

The Situation of Civilians in Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrow (Ostrów) Mazowiecka in the Years 1939–1940:

An Analysis Based on Source Materials Gathered by the Main Commission for the Investigation of German/Hitlerite Crimes in Poland

Igor Michał Niewiadomski

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7233-2942

University of Warsaw, Pilecki Institute (scholarship program)

Abstract

The aim of this article is to present the situation of the civilian population of the Ostrów Mazowiecka district, a part of the pre-war district of the Second Polish Republic which was incorporated into the General Government and from which the Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka was formed, and especially the crimes committed against its residents by the German occupier in 1939–1940. The article begins with an outline of demographics at the outbreak of the Second World War, as this was of vital importance to the policy of terror in the first months of the German occupation. This is followed by a presentation of the fate of Ostrów and its environs immediately following the German invasion in September 1939, especially the crimes committed in Małkinia, Bagatele and Orłó. The rest of the text examines the terror apparatus created in the area, as well as the crimes committed against the civilian population in the officially functioning General Government. The largest and most characteristic of these was, of course, the murder of the Jewish population on 11 November 1939. Research has been conducted primarily on source material in the resources of the Institute of National Remembrance (the archival resource of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite/German Crimes in Poland). Integral to the text are statistical summaries and illustrations showing the German crimes committed in the Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka.

The subject of this research¹ is the actions of the German aggressor, which took place in the initial period of the occupation after the initial invasion and establishment of the Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka.² The main purpose of the article is to present as synthetically as possible information on the policy of terror against the civilian population, available in the accounts of witnesses to events in 1939–1940 in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka, which was incorporated into the General Government.

The principal archival resource for the text was documents pertaining to the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland (ГКВЗНВП),³ currently held by the Institute of National Remembrance. Source material of origins other than the Main Commission has also undergone analysis; archival material produced by the district branches of the commission was also examined. The files contain a variety of sources that require numerous research methods. These are primarily witness statements, but also include opinions, official notes, judgments, statistical censuses, maps and photographs.

Analyzing the principal archival material obviously requires great care. Even though it is given before a judge, the information present in witness testimonies is nevertheless a subjective picture of the events. Parties may even unconsciously take certain events as their own experiences, and the so-called false memory⁴ may become one of the most significant elements of individual memory. This can happen especially many years after the events in question. One of the chief research

1 The project was carried out as part of the Pilecki Institute's scholarship program. A paper with the same title was presented by the author at a conference organized by the Witold Pilecki Institute for Solidarity and Valor, entitled "The Onset of the New Order: Europe 1939–1940". The conference was held in Warsaw from 17–19 September 2019.

2 District offices were headed by the Kreishauptmann or Landrat, or district head (some publications translate this as "district starosta"). This was the lowest level of administrative authority in the General Government. Initially, the terms Kreishauptmann and Landrat were used interchangeably – as were Kreishauptmannschaft and Landratsamt. Eventually, however, in January 1940, the official title Landrat was changed to Kreishauptmann, and this is the term that appears in German sources for the Ostrów Mazowiecka district (Skorwider-Skiba, 1975, p. 390).

3 The commission performed many prosecutorial functions, such as executing law enforcement. It also performed scientific and research functions. Its chairman was the Minister of Justice. It was established by decree (Dekret z dnia 10 listopada 1945 r. o Głównej Komisji i Okręgowych Komisjach..., 1945). Until 1949, it functioned under the name of the Main Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. In 1999, the Commission was formally abolished and transformed into an investigative division of the Institute of National Remembrance (Lityński, 2005, p. 67).

4 The concept of false memory, i.e., alleged experiences involuntarily related by witnesses, has been written about, among others, by Elizabeth F. Loftus (Loftus, 1993, pp. 518–521). Among Polish researchers, issues of memory and trauma in the context of the Second World War have been addressed by Martyna Rusiniak-Karwat and Roma Sendyka, among others (Rusiniak, 2008; Sendyka, 2013, pp. 323–344).

questions in such situations is how witnesses remembered the crimes. What new content can be brought to the current state of research thanks to the testimonies, and how can the situation of the civilian population in the first years of the occupation be described on this basis? As it was the author's intention to recreate an approximate picture of the terror during the aforementioned period, descriptions of both the crimes carried out in the *Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka* and of those showing the life of the residents have been analyzed. This significantly affects the overall study, as it shows that terror is not merely an isolated event, but an ever-present fear and constant uncertainty.⁵

Sources that require special attention are the files created on the basis of a decree from the Polish Committee of National Liberation dated 31 August 1944 (*Decree of the Polish Committee of National Liberation of 31 August 1944, on the Administration of Punishment...*, 1944).⁶ There remains a heated discussion in Polish historiography about these files to this day. To what extent can the so-called "August files"⁷ be used as historical sources? In the opinion of some researchers, they should not constitute a primary source of knowledge due to the instrumental nature of their use by the communist powers, particularly during the Stalinist period of 1944–1956 (Jasiński, 2018, pp. 109–111). Certainly, any approach to archival materials created under this decree requires caution; the testimonies collected during the investigations of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland should be subjected to comparative analysis with other sources, as well as with findings in the relevant literature. The most significant crimes committed by the German terror apparatus in 1939–1940 have been analyzed, and a summary of them is included in the appended Tables 1 and 2. Witnesses often give different dates for the same events, are mistaken about the identity of the criminals and of military units. The information they provide requires special attention and comparison with other sources.

In writing this article, it was important to focus on the most significant problems of the first years of the occupation, primarily the drastic demographic changes, which greatly affected the subsequent years of the war. For this reason, such issues as the difficulties of food supply or the civilian population's labor obligations are presented to a lesser extent.

The wartime history of the *Ostrów Mazowiecka* district has been described at great length by Mieczysław Bartniczak. This indefatigable researcher has written many books and scholarly articles on the subject,

5 This topic is addressed to some extent by Christopher Browning, among others (Browning, 2003, pp. 26–51).

6 This piece of legislation is also referred to as the August Decree.

7 "August files" understood as files created by the decree of the Polish National Liberation Committee of 31 August 1944.

and the legacy of his research is now in the Pilecki Family House Museum and the Ostrów Mazowiecka Public Library.⁸ A monograph on the crimes committed against Ostrów Jews in November 1939 was compiled by Markus Roth and Annalena Schmidt. These German historians drew on archival materials from the Institute of National Remembrance, although their main research material was the court records of the Federal Republic of Germany, located in the Bundesarchiv in Ludwigsburg.⁹ An enormous amount of work analyzing archival units pertaining to Ostrów Mazowiecka in the holdings of the State Archives in Warsaw was done by Danuta Skorwider-Skiba (Skorwider-Skiba, 1975, pp. 389–436), who elaborated on the structure of terror in the Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka and presented an orderly and detailed timeline of the most significant events in the history of acts of terror and the so-called resistance movement in the district. Individual texts on German terror in Wyszków and Ostrów Mazowiecka were also written by Jacek Kazimierski, Janusz Szczepański and Magdalena Gawin, among others (Kazimierski, 1975, pp. 226–240; Szczepański, 1998, pp. 235–272; Gawin, 2013/2014, pp. 159–179). In addition, the terror in the district has been mentioned in works by Wolfgang Curilla and Stefan Klemp (Curilla, 2011, pp. 51–52, 93, 261, 274, 537, 540–543; Klemp, 2005, pp. 21–24, 214, 408, 419, 428, 435).

