps, le chef du comté était beaucoup plus enclin à attribuer une affiliation politique aux candidats juifs qu'aux candidats chrétiens. Sur les 11 conseillers juifs et les cinq députés, seuls deux figuraient sur la liste du chef du comté comme étant sans affiliation politique, contre 9 sur 18 chrétiens. Néanmoins, les informations fournies par le chef du comté ne peuvent être considérées comme fiables, car dans plusieurs cas au moins, elles ne correspondent pas aux registres des organisations.

Numéro et nom de la liste	**Votes**	**Conseillers**	**Adjoints**
1— « Liste juive » numéro 1	1 001 (33 %)	8	4
2 — « Liste juive » numéro 2	454 (15 %)	3	1
3 — Liste bourgeoise non partisane des résidents permanents	755 (25 %)	6	3
4 — Comité polonais pour la réparation de l'économie urbaine	358 (12 %)	3	1
5 — Unité des travailleurs	234 (8 %)	2	1
6 — Parti socialiste polonais	271 (9 %)	2	1
TOTAL	**3 073 (100 %)**	**24**	**10**

Tableau 1. Résultats des élections de 1927 à Lubartów. Source : rapport du chef du comté, 25 avril 1927, APL, UWL-WSP, 1652, 23.

Les listes de candidats et de conseillers, comparées à la composition des conseils des partis politiques, indiquent que l'appartenance à un parti n'était pas essentielle dans le regroupement des candidats juifs sur les listes. Il en va de même pour les professions des Juifs se présentant au conseil : les deux listes étaient dominées par les commerçants, qui représentaient les trois quarts de la première liste et la moitié de la seconde. Les artisans, deuxième groupe syndiqué le plus important parmi les Juifs de Lubartów, ne jouaient un rôle significatif sur aucune des deux listes. Afin de comprendre la logique des divisions électorales parmi les Juifs, il a fallu étudier les conflits internes au sein de la communauté juive. Ces conflits avaient été observés au moins depuis les élections du conseil communautaire juif de 1924.

Lors des élections de 1924 au conseil de la *Kehilla* juive, les voix se sont réparties à parts égales entre les sionistes généraux, les Mizrachi, les orthodoxes et un groupe non partisan. Un membre du conseil et un adjoint ont été élus sur chaque liste. Szmul Rubinsztajn, chef du groupe orthodoxe représentant les élites établies, est devenu président. Rubinsztajn et ses alliés ont accusé deux membres de la liste non partisane du conseil de la *Kehilla*, Joel Feldman et son adjoint Froim Akiersztajn, d'immoralité, ce qui a été repris par le chef du comté qui a recommandé au voïvode de ne pas approuver leur élection. Au cours des mois suivants, le chef du comté, soutenu par les plaintes des membres de la *Kehilla* juive, a continué à mener une campagne contre les trois hommes, arguant que « leur nomination aigrirait la population juive pacifique et loyale de Lubartów »[34].

Les affrontements au sein de la communauté juive ont constitué la toile de fond des élections municipales. Les deux « listes juives » étaient menées par les principaux adversaires dans le conflit : Froim Akierszatjn (liste n° 1) et Szmul Rubinsztajn (liste n° 2). La liste d'Akiersztajn a remporté 1 001 voix, soit deux fois plus que celle de Rubinsztajn. Le conflit au sein de la *Kehilla* et le déroulement du processus électoral mettent en évidence un problème fondamental de la politique juive moderne, lié à la politisation et à l'émancipation des groupes privés d'influence. À en juger par l'ampleur du soutien dont a bénéficié la liste d'Akiersztajn pour le conseil municipal, ainsi que par la différence par rapport au nombre de voix obtenues par son groupe lors de l'élection du conseil de la *Kehilla*, le résultat des élections locales doit être largement attribué à la mobilisation des femmes juives, qui ont eu pour la première fois en 1927 la possibilité de voter lors d'élections publiques. Le fait de s'adresser aux habitants sous-représentés et pauvres de la ville et de défendre un programme a eu un impact particulièrement fort dans le contexte du vote populaire. La présence de Juifs dans les autorités municipales était redoutée par les élites chrétiennes locales depuis la création du nouvel État, et le succès d'Akiersztajn a renforcé ces craintes.

Les élections locales de 1927 à Lubartów ont montré que les habitants juifs et chrétiens étaient divisés en interne. Malgré la dispersion, les ressentiments et les idéologies conflictuelles au sein des deux groupes, aucune liste dépassant les frontières ethnoreligieuses ne s'est dégagée. Il est certain que la formation de l'alliance a été rendue plus difficile par l'inexistence de partis juifs de gauche à Lubartów, notamment le Bund, dont les militants dans la seconde moitié des années 1920 se comptaient sur les doigts d'une main.

[34] Rapport du chef du comté, 8 octobre 1924. APL, UWL-WSP, 1573, 22.

Vers une nouvelle exclusion des Juifs du gouvernement autonome

Le mandat des autorités municipales élues en 1927 à Lubartów a été prolongé, comme dans d'autres villes polonaises, jusqu'à l'introduction de la loi de 1933, qui a modifié les pouvoirs des collectivités locales et leur mode d'élection. Pendant sept ans, le conseil municipal, qui comptait une importante représentation de Juifs de Lubartów, est resté en fonction, ce qui a influencé dans une certaine mesure l'orientation des politiques municipales et la répartition des fonds à Lubartów. Dans les années 1930, des élections locales ont eu lieu à deux reprises, en 1934 et en 1939. En conséquence, la représentation juive au sein du gouvernement local a considérablement diminué (Tableau 2). Afin de comprendre les raisons de la marginalisation politique des habitants juifs de Lubartów, je me suis concentré sur les changements résultant des nouvelles réglementations, du processus électoral et des mesures administratives, du renforcement du bloc pro-gouvernemental ainsi que de son agitation antisémite à la fin des années 1930.

ÉLECTION	CONSEIL MUNICIPAL	MAIRIE	RÉSIDENTS PERMANENTS	RÉSIDENTS AYANT LE DROIT DE VOTE
1919-1927	24 catholiques	5 catholiques	6 102 54 % de Juifs / 46 % de catholiques (en 1921)	3 278
1927-1934	13 catholiques / 11 Juifs	3 catholiques / 2 Juifs		3 752
1934-1939	11 catholiques / 5 Juifs	4 catholiques / 1 Juif	7 718 44 % de Juifs / 54 % de catholiques	3 745 43 % de Juifs / 55 % de catholiques
1939	13 catholiques / 3 Juifs	5 catholiques	8 121 42 % de Juifs / 58 % de catholiques	4 089 40 % de Juifs / 55 % de catholiques

Tableau 2. Répartition des sièges au conseil municipal et à la mairie par rapport à la population de Lubartów : nombre d'habitants et nombre d'habitants ayant le droit de vote. Sources : APL, AML, APL, UWL-WSP, 1650, 131. APL, AML, 39-48.

Dans la doctrine des nouvelles autorités après 1926, le gouvernement local ne servait pas à mettre en œuvre les droits et libertés civils, mais plutôt à accomplir les tâches imposées par l'État et à assurer une gestion efficace[35]. Dans la pratique, les changements ont d'abord

[35] Waldemar Paruch, « Samorząd w autorytaryzmie. Piłsudczykowska koncepcja samorządności (1926–1939) », *in* Grzegorz Radomski (dir.), *Samorząd w polskiej myśli politycznej XX wieku*, Toruń, Wydawnictwo UMK, 2003, p. 153-178.

concerné la nomination des chefs de comté, qui étaient directement nommés par l'administration gouvernementale[36]. Au cours des années suivantes, à partir de 1928, le champ d'application juridique de l'indépendance du gouvernement local autonomea été progressivement limité[37]. En 1933, la loi dite de consolidation a été introduite afin d'établir un système uniforme d'administration locale en Pologne, qui variait auparavant selon les régions du pays. En vertu de cette loi, la supervision de l'État sur les organes locaux s'est renforcée et le maire est devenu plus étroitement lié à l'administration publique.

L'organisation du processus électoral à Lubartów dans les années 1930 montre une intégration complète des collectivités locales dans les activités du camp pro-gouvernemental. Au niveau local, les structures pro-gouvernementales du BBWR ont participé à la préparation du terrain pour les élections et à la garantie du succès électoral. L'une des principales méthodes utilisées pour maintenir le contrôle sur le processus électoral consistait à créer une « liste de compromis » comprenant des candidats disposés à collaborer. En cas d'échec des négociations pour établir une liste unique, des outils administratifs étaient utilisés pour priver les candidats de leur droit de se présenter aux élections. En 1939, lors des élections locales, la commission électorale principale de Lubartów a rejeté l'enregistrement de deux listes concurrentes à celle des candidats pro-gouvernementaux. La loi électorale et les mesures administratives ont non seulement conduit à l'invalidation des listes extérieures au camp pro-gouvernemental, mais ont également eu un effet d'intimidation sur les mouvements politiques indépendants. Compte tenu de la manière dont le processus électoral était conçu, présenter une liste indépendante avait non seulement peu de chances d'aboutir, mais pouvait même entraîner des sanctions pénales. Par conséquent, la décision de rejoindre les listes électorales pro-gouvernementales était une question de survie au sein du gouvernement local.

À Lubartów, depuis 1927, date à laquelle la mairie a été établie grâce à l'intervention des autorités gouvernementales, jusqu'à la fin des années 1930, le camp pro-gouvernemental a renforcé sa position, ne laissant aucune place à l'influence ou à la participation au gouvernement pour toute initiative politique ne relevant pas du bloc pro-gouvernemental. Le système Sanacja de gouvernement local, outre le contrôle des autorités, reposait également sur la création d'un réseau d'organisations sociales liées personnellement et organisationnellement

[36] R. Pacanowska, « Państwo wobec samorządów », art. cit., p. 103.
[37] En 1928, le principe de primauté de l'administration gouvernementale a été introduit, ce qui signifie que les collectivités locales ne pouvaient agir que dans les domaines qui leur étaient attribués. Hubert Izdebski, « Samorząd terytorialny w II Rzeczpospolitej », *in* Andrzej Piekara et Zygmunt Niewiadomski (dir.), *Samorząd terytorialny. Zagadnienia prawne i administracyjne*, Varsovie, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze, 1998, p. 79-84.

aux autorités locales pro-gouvernementales, qui comprenait des représentants de 20 organisations sociales et professionnelles différentes de Lubartów, notamment des verriers, des maçons et des enseignants. Le comité était placé sous le patronage du clergé catholique le plus important de la ville.

À Lubartów, dans les années 1930, il était impensable que quelqu'un puisse se présenter aux élections locales sans coopérer avec le camp pro-gouvernemental. Compte tenu de la pression administrative et de l'influence des cercles du camp gouvernemental, les individus et les groupes qui décidaient de coopérer n'étaient pas sur un pied d'égalité dans cet arrangement. Lors des deux élections des années 1930, seuls deux conseillers chrétiens n'ont pas été affectés aux deux partis pro-gouvernementaux. Dans le cas des conseillers juifs de 1930, l'expérience de la coopération entre les groupes religieux et ethniques et la compétence semblent plus importantes que l'appartenance à un parti et les stratégies politiques. Il est également probable que la maîtrise du polonais, exigée des candidats depuis la loi de 1933, ait joué un rôle dans la nomination des candidats juifs. Les anciens dirigeants de la communauté juive ne remplissaient peut-être pas cette condition, mais tous les conseillers juifs avaient environ 40 ans.

À la suite de deux élections consécutives dans les années 1930, le nombre de représentants juifs dans les autorités municipales a diminué. Ce processus a coïncidé avec des changements dans la proportion de résidents juifs et non juifs à Lubartów. Cependant, la position des Juifs sur les « listes de compromis » n'était pas le résultat d'un calcul arithmétique basé sur la démographie ou la popularité des candidats juifs, mais résultait de la force du camp pro-gouvernemental, qui avait fait de la marginalisation, voire de l'exclusion des Juifs, l'une des priorités de sa politique locale. Cela a été clairement exprimé lors du rassemblement fondateur du Comité électoral Ozon en février 1939. Le discours antisémite tenu lors de ce rassemblement, auquel ont participé des responsables municipaux et régionaux, des représentants de l'Église et des organisations sociales, appelait à l'exclusion totale des Juifs des autorités municipales, les privant de leur rôle d'hôtes de la ville et les excluant ainsi de la communauté des habitants.

Conclusion

Le modèle de gouvernement local qui excluait les résidents juifs de la participation aux autorités municipales a été établi à Lubartów dans les premiers temps de l'État polonais et est resté en place jusqu'à la fin des années 1930. Même les élections de 1927, bien qu'elles soient les seules à avoir permis la libre nomination des candidats et la participation des personnes habilitées à voter, avaient été précédées de mesures administratives visant à maintenir la « majorité

chrétienne ». L'exclusion avait une dimension législative claire, à travers les exigences imposées aux candidats et aux électeurs, qui touchaient les résidents juifs de Lubartów et certains groupes défavorisés. Néanmoins, les acteurs locaux ont joué un rôle fondamental dans le déroulement des élections et, par conséquent, dans la répartition du pouvoir local. C'est à l'initiative du maire, des fonctionnaires municipaux et départementaux et de l'ensemble du groupe d'activistes chrétiens que trois des quatre élections ont été décidées sans vote, et que les Juifs ont été marginalisés dans les décisions concernant la ville pendant toute la période de l'entre-deux-guerres.

Les élections de 1927, avec un taux de participation de plus de 80 % et six listes électorales, donnent l'image d'une ville hautement politisée dont les habitants sont conscients de l'importance des élections. Il est intéressant de noter que les lignes de partage étaient une combinaison d'identifications professionnelles, de positions économiques, de richesse et d'appartenance à des organisations sociales. Malgré la complexité des divisions, il n'y avait aucun terrain d'entente permettant aux candidats juifs et non juifs de s'allier sur les listes électorales, tandis que la mobilisation fondée sur la division entre juifs et chrétiens est devenue la stratégie électorale de base des principales listes chrétiennes.

Les élections locales à Lubartów témoignent de la faiblesse de l'influence locale des partis politiques tout au long de l'entre-deux-guerres. Dès le premier conseil élu en 1919, les candidats non affiliés constituaient la majorité. Cette faiblesse des structures et l'absence de base de soutien ont peut-être contribué au fait que le camp pro-gouvernemental se soit imposé si facilement et rapidement à Lubartów, d'abord sous la forme du Bloc démocratique, puis du BBWR, et enfin, à la fin des années 1930, sous la forme de l'Ozon. À son tour, la force de ce camp, solidement implanté dans les autorités et l'administration de la ville et des comtés, ainsi que dans les organisations sociales et les institutions publiques, a empêché tout mouvement politique capable de le contester de voir le jour dans la ville.

CHAPITRE 2. L'ETHNICISATION DE L'AIDE. JUIFS ET CHRÉTIENS À L'INTÉRIEUR ET À L'EXTÉRIEUR DU SYSTÈME D'AIDE SOCIALE DURANT L'ENTRE-DEUX-GUERRES À LUBARTÓW

Introduction

Ce chapitre vise à déterminer si les politiques municipales et les actions des bureaux municipaux à Lubartów ont été influencées par la répartition du pouvoir entre Juifs et chrétiens, et dans quelle mesure. L'étude de cas porte sur l'aide sociale, l'un des domaines fondamentaux de la gestion des ressources publiques à Lubartów. Je me concentre sur les relations entre les autorités centrales et locales, en examinant comment les politiques nationales et les réformes de l'État ont été mises en œuvre à Lubartów. En outre, je montre la dynamique locale qui a présidé à la mise en place et au fonctionnement du système d'aide sociale, ainsi que le rôle joué par les divisions religieuses et ethniques. Mon analyse va au-delà des budgets municipaux et des discussions du conseil municipal, qui ont été étudiés de manière très approfondie[38]. Dans une large mesure, ce chapitre se concentre sur la dimension pratique de l'aide, depuis les décisions prises par le pouvoir exécutif local jusqu'aux pratiques administratives spécifiques. Il examine ainsi des cas individuels de personnes dans le besoin, toutes les étapes de la distribution de l'aide et les moyens utilisés par les personnes pour obtenir de l'aide.

Ma connaissance du système d'aide sociale à Lubartów provient principalement des archives municipales produites et collectées entre 1924 et 1939. La plupart des archives traitent de la distribution des prestations ainsi que de la collaboration et du subventionnement des organisations caritatives. Ces deux aspects offrent une perspective globale sur le rôle des divisions religieuses et ethniques dans l'organisation du système d'aide sociale local et, plus généralement, de l'administration locale. Bien que je me concentre sur les pratiques au sein du système, le tableau serait incomplet sans tenir compte du soutien organisé en dehors du système par la mobilisation humanitaire locale, ou de l'aide étrangère fournie aux Juifs par l'organisation humanitaire mondiale Joint, comme le montrent les archives du YIVO, et par la *landsmanshaft* aux États-Unis, qui continuait à recevoir des lettres de compatriotes à Lubartów.

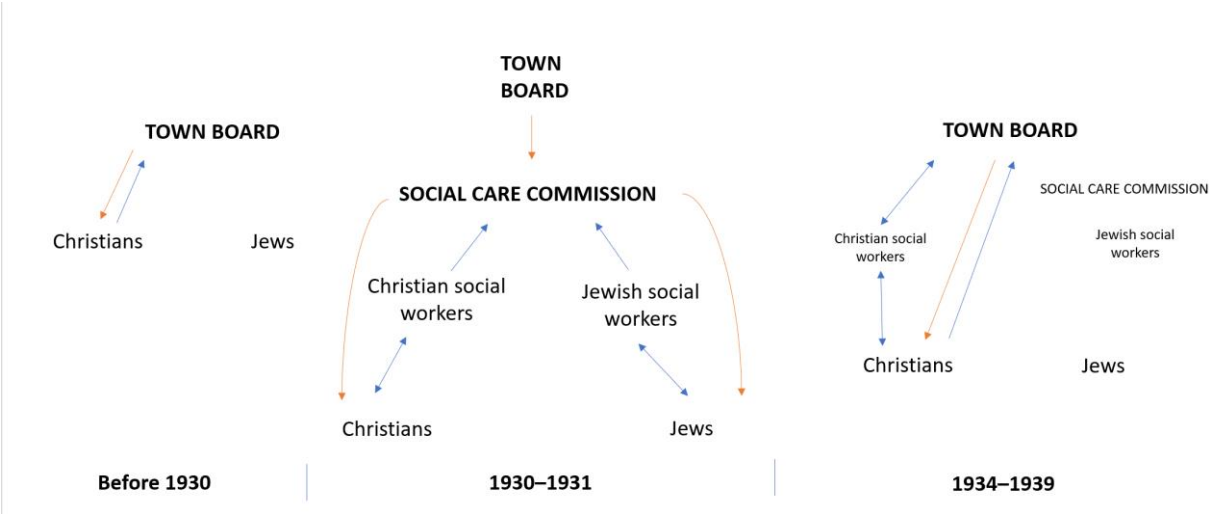
Architecture du système d'aide sociale

[38] Hanna Kozińska-Witt, « Samorządowa polityka przyznawania subwencji wobec potrzeb żydowskich mieszkańców Krakowa (1918–1939) : proza budżetów samorządowych a dyskurs publicystyczny », *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów,* vol. 255, no. 3, 2015, p. 413-445 ; Hanna Kozińska-Witt, « Polityka społeczna samorządu m. st. Warszawy względem żydowskich mieszkańców stolicy (1919–1939) – według relacji prasowych », *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, vol. 267, no. 3, 2018, p. 35-88.