Demographic structure of the district before 1 September 1939

In order to properly analyze the topic, it is first necessary to clarify certain administrative and demographic issues. The district of Ostrów Mazowiecka was officially part of the Białystok Voivodeship of the Second Polish Republic until 1 April 1939.¹⁰ According to data from the Second Population Census conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics on 9 December 1931, a total of 99,741 people resided in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka (*Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Mieszkania...*, 1938, Białystok Voivodeship, p. 31; *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dnia 9 grudnia 1931 r.: wyniki ostateczne...*, 1938, Białystok Voivodeship, p. 3).¹¹ The vast majority of the population were rural residents.

8 Mieczysław Bartniczak's most important works include: Bartniczak, 1974, pp. 147–213; Bartniczak, 1984.

9 Markus Roth and Annalena Schmidt wrote their paper based mainly on the collection of the Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle in Ludwigsburg (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 130).

10 As part of the administrative reform of 9 April 1938, the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka was annexed to the Warsaw Voivodship (Ustawa z dnia 9 kwietnia 1938 r..., 1938; cf. Bartniczak, 1975, p. 284).

11 A different number of residents of the Ostrów Mazowiecka district is given by Mieczysław Bartniczak, based on his own calculations. He used data other than from the second census. According to his research, there were 89,203 residents (Bartniczak, 1975, p. 303).

The largest population center was the township of Ostrów Mazowiecka, with a population of 17,611,¹² a large proportion of whom were Jewish. This impacted life, culture, religion and architecture, for example the characteristic buildings of the city, which had two markets – one for Christians and the other for Jews.¹³ According to the census, the Jewish population in Ostrów was 6,878, which accounted for about 39% of the population in the town (*Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. Mieszkania...*, 1938, Białystok Voivodeship, p. 31; *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dnia 9 grudnia 1931 r.: wyniki ostateczne...*, 1938, Białystok Voivodeship, p. 3; Dymek, 1975, p. 213).¹⁴ In contrast, Jews even represented a majority in many other towns in the district. During the interwar period, Ostrów Mazowiecka was governed mainly by representatives of National Democracy, while in the Jewish community a strong influence was held by the socialist “Bund” and the Zionist “Poale Zion” (Dymek, 1975; pp. 222–223; Szejnberg, 1960, p. 281).

September 1939

The first days of the defensive war of 1939 took place far from Ostrów Mazowiecka and its environs. Residents of Ostrów, Pułtusk and part of the Węgrów district (to which Wyszaków belonged) experienced the first horrors of war on 4 September. It was then that the bombardment of Małkinia began, as a result of which a large part of the buildings were destroyed. In the following days, Wehrmacht and ss units moved into the regions of Łomża and Ostrów Mazowiecka (Bartniczak, 1974, pp. 158–159).

At the same time, German troops began to commit crimes against the civilian population. Mention should be made here of the murder of the Polish population in Bagatele (8 September) and Orło (9 September), in addition to the murder of the Jewish population in Wyszaków (8–9 September), Brok (9–11 September),¹⁵ Rogóżno, Biel and Zgleczewo Szlacheckie (in September 1939).¹⁶ Repressions against the residents of Ostrów began

¹² Benon Dymek numbers 17,803 people in his article (Dymek, 1975, p. 213).

¹³ Generic terms like “Jews”, “Poles”, and “Soviets” are always problematic. Mentions of Jews or Poles should not be interpreted to mean, for example, that Jews are not Poles.

¹⁴ According to Markus Roth and Annalena Schmidt, the number of Jews in 1931 was 7,600, or 36.86% of the total population in the township of Ostrów Mazowiecka (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 21; cf. Urynowicz, 2002, p. 87).

¹⁵ According to a report from the German 1st Cavalry Brigade, the Jews from Brok were expected to put up some military resistance (Flussübergang und Ortsgefecht am Bug..., 1939, p. 50; Böhler, 2009, pp. 56–57).

¹⁶ This was confirmed, among others, by witness Aleksandra Bielińska during questioning in Warsaw on 17 October 1979 (Akta prowadzone w sprawie zbrodni popełnianych na terenie powiatów ostrołęckiego i ostrowio-mazowieckiego..., 1969, pp. 26–30). Cf. Bartniczak, 1974, pp. 158–159; Szczepański, 1993, p. 401; 1998, pp. 236–237.

as early as 8 September, after German forces entered the town. There are also known cases of the torching of synagogues and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries that took place in the same period. A summary of the crimes committed during this time is presented in Table 1 in the appendix. Mieczysław Bartniczak dubs the series of crimes committed at that time the “Ostrów ring of death” (Bartniczak, 1974, p. 156). In such a situation, many residents of the Ostrów Mazowiecka area began to flee eastward from the Germans en masse.¹⁷

Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka

In October 1939, the secret provisions of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on the division of occupied Poland between Germany and the USSR began to take effect. Ostrów Mazowiecka and the surrounding areas became a frontier region. A large part of the civilian population, particularly Jews, crossed the so-called “green border” in a panic in order to get to the Soviet Union and escape the oncoming German troops. As Helena Najmark recalls:

It was a horrible scene: old men walking, dragging their bundles; some dragging carts, as horses were taken from them as they went. Some belongings consisted of no more than a loaf of bread. The insatiable enemy, eager for casualties, nevertheless continued to harass them. He stripped men and women naked, looking for gold.¹⁸

The mass escapes suited the acting district chief (Kreishauptmann) Heinrich von Büнау. All across the occupied country, there were even cases of Jews being escorted by German police units to the USSR. From von Büнау’s correspondence and from censuses from the GKBZHWP, it appears that he wished to have as few Jews as possible in the district, which is why they were initially allowed to flee to the east (Announcement of 11 November 1939 on the sentencing to death of perpetrators..., 1939, p. 2).

Special attention should be paid to the administrative changes made at the time. As a matter of fact, until the beginning of November

¹⁷ According to Soviet data, which is not entirely accurate, there were about 300,000 people in the USSR occupation zone whose place of previous residence was in German-occupied areas (Eberhardt, 2000, p. 11).