Les politiques et les actions examinées dans ce chapitre étaient considérées par les institutions locales et nationales comme faisant partie de l'*opieka społeczna*, que j'ai choisi de traduire par « aide sociale », afin de la distinguer de l'« assistance sociale » (*polityka społeczna*), terme couramment utilisé dans le contexte de l'assurance sociale. Les institutions et initiatives d'aide à Lubartów ont créé un système de vaisseaux interconnectés qui doit être considéré de manière transversale et intersectorielle. L'aide aux plus démunis de Lubartów était fournie à trois niveaux : sur la base du système d'aide sociale de l'État, financé et organisé par la ville ; par des organisations d'aide locales, intégrées au système public mais opérant également en grande partie en dehors de celui-ci ; et par le soutien transnational d'organisations humanitaires et de compatriotes à l'étranger. Comme le système public d'aide sociale ne remplissait pas son obligation fondamentale de fournir une aide à tous ceux qui en avaient besoin, soit parce qu'il manquait de ressources suffisantes, soit parce qu'il discriminait certains groupes ou ne réagissait pas assez rapidement en cas d'urgence, les personnes dans le besoin devaient compter sur la mobilisation humanitaire, menée par des organisations caritatives qui mobilisaient les communautés locales et organisaient l'aide provenant de l'étranger.

La responsabilité du financement et du fonctionnement de l'aide sociale incombait principalement aux unités administratives locales (*gminy*), telles que la municipalité de Lubartów. Le système d'aide sociale de l'entre-deux-guerres, bien que créé sur la base de règles modernes d'aide universelle et obligatoire, présentait en fait de nombreuses similitudes avec les modèles qui prévalaient auparavant. Un système de protection sociale à deux vitesses a été maintenu à Lubartów, l'aide organisée par les institutions publiques excluant totalement ou partiellement les Juifs qui recevaient le soutien d'organisations d'aide juives internationales. Entre les deux, il existait des organisations caritatives, juives et non juives, souvent créées avant la guerre, qui entretenaient des liens plus ou moins étroits avec les deux principaux systèmes[39].

[39] Marek Przeniosło, « Organizacje samopomocy społecznej », *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2011, p. 57-72, voir p. 71.



Graphique 1. Modèles de distribution des prestations sociales à Lubartów dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Bleu : flux d'informations, orange : flux de prestations.

La première période d'aide sociale publique dans l'entre-deux-guerres à Lubartów a déjà montré que, malgré son universalité déclarée, elle fonctionnait sur la base de divisions ethnoreligieuses (graphique 1). Au cours de cette période, les prestations étaient fournies directement par la mairie à la demande personnelle d'une personne dans le besoin. Les archives municipales indiquent qu'entre 1925 et 1929, la mairie n'a examiné que quelques demandes, et seuls des chrétiens figuraient parmi les bénéficiaires de l'aide. Cela signifiait l'exclusion totale des Juifs, qui devaient chercher de l'aide au sein de leur propre communauté, localement et à l'étranger. L'absence d'aide publique coïncidait avec l'exclusion des Juifs du gouvernement municipal.

Le système d'aide sociale fonctionnel et éphémère

L'intégration des Juifs dans le système d'aide publique, rendue possible grâce à la représentation des résidents juifs au sein du gouvernement municipal depuis 1927 (Tableau 3), s'est faite par le biais d'un organisme caritatif juif. L'intégration des organisations caritatives locales dans le cadre de l'aide sociale, bien qu'elle ait permis d'élargir le cercle des personnes aidées, a *de facto* renforcé une logique d'aide fondée sur les divisions religieuses et ethniques. Une véritable révolution dans la manière dont les fonds publics étaient distribués à Lubartów est survenue avec la nomination de la Commission d'aide sociale et des travailleurs sociaux (*opiekunowie społeczni*) sur la base de la réforme de 1928, qui visait à impliquer les communautés locales dans le travail d'aide sociale. La Commission avait pour mission d'organiser un système d'aide sociale, de planifier les dépenses et de superviser le travail des travailleurs sociaux, tout en coordonnant l'aide avec les organisations caritatives locales. La

composition ethnoreligieuse de la Commission dépendait largement de la répartition du pouvoir au sein du gouvernement entre chrétiens et juifs (Tableau 3).

Mandat	Conseil municipal	Mairie	Commission d'aide sociale
1919-1927	24 catholiques	5 catholiques	
1927-1934	13 catholiques / 11 Juifs	3 catholiques / 2Juifs	3 catholiques / 2 Juifs
1934-1939	11 catholiques / 5 Juifs	4 catholiques / 1 Juif	4 catholiques / 1 Juif
1939	13 catholiques / 3 Juifs	5 catholiques	4 catholiques / 1 Juif

Tableau 3. Répartition des sièges au conseil municipal, à la mairie et à la commission d'aide sociale. Source : Protocoles du conseil communal et du conseil municipal, 1919-1939. APL, AML, 105-117.

La tâche des travailleurs sociaux consistait à s'assurer que les personnes dans le besoin recevaient des soins, à enquêter sur la situation matérielle et personnelle des personnes prises en charge et de celles qui devaient l'être. Dans la pratique, les travailleurs sociaux servaient également d'intermédiaires entre les personnes dans le besoin et l'administration municipale qui fournissait l'aide. La réforme de 1928 a supprimé les obstacles structurels à la demande d'allocations, tels que la méconnaissance du polonais écrit ou la crainte ou la méconnaissance de l'administration municipale. En conséquence, l'aide sociale à Lubartów s'est rapprochée des règles de base de l'aide universelle et obligatoire, et les Juifs de Lubartów ont bénéficié d'un soutien sans précédent en 1930 et 1931. Bien que, dans la période 1930-1931, la méthode utilisée pour atteindre les plus pauvres reposait sur des divisions ethnonationales ouvertement soulignées – les travailleurs sociaux s'occupaient des personnes dans le besoin issues de leur groupe ethnoreligieux –, la distribution des fonds était principalement déterminée par les besoins.

Le gouvernement local était chargé de mettre en œuvre la loi, et c'est également lui qui a effectivement démantelé la nouvelle architecture de l'aide sociale peu après son introduction. Dès la fin de 1931, les travailleurs sociaux chrétiens, en organisant une fête caritative avec le soutien de l'administration municipale, ont créé un circuit d'aide distinct, réservé aux chrétiens. L'exclusion des travailleurs sociaux juifs des activités d'aide de la ville est devenue une pratique courante dans la seconde moitié des années 1930. De plus, à la fin de 1931, la mairie a décidé de prélever une somme importante pour le Comité municipal d'aide aux pauvres, qui ne soutenait que les chrétiens, renonçant ainsi à la gestion indépendante de ces fonds.

Parallèlement, le Comité d'aide sociale, dont les fonctions ont été reprises par le conseil municipal, a perdu de son importance. En conséquence, un système de distribution des prestations similaire à celui qui était en place avant la réforme a été rétabli, dans le cadre duquel les personnes dans le besoin s'adressaient directement à la mairie pour obtenir une aide, et seuls les pauvres chrétiens étaient pris en charge (graphique 1).

Vers une exclusion totale des Juifs du système public d'aide sociale

D'autres changements dans l'organisation de l'aide sociale et la distribution des prestations à Lubartów ont été apportés par les élections locales d'août 1934, qui ont entraîné une réduction de la représentation juive au conseil municipal, à la mairie et à la commission d'aide sociale (Tableau 3). Cela a conduit à un renforcement de la disproportion dans l'accès à l'aide entre les résidents juifs et chrétiens. En 1935, un nouveau fonds d'aide permanente a été créé, dont le montant dépassait de plus du double celui alloué à l'aide d'urgence. Jusqu'en 1939, seuls les chrétiens ont bénéficié de ce fonds. En outre, dans la seconde moitié des années 1930, une nouvelle forme de distribution de l'aide s'est généralisée, fonctionnant selon la même logique discriminatoire : les actions de secours.

Les actions de secours ont fourni une grande partie de l'aide à court terme aux personnes dans le besoin à Lubartów. La mairie les a soit initiées et organisées, soit, dans le cas d'actions lancées par les autorités centrales ou départementales, partagé la responsabilité de leur mise en œuvre. Rien qu'en 1937, trois actions organisées ou co-organisées par le bureau municipal ont permis d'aider 228 résidents chrétiens, mais aucun résident juif. Ces campagnes de secours étaient donc conçues pour exclure les Juifs, et les fêtes catholiques lors desquelles elles étaient organisées ne faisaient que souligner ce fait. De plus, la marginalisation des Juifs au sein du gouvernement local a entraîné une réduction du financement des organisations juives et la suppression des fonds en 1936[40].

Conclusions

L'ensemble du système d'aide à Lubartów entre les deux guerres formait un réseau hybride de relations complexes entre différentes formes d'aide, à travers lequel les acteurs locaux cherchaient divers moyens d'améliorer la situation des plus démunis, au sein du groupe auquel ils s'identifiaient. La nature communautaire de l'aide reposait donc en grande partie sur

[40] La limitation ou la suppression des subventions accordées aux organisations juives était une tendance nationale à la fin des années 1930. Cf. Pakentreger, *Żydzi w Kaliszu,* art. cit., 253 ; Kozińska–Witt, « Samorządowa polityka », art. cit., p. 422 ; Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Żydzi w II Rzeczypospolitej*, Varsovie, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2016, p. 69.

l'identification commune des organisateurs de l'aide, des prestataires d'aide et des personnes dans le besoin. Les pratiques d'aide, comme la plupart des initiatives sociales et politiques dans le Lubartów de l'entre-deux-guerres, servaient à produire, mobiliser et maintenir ces identifications de groupe : ethniques, religieuses ou nationales[41]. L'État et les autorités locales, qui organisaient le système public d'aide sociale, n'étaient en aucun cas neutres dans cet arrangement ; l'aide sociale était largement subordonnée aux besoins de la « nation centrale »[42], dans le cas de Lubartów, comprise en termes ethnoreligieux comme les chrétiens ou les Polonais.

Le fonctionnement de l'aide sociale à Lubartów montre comment le pouvoir politique des groupes ethniques et religieux, exprimé par le nombre de représentants au conseil municipal, à la mairie et aux comités d'aide sociale, a influencé le soutien que les habitants recevaient de la ville. La période du mandat 1927-1934, qui a connu la plus forte représentation juive au sein des autorités municipales, est en fait le seul épisode où l'aide sociale a été équilibrée dans une certaine mesure. Dans ce contexte, la distribution des prestations en 1930 et 1931, où la grande majorité des fonds ont été alloués principalement en fonction des besoins, constitue un phénomène particulier. Après tout, cela s'est produit à une époque où les autorités municipales étaient encore majoritairement chrétiennes.

[41] Rogers Brubacker, « Ethnicity without Groups », *European Journal of Sociology,* vol. 43, no. 2, 2002, p. 163–189.
[42] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Le Cap, Singapour, São Paulo et Delhi, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 79-106.

CHAPITRE 3. DES DIMENSIONS DE CONTINUITÉ SOUS LE NOUVEL ORDRE ? L'ADMINISTRATION MUNICIPALE FACE À LA PERSÉCUTION ET À L'EXTERMINATION DES JUIFS DANS LA POLOGNE OCCUPÉE

Introduction

Pour comprendre le rôle des maires et des administrations municipales dans le Gouvernement général, la question de l'étendue de leur souveraineté et de leur capacité à agir de manière indépendante se pose. Dans ce contexte, deux perspectives se dégagent. Certains chercheurs soulignent la dépendance absolue des administrations locales de niveau inférieur vis-à-vis des autorités allemandes supérieures, principalement les districts[43]. La deuxième perspective, qui n'est pas nécessairement contradictoire avec la première, met l'accent sur la connaissance des conditions des autorités municipales locales, l'expérience de la gouvernance avant la guerre ou, enfin, le contrôle limité exercé par les autorités allemandes supérieures[44]. Dans cette perspective, les autorités locales pouvaient poursuivre leurs propres stratégies en matière de gestion et d'administration, ce qu'elles ont fait, et leur attitude a donc eu un impact significatif sur le sort des habitants. Partant du principe qu'une subordination formelle stricte n'impliquait pas une inertie totale de la part des autorités locales, j'ai cherché à identifier les marges de manœuvre dont disposaient les autorités municipales de Lubartów, les espaces dans lesquels elles prenaient des initiatives de leur propre chef, en particulier en ce qui concerne les habitants juifs de la ville.

À bien des égards, le travail des fonctionnaires municipaux sous l'occupation n'était pas différent de celui qu'ils accomplissaient avant la guerre. D'une certaine manière, malgré les pouvoirs limités des autorités locales, les liens entre les habitants et les gouvernements locaux dans la réalité de la Pologne occupée se sont encore resserrés. Les maires et les mairies sont devenus la seule instance d'autorité civile disponible pour un grand nombre d'habitants. La continuité administrative, institutionnelle et personnelle de l'autorité, comme ce fut le cas à Lubartów, a favorisé le maintien des relations avec les citoyens. Il convient de noter que ces relations s'étaient forgées et même solidement établies au cours des deux décennies entre les deux guerres. Adopter une perspective d'avant-guerre dans l'étude microhistorique de la mairie en temps de guerre permet d'identifier les continuités et les discontinuités dans les relations

[43] Markus Roth, *Herrenmenschen,* Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2009, p. 69 et 84 ; Bogdan Musiał, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement,* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999, p. 64 et 65 ; A. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie, op. cit.*, p. 290.

[44] Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Polnische Bürgermeister und der Holocaust: Besatzung, Verwaltung und Kollaboration*, Berlin et Boston, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2024.

intergroupes, ainsi que dans les pratiques gouvernementales et administratives, et ainsi de mieux comprendre la dynamique sociale à Lubartów.

Dans mon analyse, les structures du pouvoir local appartiennent au niveau *méso* de l'analyse[45]. L'importance des acteurs du niveau *méso* repose sur le fait qu'ils coordonnent les actions des acteurs des niveaux micro et macro et exercent une influence décisive sur la dynamique locale du cours de la violence. D'une part, la perspective *méso* permet de replacer les autorités municipales dans leur contexte structurel, principalement leur subordination à l'administration allemande, et d'autre part, de reconnaître l'impact des pratiques administratives sur la vie et les actions des habitants de Lubartów.

Les archives municipales constituent la principale source d'information pour étudier l'attitude des autorités locales envers les résidents juifs de Lubartów pendant la guerre. Comme elles sont incomplètes, je me concentre principalement sur des questions bien documentées, telles que l'expulsion des Juifs de Lubartów en novembre 1939. Les dossiers du bureau du comté de Lublin-Land, ainsi que ceux du district de Lublin, sont analysés afin d'établir le contexte plus large des mesures administratives qui ont été prises. Outre la documentation détenue par les bureaux de l'administration civile, j'ai mobilisé les archives de diverses formations en uniforme opérant à Lubartów, notamment la gendarmerie, la police polonaise, l'*Ordungpolizei* et les bataillons de police.

Lubartów sous l'occupation : répartition du pouvoir

À la fin du mois d'octobre 1939, les structures de l'administration civile du Gouvernement général (GG), la zone d'occupation allemande en Pologne, ont commencé à se mettre en place. Il en résulta la mise en place d'une administration à trois niveaux, avec Hans Frank comme gouverneur général au sommet et quatre districts de niveau intermédiaire à Cracovie, Radom, Varsovie et Lublin. Les comtés urbains et ruraux constituaient le niveau administratif le plus bas, dirigé par des chefs de ville et de comté. L'administration civile du GG était strictement hiérarchisée, le pouvoir étant concentré à chaque niveau entre les mains du chef et de son appareil administratif divisé en départements.

Lubartów, une ville de taille moyenne avant la guerre, s'est avérée être un lieupratique pour l'architecture d'occupation allemande dans la région de Lublin. Sa capacité d'accueil et d'approvisionnement importante en a fait une base pour la *Wehrmacht* et les bataillons de police

[45] Evgeny Finkel et Scott Straus, « Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry », *Genocide Studies and Prevention,* vol. 7, 2012, p. 55-67.

pendant les premiers mois de l'occupation, la présence d'Allemands en uniforme devenant une caractéristique permanente du paysage de Lubartów tout au long de la guerre. La ville servait de quartier général régional à la police et à la gendarmerie, et c'est là que les premières exécutions de la population locale ont eu lieu au début de l'occupation.

La première des nombreuses forces d'occupation à arriver à Lubartów pendant la guerre fut l'armée allemande. Le 19 septembre, elle occupa Lubartów, qui avait été abandonnée par les unités de l'armée polonaise quelques jours plus tôt. La présence des soldats se manifesta par des actes de violence à l'encontre des civils. Comme dans d'autres parties du Gouvernement général, une cruauté particulière fut exercée à l'égard des juifs pratiquants contraints de nettoyer les rues : les soldats leur coupèrent la barbe, les humilièrent et se moquèrent d'eux. Les agressions individuelles et les vols prirent une forme organisée le 12 octobre dans le cadre d'un complot visant à piller les maisons et les magasins juifs, ce qui entraîna la destruction de bâtiments. Les propriétaires furent retenus sous la menace d'une arme toute la journée sur la place du marché de Lubartów.

Lorsque l'administration civile prit le contrôle de Lubartów à la fin de l'automne 1939, la responsabilité du contrôle de la population locale fut transférée aux unités de police nouvellement formées. À partir du début du mois de novembre 1939, les opérations de pacification dans la région de Lubartów furent menées par les bataillons de police stationnés dans la ville. Elles se soldaient souvent par des arrestations et des meurtres. La police allemande opérait en coordination avec le chef du comté, et parfois à sa demande. Ses actions étaient souvent menées en coopération avec d'autres formations, le plus souvent la gendarmerie et la police polonaise, qui étaient stationnées en permanence à Lubartów.