¹⁸ Testimony of Helena Najmark, copy from Provincial Jewish Historical Commission no. 739, Białystok, 14 August 1945 (Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., p. 48). The same testimony is found in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (Losy Żydów Ostrowi Mazowieckiej podczas okupacji niemieckiej, 1939, p. 3).

1939, i.e. after the establishment of the General Government,¹⁹ the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka was the subject of a dispute over its placement in one of the German occupier's specific administrative zones. Its fate was at stake: whether, as with nearby areas, it should be part of the Ciechanów administrative area (Regierungsbezirk Zichenau, and therefore a territory incorporated into Germany), or whether it should be part of the General Government. This was done because of the special abundance of forests and the associated possibility of intense economic exploitation of the territory. The district's inclusion in the Ciechanów area was strongly advocated by the Oberpräsident of East Prussia, Erich Koch (Lagenberichte des Landrats in Ostrow..., 1940, pp. 5–20; Madajczyk, 1970, vol. I, p. 69).²⁰ Eventually, the township of Ostrów Mazowiecka itself was incorporated into the General Government, and the district was divided between Germany and the Soviet Union (eight municipalities were annexed to Germany, including two urban municipalities, Wyszków and Brok, and five municipalities to the USSR). The boundaries of Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka did not coincide with the district's boundaries either before the outbreak of the Second World War or after.

In November 1939, there were no more than a few hundred Jews in Ostrów Mazowiecka alone. In theory, a simple administrative decision had a direct impact on the local demographic. The border with the Soviet Union was already under much stricter control and it was difficult to leave the General Government. The Zollgrenzschutz was established, and became more and more active over time (Skorwider-Skiba, 1975, pp. 390–391).

Forming the German terror apparatus

The organization of the terror apparatus in Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka proceeded systematically, from the beginning of the formation of the German administration in October 1939. After the Wehrmacht, operational groups of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) entered, and very quickly the first police and gendarmerie posts were established. Gestapo posts in Ostrów Mazowiecka and Wyszków were established in December 1939 (Skorwider-Skiba, 1975, pp. 391–399).

According to witness testimonies, the Gestapo headquarters, a building known locally as “Browar”,²¹ and the gendarmerie headquar-

¹⁹ The General Government was established under Hans Frank's proclamation of 12 October 1939, effective 26 October 1939.

²⁰ Information on Koch and his relationship to these territories is also found in his trial records (Odpis Wyroku Sądu Wojewódzkiego..., 1959).

²¹ “Browar” – the former premises of the Teitl Brothers Steam Brewery.

ters, “Czerwoniak”,²² both in Ostrów, were particularly feared in the district (*Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka...*, n.d., pp. 629, 631, 634, 654; *Akta w sprawie zbrodni hitlerowskich wobec Polaków, Rosjan i Żydów...*, 1946, pp. 15–16, 86–87), as was the so-called “Willa Cudnego”,²³ located near the train station in Wyszaków. The Gestapo also conducted interrogations in the “Czerwoniak,” although officially it was the headquarters of the gendarmerie. The basements of the “Czerwoniak”, which often served as a detention center for Polish prisoners, were recalled with particular distress by the people who were held there. Witnesses also often cite stories from the Ostrów town hall, which housed prison cells. It seems that the aforementioned places were the most traumatic for those who gave their testimonies.

A significant number of German police cadres came from the Reich. In Małkinia, for instance, almost the entire command of the police station was brought from Germany. In May 1940, a Sonderdienst was also formed in Ostrów Mazowiecka, which dealt with intelligence crackdowns in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka and the surrounding regions (Skorwider-Skiba, 1975, pp. 390–391). It should be noted that police stations of auxiliary formations, such as the Kriminalpolizei (Kripo) and Sicherheitspolizei, were deployed throughout the district. For so-called special actions, i.e., executions of civilians, formations from outside the district were used, e.g., the 91st Police Regiment from Warsaw was brought in to carry out the murder of Jews on 10–11 November 1939.

In 1940, the mass expatriation of civilians to the Reich for “labor” purposes began, and quotas were systematically enforced on the rural population for this purpose. According to surveys conducted by the ГСВ-ЗНВП, 500 people were deported from Wyszaków alone for forced labor in Germany in the initial period of the occupation (*Ankiety Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni...*, 1968–1972, pp. 460, 508–510, 545–547; cf. Dobronski, 1988, pp. 29–30). On 5–6 April 1940, mass arrests of civilians took place in Ostrów. A list of crimes committed by the German occupiers during the period of the General Government is presented in the appendix in Table 2.

Extermination of Ostrów’s Jews

On 9 November 1939, a large number of buildings in Ostrów Mazowiecka were set on fire. It is difficult, however, to determine from the source material who was responsible for starting the blaze. However, it is likely that the fire was set by German police officers. This is suggested by the

²² “Czerwoniak” – also known as “the Red Building”.

²³ Named for the villa’s former owner Józef Cudny.

fact that, according to witness testimony, the officers did not allow the local fire department to extinguish the fire. According to Czesław Tomczykowski, who was said to have witnessed the events, initially only a few buckets of water would have been enough to put everything out (Protokół przesłuchania świadka, Czesław Tomczykowski, Warszawa, 7 lipca 1971 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., p. 153). According to other accounts, there was a rumor during the German occupation that the fire was started by a “mentally ill Jew.” This found resonance for many years after the war, including in academic literature.²⁴

On 10 November, under the pretext of punishment for starting the fire, Heinrich von Büнау issued an order to exterminate all of Ostrów’s Jews, which he made public one day later (Ogłoszenie z dn. 11 XI 1939 o skazaniu na śmierć sprawców..., 1939, p. 2). According to the findings of Markus Roth and Annalena Schmidt, Büнау did not want to take this decision himself, but was pressured by Max Daume (Akta w sprawie Daume Max, 1946, pp. 35–36)²⁵ and Theodor Pillich.²⁶ The 91st Police Battalion from Warsaw was brought to the city to carry out the order.

The date of the order was no coincidence. The Germans feared protests on Poland’s Independence Day. On the morning of 11 November, Jews in Ostrów were forcibly assembled in the vicinity of the town hall (today 3 Maja Street). They were then divided into groups. One comprised adult men, and the other women, children and the elderly. The men were led on foot along the road in the direction of Warsaw (today’s Warszawska Street), up to the so-called Ostrowski Orchard. The women, children and the elderly were driven to the same area by buses. Once there, officers of the 91st Police Battalion began the executions. At the same time, some Polish residents were forced to bury the victims’ bodies in pits. The executions lasted almost all day, and the bodies were further doused in caustic acid.²⁷

²⁴ Unfortunately, this issue appears, for example, in the monumental work of Czesław Madajczyk (Madajczyk, 1970, vol. 1, p. 69).

²⁵ The records mistook the date of the murder of Ostrów residents (called “Poles”, meaning Polish citizens) and entered the beginning of 1940. Daume himself was extradited to Poland after the end of the Second World War, where he was sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out on 7 March 1947 in Warsaw (Hessisches Landeskriminalamt do Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg..., 1960, pp. 2–4; cf. Bartoszewski, 1970, p. 600).

²⁶ Theodor Pillich was a commandant at the Auschwitz labor camp from 1942, and later a commandant at the IG Farben labor camp. He died in 1988 in Marl (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 39).

²⁷ The germ of the investigation into the murder of the Jews of Ostrów Mazowiecka was a letter written by Piotr Graff on 21 October 1965 to the GKBZHWP, in which the probable scene of the crime was drawn out (Protokół przesłuchania świadka, Piotr Graff, Warszawa, 21 grudnia 1965 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., pp. 16–19), see illustration no. 7. On 15 June 1968, the newspaper “Za Wolność I Lud” published photographs from Theodor Pillich’s collections, which, it was revealed, depicted Jewish victims of the crime (*Pomóście*

The exterminations of Jews in Ostrów Mazowiecka show that the principle of collective responsibility was in effect even in the earliest period of the German occupation of Poland. The alleged justification for committing such a horrific crime was simply because a fire had been started. Von Büнау's decision was the result of the General Government's status, which was not fully regulated by law. A mere district head, i.e., an administrator of the lowest level, had the power to order the murder of several hundred people from the civilian population (Landau, 1962, p. 146). According to witness accounts, the victims' bodies were still being buried for days after 11 November. Some also mention that the German police tried to erase traces of the crime. Nevertheless, the remains of the victims were still visible in the Ostrów forests in the 1960s. According to witness testimonies, the perpetrators were said to have been drunk and "felt no guilt for the crimes they committed." The tragic events were allegedly carried out with "good cheer" and laughter from the officers (Protokół przesłuchania świadka, Antoni Zawadzki, Warszawa, 5 lipca 1971 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., pp. 128–131).²⁸ These accounts, however, do not coincide with the findings of the court of the Federal Republic of Germany, according to which only Theodor Pillich was said to have felt satisfaction from the crimes committed (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 39).

Notably, a relatively small number of victims were named by witnesses. Very often they are described generally as "Jews". Only a few people can be identified by name according to the source material: Mira and Dora Grosman, the Teitl (or Tejtl) brothers, and the Lichenstein (or Lichensztejn) family. Some of the victims are recognizable in photographs published on 15 June 1968 in the biweekly "Za Wolność i Lud". Witness Antoni Zawadzki identified two people when he saw them: a kneeling woman with a white shawl – a midwife named Dora Grosman from Ostrów Mazowiecka, and a man named Cender, who was a horse trader (*Pomóżcie zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię*, 1968, p. 19; Protokół przesłuchania świadka, Antoni Zawadzki, Warszawa, 5 lipca 1971 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., p. 128).

During the trial of those responsible for the crimes committed against Jews in Ostrów Mazowiecka, which took place in 1962, the number

zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię, 1968, p. 19). These photographs were used during the investigation by m.o Lt. Stanisław Łaszczyński (Notatka urzędowa Stanisława Łaszczyńskiego, Ostrów Mazowiecka, 3 maja 1971 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., pp. 96–103).

²⁸ Kazimierz Szwałkowski, on the other hand, mentioned in his testimony a rumor that some of the bodies of the victims had been taken away in an unknown direction. However, it is difficult to say with certainty whether these activities were carried out as part of the broader Sonderaktion 1005 (Protokół przesłuchania świadka, Kazimierz Szwałkowski, Warszawa, lipiec 1971 roku, in: Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., pp. 137–142).

of victims was determined to total 364,²⁹ but various numbers ranging from 200 to 800 are given in the accounts filed before the ГКВЗНВР. At the same time, other sources, such as Emmanuel Ringelblum's diary, give the number 600 (*Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka...*, n.d., pp. 12, 48, 115, 131, 133, 227; Ringelblum, 1983, p. 36). Different numbers also crop up in the literature on the subject; in many Polish publications they are higher than 364, usually 500 or 600.³⁰ It should also be noted that witness testimonies and records submitted to the ГКВЗНВР or its district commissions give different dates – including different years – for the events described. Very often the year 1940, for example, appears as the alleged time of the crimes.

In 1962, only Kurt Kirschner,³¹ Theodor Pillich and Theodor Pollack were convicted of the crimes committed against the Jews of Ostrów. Earlier, Max Daume, who was responsible for the extermination of the population in Wawer on 27 November 1939, was executed in Poland. In contrast, Heinrich von Büнау held high positions in the Federal Republic of Germany and was not even tried.³² Only the commanders of the 91st Police Battalion were convicted, because according to the provisions of the German Criminal Code and Military Criminal Code in force at the time, only unit commanders, and not ordinary soldiers, could be held responsible for war crimes (*Militärstrafgesetzbuch...*, 1872, § 47).

Among the accounts recounting the crimes against Ostrów's Jews, what is striking is the testimony of Helena Najmark (*Losy Żydów Ostrowi Mazowieckiej podczas okupacji niemieckiej*, 1939, p. 3), a Jewish woman who lived in Ostrów Mazowiecka until mid-October 1939 and who accused Poles of looting Jewish property. Najmark's testimony from 1945 was attached to the files of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland and the prosecution files as a copy from the Jewish Historical Institute. The accounts from the Jewish Historical Institute rather portray Poles in a bad light in the context of crimes against the Jewish population. Chaim Słomka, for example, mentions that German police officers offered 1 zloty for each Jew found, and some Poles were said to have taken up the offer (*Protokół o tragedii żydowskiej społeczności w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej...*, 1949; Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 37). In light of the materials collected by the ГКВЗНВР, it is impossible to determine unequivocally

²⁹ This number is also given by Wolfgang Curilla (Curilla, 2011, pp. 51–52).

³⁰ Barbara Engelking, meanwhile, acknowledges that the highest number recurring in testimonies before the ГКВЗНВР and in accounts collected in the Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute, i.e. 800, is the most likely (Engelking, 2007, p. 129).

³¹ Kurt Kirschner was sentenced to 16 months in prison in April 1944 due to sadistic tendencies and harassment of subordinates. After the Second World War, he and his sister ran a shop in Düsseldorf (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 38).