La plupart des informations concernant les activités de la gendarmerie à Lubartów se trouvent dans les procès-verbaux des procès d'après-guerre, au cours desquels les gendarmes ont été accusés de crimes contre les Polonais et les Juifs, ainsi que d'avoir participé à des exécutions pendant la deuxième *Aktion*. La police polonaise de Lubartów était officiellement sous le commandement de la gendarmerie. D'octobre 1939 jusqu'à la fin de la guerre, selon les périodes, entre une douzaine et une vingtaine d'officiers ont servi à Lubartów. La police polonaise était étroitement liée à la mairie, qui fournissait aux policiers un logement et des locaux pour leur quartier général. Le maire signalait les infractions à la police et lui demandait d'intervenir ou d'effectuer des inspections, et l'administration locale menait parfois des inspections conjointes avec la police. Aucun policier polonais n'a été traduit en justice pour la

persécution des Juifs et seuls deux témoignages de survivants juifs mentionnent la participation de policiers polonais à la deuxième *Aktion* à Lubartów.

La terreur de l'occupation à Lubartów était une méthode utilisée pour pacifier et soumettre la population, démanteler les structures clandestines qui s'étaient développées et/ou écraser les élites polonaises. À Lubartów, ces aspects ont principalement touché la population non juive, qui avait joué un rôle décisif dans la répartition du pouvoir et de l'influence avant la guerre et avait formé des structures conspiratrices clandestines basées sur des organisations et des relations sociales d'avant-guerre qui étaient exclusivement non juives. La violence à l'égard des habitants juifs de Lubartów était d'une nature différente dès le début. Elle servait de moyen d'humiliation et de manifestation de cruauté. Les actes de violence « spontanés » dans les rues ainsi que les actions organisées, telles que le pillage des maisons juives, étaient un indicateur clair du statut distinct des Juifs, qui accentuait la distance entre les habitants chrétiens et juifs.

Administration municipale de Lubartów pendant la guerre

Avec l'introduction de la nouvelle division territoriale, le comté d'avant-guerre de Lubartów a cessé d'exister et la ville de Lubartów a été intégrée au comté de Radzyń (dans le district de Lublin). À partir de mai 1940, la succursale de Lubartów du comté de Radzyń a obtenu la juridiction sur ces zones. La succursale de Lubartów dépendait entièrement des autorités du comté. À l'exception de trois Allemands du *Reich* occupant des postes de direction, tous les autres employés étaient des Polonais, le poste de secrétaire étant confié à l'ancien secrétaire du bureau du comté d'avant-guerre, Edward Krzyk.

Pendant la guerre, les autorités de Lubartów sont restées officiellement entièrement dépendantes des autorités supérieures du comté. Le conseil municipal a été dissous et le seul représentant restant de l'autorité locale était le maire qui dirigeait la mairie (*Zarząd Miasta*), également appelée bureau municipal (*Magistrat*). Les fonctionnaires ont conservé leurs postes. Le 1er septembre 1939, le jour même où l'armée allemande envahit la Pologne, Aleksander Lalka fut nommé adjoint au maire de Lubartów[46]. Le maire en exercice étant mobilisé à ce moment-là, Lalka assuma ses fonctions et l'administration civile allemande le reconnut comme maire. Aux côtés du secrétaire du comté, Edward Krzyk, et de plusieurs autres personnalités éminentes de l'administration locale, Aleksander Lalka était avant la guerre l'une des figures de proue du mouvement pro-gouvernemental Ozon à Lubartów.

[46] Lettre du maire-adjoint à la mairie de Lubartów, 31 août 1939. APL, AML, 67, 112.

L'occupation allemande a considérablement ébranlé l'ordre social dont les autorités municipales étaient l'émanation. Tout d'abord, les autorités municipales ont perdu la majeure partie de leur souveraineté. Dans le même temps, le système d'influence et les hiérarchies informelles à Lubartów ont été démantelés, ce qui a entraîné la dissolution des organisations sociales qui formaient des réseaux de relations sociales et militantes parmi les catholiques les plus influents de la ville, ainsi que la répression contre les représentants de l'élite de la ville et leur départ de Lubartów.

Les nouvelles hiérarchies sociales à Lubartów et la position des fonctionnaires municipaux

Dans le même temps, au cours des premiers mois de la guerre, un nouveau groupe de résidents privilégiés a émergé : ceux qui travaillaient pour ou avec les Allemands à Lubartów, en grande partie des réfugiés et des nouveaux arrivants dans la ville, principalement originaires des régions incorporées au *Reich*. Ils étaient employés à l'agence locale pour l'emploi, comme cheminots, à la poste et dans la gestion des entreprises publiques. Les nouveaux arrivants ont également commencé à prédominer au sein du personnel de la police polonaise à partir de 1941. Le statut élevé de certains des nouveaux résidents était en partie dû à la politique du personnel allemand à Lubartów, qui visait à démanteler les structures d'influence d'avant-guerre dans la ville et à créer un nouveau groupe d'élite fidèle à l'occupant. De plus, ils étaient plus susceptibles de parler allemand que les habitants locaux et beaucoup d'entre eux étaient formés et expérimentés.

L'occupation a modifié la structure du pouvoir à Lubartów. Les autorités administratives allemandes et les forces militaires et policières, qui occupaient une position supérieure dans le nouveau système, offraient de nouvelles possibilités d'avancement tant aux nouveaux arrivants qu'aux habitants d'avant-guerre de la ville. Rien n'indique que les fonctionnaires de la mairie faisaient partie de cette nouvelle élite. Ils n'étaient pas non plus impliqués dans les structures du mouvement clandestin de la région de Lubartów, qui devint au fil du temps un groupe de plus en plus influent dans la ville. Bien que Lalka, comme les plus importants fonctionnaires de la ville, ait conservé son poste, l'influence politique et sociale du maire et du milieu Sanacja à Lubartów, qu'il avait codirigé dans les années 1930, avait considérablement diminué.

Le bureau municipal, intermédiaire entre les Juifs de Lubartów et l'administration du comté

Bien que, formellement, les maires n'étaient pas souverains dans leurs actions, la portée de celles-ci dépendait largement de leurs compétences, des attentes des habitants et de leurs

relations avec le chef du comté. Les archives indiquent que Lalka veillait à conserver son rôle d'intermédiaire dans les contacts entre le chef du comté et le *Judenrat*, créé en 1940. Lalka apparaît comme un formaliste et un légaliste qui respecte pleinement la chaîne hiérarchique et évite de prendre des décisions de son propre chef. Presque toutes les mesures prises par Lalka étaient sanctionnées par des directives ou approuvées par le bureau du comté. L'attitude de Lalka reflète fidèlement la tension dans laquelle il évoluait. Faire preuve d'obéissance envers ses supérieurs allemands était sa stratégie pour conserver son poste.

Le maire et la mairie ont privilégié l'obéissance à l'exploitation des Juifs de Lubartów. Il a participé à l'une des dernières mesures antisémites prises avant la deuxième *Aktion* en octobre 1942. En septembre 1942, les autorités du comté ont exigé plusieurs paiements du Judenrat de Lubartów. Le maire a été chargé de coordonner l'opération sur le terrain, de collecter les contributions et d'arrêter les otages. Il est difficile de dire s'il y avait une limite à l'obéissance des autorités municipales dans la mise en œuvre des politiques antisémites nazies. La participation du bureau municipal de Lubartów aux préparatifs des déportations et des meurtres de Juifs en avril et octobre 1942 n'est pas documentée.

Il y eut également des situations dans lesquelles le maire fit preuve d'initiative, profitant des opportunités créées par l'occupation. En mars 1940, le maire Lalka signala le besoin de main-d'œuvre juive pour effectuer des travaux dans la ville. Il est d'autant plus difficile de documenter le rôle de l'administration municipale dans la mise en œuvre des politiques anti-juives que la période où elle disposait de la plus grande marge de manœuvre, jusqu'en 1941, est la moins facile à appréhender à partir des sources. L'implication de l'administration municipale est mieux documentée en ce qui concerne la déportation des Juifs de Lubartów à l'automne 1939 et la question de la gestion des biens juifs.

Expulsion des Juifs de Lubartów en 1939

En novembre 1939, une mesure brutale a été prise à l'encontre des Juifs de Lubartów : leur expulsion massive vers les villes voisines. Ce déplacement forcé a concerné plus de 1 500 habitants juifs de Lubartów. Il a eu un impact considérable sur la structure sociale de la ville : la grande majorité des habitants juifs, soit environ 20 % de la population totale, ont été contraints de quitter la ville en peu de temps. Le cauchemar des Juifs déplacés se prolongea au-delà du déplacement, les Juifs de Lubartów étant confrontés à de mauvaises conditions de vie et privés de possibilités de travail. Bien que les témoignages conservés n'indiquent pas que les

autorités municipales aient participé à l'organisation ou à l'exécution des expulsions, l'administration municipale s'est avérée cruciale pour éviter ou raccourcir le déplacement.

Les expulsions de Lubartów et de ses environs ont été les premières d'une série de déplacements forcés de Juifs dans le district de Lublin. Les expulsions massives faisaient partie d'un vaste plan de déplacement massif des Juifs afin de faire place aux non-Allemands des régions incorporées au Troisième *Reich,* régions qui seraient à leur tour mises à la disposition des colons allemands.[47] Les déplacements forcés des Juifs ont eu lieu à l'automne 1939, au début de l'occupation, alors que les hiérarchies administratives et les divisions du pouvoir et de la juridiction étaient en train de se former. C'est à cette époque que les acteurs de niveau *méso*, notamment les chefs de comté et les autorités municipales, jouissaient de la plus grande liberté d'action[48]. Henning von Winterfeld, qui prit officiellement le contrôle du comté de Radzyń juste avant les réinstallations, en fut l'initiateur. Les déplacements marquèrent un tournant décisif pour la plupart des Juifs de Lubartów, qu'ils soient restés dans la ville ou non. Ils accélérèrent la dépossession, la séparation d'avec leur environnement familier, la détérioration des conditions de logement et la ghettoïsation.

Le 25 novembre 1939, la liste des Juifs restés à Lubartów après les déplacements a été dressée, avec plus de 900 personnes répertoriées. Grâce aux informations supplémentaires fournies dans sa dernière colonne, cette liste permet de dégager certaines caractéristiques des personnes autorisées à rester à Lubartów en novembre 1939. La sélection des personnes autorisées à rester à Lubartów a été déterminée par la situation économique de la ville, qui aurait pu souffrir de la disparition soudaine d'artisans, de commerçants ou de fournisseurs. Parmi les 194 personnes ayant une profession ou une source de revenus, les artisans prédominaient, puisqu'ils étaient 114. La liste comprend également 45 personnes exerçant une activité commerciale. Un autre groupe autorisé à rester à Lubartów était celui des personnes âgées, dont 97 avaient 65 ans ou plus, sur les 687 dont l'âge est indiqué. Cependant, comme le montrent les certificats médicaux des candidats, l'âge n'était pas le seul critère pour rester, la santé jouant également un rôle important.

[47] Au sujet du plan de réinstallation, voir Götz Aly, *Final Solution: Nazi Population Policy and the Murder of the European Jews*, Londres, New York, Sydney et Auckland, Arnold, 1999, p. 4-5, 18, 23-24 et 34-81 ; David Silberklang, *Gates of tears,* Jérusalem, Yad Vashem, 2015, p. 75–83 ; Janina Kiełboń, *Migracje Ludności w Dystrykcie Lubelskim w latach 1939–1944*, Lublin, Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 1995, p. 28-33, 110-112 et 130-133.

[48] Evgeny Finkel et Scott Straus, « Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry », *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 7, 2012, p. 59.

Quels que soient les critères permettant aux résidents juifs de rester à Lubartów, le principe directeur était de préserver l'intégrité des familles occupant les mêmes appartements. Cela déchargeait l'administration civile de la prise en charge des malades et des personnes âgées et facilitait le contrôle des habitants, notamment grâce à l'utilisation des documents municipaux d'avant-guerre. Cela simplifiait également la gestion du logement dans la ville. Depuis les expulsions de novembre 1939, les appartements juifs étaient simplement divisés en appartements vacants et occupés. Cela présentait de grands avantages pour les plans d'utilisation des propriétés juives, ainsi que pour la séparation spatiale des Juifs.

Les résidents juifs qui avaient été déplacés de Lubartów cherchaient des moyens de retourner dans leur ville sans autorisation. Au moins depuis la fin janvier 1940, une administration civile contrôlait la résidence illégale des Juifs à Lubartów. À la fin du mois de mai 1940, lorsque les retours illégaux se sont multipliés, le maire Lalka et la police polonaise, suivant les ordres du chef du comté, ont mené une action à grande échelle pour traquer et expulser les Juifs résidant à Lubartów sans autorisation. Le maire a adopté une « approche pragmatique » à l'égard du retour des Juifs de Lubartów. Il ne les soutenait que lorsqu'il les jugeait utiles à la gestion de la ville, comme dans le cas des artisans. En juin 1940, le maire Lalka a pris des mesures pour ramener les Juifs de Lubartów afin d'empêcher la réinstallation des Juifs de Cracovie à Lubartów. Lorsque la menace de l'arrivée des Juifs de Cracovie a cessé, le maire a mis fin à ses efforts. Finalement, le retour des Juifs de Lubartów à la fin de l'année 1940 a été rendu possible par un changement d'approche des autorités du comté après la nomination d'un nouveau chef, et l'administration municipale n'a eu aucune influence sur cette décision.

Comme dans tous les autres domaines, la position de la mairie concernant les Juifs déplacés reposait sur la soumission et l'obéissance aux ordres allemands. Dans le même temps, la réticence du maire à l'égard du retour des Juifs est notable. En effet, les déplacements ont résolu certains des problèmes de gestion de la ville, tels que la pénurie de logements et de nourriture, ils ont fait de la place pour les déportés non juifs des territoires incorporés au *Reich,* ils ont offert aux résidents non juifs de la ville une opportunité d'ascension sociale et, dans le même temps, ils ont permis à la ville de conserver des travailleurs spécialisés, principalement des artisans. Ils ont également partiellement déchargé le maire de sa tâche de médiation entre l'administration du district et les Juifs, consistant à communiquer et à mettre en œuvre les politiques allemandes, qui était peu gratifiante et potentiellement risquée. Pour les autorités locales, il était tout simplement plus facile de gouverner la ville avec un nombre réduit de résidents juifs. La municipalité ne se sentait aucune responsabilité quant au sort des résidents

juifs, et la persécution allemande, en particulier les expulsions, ne fit qu'accroître la distance entre eux. C'est ainsi que j'interprète les mots du maire Lalka dans sa lettre au chef du district en mai 1940 : « Je signale que le retour des Juifs à Lubartów n'est pas souhaitable. »[49]

À l'affût des biens immobiliers juifs

Les déplacements des Juifs à l'automne 1939 et leur réinstallation ultérieure dans la ville ont accéléré le processus d'« aryanisation » des biens immobiliers juifs en les séparant physiquement des locaux qu'ils possédaient. En conséquence, non seulement un grand nombre de Juifs de Lubartów n'ont pas pu occuper leurs propres appartements, mais leurs biens ont été cédés sans leur consentement et ils n'ont tiré aucun bénéfice de leur mise à disposition à d'autres personnes. Jusqu'à l'introduction de l'administration fiduciaire à la mi-1941 par les autorités allemandes, la gestion des biens immobiliers juifs était constamment influencée par les changements démographiques dans la ville et la mobilité des habitants. Elle était menée selon les directives générales du chef du comté, l'administration municipale jouant un rôle central. Les archives municipales permettent de reconstituer le sort des biens appartenant à des Juifs, principalement des appartements, et d'aborder le rôle de la municipalité dans leur distribution et l'organisation de l'administration fiduciaire à Lubartów.

Au départ, les appartements abandonnés par les Juifs ont été placés sous la protection de la police polonaise. Cela n'a pas empêché les habitants de la ville de les piller et de les vandaliser. Conformément à l'ordre du chef du comté, les appartements devaient être attribués à des déportés non juifs. Environ 145 familles, soit environ 750 personnes, devaient arriver à Lubartów avant la fin de l'année 1939.

La principale source d'informations sur la répartition des maisons appartenant aux résidents juifs de Lubartów est un registre datant de janvier 1941. Il a été établi par la mairie à la demande du bureau du comté. Entre le début de la guerre et la création du registre, des événements se sont produits qui sont reflétés dans le document : déplacement des Juifs, arrivées forcées et volontaires, déménagements dans la ville et retours de Juifs déplacés. Il permet de répondre à la question de savoir qui a occupé les propriétés juives et à quel moment, et de reconstituer la topographie de ce processus. Entre décembre 1939 et janvier 1941, jusqu'à 2 000 réfugiés et personnes déplacées, juifs et non juifs, sont arrivés à Lubartów, dont beaucoup sont repartis peu

[49] Note du maire concernant Motl Flajsing, 24 mai 1940. APL, AML, 833, 73.

après leur arrivée, et plus d'un millier de résidents juifs sont revenus après avoir été déplacés de force.

Compte tenu de l'ampleur considérable de la réinstallation, il est très improbable que les autorités du comté aient exercé un contrôle minutieux sur la répartition des logements. La mairie était chargée d'attribuer les appartements aux chrétiens. En ce qui concerne les résidents juifs qui retournaient à Lubartów et les réfugiés juifs, qui disposaient d'options de logement beaucoup plus limitées, l'hébergement était très probablement organisé par le ŻSS et le *Judenrat*, et la mairie n'y participait pas directement. Les lettres échangées entre le chef du comté et le maire indiquent que les autorités du comté connaissaient mal la situation du logement dans la ville et se fiaient aux informations fournies par la mairie, tandis que le maire cherchait clairement à limiter le nombre d'habitants dans la ville, sous-estimant ainsi la capacité d'accueil de Lubartów.

En janvier 1941, après les migrations massives qui ont touché Lubartów, les autorités civiles allemandes ont commencé à prendre le contrôle des biens immobiliers juifs de la ville afin d'en tirer profit. L'inventaire qui a servi de base à la prise de contrôle des biens immobiliers juifs à Lubartów n'a été établi qu'en janvier 1941, plus d'un an après la mise en place des fondements de l'administration fiduciaire des biens immobiliers juifs dans le Gouvernement général. À Lubartów, la mise en place de l'administration fiduciaire prit plus de six mois. Au cours de ce processus, des méthodes furent développées pour tirer efficacement profit de la situation, et les autorités municipales, qui avaient initialement introduit et géré l'administration fiduciaire, furent progressivement écartées de l'administration des biens immobiliers juifs et ainsi privées de profits.

En février 1941, les autorités administratives ont créé un cadre institutionnel pour le système de gestion des biens immobiliers juifs. Jusqu'à la mi-septembre 1941, l'administration fiduciaire était basée sur l'ordre administratif civil. Le maire Lalka est devenu directeur de la succursale de Lubartów de la coopérative et rendait compte au directeur au niveau du comté. La tâche principale du maire était de « fixer et percevoir les loyers, réparer et finir les bâtiments existants »[50]. Chaque mois, 10 % des revenus provenant de la location de biens immobiliers étaient versés au trésor municipal : cet argent couvrait le salaire des employés de Lubartów, embauchés par le maire, et une certaine somme restait à la disposition de l'administration municipale. Après septembre 1941, la mairie fut exclue de l'administration et de l'exploitation

[50] Statuts de la coopérative, 26 février 1941. APL, AML, 854, 104 (allemand).

des biens immobiliers appartenant à des Juifs. La continuité des opérations était assurée par le maintien en poste des employés ; un fonctionnaire nommé par le maire était chargé de l'administration de la tutelle.