³² After the Second World War, Heinrich von Büнау served in the Landtag of Rhineland-Palatinate from 1963 to 1971 (Roth & Schmidt, 2013, p. 29).

how the Polish population was disposed towards the murder of Jews. Attitudes varied, from the aforementioned denunciations to heroic rescues. An example of the latter is the behavior of Jadwiga Długoborska, who risked her life to hide 12 Jews in November 1939. Ultimately, she paid for her courage with her life. She was denounced and murdered in a massacre in the village of Guty-Bujno on 29 June 1944 (Protokół przesłuchania Heleny Prejsser, Warszawa, 17 września 1980 roku, in: Akta prowadzone w sprawie zbrodni popełnianych na terenie powiatów ostrołęckiego i ostrowio-mazowieckiego..., 1969, pp. 82–84).³³

As a result of the crimes committed against the Jewish population in November 1939, Ostrów Mazowiecka became a so-called Jewish-free place (*Judenfrei*). Although there is no accurate data on the number of inhabitants in 1940, according to German statistics from 1943, the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka was inhabited by about 108,000 people, including only a few labeled “Jude”. The overall increase in population in the district was due to the subsequent migration to the General Government of functionaries of the German terror apparatus and Poles from lands incorporated into the Reich (*Bevölkerungsstatistiken, Einwohnerzahlen. Spisy ludności...*, 1939, pp. 18–26). The murder of Ostrow’s Jews decisively changed the demographic structure not only in Ostrów itself, but also in the entire county. After the November 1939 massacre, the remaining Jews were deported from the Ostrów district to the Lublin district or to other urban centers in the district of Warsaw (Engelking, 2007, p. 129).

Conclusions

The general situation of the residents of the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka was not much different from that of those living in other areas of the General Government. The fundamental difference, however, was the scale of terror. The main subject of analysis in this text, the extermination of the Jewish and Polish populations, began as early as September 1939 and continued after the stabilization of the occupational government. As a result, there was a change in the social structure in the district, which continued to take shape during the later years of the war. In addition, between 1939 and 1940 the number of residents deported from *Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka* for forced labor was one of the highest in the Warsaw District. In addition, forced labor also affected Poles. Polish education was systematically dismantled – first secondary schools and, later, programs in elementary schools were curtailed; the supply market was deregulated,

33 According to Magdalena Gawin, the direct cause of Jadwiga Długoborska’s arrest was her having aided Jews in 1939 (Gawin, 2013/2014, pp. 166–169).

causing difficulties in purchasing basic foodstuffs and medicines. All of this was an element that allowed the occupier to keep the local population in fear (Kazimierski, 1975, pp. 226–227).

In summary, Kreishauptmannschaft Ostrów Mazowiecka was an area painfully affected by the German occupation. Its nature as a frontier region in the first period of the war became the catalyst for many processes not seen in other districts, such as the mass migration of the population to the Soviet Union. The direct targets of the terror – extermination – were primarily the Jewish population. The vast majority of Jewish victims are not known by name. The events of 1939–1940 in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka were a tragic prelude to further atrocities.

(transl. by Ian Stephenson)

Table 1. List of the most violent crimes committed by German troops in September 1939 in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka and the surrounding areas

Location	Date	Description of the crime(s)
Małkinia	4 September 1939	Bombardment of Małkinia by Luftwaffe
Wyszków	6–7 September 1939	Bombardment of Wyszków by Luftwaffe
Bagatele	8 September 1939	Murder of 11 people by Wehrmacht troops
Wyszków	8–9 September 1939	Murder of a dozen Jews by encroaching Wehrmacht units, burning of the synagogue and desecration of the Jewish cemetery
Orło	9 September 1939	Murder of 7 people by Wehrmacht troops
Brok	9–11 September 1939	Murder of Jews, setting fire to large amounts of local infrastructure, including burning of the synagogue
Rogowo Stare	10 September 1939	Shooting of 21 people by Wehrmacht troops, burning of rural buildings in villages of Gniazdowo and Rogowo Stare
Ostrów Mazowiecka	10–11 September 1939	Murder of the Jewish populace (testimonies give various numbers of victims, from several dozen to as many as 2,000 people), beginning of the so called "Ostrów ring of death" (Bartniczak, 1974, p. 156)
Ostrów Mazowiecka	13 September 1939	Plundering of the synagogue and shooting of a dozen Jews
Ostrów Mazowiecka	September 1939	Destruction of Polish and Jewish property
Biel	September 1939	Murder of several hundred Jews
Zgłeczewo Szlacheckie	September 1939	Murder of several hundred Jews

Table compiled from: Protokół przesłuchania świadka Aleksandry Bielińskiej, Warszawa, 17 października 1979 roku (Akta prowadzone w sprawie zbrodni popełnianych na terenie powiatów ostrołęckiego i ostrowo-mazowieckiego..., 1969, pp. 26–30); Akta w sprawie zbrodni hitlerowskich wobec Polaków, Rosjan i Żydów..., 1946, pp. 15–16, 86–87; Ankiety Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni..., 1968–1972, pp. 460–495, 508–510, 545–547; Bartniczak, 1974, pp. 158–159; Engelking, 2007, p. 129; Kazimierski, 1975, p. 228; Szczepański, 1993, p. 401; 1998, pp. 241, 236–237; Kosztyła, 1967, pp. 102–104; see also: Zestawienia miejsc straceń oraz osób poszkodowanych..., n.d.

Table 2. List of the most violent crimes committed by German troops in the district of Ostrów Mazowiecka and the surrounding areas during the period of the General Government

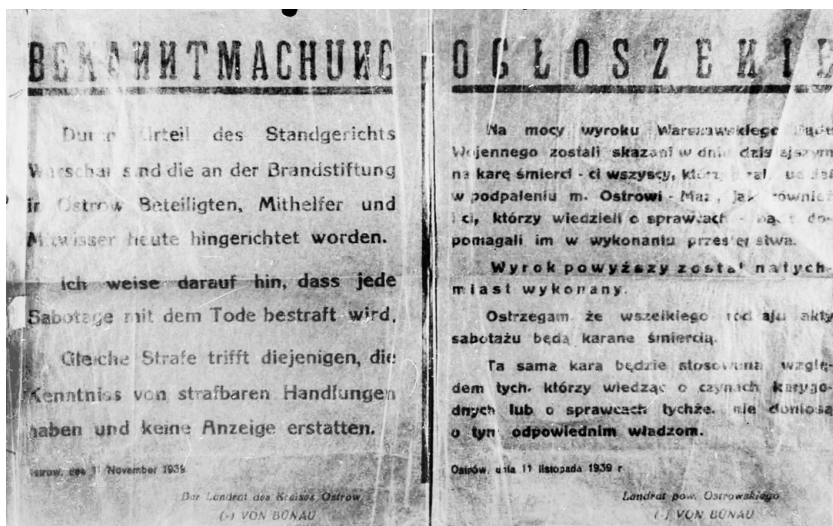
Location	Date	Event
Wyszków	October 1939	Murder of Jews in Wyszków and during several round-ups, burning of the Wyszków synagogue (various sources describe at least dozens of victims).
Ostrów Mazowiecka	9–11 November 1939	Murder of at least 364 Jews in Ostrów Mazowiecka by officers of the 91st Police Battalion in Warsaw, under the pretext of the alleged arson of wooden buildings by a Jew
Forest near Ostrów Mazowiecka	2 December 1939	Shooting of Tadeusz Frankowski in a forest near Ostrów Mazowiecka and the attempted murder of Leon Lisiński, who managed to escape
Udrzyn (Brańszczyk commune)	6 December 1939	Arrest of three farmers (Piotr Lada, Józef Samsel and Piotr Wachowski); all three were killed on 19 January 1940 during interrogation by the Gestapo in Warsaw
Ostrów Mazowiecka	December 1939	Arrest of Wera Grelak, who was trying to cross the border of the General Government with the Soviet Union
Stawek (forester's house near Ostrów Mazowiecka)	8 January 1940	Shooting of Jozef Drązek, who had allegedly quarrelled with an official of the district office
Ostrów Mazowiecka	10 January 1940	Shooting of Franciszek Wojtkowiak by a Schutzpolizei unit
Komorowo	18 January 1940	Arrest by the German gendarmerie of a group of Jews and several Poles, who were sent to the "Browar" and tortured there
Ostrów Mazowiecka	17 February 1940	Numerous arrests in Ostrów Mazowiecka by security police
Ostrów Mazowiecka	26 February 1940	Arrest of the chairman of the district branch of the Polish Western Union, Jan Gosiewski, who was interrogated at the Pawiak prison and deported to Oranienburg; over the course of the war he was also transferred to the Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camps
Ostrów Mazowiecka	May 1940	Murder of Jan Szweguliński, Józef Kępiasty and Dąbrowski by the Gestapo

Table compiled from: Protokół przesłuchania świadka Aleksandry Bielińskiej, Warszawa, 17 października 1979 roku (Akta prowadzone w sprawie zbrodni popełnianych na terenie powiatów ostrołęckiego i ostrowio-mazowieckiego..., 1969, pp. 26–30); Zeznanie Czesława Barzała, 11 grudnia 1971 roku (Akta w sprawie zbrodni hitlerowskich wobec Polaków, Rosjan i Żydów..., 1946); Bartniczak, 1974, pp. 155–156, 158–159, 162; Kosztyła, 1967, pp. 102–104; see also: Zestawienia miejsc straceń oraz osób poszkodowanych..., n.d.



1. Commemorating the Jews of Ostrów Mazowiecka, Holon cemetery (Tel Aviv), photo dated 27 September 2019. The stone bears the inscription in Hebrew: “In memory of the martyrs of the Ostrów Mazowiecka community who were murdered in the Shoah” (translated by the Pilecki Institute).

Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski



2. Announcement by Landrat Heinrich von Bünau on the sentencing to death of the Ostrów Jews (Ogłoszenie z dn. 11 XI 1939 o skazaniu na śmierć sprawców..., 1939, p. 2).

By order of the Warsaw War Court, all those who took part in the arson of the city of Ostrów Maz. were this day sentenced to death, as were those who knew about the perpetrators or assisted them in carrying out the crime.

The above sentence was carried out immediately.

I warn that any and all acts of sabotage will be punished by death.

The same punishment will be applied to those who know about the criminal acts or the perpetrators of the aforementioned acts, and who fail to report to the appropriate authorities.

Ostrów, 11 November 1939

Landrat of the Ostrów district
(-) Von Bünau



3. Memorial in Ostrów Mazowiecka “To the soldiers, partisans and all who died in the fight against the Nazi invader for the freedom of their homeland” by Karol Tchorek, photo dated 3 February 2020.

Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski



4. Commemoration of Jews from Ostrów Mazowiecka at a site of memory in Treblinka, photo dated 25 May 2020.

Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski



5. Commemoration of Ostrów’s Jews, unveiled on 18 April 1983. Photo dated 3 February 2020.

The inscription reads “In memory of the 500 Ostrów Jews who were murdered here by the Nazis on 11 November 1939. Residents of Ostrów Mazowiecka.”

Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski

6. Page from the “Za Wolność i Lud” biweekly from 1968, with an article entitled *Pomóżcie zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię* [“Help identify yet another atrocity”]. The photographs it contains document the crime committed against Ostrów Jews on 11 November 1939, near the home of Leokadia Blicharska (Ostrów Mazowiecka, 44 Warszawska Street).
mo Lt. Stanisław Łaszczyński used the photos to conduct an investigation in 1971. The original photographs are in the holdings of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum.

Pomóżcie zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię



Wśród setek Polaków wysiedlonych z okolic Oświęcimia w 1940 r. była Maria Franczyk. Postawiono ją w niewolniczym mieszkaniu w barakach polonijnych obok budynków Monopolu Tytoniowego, dużego niemieckiego zakładu do produkcji obozu koncentracyjnego Auschwitz – znalazła się w obrębie tzw. Interessengebiet.

Zamieszkała we Włosienicy, miejscowości leżącej w pobliżu Monowic, w niedługim czasie Niemcy rozpoczęli tu

W drodze na egzekucję



raj budowę Buna-Werke, zakładów chemicznych koncernu IG-Farben. Do niewolniczej pracy ściągali masy Żydów, Polaków, Ukraińców, Białorusinów, Francuzów i Włochów. Tak powstał „Lager 5”. Przymusowi robotnicy znajdowali się wraz z rodzinami w prymitywnie urządzonych barakach, obok innych drutem kolczastym. Marię Franczyk odwiedziła służbami składowymi również do pracy w „Lager 5”. Miała sprzątać pomieszczenia obozowe. Po pierwszym czasie Lagerführer, Teodor Pillich, pochodzący z Wiednia, zatrudnił ją jako pomoc domową w swoim mieszkaniu. Po pracy mogła już chodzić do domu, do Włosienicy.

Kilko dni, podczas sprzątania pokoju Lagerführera, natrafila na podobne do siebie wykonane fotografie. Wywarły na niej wstrząsające wrażenie. W ogromnym zdziwieniu szukała z nich zabrania z sobą i wyszła do domu. Stwierdziła że tam ukryto. Zabrała ze sobą kilka, kto uczestniczył w zbrodniach dokonywanych w okupowanym kraju.

Ostatnia Maria Franczyk mieszkała w nowym osiedlu w Oświęcimiu. Wyrażając się mieszkaniem Pillich fotografierze przechowywała przez ponad 20 lat. Dojrział niedawno przekazała je pracownikom Państwowego Muzeum jako dowód na zbrodnie hitlerowskie zbrodnie.