Conclusion

En substance, à partir de l'automne 1939, les propriétaires immobiliers juifs de Lubartów ont été spoliés de plus de 10 000 zlotys par mois provenant des loyers immobiliers, soit une valeur équivalente à 6 500 kg de pain au marché noir en avril 1940 et à 1 250 kg deux ans plus tard[51]. L'expulsion forcée des résidents juifs de leurs biens immobiliers et la prise de contrôle ultérieure par l'administration fiduciaire ont contribué à l'appauvrissement rapide des Juifs de Lubartów. Officiellement, les Juifs de Lubartów n'ont pas été dépossédés de leurs biens. En effet, le modèle du Gouvernement général pour traiter les biens immobiliers juifs consistait à tirer le plus de profits possible de leur exploitation, et à les transférer à l'État allemand après la fin de la guerre[52].

La mairie a joué un rôle crucial dans la mise en place de l'administration fiduciaire à Lubartów. Les fonctionnaires municipaux ont rassemblé des informations sur les biens immobiliers juifs et ont créé un cadre opérationnel. Au départ, la mairie et les membres du bureau municipal impliqués ont participé aux bénéfices. La question de la gestion des biens appartenant à des Juifs, tout comme les premiers déplacements forcés, illustre l'attitude de la mairie envers les résidents juifs de Lubartów pendant la guerre. Les Juifs étaient hors du champ de vision des autorités municipales, ce qui simplifiait leurs explorations et libérait une grande partie des biens immobiliers de la ville, une ressource à gérer. Bien que ce soit la logique allemande qui ait transformé les propriétés juives en « propriétés sans propriétaire », la mairie de Lubartów en a tiré profit.

[51] Zygmunt Klukowski rapporte dans ses journaux intimes qu'à Szczebrzeszyn, dans la région de Lublin, le pain au marché noir coûtait 1,5 zloty le 16 avril 1940 et 8 zlotys le 25 mars 1942. Klukowski, 124 et 267.

[52] Jan Grabowski, « Zarząd Powierniczy i nieruchomości żydowskie w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie », *in* Jan Grabowski et Dariusz Libionka (dir.), *Klucze i kasa. O mieniu żydowskim w Polsce pod okupacją niemiecką i we wczesnych latach powojennych 1939–1950*, Varsovie, Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2014, p. 73-112, voir p. 98 et 99.

PARTIE II. LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ DE LUBARTÓW, 1918-1943

CHAPITRE 4. SUR LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ DE LUBARTÓW

Introduction

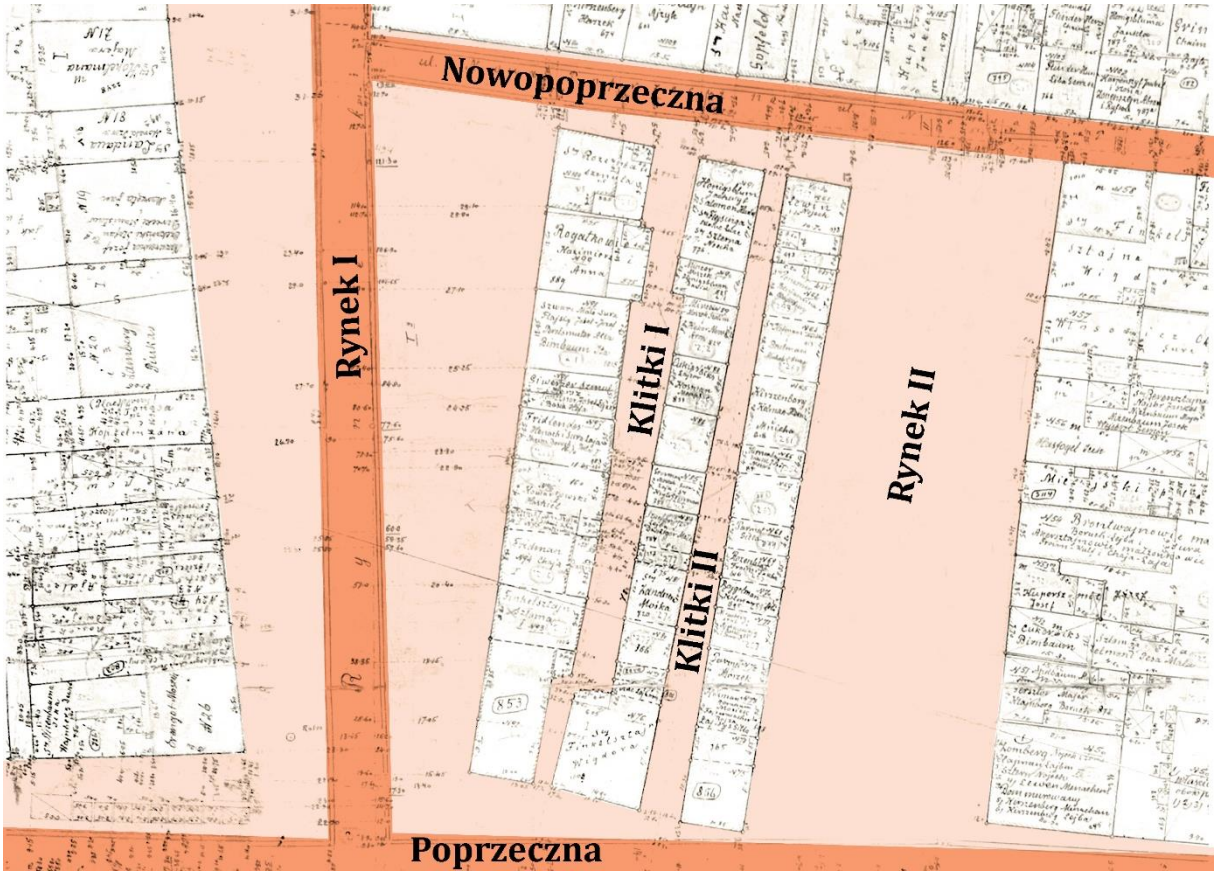
Ce chapitre vise à étudier le processus de regroupement social sur la place du marché, en se concentrant sur la structure résidentielle et la structure de propriété. L'étude est fondée sur une analyse des bases de données en recoupant les variables et en croisant les bases entre elles. La méthodologie adoptée permet de modifier librement l'échelle d'observation. Les recherches contemporaines montrent que les schémas de ségrégation diffèrent selon l'échelle d'analyse[53]. Bien que le point de départ soit le niveau de la rue, afin d'identifier l'espace des contacts interethniques, je descends au niveau des groupes de bâtiments, des bâtiments ou des ménages.

Le registre des résidents permanents est la source d'information la plus complète sur les habitants de Lubartów de l'entre-deux-guerres et la base de l'étude de la structure sociale de la place du marché. Il a été créé en 1932 par des lois nationales et complété par les employés du bureau municipal de Lubartów jusqu'au début de la guerre, puis, de manière moins systématique, de septembre 1939 jusqu'à la fin des années 1940. Le registre fournit ainsi une image dynamique de la population de Lubartów. Grâce aux caractéristiques complexes des résidents, le registre permet de soulever la question de l'importance des divisions ethnoreligieuses pour la structure sociale du marché et de voir la différenciation interne des groupes dans lesquels les identités ethnoreligieuses se croisent avec d'autres identités[54] ainsi que les rôles et les positions sociales. De cette manière, la place du marché de Lubartów devient un espace d'interactions continues entre et au sein des groupes. L'étude de la structure sociale de la place du marché de Lubartów s'appuie donc principalement sur le registre des habitants de Lubartów créé en 1932. De plus, pour mieux comprendre la relation spatiale et la répartition de la propriété, j'ai utilisé un plan de mesure datant du début des années 1920 qui reflète l'espace avec les rues et les bâtiments et comprend les numéros des parcelles avec les noms des propriétaires.

Qu'était la place du marché de Lubartów ?

[53] David Manley, Ron Johnston, Kelvyn Jones et Dewi Owen, « Macro-, Meso- and Microscale Segregation: Modeling Changing Ethnic Residential Patterns in Auckland, New Zealand, 2001–2013 », *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* vol. 105, no. 5, 2015, p. 951-967.
[54] Pnina Werbner, « Intersectionality and situationalism », *in* T. H. Eriksen et M. Jakoubek (dir.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today*, chap. cit.,, p. 118.

La place du marché de Lubartów était située dans la partie nord de la ville. La rue principale de Lubartów, Lubelska, traversait la place du marché. L'ensemble de la place du marché ressemblait à un trapèze entouré de quatre côtés par des bâtiments. Au milieu de la place du marché, entre les rues Rynek I et Rynek II, se trouvaient trois rangées de bâtiments. Ils divisaient l'espace de la place du marché en deux places : la place du marché I et la place du marché II[55]. Quatre rues, Rynek I, Rynek II, Klitki I et Klitki II, marquaient les principales divisions spatiales de la place du marché (Carte 1).



Carte 1. Carte de la place du marché de Lubartów avec les noms des rues. Source : APL, UWL-WSP, 92.

Avant la guerre, les rues de la place du marché avaient chacune leurs caractéristiques propres. Rynek I était la rue la plus représentative des quatre, la plus accessible et la plus exposée. C'est là que se déroulaient la plupart des célébrations publiques en plein air ainsi que les rassemblements politiques. Les rues Klitki I et II étaient situées à l'arrière de Rynek I, les bâtiments des deux rues étaient séparés de quelques mètres et leurs habitants pouvaient facilement se voir par les fenêtres. En même temps, les Klitki étaient les moins accessibles de l'extérieur, tandis qu'à l'intérieur, elles étaient encombrées de maisons étroites. Rynek II était

[55] J'utilise Rynek I et Rynek II pour nommer les rues ; lorsque je fais référence aux places, j'utilise la distinction entre place du marché I et place du marché II, et l'ensemble de la zone est appelé la place du marché.

une rue à double face. Les maisons du côté impair faisaient de facto partie des Klitki, sauf qu'elles donnaient sur l'espace commercial de la place du marché, où se tenaient les marchés et où se trouvait une halle moderne. Ce grand bâtiment, érigé à la fin des années 1920, était le centre commercial et de services de Lubartow avant la guerre, avec un cinéma et une salle de théâtre. La salle réorganisait l'espace de la place du marché et constituait une barrière spatiale entre les deux parties de la rue Rynek II, les transformant pour ainsi dire en deux rues indépendantes.

La place du marché était principalement définie par sa fonction commerciale, qui déterminait en grande partie l'aménagement urbain et les fonctions des bâtiments. Selon le registre du commerce, entre 1929 et 1939, 277 entreprises, soit près de 40 % de toutes celles enregistrées à Lubartów, étaient situées dans l'une des quatre rues de la place du marché et 79 % d'entre elles étaient gérées par des résidents juifs. Les catholiques n'enregistraient leurs entreprises que dans les rues Rynek I et Rynek II.

Les habitants de la place du marché

La place du marché était un lieu de concentration des résidents juifs de Lubartów. Les quatre rues de la place du marché abritaient à elles seules 19 % de tous les résidents juifs enregistrés dans les années 1930. Parmi les quatre rues de la place du marché, seule la rue Rynek I comptait un pourcentage important de résidents catholiques romains (Tableau 4).

Rue	**Juifs**	**Non connue**	**Catholiques romains**	**Total**
Klitki I et II	151 (99 %)	2	0	**153 (100 %)**
Rynek I	274 (85 %)	8	42 (13 %)	**324 (100 %)**
Rynek II	322 (98 %)	7	1	**330 (100 %)**
Total	**747 (93 %)**	**17 (2 %)**	**43 (5 %)**	**807 (100 %)**

Tableau 4. Résidents enregistrés selon leur religion, 1932-1939. Sources : APL, AML, 39-48.

La place du marché de Lubartów était un lieu d'activité économique principalement en raison de ses fonctions commerciales. Bien que les professions des habitants correspondaient largement à la nature du lieu, leur profil professionnel différait selon l'endroit où ils vivaient sur la place du marché. Les principales différences dans la structure de l'emploi entre les habitants des rues de la place du marché concernent le rapport entre artisans et commerçants. Dans le cas de Klitki et Rynek II, l'artisanat et le commerce représentaient environ 85 % de l'ensemble des personnes en emploi. À Klitki, cependant, les artisans étaient majoritaires, tandis qu'à Rynek II, ils étaient moins nombreux que les commerçants, qui représentaient près de la moitié de tous ceux qui vivaient de leur travail, comme à Rynek I. Pour caractériser la structure

professionnelle de la place du marché de Lubartów, il semble particulièrement significatif que Rynek I se distinguait par la diversité des professions exercées, près d'un tiers des habitants ne vivant pas du commerce ou de l'artisanat. Sur Rynek I, la répartition des professions entre les groupes religieux de 16 catholiques et 75 Juifs était significative. Les catholiques exerçaient toutes les fonctions publiques, le seul agriculteur était catholique et, parmi les sept catholiques engagés dans le commerce, deux tenaient des boucheries et trois travaillaient dans une pharmacie. Toutefois, en y regardant de plus près, à l'échelle des bâtiments voisins, leurs résidents sont regroupés en fonction du type de professions exercées, au-delà de leurs divisions ethnoreligieuses. Du côté pair de la rue vivaient des résidents, juifs et catholiques, exerçant les professions les plus prestigieuses et les mieux rémunérées. Du côté impair, outre ceux qui vivaient du commerce et les artisans, les groupes les plus importants étaient les ouvriers, juifs et catholiques.

L'emplacement de Rynek I était avantageux pour le commerce et les services, tout en étant dans certains cas un signe de prestige associé à la profession. Ainsi, les résidents juifs de Rynek I exerçaient des professions qui n'existaient pas à Klitki ou à Rynek II et qui favorisaient les contacts avec les résidents chrétiens de la ville, telles que les professions médicales ou les employés de bureau privés. Ainsi, étant donné que près de la moitié des personnes employées à Rynek I travaillaient dans le commerce, les résidents de la rue exerçaient en grande majorité des professions qui nécessitaient des contacts avec des personnes extérieures à leur propre groupe ethnoreligieux.

Contacts résidentiels

J'ai essentiellement introduit une distinction entre trois formes différentes de contacts interethniques et interreligieux : les cas où les Juifs et les catholiques vivaient dans des immeubles voisins, ceux où le voisinage signifie partager le même immeuble, et enfin les situations où les contacts résidentiels vont jusqu'à partager un même appartement. Dans ces trois perspectives, la question des formes de contact direct et des caractéristiques des personnes qui vivent en contact étroit est mise en avant.

Les catholiques et les Juifs, bien qu'ils vivaient dans les mêmes maisons de la rue Rynek I, n'étaient pas répartis de manière uniforme sur la place du marché. Entre 1932 et 1939, seuls deux catholiques étaient enregistrés individuellement dans les maisons mixtes du côté pair, tandis que 15, regroupés en trois familles, étaient enregistrés du côté impair (voir carte). La première chose à noter est que tout au long des années 1930, malgré la grande mobilité des

habitants de Rynek I, les familles juives et catholiques occupaient les trois mêmes maisons du côté impair de Rynek I : 13, 19 et 23, ce qui confirme la durabilité des relations de voisinage.

La rue Rynek I, seule rue à composition mixte, présentait des caractéristiques similaires, avec des voisins de différents groupes ethniques et religieux vivant dans la même maison, comme au 23 Rynek I, ou dans des maisons voisines, du côté pair de Rynek I. Dans ce dernier cas, j'ai remarqué deux variantes différentes de positionnement dans les relations interethniques. D'une part, des familles juives et non juives aisées, actives dans les organisations sociales et la politique locale, y vivaient, mais uniquement au sein de leurs propres groupes ethnoreligieux. La proximité physique et le statut social élevé ne réduisaient pas la distance sociale dans leur cas. D'autre part, l'exemple de Maurycy Silberman, un médecin du 12 Rynek I, qui avait un cabinet privé et qui, à la fin des années 1930, était également employé par le bureau du comté et coopérait avec des organisations chrétiennes, montre un modèle rare pour Lubartów de fonctionnement au sein de groupes juifs et non juifs.

Les Silberman étaient l'une des rares familles juives de Lubartów à partager un appartement avec un catholique, un domestique nommé Julian Malesa, et l'une des deux familles de la place du marché. La seconde était celle des Bajgielman, qui tenaient une boulangerie et partageaient leur maison avec un employé catholique, Wincenty Jezior, boulanger originaire de Firlej, un village près de Lubartów. En mai 1934, Jezior est arrivé à Lubartów. Bien que nous ne disposions d'aucune information concernant la cohabitation dans les deux appartements, le fait même qu'ils travaillaient pour des employeurs juifs, dans le cas de Jezior pendant cinq ans, et qu'ils entretenaient des contacts quotidiens étroits est incontestable. La dynamique de la relation a également dû être influencée par le fait que Malesa et Jezior étaient non seulement les seuls catholiques dans les deux appartements, mais aussi les seules personnes extérieures à la famille. Cependant, les conditions de construction des relations interreligieuses et ethniques différaient considérablement dans les deux cas, tant en raison de la nature du travail que de la cohabitation. Dans le cas de Maurycy Silberman, le fait d'avoir une employée de maison non juive a ajouté une autre dimension au fonctionnement interethnique et religieux à Lubartów. De plus, cela a peut-être contribué à distinguer son statut social, qui correspondait à l'emplacement de son appartement. Dans le cas de Bajgielman, l'embauche de l'employé était probablement due à des besoins purement professionnels.

Propriété et location de logements

Afin d'étudier la propriété immobilière sur la place du marché, j'ai mobilisé le plan des années 1920, le registre des résidents de 1932 et, dans certains cas, la liste des propriétaires juifs de 1940 établie par l'administration municipale. Ces documents permettent d'étudier les relations interethniques et interreligieuses entre propriétaires et locataires. D'après ces sources, aucun des bâtiments situés dans les rues Klitki et Rynek II n'appartenait à des propriétaires non juifs. Comme le montre le registre de 1932, la plupart des appartements des rues Klitki et Rynek II étaient occupés par leurs propriétaires ou des membres de leur famille, ce qui signifie que les résidents étaient regroupés dans les maisons principalement sur la base de la propriété et de la parenté. Les relations entre propriétaires et locataires ne concernaient que les résidents juifs de Klitki et Rynek II, et tous les locataires louaient déjà des appartements à la mi-1932 et presque tous y sont restés au moins jusqu'en septembre 1939. Les schémas résidentiels dépendant de la propriété des maisons étaient un autre facteur qui limitait fortement les changements dans le tissu social de Klitki et Rynek II.