← Przed śmiercią



↑ Tadaż strasy

← Żniwo ludobójców

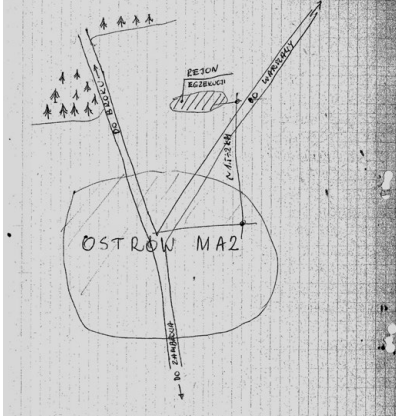
Ostatnia ofiara →



III 19 III

Among the hundreds of Poles displaced from the Oświęcim area in 1940 was Maria Franczak. She was deprived of a small apartment in barracks located next to the buildings of the Tobacco Monopoly, a large facility that found itself within the so-called Interessengebiet after the establishment of the Auschwitz concentration camp. She settled in Włosienica, a village near Monowice. The Germans soon began construction of Buna-Werke, the chemical plant of the IG-Farben [Interessens Gemeinschaft Farben-industrie Aktiengesellschaft – author's note] concern. They drew masses of people, prisoners and civilian laborers, including Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, French and Italians, for slave labor. This is how the “Lager 5” was created. The forced laborers resided with their families in primitively furnished barracks, surrounded by barbed wire. Maria Franczak [misspelled “Franczyk” in the original – author's note] was also assigned by the Auschwitz Arbeitsamt to clean the camp premises in “Lager 5”. After some time, the Lagerführer [lowercase in the original – author's

note], Teodor Pillich, a native of Vienna, employed her as a domestic helper in his apartment. After work, she was able to walk home to Włosienica. One day, while cleaning the Lagerführer's room, she came across a shoebox filled with photographs. They made a shocking impression on her. With extreme uneasiness, she took several of them with her and carried them home, where she hid them carefully. None of the photos, however, were captioned. There was no doubt that they were taken by someone who participated in the crimes committed in the occupied country. Maria Franczak now lives in a new housing development in Oświęcim. She kept the photographs stolen from Pillich's apartment for more than 20 years. Only recently she handed them over to the staff of the State Museum as one more piece of evidence of Nazi crimes. We are reproducing them in the hope that someone will be found to help the Auschwitz Museum and the editors identify the victims and pinpoint the execution site (*Pomóżcie zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię*, 1968, p. 19).



7. Minutes of the interrogation of witness Piotr Graff, Warsaw, 21 December 1965 (Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka..., n.d., p. 17). Map drawn by the witness depicting the execution site of 11 November 1939.



8. Plaque commemorating the victims of the German terror apparatus in Wyszaków, located near the former Gestapo headquarters, the so-called Willa Cudnego
Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski



9. Plaque commemorating the Ostrów victims at the Tadeusz Kościuszko Primary School No. 1 in Ostrów Mazowiecka.
Photo dated 3 February 2020
Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski



10. The former "Browar" in Ostrów – presently the Tadeusz Kościuszko Primary School No. 1 in Ostrów Mazowiecka. Photo dated 3 February 2020
Photo: Igor Michał Niewiadomski

Archival sources:

- Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes (Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich, AIPN GK)
 Akta w sprawie Daume Max. Podejrzany o to, że w grudniu 1939 r. rozkazał rozstrzelać 100 Polaków w Wawrze k/Warszawy, z początkiem 1940 r. rozkazał rozstrzelać przeszło 300 Polaków w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej (1946). AIPN GK, file no. 164/371.
 Ogłoszenie z dn. 11 XI 1939 o skazaniu na śmierć sprawców podpalenia w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej (1939). AIPN GK, file no. 912/11/391.
 Zestawienia miejsc straceń oraz osób poszkodowanych w czasie II wojny światowej na terenie województwa warszawskiego. Raporty, ankiety, korespondencja, oświadczenia i prasa (n.d.). AIPN GK, file no. 185/13.
- Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Office for the Disclosure of Archives (Archiwum Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, Biuro Udostępniania Archiwów, AIPN BU)
 Ankiety Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce oraz Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Warszawie, zebrane w latach 1968–1972. Ankiety dotyczące województwa warszawskiego – xv. Powiat Wyszków: ankiety (1968–1972). AIPN BU, file no. 2448/1072.
 Odpis Wyroku Sądu Wojewódzkiego dla Województwa Warszawskiego w Warszawie z dnia 09.03.1959 r. w postępowaniu karnym przeciwko: Erich Koch (1959). AIPN BU, file no. 2586/233.
- Archives of the Jewish Historical Institute (Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, AŻIH)
 Losy Żydów Ostrowi Mazowieckiej podczas okupacji niemieckiej (1939). AŻIH, Zbiór relacji Żydów Ocalałych z Zagłady, file no. 301/738.
- Bundesarchiv in Ludwigsburg (BArch Ludwigsburg)
 Hessisches Landeskriminalamt do Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, 18.03.1960 (1960). BArch Ludwigsburg, Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen, file no. B 162/4852, Bl. 175.
- Bundesarchiv in Marburg (BArch Marburg)
 Flusübergang und Ortsgefecht am Bug, 09.09.1939 (1939). BA Marburg, 1. Kavallerie-Division, file no. RH 29-1/59.
- Institute of National Remembrance – investigations
 Akta prowadzone w sprawie zbrodni popełnianych na terenie powiatów ostrołęckiego i ostrowo-mazowieckiego w latach 1939–1945 przez funkcjonariuszy hitlerowskich władz okupacyjnych (1969). IPN, case no. S/19/14/Zn. [formerly file no. Ds 54/71/Ok. W-wa, vol. 3 substitute].
 Akta w sprawie podpalenia miasta Ostrów Mazowiecka – mord kilkuset żydów w lesie ostrowskim 11.11.1939 roku (n.d.). IPN, case no. S/139/Zn.
 Akta w sprawie zbrodni hitlerowskich wobec Polaków, Rosjan i Żydów jakie miały miejsce w okresie od listopada 1939 roku do września 1944 roku, a popełnione zostały przez funkcjonariuszy hitlerowskiego okupanta działających na tym terenie (1946). IPN, case no. S/82/10/Zn].
- State Archives in Warsaw (Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, APW)
 Bevölkerungsstatistiken, Einwohnerzahlen. Spisy ludności w powiecie (1939). APW, Starostwo Powiatowe w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej, file no. 72/489/140.
 Lagenberichte des Landrats in Ostrow für d. M-te 09.1939–06.1940. 2/ Bericht an dem Chef der Zivilverwaltung Sonderstab Südostpreussen in Zichenau von 28.10.1939 (1940). APW, Starostwo Powiatowe w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej, file no. 72/489/16.
 Protokół o tragedii żydowskiej społeczności w Ostrowi Mazowieckiej na początku listopada 1939 roku, 21.01.1949 (1949). AŻIH, file no. 301/4099,

Source publications:

- Amtliches Gemeinde und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement auf Grund und Summarischen Bevölkerungsbstandsaufnahme am 1. März 1943* (1943). Krakau: Statistischen Amt des Generalgouvernements.