Parmi les quatre rues considérées, Rynek I était la seule à compter des propriétaires catholiques romains. Les maisons appartenant à des Juifs et à des catholiques différaient en termes de structure de propriété. Dans le cas des bâtiments appartenant à des propriétaires juifs, la propriété était principalement divisée. Le plan des années 1920 identifie six parcelles sur la rue Rynek I qui appartenaient à deux ou plusieurs propriétaires sans lien de parenté, quatre autres appartenaient à deux ou plusieurs héritiers d'une personne en particulier. Dans les années 1930, de nouveaux héritages ont conduit à une fragmentation supplémentaire de la propriété. Contrairement aux maisons appartenant à des Juifs, celles appartenant à des chrétiens étaient pour la plupart la propriété d'individus ou de couples mariés. Dans 4 cas sur 5, les propriétaires étaient des Lubartowiens de première génération sans liens familiaux avec la ville, mais suffisamment riches pour acheter une maison dans la rue Rynek I, contrairement aux propriétaires juifs qui, dans la plupart des cas, avaient hérité du domaine.

Malgré les différences entre les propriétaires juifs et catholiques de la rue Rynek I, ceux-ci ont un point commun : dans la plupart des cas, la maison était occupée par les propriétaires ou les membres de leur famille. Par conséquent, dans la rue Rynek I, comme dans les rues Klitki et Rynek II, bien que dans une moindre mesure, la propriété et les liens de parenté déterminaient principalement la répartition des logements et il ne restait pas beaucoup de place pour la location. Entre 1932 et 1939, 25 appartements étaient destinés à la location, et dans seulement 4 cas, le propriétaire et le locataire appartenaient à des groupes ethnoreligieux différents. Ce

sont les propriétaires catholiques qui étaient les plus enclins à louer à des locataires juifs : c'était le cas dans trois cas sur quatre.

Dans tous les cas, la relation propriétaire-locataire recoupe la relation résidentielle. Tout comme il était difficile de mettre en évidence des caractéristiques communes entre les locataires issus de groupes ethnoreligieux différents, il est tout aussi difficile de mettre en évidence ce que les locataires avaient en commun avec les propriétaires des maisons. Il convient toutefois de souligner que toutes ces relations ont duré au moins deux ans et se sont poursuivies jusqu'au début de la guerre. Bien que le nombre de propriétaires louant à des personnes extérieures à leur groupe dans la rue Rynek I ait été faible, les exemples cités prouvent que la religion ne constituait pas un obstacle insurmontable lors de la location d'appartements.

CHAPITRE 5. LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ DE LUBARTÓW COMME POINT DE VUE SUR LES RELATIONS INTERRELIGIEUSES ET INTERETHNIQUES

PARTIE 1. LES DÉCHETS SUR LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ

Cette partie vise à étudier les politiques d'investissement à Lubartów à partir de l'exemple de la place du marché, autour de laquelle se concentraient beaucoup des investissements prévus dans les années 1920 et 1930. La vision de l'avenir de Lubartów se reflétait dans les plans d'investissement élaborés lors des réunions du conseil municipal et de la mairie. La question du changement est avant tout une question de diagnostic : qu'est-ce qui devait être changé à Lubartów et qui en a décidé ainsi ? Quel rôle ont joué les relations intergroupes ? Le deuxième groupe de questions concerne la mise en œuvre du changement. Tous les investissements prévus ont-ils été réalisés ? Qu'est-ce qui a déterminé leur priorité ? Qui a réalisé les investissements, et comment ? J'étudie principalement la question de la gestion des déchets, qui a le plus mis en évidence les divisions intergroupes sur la place du marché.

Depuis au moins le début de l'année 1926, les autorités municipales savaient qu'un réseau d'égouts était la seule solution efficace pour gérer les déchets liquides sur la place du marché, où la plupart des maisons n'avaient pas de cour et donc pas de toilettes ni de poubelles, et où les déchets étaient jetés directement sur le marché. En 1926, le moment était propice à l'investissement ; la période de plus grande prospérité de la ville approchait. L'élan d'investissement de la seconde moitié des années 1920 a coïncidé avec l'élection de nouvelles autorités municipales en avril 1927, qui comprenaient pour la première fois des représentants des résidents juifs. Néanmoins, les investissements réalisés pendant cette période n'ont pas inclus la construction d'un réseau d'égouts sur la place du marché. Le plus important de cette série d'investissements fut la construction d'une halle sur la place du marché. Au cours du processus de planification budgétaire, il est apparu clairement qu'il n'existait pas de vision commune pour Lubartów et que les divisions avaient une dimension religieuse et ethnique.

Les délibérations du conseil municipal nouvellement élu sur les investissements en 1927 ont marqué un moment unique dans l'histoire du gouvernement local de Lubartów, lorsque les représentants juifs ont fermement exprimé leur programme et, lors d'une réunion, ont même pris le contrôle du vote. En conséquence, ils ont été accusés par les conseillers et membres de la mairie chrétiens, ainsi que par le chef du comté, de mener une « politique nationaliste » et de manquer de loyauté envers les intérêts de la ville et de l'État. Cette accusation découlait d'un

sentiment de perte de contrôle de la part de la « majorité polonaise ». En réalité, les représentants juifs étaient en désaccord avec la politique d'investissement municipal qui ne servait pas les intérêts des habitants juifs tout en nécessitant d'importantes sommes d'argent public. Finalement, ils se sont retirés et certains investissements qui ne servaient que les intérêts des habitants catholiques de la ville ont été votés.

La question de la logique adoptée dans la hiérarchie des investissements de la ville est restée d'actualité jusqu'à la fin des années 1930. En 1936, la mairie s'est à nouveau penchée sur la question des égouts et a confirmé que cet investissement était nécessaire pour améliorer les conditions sanitaires de la place du marché. Bien que la construction d'un réseau d'égouts soit devenue l'une des priorités fixées, le bureau municipal n'a pas commencé les travaux, se limitant à des consultations. Au moment où les autorités municipales s'apprêtaient à commencer les travaux d'égouts sur la place du marché, un autre investissement imprévu a émergé, représentant près de la moitié du budget 1938/1939. En mars 1938, la mairie a acheté le palais Sanguszko, situé au nord de la place du marché, qui avait été détruit par un incendie, ainsi que son terrain. Une fois de plus, comme dix ans auparavant, la ville n'a pas réussi à résoudre le problème des déchets sur la place du marché. En mai 1938, confrontés à l'absence de progrès dans l'installation du système d'égouts, les habitants de trois rangées de maisons situées au milieu de la place du marché ont lancé un appel à l'action, déclarant leur contribution au coût de l'investissement. La pétition a été signée par 36 propriétaires, 34 juifs et 2 catholiques, de trois rangées de maisons situées au milieu de la place du marché, qui étaient les plus touchées par l'absence de système d'égouts.

Au cours des 20 années d'autonomie administrative de Lubartów, aucune décision n'a été prise pour résoudre le problème des déchets sur la place du marché de Lubartów. Pendant toute cette période, les autorités municipales n'ont pas pris leurs responsabilités en matière d'hygiène ; elles se sont contentées de prendre des mesures *ad hoc* qui transféraient les coûts et la responsabilité du maintien de l'ordre aux habitants et aux propriétaires fonciers, en ordonnant aux habitants de mettre en œuvre des solutions inefficaces et en les punissant pour le désordre. L'absence d'investissement était principalement due à l'exclusion par l'élite chrétienne des habitants juifs des rues Klitki et Rynek II. Cette discrimination anti-juive est confirmée par la politique d'investissement de la ville.

Le maire Lipski a déclaré un jour que « les Juifs ne montraient aucun intérêt pour l'amélioration de la situation ». Les Juifs ne s'inscrivaient pas dans le projet de modernisation imposé par le haut, et la modernisation de la place du marché n'était donc pas possible tant que deux rangées

de maisons occupées par des résidents juifs se trouvaient au milieu de celle-ci. La perception des Juifs de la place du marché a eu une incidence sur leurs conditions de vie.

PARTIE 2. DYNAMIQUE MENANT À LA VIOLENCE COLLECTIVE DE 1939 SUR LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ DE LUBARTÓW

La violence collective anti-juive à Lubartów ne correspond pas au cadre chronologique le plus couramment utilisé, selon lequel la période de 1935 à 1937 a vu l'apogée de la violence dans la Pologne des années 1930[56]. Les deux attaques les plus brutales contre les Juifs de Lubartów ont eu lieu à la mi-mars et à la mi-août 1939. Dans les deux cas, la place du marché de Lubartów a été le théâtre des événements, car c'était un lieu associé aux Juifs et à leurs activités. Mon point de vue s'appuie principalement sur la correspondance administrative et les rapports du bureau du comté de Lubartów et du poste de police de Lubartów. Le chef du comté de Lubartów rédigeait des rapports mensuels à l'intention du voïvode, ainsi que des rapports thématiques axés sur les activités de certains groupes, tels que les nationalistes radicaux, ou sur des événements spécifiques, tels que l'agitation et la violence anti-juives.

Les études sur la violence anti-juive à la fin des années 1930 soulignent le rôle des crises économiques et de la pauvreté, combinées à l'antisémitisme traditionnel, aux tensions entre chrétiens et juifs et aux tensions entre les villes et les zones rurales[57]. Elles mettent également en évidence « les mesures économiques prises par les nationalistes pour accroître la participation des chrétiens au commerce et aux affaires »[58]. Récemment, l'impact de l'aspect antisémite de l'idéologie des nationalistes a été davantage reconnu[59]. Les années 1935-1937 sont considérées comme une période au cours de laquelle « la violence contre les Juifs est

[56] E. Melzer, *No Way Out*, *op. cit.*, p. 53-70 ; Jolanta Żyndul, *Zajścia antyżydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935–1937*, Varsovie, Fundacja Kazimierza Kelles–Krauza i Scholar Agency, 1994 ; Joanna Michlic, « Anti–Jewish Violence in Poland, 1918–1939 and 1945–1947 », *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, vol. 13, 2000, p. 34-61.

[57] Kamil Kijek, Artur Markowski et Konrad Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku T. 2: Studia przypadków*, Varsovie, Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Uniwersytet Warmińsko–Mazurski, Uniwersytet Wrocławski Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, 2019 ; E. Melzer, *No Way Out, op. cit.*, p. 55–57 ; Alina Cała, *Żyd – wróg odwieczny? Antysemityzm w Polsce i jego źródła*, Varsovie, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny et Wydawnictwo Nisza, 2012, p. 369-373 ; J. B. Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Others*, *op. cit.,* p. 115 et 121-122 ; Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland (1919-1939)*, Berlin, New York et Amsterdam, Mouton Publishers, p. 359 ; Celia S. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction. Jews of Poland Between the Two World Wars*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1977, p. 115-118.

[58] Roman Wapiński, *Narodowa Demokracja 1893–1939. Ze studiów nad dziejami myśli nacjonalistycznej*, Wrocław, Ossolineum, 2015, p. 308.

[59] Alicja Gontarek, *Żydzi Mińska Mazowieckiego 1918–1939*, Lublin, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie–Skłodowskiej, 2015, p. 440-471 ; Kamil Kijek, « Pogrom, którego nie było, tragedia, która przyszła w zamian. Zajścia w Odrzywole, 20–29 listopada 1935 r., », *in* K. Kijek¸ A. Markowski et K. Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 2, op. cit.,* p. 391–408 ; Michał Trębacz, « 'Pod murami Jasnej Góry'. Pogrom w Częstochowie 19–21 czerwca 1937 r. », *in Ibid.,* p. 409-428.

devenue une stratégie réfléchie, délibérée et de grande envergure, destinée à influencer l'imaginaire et les attitudes de la quasi-totalité des acteurs sociaux »[60].

À Lubartów, j'observe une dynamique très différente de celle souvent décrite dans l'historiographie, qui a conduit à une violence collective organisée contre les Juifs. En raison d'une présence moindre de nationalistes radicaux et du lien étroit entre le gouvernement local et l'État, Lubartów illustre une évolution différente de l'idéologie antisémite et une méthode différente d'organisation de la violence. La nature des deux actes de violence commis en 1939 diffère également des événements les plus souvent décrits, généralement qualifiés de pogroms. Le cas de Lubartów représente des actes de violence collective anti-juive moins étudiés, sans participation massive de la population locale et sans mobilisation à grande échelle des militants nationalistes. L'enquête sur des événements tels que ceux de Lubartów, qui n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une enquête approfondie de la part de la police ou du procureur, qui n'ont pas donné lieu à un procès et dans lesquels les auteurs ne sont pas clairement liés à une organisation quelconque, nécessite une compréhension approfondie des conditions locales et une enquête multidirectionnelle.

Traces de l'influence des nationalistes dans le comté de Lubartów

Dans les années 1930, le chef du comté de Lubartów et la police associaient les activités des nationalistes radicaux principalement au Parti national (SN). Le Parti national était particulièrement faible dans le comté de Lubartów et les activités des nationalistes dans ce comté manquaient de continuité. Au début des années 1930, le SN de Lubartów a tenté de se réinventer, sans succès. Malgré l'absence de structures du SN, certains individus à Lubartów ont promu une idéologie nationaliste radicale par le biais de leur influence environnementale, d'organisations sociales, du gouvernement local et de la chaire de l'église. L'agitation antijuive provenant des comtés de Radzyń et de Lublin n'a pas directement donné lieu à des actes de violence collective contre les Juifs à Lubartów, mais a abouti à la création de cellules isolées du Parti national dans la province. En ce qui concerne la structure de la propriété foncière et l'organisation de la production agricole dans le comté, les centres importants d'influence politique étaient les manoirs, dont il y avait au moins une douzaine dans le comté.

[60] Grzegorz Krzywiec, « Narodowa Demokracja wobec pogromów i kolektywnej przemocy antysemickiej do 1918 roku », *in* Kamil Kijek¸ Artur Markowski etKonrad Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3 : Historiografia, polityka, recepcja społeczna (do 1939 roku)*, Varsovie, Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla PAN, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski, Uniwersytet Wrocławski Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich POLIN, 2019, p. 375-392.

La faiblesse des structures du Parti national ne signifiait en aucun cas que la propagande et les actions antisémites à l'échelle nationale ne trouvaient pas d'écho dans le comté de Lubartów. Les résidents juifs craignaient un boycott économique et des actes de violence à la fin des années 1930. Cette crainte était justifiée dans la mesure où les pogroms et les attaques contre les Juifs ailleurs intensifiaient le ressentiment local à leur égard. Le sentiment de rejet par les autorités de l'État était renforcé non seulement par les réactions des autorités et du pouvoir judiciaire aux actes de violence commis contre les Juifs, mais aussi par les mesures discriminatoires prises par la suite par le gouvernement, qui ont été accueillies avec enthousiasme par de nombreux chrétiens de Lubartów. La question de l'interdiction de l'abattage rituel a trouvé un écho particulièrement fort à Lubartów[61]. Alors que les Juifs de Lubartów prévoyaient une grève de protestation, le journal local a soutenu la réforme du gouvernement et a longuement évoqué la cruauté de l'abattage rituel.

Les rapports du chef du comté et de la police montrent comment les actions antisémites en Pologne et la position des autorités à l'égard des Juifs ont renforcé la polarisation des habitants du comté selon des critères ethnoreligieux. Ils révèlent également comment le chef du comté et les commandants de police de Lubartów se sont positionnés au milieu des tensions en prenant parti pour l'une des parties. Les rapports masquaient les sentiments antisémites qui sous-tendaient les attaques et minimisaient les dommages causés aux Juifs. Cette optique découle des préjugés du chef du comté et des policiers à l'égard des Juifs. Les habitants juifs étaient décrits comme un groupe extérieur, menaçant les intérêts économiques des Polonais et de la Pologne elle-même. Pour cette raison, les autorités surveillaient de près les habitants juifs et leurs mesures de riposte aux boycotts. Les rapports présentent une logique selon laquelle les habitants juifs sont la partie menaçante, et non celle qui est en danger.

Compte tenu des préjugés du chef du comté et des commandants de police, leur vision de la situation est-elle fiable ? Leur crédibilité est remise en cause par des témoignages d'après-guerre concernant des boycotts anti-juifs à Lubartów qui sont passés inaperçus auprès du chef du comté et de la police. Il est possible que le point de vue du chef du comté et celui des habitants de Lubartów de l'entre-deux-guerres ne soient pas du tout contradictoires : l'antisémitisme quotidien, les piquets de grève devant les magasins appartenant à des Juifs étaient une image tellement ancrée dans le paysage urbain qu'il n'y avait apparemment pas

[61] Mieczysław Różański et Piotr Szymaniec, « Debaty wokół zakazu uboju rytualnego w II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej », *Przegląd sejmowy,* vol. 156, no. 1, 2020, p. 133-138 ; J. Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, op. cit.*, p. 357-358.

besoin de le signaler au gouverneur du district. Le boycott s'inscrivait dans la culture politique de l'époque, du moins selon le ministre de l'Intérieur Felicjan Sławoj-Składkowski, qui justifiait le boycott économique des Juifs en juin 1936, tout en condamnant la violence physique à leur égard.

Ozon et la capture des discours antisémites à Lubartów

Depuis le début de l'année 1937, les habitants juifs de Lubartów vivaient dans la peur, non pas des nationalistes radicaux du SN, mais d'Ozon et du gouvernement. Selon les rapports du chef du comté, la création d'Ozon fut accueillie avec enthousiasme dans le comté, de nouveaux membres et de nouvelles organisations rejoignant le mouvement, tandis que les Juifs se voyaient refuser cette opportunité. Les craintes des Juifs ont été renforcées par les nouvelles en provenance de Pologne et de l'étranger. Jusqu'au milieu de l'année 1937, des rapports ont continué d'arriver faisant état de pogroms au cours desquels la police n'avait pas mis fin aux violences contre les Juifs, comme à Brześć Litewski en mai 1937.

En 1939, entre février et mars, trois rassemblements de masse ont eu lieu sur la place du marché de Lubartów, auxquels ont participé les résidents chrétiens les plus importants de Lubartów, notamment les autorités municipales et du comté et le clergé. L'un de ces événements a inauguré la campagne du gouvernement local en faveur de l'Ozon, favorable au gouvernement. Les deux autres événements étaient liés au lancement du ZMP dans le comté de Lubartów. Le ZMP était une organisation de jeunesse nationaliste radicale, qui entra dans l'orbite d'Ozon après son virage nationaliste. Les discours prononcés lors des réunions appelaient à l'émigration massive des Juifs de Pologne, à la prise de contrôle du commerce et de l'industrie par les « *ethnic Poles* » et à l'exclusion des Juifs des autorités municipales. La dernière réunion, le congrès du ZMP, eut lieu le 20 mars 1939 au cinéma Lewart de Lubartów, sur la place du marché. Dans son rapport, le gouverneur de Lublin a estimé le nombre de participants à 800, ce qui en a fait l'un des plus grands rassemblements à Lubartów à la fin des années 1930. Le moment choisi pour ce rassemblement n'était pas une coïncidence : la réunion s'est tenue le lundi à 20 heures. Le lendemain, un marché hebdomadaire devait avoir lieu à Lubartów.

Des paroles aux actes. Attaques antisémites à Lubartów en 1939

Le récit le plus complet des événements qui se sont déroulés à Lubartów le 21 mars 1939, jour de marché à Lubartów, est basé sur les témoignages de Jankiel Montal, président de la *Kehilla* juive, au bureau du comté. Ce jour-là, des attaques contre les Juifs ont eu lieu, avec des coups et des coups de couteau, des vitres brisées, des étals juifs renversés au marché. De plus, des

tracts antisémites et des rumeurs ont été diffusés. Les auteurs de toutes les agressions du 21 mars n'ont pas été arrêtés et ont échappé à la justice.

Sur les 12 suspects identifiés par la police pour les attaques contre les Juifs à Lubartów, neuf venaient des villages adjacents à Lubartów, dont sept de Lisów, un village situé au nord de Lubartów. La participation du groupe de Lisów, dont la plupart des membres étaient apparentés, aux événements du 21 mars indique que leurs actions étaient coordonnées et qu'ils se sont réunis pour déclencher des violences à Lubartów. L'objectif était probablement d'inciter à diverses formes d'attaques antisémites, afin d'entraîner dans la violence le plus grand nombre possible de personnes présentes à Lubartów ce jour-là. Cet objectif devait être atteint non seulement par des attaques contre les Juifs et leurs biens immobiliers, mais aussi par une agitation antisémite à l'aide de tracts et la diffusion de « rumeurs incitant la population polonaise à s'en prendre aux Juifs »[62]. Il s'agissait là du modèle le plus courant d'actions antisémites organisées dans la seconde moitié des années 1930. Le seul élément manquant était une provocation, que les rapports de police n'ont pas mentionnée.

L'un des rapports de la police du comté identifiait les auteurs des violences à Lubartów comme étant des « recrues et d'autres jeunes chrétiens »[63]. Le premier groupe était composé d'habitants de Lisów. Le second comprenait des habitants chrétiens de Lubartów. L'un des rapports mentionne Zygmunt Derecki, accusé d'avoir battu un autre habitant de Lubartów, Abram Len, qui tenait une petite épicerie sur la rue Rynek I. Les relations économiques interreligieuses et la manière dont elles étaient décrites dans le Lubartów de l'entre-deux-guerres constituent l'un des motifs potentiels de l'attaque contre Abram Len. Le père de Zygmunt Derecki, Stanisław, était l'un des habitants les plus riches de Lubartów et le président de l'association des commerçants polonais. Il était associé au camp pro-gouvernemental de Lubartów et s'est présenté aux élections de 1939 sur la liste de l'OZN, qui a mené une campagne antisémite.

De l'autre côté de la rue Rynek I, en face de la maison des Derecki, vivait Kazimierz Rogatko avec sa famille. En janvier 1939, Henryk Jadach emménagea chez les Rogatko, où il travailla comme apprenti boucher auprès de Kazimierz Rogatko. Henryk Jadach fut accusé d'avoir perpétré l'attaque la plus violente le 21 mars, au cours de laquelle Mendel Literat fut roué de coups et poignardé. Un indice quant à la motivation de cette violence mène à Kazimierz

[62] Procès-verbal du témoignage de Jankiel Montal sur les événements du 21 mars 1939, 22 mars 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 35.
[63] Rapport du quartier général de la police du comté de Lubartów sur les événements du 21 mars 1939, 22 mars 1939. APL, KPPL, 253, 38.

Rogatko, tuteur et superviseur d'Henryk Jadach. Rogatko était le seul membre du SN à Lubartów dont l'activité remontait aux années 1920.

Les parcours de Jadach et Derecki sont très différents, tout comme le sont les deux agressions en termes de gravité des blessures corporelles. Cependant, les deux suspects étaient tous deux jeunes et vivaient rue Rynek I, où les agressions ont eu lieu le 21 mars. En soulignant les liens entre les deux jeunes hommes et leurs tuteurs, des personnes riches et bien établies à Lubartów, je mets en évidence une persistance intergénérationnelle dans les attitudes envers les Juifs à Lubartów. À la fin des années 1930, les différences de points de vue et d'attitudes envers les Juifs entre Kazimierz Rogatko, associé à la Démocratie nationale ouvertement antisémite, et Stanisław Derecki, associé au camp pro-gouvernemental qui avait utilisé une rhétorique antisémite, s'étaient estompées. Cela est exprimé de manière allégorique par les agressions commises par Henryk Jadach et Zygmunt Derecki.

Les deuxièmes attaques antisémites sur la place du marché de Lubartów ont eu lieu en août 1939. Les auteurs, originaires de trois villages environnants de la commune de Łuck, ont été collectivement qualifiés de réservistes. Quelles que soient les différences dans la dynamique des événements de mars et d'août 1939, ceux-ci amènent à se demander pourquoi les habitants mobilisés des villages autour de Lubartów ont décidé de mener des attaques contre les Juifs de la ville. Compte tenu de tous les catalyseurs antérieurs des tensions interethniques, le facteur militaire doit également être pris en considération comme un facteur ayant favorisé les flambées de violence à Lubartów.

Un modèle permettant de comprendre la violence collective indique l'existence de schémas de violence et de normes autorisant la violence comme facteur contributif[64]. Dans le cas des recrues et des réservistes qui ont attaqué les Juifs à Lubartów, il y a une répétition. Vingt ans plus tôt, en mai 1919, un groupe décrit comme des recrues et des paysans, beaucoup plus nombreux qu'en 1939, avait tenté à deux reprises de mener un pogrom contre les Juifs de Lubartów. À l'époque, tout comme en août 1939, les recrues venaient de la commune de Serniki[65]. La répétition du schéma de violence n'implique pas que les circonstances étaient

[64] Mikołaj Wiśniewski, « Model przemocy pogromowej. Analizy przemocy kolektywnej na ziemiach polskich w latach 1805–1946 », *in* K. Kijek¸ A. Markowski et K. Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3, op. cit.*, p. 29.

[65] Ce qui n'était pas du tout la règle dans le cadre des attaques antisémites contre la population pendant cette période. La violence des soldats s'est le plus souvent manifestée après la libération de la ville par les troupes de l'armée de libération polonaise. Grzegorz Gauden, *Lwów – kres iluzji. Opowieść o pogromie listopadowym 1918*, Cracovie, Universitas, 2019 ; Alicja Gontarek, « Pogrom w Łukowie podczas wojny 1920 r. przyczyny, przebieg i skutki », *in* K. Kijek¸ A. Markowski et K. Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 2, op. cit,* p. 312–315 ; Wiesław Passawzkowski, « Pogrom w Częstochowie 27 maja 1919 r. w świetle

identiques ; les conditions en 1919 et 1939 différaient considérablement. Pourtant, les deux cas ont démontré que le fait d'être soldat encourageait la violence contre les Juifs tout en procurant un sentiment d'impunité. Cependant, contrairement à 1919, l'armée et la police n'ont pas mis fin aux violences en 1939.

Conclusion

Les attaques de 1939 ont eu des causes complexes, dont j'ai tenté de souligner certains aspects. Aucune structure partisane nationaliste forte n'est apparue à Lubartów dans les années 1930, et l'agitation anti-juive n'a pas conduit à des pogroms. Cependant, l'influence nationaliste était clairement visible dans la ville et des liens entre le SN et les agresseurs de 1939 ont pu être identifiés. La plupart des agresseurs venaient des deux communes voisines de Lubartów, où les sympathisants du parti nationaliste étaient présents depuis des années. L'exemple de Henryk Jadach, protégé et sous-locataire du vétéran du camp nationaliste de Lubartów, Kazimierz Rogatko, témoigne également de l'influence des organisations nationalistes.

Les violences antisémites à Lubartów ont toutefois une chronologie différente de celle qui est le plus souvent étudiée. Les incidents violents enregistrés par la police et le chef du comté se sont accumulés à la fin des années 1930, entre 1937 et 1939. À cette époque, comme l'a noté le chef du comté de Lubartów, le sentiment anti-juif s'est accru. Cette chronologie indique qu'un catalyseur important de l'antisémitisme a été la légitimation croissante des discours d'exclusion et de violence et la normalisation de la violence à l'égard des Juifs. Comme je l'ai démontré, les Juifs de Lubartów ont été systématiquement marginalisés sur le plan politique et victimes de discrimination administrative au quotidien depuis le début des années 1920. À la fin des années 1930, l'exclusion des Juifs a atteint son apogée, ce qui, outre les actes de violence, est visible dans l'optique et le langage du chef du comté ainsi que dans le comportement de la police.

Ce processus s'est accompagné d'un rapprochement croissant entre le camp gouvernemental et les organisations nationalistes radicales, ainsi que de l'adoption d'un langage antisémite. Les deux plus grandes actions antisémites rapportées ont eu lieu précisément au moment où les autorités et les élites chrétiennes de Lubartów ont commencé à utiliser ouvertement un langage antisémite et à exclure les Juifs de l'économie, et où le gouvernement local et la vie sociale sont devenus des outils de mobilisation politique.

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relacji żydowskich », *in Ibid.*, p. 274–275 ; Michaił Mitsel, « Pogromy w Polsce przeprowadzone przez regularne oddziały Wojska Polskiego (1918–1919) w świetle materiałów American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee », *in* K. Kijek¸ A. Markowski et K. Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3,* p. 257–268.

La topographie de la violence à Lubartów indique que la place du marché et la rue principale de la ville ont été les lieux où la violence a éclaté. Ce fut le cas en 1919, puis à nouveau lors des événements survenus 20 ans plus tard. Néanmoins, les explosions de violence ont épargné les bâtiments situés au milieu de la place du marché, Klitki I et Klitki II. Ces deux rues constituaient une enclave sûre pour les Juifs, entre les rues Rynek I et II. Les Klitki étaient une zone stigmatisée de la ville, un espace juif interne que les agresseurs évitaient de pénétrer. Symboliquement, les attaques ainsi que la gestion des déchets ont défini les limites du marquage ethnique dans le centre-ville.

CHAPITRE 6. LA PLACE DU MARCHÉ DE LUBARTÓW PENDANT LA GUERRE

Introduction

La création des ghettos dans l'Europe occupée par les nazis est généralement considérée comme une étape dans une série de mesures répressives à l'encontre des Juifs, qui comprenaient la création d'institutions juives de contrôle, l'étiquetage et les restrictions de mouvement[66]. En fin de compte, la construction des ghettos était considérée comme une étape finale vers la Solution finale[67]. Cette perspective sur le ghetto a été largement influencée par l'accent mis sur les grandes villes ; l'inclusion des villes et des villes provisoires dans l'analyse a remis en cause un certain nombre de conclusions antérieures[68].

En élargissant leur perspective aux petites villes, les chercheurs peuvent observer la nature décentralisée du processus de ghettoïsation dans les territoires occupés. Les différences locales se sont exprimées en termes de calendrier, de motivations et de méthodes de création des ghettos. Dans la Pologne occupée, il existait diverses formes de concentration et de séparation des Juifs, allant des quartiers fermés, comme Varsovie ou Łódź, aux zones où « toute la ville était un ghetto »[69]. Les différences locales dans les formes de concentration, la manière dont celle-ci était perçue et comprise, ainsi que sa nature variable, incitent à recourir à des outils microhistoriques qui, grâce à une observation approfondie, permettent de prendre du recul par rapport aux catégorisations établies. La méthodologie adoptée ne consiste donc pas à décrire un autre modèle de concentration ou à ajouter un nouvel adjectif pour qualifier la nature du ghetto. Il s'agit plutôt de proposer un modèle analytique qui mettra en évidence des aspects méconnus de la configuration de l'espace et de l'exclusion sociale. J'aborde l'aspect le plus fondamental de la ségrégation, tel qu »il se reflète dans les structures résidentielles et commerciales de la place du marché.

Mon point de vue n'est pas celui des urbanistes, ni celui des dirigeants de la hiérarchie nazie, ni même celui des responsables locaux de la ghettoïsation, que Tim Cole appelle collectivement les « docteurs de l'espace »[70]. J'ai examiné la concentration et la séparation des résidents juifs

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[66] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939–1945, vol. 2: The Years of Extermination*, York, Harper Collins, 2006, p. 38-39 ; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation*, New York, Macmillan, 1972, p. xviii.

[67] Israel Gutman, « Ghetto », *in* Israel Gutman (dir.), *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, New York, Macmillan, 1990, p. 579.

[68] Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust,* traduit par Lenn J. Schramm,Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011. Voir également : Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of Shtetl*, New Haven et Londres, Yale University Press, 2009, p. 74.

[69] Témoignage de Michał Szpila, USHMM, RG–50.488.0308. La citation fait référence à Bobowa.

[70] Voir Tim Cole, *Holocaust City. The Making of a Jewish Ghetto*, New York et Londres, Routledge, 2003.

de Lubartów à travers une observation approfondie de la répartition des logements et, dans une certaine mesure, des locaux commerciaux et des services. Le processus d'occupation des biens juifs a été un aspect fondamental du changement social qui s'est produit dans toute la Pologne et l'Europe occupées à la suite de la guerre et de la Shoah[71]. Grâce aux registres mobilisés, il peut être retracé en détail à l'échelle locale.

Mon observation s'appuie fortement sur les conclusions concernant la structure résidentielle et la propriété de la place du marché de Lubartów avant la guerre. Dans le cas de la place du marché, comme dans celui des autorités locales, la question centrale est celle de la continuité et de la discontinuité entre les contacts intergroupes et individuels et la nature des frontières intergroupes. Dans quelle mesure les modèles d'avant-guerre de ségrégation spatiale restent-ils valables à Lubartów ? Comment les hiérarchies entre les groupes d'habitants de la ville ont-elles influencé la répartition des logements ? Les divisions ethniques étaient-elles le seul facteur déterminant le lieu de résidence des habitants ?

Pendant la guerre, la place du marché de Lubartów, comme dans des centaines d'autres villes de la Pologne occupée[72], est devenue le théâtre des actes de violence les plus dramatiques commis contre les habitants de la ville, en particulier les Juifs. Les atrocités commises dans les provinces dans le cadre de l'opération Reinhardt dans le Gouvernement général ont eu lieu en présence ou avec la participation des habitants non juifs des villes et des villages[73]. Le débat sur la position des acteurs non juifs dans la Shoah est en cours depuis au moins les années 1960[74]. La perspective que je propose sur le déroulement de la deuxième *Aktion* se concentre

[71] Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews: The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust,* 1933–1945, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008 ; Christoph Kreutzmüller et Jonathan R. Zatlin (dir.), *Dispossession: Plundering German Jewry 1933–1953*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2020. À l'échelle locale, Frank Bajohr, « Aryanisation », *in Hamburg. The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany*, New York et Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2002.

[72] Cela se reflète, par exemple, dans certains chapitres de *Dalej jest noc* et dans des articles de l'*USHMM Encyclopedia*.

[73] Selon les estimations, les meurtres publics commis dans les villes pendant l'Action auraient touché entre 10 et 40 % des résidents juifs. Barbara Engelking et Jan Grabowski, « Wstęp », *in* B. Engelking et J. Grabowski (dir.), *Dalej jest noc., op. cit.*, p. 24.

[74] Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933–1945*, New York, HarperCollins, 1992. En Pologne, ce sujet est principalement traité par le Centre de recherche sur la Shoah : Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień… Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945*, Varsovie, Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011 ; B. Engelking et J. Grabowski (dir.), *Dalej jest noc*, *op. cit.* ; J. Grabowski, *Judenjagd, op. cit.* ; Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak et Dariusz Libionka (dir.), *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, Varsovie, Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN, 2007. Voir également : A. Wierzcholska, *Wspomnienia i kamienie, op. cit.*, p. 571–584.

sur l'expérience des victimes juives, mais tient également compte des récits non juifs sur les événements d'octobre 1942[75].

L'analyse quantitative de la répartition des logements sur la place du marché de Lubartów aborde deux questions. Premièrement, elle examine l'étendue et l'ampleur de la concentration des résidents juifs. L'objectif est de définir la zone dans laquelle les Juifs étaient concentrés à Lubartów pendant l'occupation et de la comparer à la zone dans laquelle ils vivaient avant la guerre. Deuxièmement, elle examine les changements dans la structure résidentielle des quatre rues de la place du marché afin de déterminer qui occupait les appartements et les locaux commerciaux, et à quel moment. L'analyse de la structure résidentielle sert de base à une analyse détaillée, au cas par cas, en particulier dans les zones situées le long des frontières des divisions intergroupes sur la place du marché.

J'ai reconstitué le processus de concentration des Juifs à Lubartów à partir d'une analyse des sources nominales provenant des archives d'État de Lublin. Le point de départ était la situation au début du mois de septembre 1939, reconstituée à partir du registre des résidents permanents de Lubartów. Les étapes suivantes de la reconfiguration du marché ont été suivies à l'aide des registres, des recensements et des listes préparés par les autorités locales et le *Judenrat* de Lubartów. Ces documents ont été créés de différentes manières et à des fins diverses. Outre les circonstances de leur création, ils diffèrent par leur portée et la catégorisation utilisée. Par conséquent, leur comparaison nécessite une grande prudence et une attention particulière aux détails.

Concentration des Juifs de Lubartów sur la place du marché

La comparaison des registres indique une concentration progressive des résidents juifs de Lubartów dans quatre rues de la place du marché en janvier 1941. Néanmoins, les départs initiaux et les réinstallations forcées, qui ont entraîné une diminution de plus de 2 500 résidents juifs au cours des trois premiers mois de la guerre, ont eu peu d'impact sur la répartition des résidents juifs : jusqu'à fin novembre 1939, environ la moitié des Juifs de Lubartów vivaient sur la place du marché ou dans ses environs, comme avant la guerre. Au cours des mois suivants, la concentration s'est accrue : en mars 1940, près des trois quarts de tous les appartements

[75] Omer Bartov, « Communal Genocide: personal accounts of the destruction of Buczacz, eastern Galicia, 1941–1944 », *in* Omer Bartov et Eric D. Weitz (dir.), *Shatterzone of empires: coexistence and violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman borderlands*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2013, p. 403. Voir également : Omer Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2018.

occupés par des Juifs à Lubartów étaient situés sur la place du marché ou dans ses environs, ce qui n'a pas changé jusqu'en janvier 1941, malgré une série de mouvements massifs de Juifs et de non-Juifs vers Lubartów. Dans le même temps, l'augmentation significative du nombre de familles juives à Lubartów, qui a dépassé les 300, a considérablement accru la densité de population juive dans le centre-ville, ce qui a surtout touché les quatre rues de la place du marché. La concentration limitée, les Juifs vivant principalement, mais pas exclusivement, sur la place du marché ou dans ses environs, s'est maintenue jusqu'à la deuxième *Aktion* d'octobre 1942 et au meurtre et à la déportation de presque tous les Juifs restés à Lubartów.

Enregistrement des changements après les déplacements massifs — Le registre immobilier juif de janvier 1941

Bien que le modèle de concentration des résidents juifs à Lubartów ait été perçu, les changements dans la répartition des logements dès la première phase de la guerre ont laissé une empreinte durable sur la structure résidentielle de la place du marché. Ils ont créé de l'espace pour de nouveaux locataires, dont beaucoup ont continué à occuper des appartements au moins jusqu'en 1943. Au moment où le registre de janvier 1941 a été rempli, la population de Lubartów était équivalente à celle d'avant-guerre, avec un nombre légèrement supérieur d'habitants non juifs. Dans le même temps, la composition des deux groupes était très différente de ce qu'elle était auparavant. Les mouvements de population massifs de fin 1939 et 1940, qui ont concerné environ 700 chrétiens et 1 000 Juifs provenant des territoires annexés au Reich et plus de 1 200 Juifs de Lubartów revenant dans la ville, ont largement influencé la structure résidentielle et commerciale de la place du marché. Cependant, la répartition des appartements n'était pas uniquement due à la migration ; les hiérarchies intergroupes, les politiques de gestion de la population et la logique de persécution ont également joué un rôle.

Le registre de janvier 1941 illustre le changement social qui s'est produit à Lubartów à la suite du départ et de la réinstallation forcée des résidents juifs au cours des premiers mois de la guerre. Les Juifs locaux qui sont restés dans la ville, ainsi que ceux qui sont revenus à la fin de 1940, privés de leurs droits de propriété et du droit de faire des affaires, ont occupé les locaux qui leur ont été laissés dans des conditions discriminatoires. La situation des réfugiés juifs arrivés en décembre 1940 était encore plus tragique ; ils étaient à la merci des organisations humanitaires et des habitants juifs de Lubartów. En janvier 1941, l'appauvrissement et la dégradation des conditions de vie des Juifs à Lubartów étaient déjà bien avancés. La répression et les préjudices infligés aux Juifs ont créé des opportunités pour les non-Juifs de Lubartów. Pour ceux qui ont été déplacés de force à Lubartów, principalement à la fin de 1939 et au début

de 1940, cela signifiait avant tout la possibilité de trouver un logement, qui était d'abord attribué aux déportés non juifs provenant des territoires incorporés au *Reich*. La distribution des appartements a entraîné une présence beaucoup plus importante de non-Juifs sur la place du marché qu'avant la guerre. Non seulement ils prédominaient dans les immeubles de la rue Rynek I, où ils étaient clairement minoritaires avant la guerre, mais ils apparaissaient également dans d'autres rues où ils ne vivaient pas auparavant.

Le processus d'occupation des locaux commerciaux et industriels était largement indépendant de celui des appartements, tant en termes d'organisation, de chronologie que de personnes impliquées. À l'exception des résidents non juifs de Klitki, ceux qui occupaient les locaux commerciaux ne vivaient généralement pas sur la place du marché. Contrairement aux appartements, qui étaient plus souvent attribués à des nouveaux arrivants, les résidents de Lubartów et les personnes liées à Lubartów étaient beaucoup plus impliqués dans la reprise des locaux commerciaux. Il est fort probable qu'il n'y avait pas d'obstacles pour les non-juifs intéressés par l'occupation/l'attribution de locaux commerciaux, comme c'était le cas pour la distribution des appartements. Pour les résidents d'avant-guerre qui occupaient des locaux commerciaux, cela leur offrait la possibilité de gagner de l'argent et de développer leurs activités. Pour ceux qui se trouvaient dans la situation la plus difficile, cela leur offrait une possibilité de survie et d'ascension sociale.

Le registre des biens immobiliers juifs ne donne pas une image complète de la répartition des locaux commerciaux, car il ne comprend que les propriétés appartenant à des Juifs. Pendant la guerre, les magasins appartenant à des chrétiens locaux ont continué à fonctionner dans la rue Rynek I. De plus, une halle de marché a fonctionné sans interruption sur la place du marché II, où la mairie louait des espaces commerciaux. Avant la guerre, les Juifs de Lubartów exerçaient leur activité dans la halle du marché, ce qui n'était plus le cas en 1941. Sur la place du marché II, comme avant la guerre, des marchés et des foires étaient organisés. La place du marché II restait un lieu central pour le commerce local des résidents non juifs.

Registre des locations de 1942-1943

De janvier 1941 à septembre 1942, les Juifs et les non-Juifs sont restés dans toutes les rues de la place du marché, et la proportion des deux groupes est restée constante dans les rues. Cette conclusion générale cache les changements radicaux qui ont eu lieu dans la composition des deux groupes de résidents. Comme le registre précédent, le registre des loyers de 1942-1943 documente la situation de la population après des bouleversements dramatiques : l'arrivée de

réfugiés juifs de Lublin, la première *Aktion* contre les Juifs à Lubartów en avril 1942, puis l'arrivée de Juifs slovaques à Lubartów. En conséquence, en septembre 1942, plus d'un tiers de tous les locaux de la place du marché étaient loués par des personnes autres que celles qui les occupaient un an et demi plus tôt.

Le registre des locations de 1942-1943 montre que le modèle de ségrégation de la place du marché, qui avait vu le jour en janvier 1941, s'est encore stabilisé et renforcé. La rue Rynek I était encore plus dominée par des entrepreneurs et des résidents non juifs. À l'exception des maisons situées aux extrémités des deux rues, Klitki restait exclusivement occupée par des Juifs. La rue Rynek II était principalement habitée par des Juifs, bien qu'il y ait eu une activité commerciale importante de la part des non-Juifs. Dans une perspective à long terme, le modèle de ségrégation d'avant-guerre est resté en vigueur sur la place du marché. La répartition des locaux loués montre clairement que les non-Juifs de Lubartów avaient un avantage dans l'attribution des locaux et que la structure sociale de la place du marché a changé *de facto* selon leurs conditions.

L'« aryanisation » des biens juifs était avant tout un processus social. Elle était l'expression d'aspirations individuelles et collectives, résultant également des opinions d'avant-guerre sur les relations sociales et économiques à Lubartów et dans le pays. La guerre n'a pas effacé les antagonismes et aspirations d'avant-guerre. La persécution massive des Juifs et la hiérarchie raciste imposée par les occupants ont encore éloigné les non-Juifs des Juifs, facilitant ainsi leur participation au pillage des Juifs. Il faut également tenir compte de l'ampleur des changements sociaux. Les groupes et les acteurs impliqués dans la prise de contrôle des biens appartenant aux Juifs dépassaient la population d'avant-guerre de Lubartów. Il est difficile d'identifier deux résidents, juifs et non juifs, qui étaient voisins dans le même immeuble avant la guerre et en octobre 1942.

L'exemple de Lubartów, tel qu'il ressort des archives analysées, montre que la redistribution massive des locaux appartenant à des Juifs a eu lieu bien avant la deuxième *Aktion* en octobre 1942. Le « vide laissé par les Juifs » a été progressivement comblé, à partir de la fin de 1939, juste après les mouvements massifs des Juifs de Lubartów. La complexité du processus, ses différentes dynamiques et sa nature en plusieurs étapes, ainsi que la diversité des groupes impliqués, sont rarement décrites en profondeur dans les études, où la saisie des biens est le plus souvent perçue comme un acte ponctuel. La dynamique de ce processus est complexe, mais sa linéarité est facile à comprendre, en particulier dans la rue Rynek I, où les non-Juifs ont pris

possession d'un nombre croissant de propriétés. Cette dynamique s'est également reflétée à l'échelle de la ville dans la diminution du nombre de rues où vivaient des Juifs à Lubartów.

À la lumière de ces conclusions, la deuxième *Aktion* d'octobre 1942 n'a pas constitué un tournant fondamental dans la redistribution des locaux, mais a plutôt permis d'achever le processus. En octobre 1942, la plupart des Juifs vivaient déjà dans des maisons qui n'intéressaient pas les non-Juifs. De plus, l'extermination des Juifs de Lubartów n'a pas eu d'incidence sur la propriété des biens. Après l'*Aktion,* les biens immobiliers juifs restèrent sous tutelle, comme auparavant. Ce n'est qu'après la fin de l'occupation qu'il fut possible de prendre possession des maisons juives[76].

Y avait-il un ghetto à Lubartów ? La réponse dépend des catégories et des définitions utilisées. D'un point de vue administratif, aucun ghetto n'a été créé : au milieu de l'année 1941, puis en février 1942, l'administration civile allemande a signalé qu'il n'y avait pas de ghetto à Lubartów. Ce rapport contredit clairement les mémoires de certains habitants chrétiens de Lubartów qui se souviennent que le ghetto était clôturé sur deux côtés et gardé par deux policiers juifs. Une analyse des archives municipales révèle que, presque dès le début de la guerre, la plupart des habitants juifs de Lubartów étaient concentrés dans une zone de plusieurs rues du centre-ville. La zone de concentration dans et autour de la place du marché restait ouverte ; les Juifs pouvaient la quitter, et les limites de leurs déplacements à Lubartów étaient définies par les frontières de la ville. Cette zone était également ouverte aux étrangers. L'exemple le plus notable en était la fonction commerciale de la place du marché II, où vivaient les habitants juifs et où se tenaient les marchés hebdomadaires.

Dans le même temps, il n'y avait pas de séparation physique complète entre les Juifs et les non-Juifs à Lubartów. Les deux groupes partageaient les mêmes rues et les mêmes maisons. La place du marché peut donc être considérée comme un espace où la ségrégation résidentielle s'exprimait à différents niveaux : au niveau de la rue (Klitki) et au niveau des immeubles d'habitation (rues Rynek I et II) avec une division interne des bâtiments en espaces juifs et aryens, où l'espace commun était attribué selon les hiérarchies raciales et où les Juifs étaient ghettoïsés dans leurs appartements.

[76] Łukasz Krzyżanowski, *Ghost Citizens: Jewish Return to a Postwar City*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2020, p. 208-264 ; Alina Skibińska, « Problemy rewindykacji żydowskich nieruchomości w latach 1944–1950. Zagadnienia ogólne i szczegółowe (na przykładzie Szczebrzeszyna) », *in* J. Grabowski et D. Libionka (dir.), *Klucze i kasa, op. cit.*, p. 492-573.

La concentration des Juifs à Lubartów était une forme de violence, ainsi qu'une restriction de l'activité commerciale, une restriction de la liberté de mouvement et une « aryanisation » des biens juifs. Les Juifs de Lubartów n'avaient pas la liberté de vivre où ils le souhaitaient, et seuls certains d'entre eux avaient la possibilité de rester dans leurs propres maisons. Les conditions de vie des Juifs sur la place du marché, leur déplacement vers des appartements plus petits, la surpopulation des logements et les restrictions de mouvement et de vie économique, voilà comment le pouvoir antisémite s'exerçait à travers l'espace sur la place du marché. L'expression spatiale de l'exclusion ne s'est pas manifestée par des murs et des mesures policières, mais la place du marché est certainement devenue un espace d'exclusion.

La deuxième *Aktion* à Lubartów

La deuxième *Aktion* à Lubartów eut lieu le 11 octobre 1942 et fut suivie de plusieurs jours de massacres dans la ville et ses environs. Afin de reconstituer le déroulement des événements, j'ai compilé quelques témoignages de survivants juifs, qui sont d'une importance capitale car ils fournissent le point de vue de personnes qui ont été directement persécutées, parallèlement aux récits de non-Juifs. Ces derniers témoignent non seulement des attitudes et du comportement des non-Juifs à l'égard de la Shoah et de ses victimes, mais ils peuvent également servir de témoignage fiable des atrocités commises localement. À ce titre, ils peuvent également fournir des informations sur le sort des Juifs persécutés qui ne figurent pas dans les témoignages des survivants juifs. La présentation des événements à travers des récits personnels permet de personnaliser le point de vue sur les atrocités. Des personnes spécifiques ont été témoins des événements tragiques d'octobre, et je tente de contextualiser leurs expériences dans la chronologie des événements et la topographie de la ville.

La nouvelle du massacre des Juifs et de leur déportation depuis les villes de la région de Lublin était parvenue à Lubartów avant l'*Aktion*. Début octobre, un décret ordonnait le transfert forcé à Lubartów des Juifs vivant dans les villes voisines telles que Firlej, Ostrów Lubelski, Parczew, Kamionka et Tarło. Le 11 octobre 1942, les Juifs restés à Lubartów et ceux qui y étaient arrivés furent rassemblés de force sur la place du marché. Les témoignages juifs et non juifs soulignent la cruauté des Allemands qui rassemblaient les Juifs sur la place. Les témoignages non juifs ne mentionnent toutefois pas l'hostilité ou la satisfaction des habitants de la ville qui assistaient à la persécution des Juifs, mais font souvent référence au pillage des biens abandonnés par les Juifs qui marchaient sur près de deux kilomètres le long de la rue principale jusqu'à la gare.

Les Juifs persécutés se sont retrouvés à la gare. Mojżesz Apelbaum, originaire de Firlej, était parmi eux : « Trois mille Juifs ont été emmenés. Ils nous ont mis dans 70 wagons. Les gens ont été forcés à entrer à coups de crosse de fusil, mais au dernier moment, avant le chargement dans le wagon, j'ai réussi à m'échapper. »[77] Les fusillades ont eu lieu à la gare et sur les voies ferrées. Les jours suivants, la chasse aux Juifs s'est poursuivie. Les dossiers d'après-guerre des procès d'août indiquent que des gendarmes et des policiers allemands ont participé aux exécutions. Celles-ci avaient généralement lieu au nouveau cimetière juif, près du quartier général de la gendarmerie. Les exécutions sont le récit le plus fréquemment répété au sujet de l'*Aktion* dans les témoignages des habitants non juifs. Parmi les personnes assassinées, seules quelques victimes sont mentionnées par leur nom. Les habitants non juifs de Lubartów ne mentionnent pas les personnes qu'ils connaissaient ou avaient connues avant la guerre, telles que leurs voisins ou leurs camarades de classe.

La participation des habitants non juifs de la ville aux arrestations et aux fusillades a été très peu documentée lors des procès d'après-guerre et dans d'autres témoignages. L'un des survivants se souvient que des enfants révélaient les cachettes des Juifs en échange de bonbons. Les enfants erraient dans la ville pendant et après l'*Aktion*. Pour eux, la ville était un lieu de jeu et d'exploration. Il était courant de pénétrer dans les appartements juifs vacants. La motivation la plus fréquente était le pillage. Maria Plech, l'une des survivantes, qui est revenue chez elle rue Piłsudski quelques heures après le début de l'*Aktion*, a trouvé son appartement complètement pillé. La pratique du pillage des appartements juifs n'était pas considérée comme taboue par les résidents non juifs dans les récits tardifs. Le pillage des biens a fixé les limites de ce qui est dit (ou de ce qui peut être dit, peut-être) par les Lubartowiens non juifs dans les années 2000.

Les témoignages des survivants et les récits des non-Juifs soulignent le rôle décisif des non-Juifs dans la vie ou la mort des Juifs pendant l'*Aktion* à Lubartów. Ces cas soulignent l'importance des relations interethniques d'avant-guerre pour la survie. Deux autres permettent d'élargir la conclusion sur les relations établies pendant la guerre. En raison de l'absence d'isolement spatial entre les Juifs et les non-Juifs à Lubartów pendant la guerre, il était possible d'établir des contacts qui auraient pu permettre de sauver des vies à l'avenir.

Lubartów sans résidents juifs

[77] Témoignage de Mojżesz Apelbaum, 12 octobre 1946. AŻIH, 301/2013, 11.

En janvier 1943, le maire de Lubartów informa le médecin du district de Lublin de l'état sanitaire des appartements vidés par les Juifs en octobre 1942. Le premier groupe, comprenant les appartements de la rue Rynek I, avait été occupé immédiatement après le départ des Juifs et n'avait pas été désinfecté en raison de la présence de nouveaux locataires. Les appartements de la rue Rynek I avaient été occupés par des voisins non juifs juste après l'*Aktion*. Le deuxième groupe de 53 appartements avait été rénové et désinfecté avant l'emménagement des nouveaux locataires. Ce groupe comprenait des appartements situés dans certaines maisons du côté pair de la rue Rynek II et à l'extrémité de la rue Klitki. Alors que le départ des résidents juifs de la rue Rynek I a principalement permis de consolider les biens immobiliers des particuliers et des entreprises déjà installés dans les immeubles, les maisons non démolies de la rue Rynek II ont offert aux habitants de Lubartów vivant en dehors de la place du marché et aux non-Lubartowiens la possibilité d'améliorer leurs conditions de vie ou de créer une entreprise.

Les maisons restantes appartenant à des Juifs devaient être démolies. Ce groupe comprenait la plupart des bâtiments de la rue Klitki. Les demandes de démolition de Klitki avaient déjà été formulées en 1941 dans la presse collaborationniste. Pendant la guerre, comme auparavant, Klitki était la cible principale du discours antisémite. L'idée que les Juifs représentaient une menace sanitaire, une notion qui avait déjà été exprimée avant la guerre, a gagné en popularité pendant l'occupation. Néanmoins, la démolition de Klitki n'a eu lieu qu'après que les Juifs qui séjournaient dans la ville ont été assassinés et déportés.

À l'exception d'une photographie, aucune image des Klitki I et Klitki II n'a survécu. Les Klitki ne sont rappelés que par les témoignages des habitants chrétiens de la ville ; les survivants juifs n'en ont pas fait mention. Les Klitki étaient utilisés pour créer une altérité à travers l'espace. Les récits sur les Juifs de Lubartów se concentrent sur les Klitki, décrits comme surpeuplés, pauvres et sales. Les Klitki étaient considérés comme un lieu d'isolement et de concentration des Juifs, ainsi que de souffrance juive. Les descriptions d'avant-guerre et de guerre sont si étroitement liées qu'il est parfois impossible de les distinguer les unes des autres. Le récit sur les Klitki est également celui d'un quartier rejeté. Et cela est doublement vrai : les Klitki pendant la guerre sont décrits de l'extérieur, les récits confinant les Juifs dans un ghetto exigu, séparant leur destin de celui des non-Juifs. Dans le même temps, Klitki permettait aux gens d'ignorer leurs voisins juifs de la rue Rynek I ou Legionów. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas eu de séparation complète entre les Juifs et les non-Juifs à Lubartów, la division entre les espaces juifs et aryens est inscrite dans la mémoire des habitants non juifs de Lubartów. Les limites de cette division s'étendaient entre Klitki et la rue Rynek I, comme cela avait été imaginé avant la guerre.

CONCLUSIONS FINALES

En janvier 1943, les exécutions des derniers Juifs restés « légalement » à Lubartów ont eu lieu dans le nouveau cimetière juif, rue Cicha, à la périphérie sud-est de la ville. Le même mois, un nouveau registre des habitants de la ville a été créé. Ce registre a marqué le début d'une nouvelle étape dans l'histoire de Lubartów, qui est restée une ville sans habitants juifs pendant un an et demi.

Les relations entre les habitants juifs et non juifs de Lubartów au cours des 35 années précédentes, c'est-à-dire depuis la création de la Deuxième République polonaise, ont constitué le thème de ma thèse. Dans la première partie de ma thèse, j'ai abordé la question du gouvernement local à Lubartów : la répartition du pouvoir et ses conséquences sur les politiques mises en place par le gouvernement local de l'entre-deux-guerres. En ce qui concerne la période de la guerre, j'ai abordé la question du rôle de la mairie dans la mise en œuvre des politiques nazies et les continuités et discontinuités dans la conduite du gouvernement de Lubartów entre l'entre-deux-guerres et la période de guerre.

Avec les exécutions de janvier 1943 dans le cimetière de la rue Cicha, les relations de voisinage entre Juifs et non-Juifs – thème central de la deuxième partie de ma thèse – ont pris fin. J'ai examiné la place du marché de Lubartów, située en plein centre de la ville, ainsi que les schémas de ségrégation spatiale et l'évolution dynamique de la structure résidentielle. Quelques mois après la deuxième *Aktion* à Lubartów en 1942, la plupart des appartements occupés par des résidents juifs étaient déjà occupés par de nouveaux locataires non juifs. En janvier 1943, le dernier appartement de la place du marché appartenant à Szama Honiksblum, l'une des personnes exécutées, a été vidé et, deux mois plus tard, occupé par un nouveau locataire, un artisan non juif, Aleksander Chalibura.

L'exclusion à Lubartów dans l'entre-deux-guerres

Lors de l'étude des relations interethniques et interreligieuses dans le gouvernement de Lubartów pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, la question de l'exclusion est apparue au premier plan. Comme l'ont démontré mes recherches, les résidents juifs étaient systématiquement exclus de la participation au gouvernement local. La représentation juive au conseil municipal et à la mairie de la ville n'a jamais correspondu à la composition religieuse de la ville, ni au nombre de personnes ayant le droit de vote dans les deux groupes. De plus, ce n'est qu'en 1928 qu'un premier et unique résident juif de la ville a été employé au bureau municipal. Mon objectif était

d'étudier précisément les causes de cette situation, afin d'aborder les mécanismes d'exclusion ethnique au niveau local.

Les archives administratives de tous les niveaux m'ont permis de mettre en évidence les facteurs et les acteurs qui ont contribué à l'exclusion des Juifs du processus décisionnel municipal à Lubartów. Il s'agit notamment du cadre législatif national, ainsi que des décisions et des mesures prises par les fonctionnaires. Dans le cadre de mes recherches, j'ai identifié des cas de mobilisation et de collaboration impliquant l'État, la voïvodie, le comté et l'administration municipale. Néanmoins, le maire et la mairie, ainsi que les fonctionnaires du comté, se sont avérés jouer un rôle fondamental dans la répartition du pouvoir local et la mise en œuvre de politiques discriminatoires à Lubartów. La force de l'architecture locale d'exclusion était également due en grande partie à l'implication de certaines élites chrétiennes de la ville qui étaient liées aux membres du gouvernement local par des liens organisationnels, politiques et familiaux – des liens que j'ai pu établir à l'aide de bases de données répertoriant les résidents enregistrés dans la ville ou les organisations opérant dans la ville.

Tous les processus électoraux pour les autorités municipales ont été menés sous la direction de fonctionnaires et d'élites chrétiennes de la ville. Mes recherches ont révélé que depuis 1918, ils visaient à maintenir le contrôle du gouvernement municipal par la « majorité chrétienne/polonaise ». Une analyse approfondie des archives municipales et départementales a permis d'identifier plusieurs mécanismes d'exclusion. En lisant attentivement les archives, qui comportaient des nuances telles que des retards dans la correspondance, des formulations, des ratures ou des notes supplémentaires sur les documents, j'ai eu une meilleure compréhension du comportement des fonctionnaires. Les méthodes utilisées pour limiter la participation des Juifs au gouvernement ont évolué au fil du temps et dépendaient des conditions politiques et sociales.

Comme l'a démontré mon étude de cas sur les politiques d'aide sociale mises en place à Lubartów, l'exclusion et la marginalisation des Juifs au sein des autorités municipales ont conduit à des décisions et des politiques discriminatoires de la part du conseil municipal et de la mairie. Les ressources de la ville étaient ainsi principalement destinées à servir les intérêts des habitants chrétiens. Les élections de 1927 et la période gouvernementale qui a suivi ont marqué un tournant dans la dynamique des relations intergroupes à Lubartów, lorsque des représentants juifs ont rejoint le conseil municipal et la mairie et ont tenté d'influencer les politiques municipales. Parmi tous les exemples de rupture avec la logique discriminatoire de

la gestion de la ville que j'ai observés, la réforme de l'aide sociale de la fin des années 1920, que j'ai étudiée en profondeur, est la plus remarquable.

Depuis le coup d'État de mai 1926, Lubartów avait suivi la voie du maintien de liens étroits avec le gouvernement central. Les élites chrétiennes au pouvoir à Lubartów étaient associées aux blocs pro-gouvernementaux BBWR et Ozon. Par conséquent, l'évolution politique à Lubartów s'inscrit dans une certaine mesure dans la périodisation classique qui considère la fin de 1927 et la première moitié des années 1930 comme la meilleure période pour les Juifs dans la Pologne de l'entre-deux-guerres, liée à la position de Józef Piłsudski à l'égard des citoyens juifs[78]. Dans le même temps, on ne peut ignorer que les élections de 1927, les plus favorables aux candidats juifs à Lubartów, ont été organisées pendant une période de transition et que le groupe pro-gouvernemental a utilisé une rhétorique antisémite pendant la campagne. De plus, comme le montre l'exemple de l'aide sociale, la ré-exclusion des Juifs de l'accès aux ressources publiques a commencé dès le début des années 1930. Le processus de restriction des forces politiques indépendantes du camp au pouvoir et de marginalisation des résidents juifs s'est poursuivi progressivement jusqu'en 1939 à Lubartów, l'année 1935 (mort de Piłsudski) ne constituant pas un tournant décisif dans ce processus.

Comme je l'ai souligné, la discrimination à l'égard des résidents juifs était également pratiquée par la police locale et les autorités du comté qui, d'une part, reprochaient aux Juifs l'antisémitisme auquel ils étaient confrontés et, d'autre part, minimisaient les actions antisémites. J'ai identifié ces éléments comme des facteurs importants contribuant à l'accumulation de la violence à Lubartów entre 1937 et 1939. J'ai également souligné l'influence du Parti national (SN) dans le comté, qui n'avait pas développé de structures dans la ville de Lubartów. Néanmoins, la chronologie des deux plus grands actes de violence à Lubartów en mars et août 1939 indique que l'impulsion directe a été l'articulation d'une rhétorique antisémite par les élites locales, ainsi que leur rapprochement avec une organisation de jeunesse nationaliste radicale qui légitimait l'antisémitisme. Par conséquent, la dynamique locale de l'accumulation de la violence anti-juive à Lubartów dans la seconde moitié des années 1930 diffère de celle qui est le plus souvent décrite, qui s'est produite entre 1935 et 1937 et qui mettait l'accent sur l'influence du SN[79]. Outre l'influence des élites de Lubartów, dans le

[78] E. Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[79] Natalia Aleksiun, « Nihil novi ? Historiografia pogromów z lat 1921–1939 », *in* K. Kijek¸ A. Markowski et K. Zieliński (dir.), *Pogromy Żydów na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku, T. 3*, *op. cit*. Il convient de noter que les informations relatives aux violences commises en mars et août 1939 proviennent des rapports du commissariat de police du comté. Les rapports les plus accessibles et les plus fréquemment utilisés, rédigés par le chef du comté et le voïvode, ne mentionnent pas ces événements.

contexte des deux actes de violence collective de 1939, j'ai également attiré l'attention sur la participation des recrues à ces événements et sur le contexte de la guerre imminente, qui est rarement évoqué dans les recherches sur la violence antisémite dans les années 1930. Les dynamiques que j'ai mises en évidence sont d'autant plus importantes qu'elles ont conduit à une accumulation de violence juste avant le déclenchement de la guerre et fournissent donc le contexte des relations entre Juifs et non-Juifs pendant la guerre.

La participation des résidents juifs au gouvernement de la ville, en particulier aux conseils municipaux, a fait l'objet de nombreuses études. Cependant, aucune de ces études n'a révélé l'existence de mécanismes aussi puissants pour limiter l'accès au pouvoir et l'exclusion que ceux qui ont fonctionné tout au long de l'entre-deux-guerres à Lubartów. La nouveauté de mes conclusions découle en partie des questions que j'ai soulevées et de la manière dont je les ai abordées à partir des archives, notamment des registres municipaux qui sont rarement utilisés. Dans le même temps, mes observations mettent indéniablement en évidence les conditions locales qui ont contribué à l'exclusion : la faiblesse des partis politiques dans la ville, la très forte séparation entre les groupes, l'absence de tradition de gouvernement autonome élu, entre autres.

La place du marché de l'entre-deux-guerres : niveaux de ségrégation, de stigmatisation et de violence

L'analyse consacrée à la place du marché s'est concentrée sur les relations interethniques vues sous l'angle des contacts résidentiels ainsi que sur les mécanismes d'exclusion par la stigmatisation et la violence à l'encontre des résidents juifs.

J'ai étudié les contacts résidentiels sur la place du marché à l'aide de bases de données qui permettent de modifier l'échelle d'observation et de redéfinir avec précision les zones observées. Vu à l'échelle de la ville, la place du marché dans l'entre-deux-guerres semblait être un espace ethniquement ségrégué. Cependant, l'image a changé en modifiant l'échelle d'observation. Mes recherches ont révélé des similitudes dans les caractéristiques des voisins juifs et chrétiens, ce qui indiquait que les modes de regroupement sur la place du marché transcendaient dans certains cas les divisions ethniques.

La spécificité de la place du marché de Lubartów résultait de son agencement inhabituel, avec deux rues de bâtiments bas habités exclusivement par des résidents juifs situées en plein centre, les deux rues Klitki. À travers le cas des rues Klitki, j'ai abordé le discours antisémite et la stigmatisation comme facteurs renforçant les divisions intergroupes à Lubartów. La

stigmatisation a également été utilisée comme cadre pour les politiques de gestion des déchets adoptées à Lubartów. L'approche du gouvernement municipal consistant à ethniciser les problèmes d'assainissement allait de pair avec une réticence à investir dans la résolution des difficultés liées à la gestion des déchets. L'étude sur Klitki contribue à la recherche sur la place des groupes ethniques dans les politiques de modernisation urbaine et d'investissement. Elle a démontré qu'un obstacle important à l'inclusion des groupes de résidents juifs dans les politiques d'investissement visant à améliorer l'environnement urbain était la façon dont ils étaient stigmatisés en tant que groupe inadapté à la modernisation.

La place du marché et ses environs immédiats ont également été le théâtre d'une propagande antisémite à la fin des années 1930, appelant à l'exclusion des Juifs de l'économie et des autorités municipales. Deux attaques brutales ont eu lieu en mars et en août 1939 autour de la place du marché, lieu de concentration des Juifs et de l'entrepreneuriat juif. Bien que certains des auteurs de ces attaques fussent des habitants de Lubartów, la plupart d'entre eux venaient des villages voisins. En analysant la dynamique qui a conduit aux deux actes de violence de 1939, je me suis concentré sur l'influence de la rhétorique antisémite et l'attitude des élites de la ville et de la police. J'ai également observé la montée du sentiment antisémite dans les campagnes à travers le prisme des rapports du chef du comté soulignant les tensions économiques et démographiques. Cependant, je pense qu'en ce qui concerne les attaques de 1939, il reste encore beaucoup à faire pour approfondir les relations interethniques entre les habitants des campagnes et ceux des villes, en particulier les Juifs, en tenant compte des dépendances commerciales et de la manière dont les deux groupes se percevaient mutuellement.

Continuités et discontinuités dans les relations intergroupes à Lubartów

L'un des principaux objectifs de ma recherche doctorale concernait la continuité et la discontinuité entre l'entre-deux-guerres et la guerre dans les domaines de l'administration locale et de la place du marché de Lubartów que j'ai étudiés. En ce qui concerne le premier, j'ai abordé les questions récemment débattues de la position des autorités locales dans le système d'administration civile de l'Europe occupée par les nazis et de leur participation à la mise en œuvre de politiques discriminatoires et génocidaires. En ce qui concerne le maire de Lubartów, son obéissance totale à ses supérieurs allemands et sa réticence à prendre des décisions indépendantes ont été mises en évidence. En conséquence, le maire et la mairie ont mis en œuvre des politiques anti-juives, et les trois ans et demi de mandat de Lalka témoignent de sa collaboration effective avec les autorités allemandes. Bien que les archives de la ville indiquent une initiative très limitée de la part des autorités municipales, le degré d'implication de ces

dernières était difficile à évaluer en raison du manque de documents. En fait, mes recherches ont mis en évidence un problème plus large lors de l'étude des actions des acteurs contribuant à l'application des politiques nazies au niveau *méso*[80]. La période pendant laquelle les autorités de Lubartów disposaient de la plus grande marge de manœuvre, lorsque l'implication des autorités supérieures était limitée, est en fait la moins bien documentée.

Les archives qui ont été conservées m'ont permis d'identifier d'autres caractéristiques du comportement du maire et de la mairie. Mon objectif n'était pas d'évaluer la responsabilité du gouvernement municipal dans les crimes commis contre les Juifs, mais d'analyser ses actions à la lumière de son comportement avant la guerre. Du point de vue local de Lubartów, les actions du maire pendant la guerre étaient cohérentes avec l'exclusion des Juifs avant la guerre et leur traitement comme des citoyens de seconde zone. Pendant la guerre, l'administration municipale n'a montré aucun signe de responsabilité quant au sort des habitants juifs de Lubartów : le maire considérait la présence des habitants juifs dans la ville comme un fardeau inutile, cherchait à réduire leur nombre et participait à leur exploitation.

Dans le cas de la place du marché, j'ai cherché à identifier des schémas de continuité dans les relations entre les habitants et dans la ségrégation résidentielle. Mon étude contribue aux débats concernant les formes et les méthodes de concentration et de séparation des habitants juifs dans les villes du Gouvernement général, la question des ghettos dits « ouverts ». L'analyse basée sur les registres m'a permis d'identifier les orientations de la politique du logement menée à Lubartów, à commencer par les premières tentatives de concentration des habitants juifs sur la place du marché et ses environs au début de l'année 1940. En fin de compte, malgré les changements considérables dans la structure sociale de la place du marché et la rupture de la plupart des relations de voisinage entre les groupes, le modèle de ségrégation s'est stabilisé à partir de janvier 1941 et ressemblait à celui qui prévalait avant le déclenchement de la guerre.

Le changement d'échelle d'analyse, comme dans le cas de la période d'avant-guerre, a compliqué le tableau de l'isolement des deux groupes, car la ségrégation spatiale s'est opérée à différents niveaux : rues, maisons, appartements. De plus, pendant la guerre, malgré la rotation des résidents, certains résidents juifs et non juifs d'immeubles voisins ou d'une même maison partageaient des caractéristiques professionnelles ou une position sociale similaires, ce qui correspondait également aux schémas d'avant-guerre. Cependant, le fait d'occuper la même

[80] Evgeny Finkel et Scott Straus, « Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Genocide: Gains, Shortcomings, and Future Areas of Inquiry », *Genocide Studies and Prevention,* vol. 7, 2012, p. 55-67.

maison ne signifiait pas pour autant qu'ils avaient les mêmes conditions de vie : comme le montre l'analyse des archives de guerre, les logements juifs étaient beaucoup plus surpeuplés que ceux de leurs voisins non juifs.

Cette image complexe n'a pas été confirmée par les témoignages des habitants non juifs de Lubartów. De leur point de vue, présenté des années plus tard, la place du marché pendant la guerre montrait une séparation spatiale complète entre Juifs et non-Juifs. Cette perception de la place du marché renvoie dans une certaine mesure à la période d'avant-guerre, lorsque Klitki était déjà appelé un ghetto. L'augmentation du nombre d'habitants pendant la guerre et les conditions de vie difficiles ont encore renforcé l'image stigmatisante de la rue. La Rynek I, rue la plus importante de la place du marché, était en revanche considérée comme un espace non juif, ce qui reflétait dans une certaine mesure les changements dans la répartition des logements et des espaces commerciaux dans la rue.

Pendant la guerre, un processus d'« aryanisation » des maisons et des commerces a eu lieu sur la place du marché. La présentation de la chronologie de ce processus, ainsi que l'identification minutieuse des personnes impliquées, ont été rendues possibles grâce aux bases de données créées et à la combinaison d'une approche quantitative et qualitative. Dans le contexte de Lubartów, ce processus ne signifiait pas l'acquisition de la propriété des biens, mais leur occupation. Il est important de noter que les résidents d'avant-guerre n'étaient pas les seuls concernés : les maisons appartenant à des Juifs ont d'abord été attribuées à des déportés chrétiens. L'occupation des entreprises, en revanche, était l'apanage des résidents non juifs de Lubartów.

La fuite des Juifs de Lubartów au début de la guerre et le déplacement forcé ont créé une opportunité dont les non-Juifs ont su tirer parti. La rapidité du processus d'« aryanisation » à Lubartów témoigne, d'une part, de la détermination des non-Juifs à améliorer leurs conditions de vie, mais aussi de leur volonté de participer au pillage, qui a conduit à l'appauvrissement extrême des résidents juifs. L'occupation des biens juifs ne peut certainement pas s'expliquer par un seul facteur. Comme j'ai tenté de le montrer, les parcours de vie des non-Juifs impliqués dans ce processus ont été très variés. D'une manière générale, cependant, la déshumanisation, la répression et la privation des droits des Juifs ont sans aucun doute contribué à l'acceptation par les habitants non juifs des hiérarchies nazies, ce qui a pu influencer la dynamique et l'ampleur de l'occupation des biens juifs. Bien que je ne puisse pas dire dans quelle mesure les relations interethniques d'avant-guerre à Lubartów ont influencé le comportement des habitants de la ville pendant la guerre, la rhétorique antisémite utilisée par l'élite de la ville, l'exclusion

et la discrimination des résidents juifs par le gouvernement municipal, ainsi que les attaques de 1939, constituent sans aucun doute un contexte important pour la dynamique intergroupe pendant la guerre.

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