- Decree of 10 November 1945 on the Main Commission and District Commissions for Investigation of German Crimes in Poland (1945). *Journal of Laws of 1945*, no. 51, item 293.
- Decree of the Polish Committee for National Liberation of 31 August 1944 on the punishment of fascist-Hitlerian criminals guilty of the murder and abuse of civilians and prisoners of war, and of traitors to the Polish Nation (1944). *Journal of Laws of 1944*, no. 4, item 16.
- Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. *Mieszkania i gospodarstwa domowe. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe. Województwo białostockie* (1938). Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z dnia 9 grudnia 1931 r.: wyniki ostateczne opracowania spisu ludności z dn. 9 XII 1931 r. w postaci skróconej dla wszystkich województw, powiatów i miast powyżej 20 000 mieszkańców Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1938). Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Law of 9 April 1938 on changing the boundaries of the Białystok, Kielce, Lublin, Łódź and Warsaw voivodships (1938). *Journal of Laws of 1938*, no. 27, item 240.
- Militärstrafgesetzbuch (MStGB) vom 20. Juni 1872 (1872).
- Pomóżcie zidentyfikować jeszcze jedną zbrodnię (1968). *Za Wolność i Lud*, no. 11 (319), 15 June, p. 19.

Publications:

- Bartniczak, M. (1974). Eksterminacja ludności w pow. Ostrowi Maz. (1939–1945), *Rocznik Mazowiecki*, vol. 5, pp. 147–213.
- Bartniczak, M. (1975). Podziały administracyjne w powiecie Ostrów Mazowiecka. *Zarys historyczny*. In: S. Russocki (ed.), *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu* (pp. 277–317). Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Bartniczak, M. (1984). *Od Andrzeja do Pecynki 1939–1944*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Bartoszewski, W. (1970). *Warszawski pierścień śmierci 1939–1944*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Interpress”.
- Böhler, J. (2009). *Zbrodnie Wehrmacht w Polsce. Wrzesień 1939, wojna totalna* (transl. by P. Pieńkowska-Wiederkehr). Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Znak”.
- Browning, Ch. R. (2003). *Die Entfesselung der „Endlösung”. Nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik 1939–1942*. München: Propyläen Verlag.
- Curilla, W. (2011). *Der Judenmord in Polen und die deutsche Ordnungspolizei 1939–1945*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag.
- Dobroński, A. (1988). *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Zarys dziejów*. Ostrów Mazowiecka: Stacja Naukowa Mazowiecki Ośrodek Badań Naukowych.
- Dymek, B. (1975). *Ostrów Mazowiecka w latach 1918–1939*. In: S. Russocki (ed.), *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu* (pp. 205–224). Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Eberhardt, P. (2000). *Przemieszczenia ludności na terytorium Polski spowodowane II wojną światową*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Geografii i Przestrzennego Zagospodarowania Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Engelking, B. (2007). *Życie codzienne Żydów w miasteczkach dystryktu warszawskiego*. In: B. Engelking, J. Leociak & D. Libionka (eds.), *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim* (pp. 119–221). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Gawin, M. (2013/2014). Pensjonat Jadwigi Długoborskiej, *Teologia polityczna*, no. 7, pp. 159–179.
- Jasiński, Ł. (2018). *Sprawiedliwość i polityka. Działalność Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Niemieckich/Hitlerowskich w Polsce 1945–1989*. Gdańsk–Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Kazimierski, J. (1975). *Lata wojny i okupacji (1939–1944)*. In: S. Russocki (ed.), *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu* (pp. 226–240). Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Klemp, S. (2005). „Nicht ermittelt”. *Polizeibataillone und die Nachkriegsjustiz – Ein Handbuch*. Essen: Klartext.
- Kosztyła, Z. (1967). *Wrzesień 1939 r. na Białostoczczyźnie*. Białystok: Białostockie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
- Landau, L. (1962). *Kronika lat wojny i okupacji*, vol. 1: *Wrzesień 1939 – listopad 1940*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Lityński, A. (2005). *Historia prawa Polski Ludowej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Prawnicze „LexisNexis”.
- Loftus, E. F. (1993). The Reality of Repressed Memories, *American Psychologist*, vol. 48, no. 5, pp. 518–537.

- Madajczyk, C. (1970). *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce*, vol. I–II. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Ringelblum, E. (1983). *Kronika getta warszawskiego. Wrzesień 1939–styczeń 1943* (intro. and ed. A. Eisenbach, transl. from Yiddish by A. Rutkowski). Warszawa: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza „Czytelnik”.
- Roth, M. & Schmidt, A. (2013). *Judenmord in Ostrow Mazowiecka. Tat und Ahndung*. Berlin: Metropol.
- Rusiniak, M. (2008). *Obóz zagłady Treblinka II w pamięci społecznej (1943–1989)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton.
- Sendyka, R. (2013). Pryzma – zrozumieć nie-miejsce pamięci (*non-lieux de mémoire*), *Teksty Drugie. Teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja*, no. 1–2, pp. 323–344.
- Skorwider-Skiba, D. (1975). *Ruch oporu w powiecie Ostrów Mazowiecka w świetle źródeł niemieckich. Charakterystyka powiatu, władz administracyjnych i policyjnych*. In: S. Russocki (ed.), *Ostrów Mazowiecka. Z dziejów miasta i powiatu* (pp. 389–436). Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Szczepański, J. (1993). *Dzieje społeczności żydowskiej powiatów Pułtusk i Maków Mazowiecki*. Warszawa: Pułtuskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne, Towarzystwo Miłośników Makowa Mazowieckiego.
- Szczepański, J. (1998). *Dzieje Wyszkowa i okolic*. Warszawa: Mazowieckie Towarzystwo Kultury Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. Stanisława Herbsta.
- Sztejnberg, I. (1960). *Poalei-Zion* zs. In: A. L. Margolis-Margalit (ed.), *Memorial Book of the Community of Ostrow-Mazowiecka (Ostrów Mazowiecka, Poland)* (transl. by J. Ostroff Goldstein) (pp. 281–285). Tel Aviv: n.p. Source: <https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/ostrow/ost270.html#Page281> [accessed: 16.11.2022].
- Urynowicz, M. (2002). *Ludność żydowska w Jedwabnem. Zmiany demograficzne od końca XIX wieku do 1941 roku na tle regionu łomżyńskiego*. In: P. Machcewicz & K. Persak (eds.) *Wokół Jedwabnego*, vol. I: *Studia* (pp. 83–104). Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej. Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu.