

## The *Judenrat* and its Authority\*

On 16<sup>th</sup> September 1939, the Gestapo's consultant on Jewish affairs summoned the son of Rabbi Nachum Asz, Mojsze Asz, [and] ordered him to present a list of former Jewish community workers, who would also now have to occupy themselves with Jewish affairs. Mojsze Asz gave the names of a few of the city's former public activists. On that same day, the indicated individuals were ordered to report to the premises of the Commerce Bank [Bank Handlowy] at ul Piłsudskiego 3, where that consultant received them in the presence of two other *Gestapowces*.

For three hours, he held a steady tirade in order to "convince" those summoned that the Jews were a people made up exclusively of criminals, that they were hiding a great number of weapons in order to murder Germans and that, just in Częstochowa, the Jews had already two murdered German soldiers on their consciences. In his lengthy "speech", he repeated, several times, that the Jews had no hope at all of receiving any benevolence from the Germans. In his opinion, it would be necessary to cleanse the entire Lublin region of non-Jews and, to there, relocate the Jews from all the occupied territories. As he saw it, a Jewish state would be created there. At the end, he declared to the Jews, who were standing before him, "You are well aware that a German government exists here. You surely know what our attitude towards Jews is. So, know that, from today and onwards, the Jews will have to maintain and manage themselves on their own!" The Jews attempted to advise him that they did not see the possibilities of doing so, because the more well-to-do Jews had left Częstochowa as soon as war operations had commenced. He began to insult them, yelling, "*The less you have, the less you will gorge yourselves!*"

Then and there, he appointed a council of six men: Mojsze Asz, Lajb Bromberg, Nussen-Dawid Berliner, Aron-Josef Krauze, Lajb Kopiński and Dawid Koniecpoler<sup>8</sup>. He gave them five minutes' time to voice their acquiescence and apportion, amongst themselves, the functions of *prezes* [president], *vice-prezes*, secretary and treasurer. This council of six, at the bidding of that same *Gestapowiec*, was required to provide, at any given time, the number of Jewish labourers and professional workmen demanded by the German organs of power. The council would also have to cover all the expenses entailed in the execution of works that the German and municipal ruling bodies would assign.

On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1939, Kopiński, chairman of the council of the six, was summoned to the *Stadthauptmann*, where he was notified that all the Jews of Berlin, of the whole of Germany, and of all the towns and *shtetls* around Częstochowa which were being annexed to the Reich, would be transported to Częstochowa, and the *Judenrat* would be tasked with housing them in the streets stretching from the railway bridge (end of First Aleja) to the bridge of the Warta River. (In 1941, these same streets were designated as the Jewish ghetto.) Kopiński was, therefore, given an order that, already on that very day, he was to put together a *Judenrat* of twenty-four individuals, which would have to occupy itself with all Jewish affairs and also with quartering all the Jews relocated to Częstochowa.

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\* [TN: The German word used in the original, "Kompetenzen", lit. "competencies", is used in German to denote authority, jurisdiction and responsibilities.]

<sup>8</sup> Reported at the time by the eyewitnesses Mojsze Asz and Jakow Roziner.

The council of six did, indeed, call a meeting that very same day of about one hundred Jews - from the almost 25,000 Jews who were then still living in Częstochowa. They elected a *Judenrat* of the following twenty-four men:

- Lajb Kopiński (a manufacturer, a Zionist activist, a former management member of the “Lira” cultural society and a management member of the Hebrew-Polish Gimnazjum),
- Mojsze Asz (rabbinate official),
- Nussen-Dawid Berliner (co-partner in an exchange bank),
- Mordche Besserglik (merchant),
- Zyskind Brandlewicz (teacher),
- Jechiel Gerichter (Zionist),
- Wolf Icek (Zionist),
- Nachman Grinfeld (rabbinate member)
- Josef Klajnplac (rabbinate member),
- Josef Broniatowski (lawyer),
- Lajb Bromberg (manufacturer, Mizrachi\*),
- Dawid Koniecpoler (Zionist and craftsmen’s activist),
- Aron-Josef Krauze (merchant),
- Jakub Lewit (manufacturer, vice-chairman of Mizrachi in Częstochowa),
- Szmul Lewkowicz (engineer, building owner),
- Maurycy Neufeld (vice-chairman of the Merchants and Manufacturers Union),
- Szmul Niemirowski (chairman of the Retailers Union),
- Natan Rodal (lawyer),
- Zelig Rotbard (merchant, Zionist),
- Jakub Roziner\*\* (accountant, democrat),
- Michał Ruzewicz (merchant),
- Adam Slonimski (gimnazjum lecturer, assimilationist),
- Gerszon Szafir (Zionist, *Kehilla* councilman, gimnazjum lecturer), and
- Wilhelm Żeryker (manufacturer).

The *Judenrat* Executivewas made up of the following five members:

- L. Kopiński - Chairman,
  - L. Bromberg - Vice-Chairman,
  - N.D. Berliner – Treasurer, and
- presidium members without offices –
- Neufeld and
  - Gerichter<sup>9</sup>.

The members of the *Judenrat* divided different functions amongst themselves and set about organising their work.

In the second half of November 1939, the then *Stadthauptmann*, Dr [Richard] Wendler, ordered all the members of the *Judenrat* to report to him immediately. As soon as they entered the building of the *Stadthauptmannschaft*, they were surrounded by gendarmes and

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\* [TN: Zionist-religious political party.]

\*\* [TN: Erroneously spelt “Rozine” (a surname which apparently does not exist) throughout this book. There are other surnames in this work that are spelt slightly differently to other historical sources; as the author had access to original Polish and German-language documents, we have rendered them literally as they appear.]

<sup>9</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. I.

*Gestapowces* and lined up in two rows. Wendler then appeared and notified them that the Jewish populace was required to pay, within ten days, a contribution of one million złoty. Should this not be fulfilled within the set deadline, one hundred Jews would be shot. Some of the members were freed in order to collect the required sum, while the others were taken over to the city prison as hostages. Over the course of the ten days that had been set, the released members of the *Judenrat* taxed the Jews for this purpose and, concurrently, held negotiations with Wendler to the effect that he should decrease the sum of the imposed contribution. The *Judenrat* neither managed to bring together the appointed sum, nor did it manage to “soften” Wendler’s heart. Therefore, on the tenth day, all the wives of the hostages were arrested and, together with their husbands, they were taken to a special camp, which had been prepared for them inside the city itself. On the fourteenth day, they succeeded in buying off Wendler with money and valuable objects. The contribution was reduced to 400,000 złoty, which the *Judenrat* had to pay in instalments<sup>10</sup>.

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The authority and tasks of the *Judenrat* were constantly widening. The *Judenrat*, therefore, as time passed, formed ever more departments. Over the course of the year 1940, the following departments were active in the *Judenrat*:

- 1) Department for General Affairs (Executive) - at the beginning, the director of this department was Pohorille, and later Adv. Gitler,
- 2) Main Secretariat - the director was the lawyer Dr Lajb Asz and his deputy Abram Fogel,
- 3) Petition Bureau, director: Adv. Leon Gajzler,
- 4) “IRU\*” (Jewish Police), director: M. Galster,
- 5) Housing Bureau - eighteen officials worked in this office, under the direction of Bernard Kohlenbrener,
- 6) Requisition Bureau, under the direction of the same Kohlenbrener,
- 7) Commerce & Craftsmanship Department, with eight officials - directors: M. Praport and Adv. Estera Epszajn,
- 8) Provisioning, leader: the former bank director Pruszycki,
- 9) Registration & Statistics. This department was established in January 1940. Eleven officials were employed here under the direction of Adv. Marian Hasenfeld and Maurycy Safirsztajn. [By] the end of 1940, this department, under the same directorship, had grown into eight sections which employed sixty-three officials,
- 10) Department for Forced Labour, which was divided into various sections, in which 102 officials were employed under the directorship of Mojsze Kopiński,
- 11) Fines Department, under the directorship of D. Kasman and two other officials: Adv. M. Regenweter and J. Ripsztajn,
- 12) Department of Finances, director: Maurycy Kacinel,
- 13) Social Aid, which employed 178 officials under the direction of N. Rodal,
- 14) Judiciary Committee. At the general assembly of all lawyers and trainees, which was held on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1939, it was decided to form such a committee, which would occupy itself with resolving conflicts between Jews and also serve with the provision of legal advice. In January 1940, this committee began its activity. The chairman of this

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<sup>10</sup> Reported at the time by Jakow Roziner.

\* [TN: Abbreviation of the Polish name “Inspekcja Ruchu Ulicznego” (Inspection of Street Traffic).]

committee was Adv. M. Koniarski; deputy – W. Rajchman; and secretaries – W. Krakower and A. Rodal. In the first three months of 1940, twenty-six lawyers belonged to this committee. At the end of 1940, the committee consisted of thirty-five members: twenty-one male and two female lawyers (sixteen of whom were from Częstochowa and seven from other cities – refugees), five local trainees and five [who were] refugees, and two court trainees<sup>\*\*</sup>. This department was independent, and the *Judenrat* had no great influence there.

Apart from the listed offices, within the *Judenrat*, there was

- a technical department,
- an economic department,
- a department for professional schooling and
- a department for religious affairs<sup>11</sup>.

All these *Judenrat* departments listed were active during the whole time, until the Great Expulsion (September 1942). At the end of 1940, the *Judenrat* chose Pohorille as chief of organisation, who was to have the supervision over all the offices, and as his deputy - Gitler<sup>12</sup>.

The *Judenrat* was not only required to busy itself with the ghetto's internal life, but it also fulfilled all the demands [made] and orders [placed] by the German administrative organs, as well as of any other German government office found in town. The *Judenrat* was forced to execute municipal development works at its own cost and exclusively using Jewish professional specialists and Jewish labourers.

The *Judenrat* was forced to provide all the Germans and their families, who were already in Częstochowa, as well as those who were continually arriving in Częstochowa, with everything necessary: well-renovated and finely furnished dwellings, linen, bedclothes, kitchenware, cutlery, etc. The *Judenrat* was also forced to even carry out the renovation, furnishing and arrangement of the building of the former Jewish Axer Gimnazjum into a "*Puffhaus*" (house of ill repute), where women were specially brought from Germany - at the expense of the Jewish populace.

In order to carry out what the Germans were demanding ever more increasingly, as well as to cover all the expenditure which the internal work entailed, the *Judenrat* imposed large taxes on the Jewish population and requisitioned, from the Jewish homes, not only what was being demanded by the Germans at that given moment, but much more, to have in readiness for the contingency of covering future orders. Upon request of the *Judenrat*, the *Stadthauptmann* would order the arrest of those Jews who squirmed out of paying the appointed taxes, and they would be held there until they had paid the demanded tax sum.

The circumstance surrounding the contribution and the activity of the *Judenrat*, in general, which the Jewish populace was feeling constantly more and more, convinced a certain number of members of the council that they were not serving the Jewish population at all, as they had imagined at the beginning, but that they were a tool in the hands of the Germans at

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<sup>\*\*</sup> [TN: The Yiddish term used here is obviously a translation of the Polish "aplikant sądowy", meaning one who is training to become a judge.]

<sup>11</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vols. I, II and III.

<sup>12</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. I, p.12.

the expense of the Jews. Therefore, they began started to shirk the work. Over the course of a few months, the executive of the *Judenrat* expelled the following members for sabotaging the work:

- Asz,
- Roziner,
- Besserglik,
- Brandlewicz,
- Broniatowski,
- Grinfeld,
- Klajnplac,
- Niemirowski,
- Rużewicz,
- Szafir, and
- one other (J. Lewit) who travelled abroad.

Those co-opted in their place were:

- Wolf Anisfeld (Zionist),
- Dawid Borzykowski (merchant),
- Maurycy Galster (expeditor),
- Jeremiasz Gitler (lawyer, Zionist),
- Szmul Kac (master tailor),
- Maurycy Kacinel (Non-Party\*),
- Mojsze Kopinski (manufacturer),
- Bernard Kurland (*prokurent*\* of a large firm),
- Szymon Pohorille (lawyer),
- Maurycy Proport (merchant), and
- Hilary Zandsztajn (estate owner).

Besides these, also co-opted was Szmul Wajnryb (merchant), who was a man of the Gestapo and, therefore, became the liaison person between the *Judenrat* and the Gestapo. Thus, at the start of 1940 the *Judenrat* was already made up of twenty-five members<sup>13</sup>. The composition of the executive also changed.

Already, in the first quarter of 1940, the presidium of the *Judenrat* consisted of the following seven members:

- Lajb Kopiński,
- Lajb Bromberg,
- Dr Szymon Pohorille,
- Nussen-Dawid Berliner,
- Jechiel Gerichter,
- Jeremiasz Gitler and
- Zelig Rotbard<sup>14</sup>.

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\* [TN: The pro-Piłsudski Non-Party Bloc of Cooperation with the Government (BBWR) became his political instrument, used at first against the opposition rightist National Democrats. (Encyclopaedia Britannica)]

\* [TN: Pol., authorised signatory/chief clerk.]

<sup>13</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. I, p.11.

<sup>14</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. I, p.11.

In 1941 Bromberg died. The rest of the entire configuration of the council and executive remained until the great liquidation of the Częstochowa Jewish community.

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Decrees from the German organs of power appeared with great frequency, one more stringent than the other, and regulations from the *Judenrat* were issued even more often, citing the orders of said organs of power. The reception and reaction of the Jews to different decrees was not always the same. One of the first official decrees was the order to wear armbands. On 15<sup>th</sup> December 1939, a regulation was issued to the effect that Jews aged fourteen and over had to wear, on the right arm and above the elbow, white armbands with a blue Star of David ten centimetres in size. It was not so easy to become accustomed to this new "fashion". People were rather ashamed, as if they were committing a crime in public. But the sense of shame gradually disappeared and people began to say, "Why should we be ashamed? Let those, who thought this up, be ashamed." Later, upon encountering Jews from the *shtetls* around Częstochowa, with yellow Star of David patches [sewn] on their breasts and shoulders, people deemed that we were something - select, as it were - because we had been less humiliated. Yet getting used to it still did not come easily. And people frequently forgot to pull the band over their arm before going out to the street, which caused no little pain. The Germans hunted down such "rebels", who would then pay for their "impudence" with money, imprisonment or with both punishments as one. In order to avoid such "surprises", in almost every home, a note was hung on the exit door with the inscription "Be careful, arm-bands!" Also, in the display windows of every Jewish shop, a large blue Star of David was required to be hung, so that the non-Jewish customers should discern which shops belonged to Jews. Everyone accepted this ordinance with indifference, because the non-Jewish populace, which had always purchased from Jews, paid no heed to it and, as for the Germans not coming to buy, the Jews were happy [with that].

On 8<sup>th</sup> April 1940, the *Stadthauptmann*, basing himself on an ordinance from 24<sup>th</sup> January 1940 regarding the obligation to report Jewish assets, demanded of the Jewish populace to register their fixed and non-fixed assets. The *Stadthauptmann* made it known that the property of converts to Christianity and non-Jews, who had Jewish husbands or wives, were also considered Jewish assets. On 7<sup>th</sup> May 1940, a second ordinance was issued by the *Stadthauptmann* regarding the same matter<sup>15</sup>. These regulations made no great impression on the Jews in Częstochowa as, back at the beginning of March 1940, almost all the Jewish assets had already been confiscated. All the Jewish shops, barring those of colonial goods, were then already locked up and the keys were at the *Stadthauptmannschaft*.

Jews were not allowed to have more than 2,000 złoty and, later, only 500<sup>16</sup>. The rest [of the money] one possessed had to be deposited in the KKO\* (Communal Savings Fund) in a saving account from which one had the right – but only formally – to withdraw up to 100 złoty per week for sustenance.

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<sup>15</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, pp.228-259. [TN: We have inserted footnote 17 at the end of this paragraph arbitrarily, as its proper lacing is not marked in the original.]

<sup>16</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, pp.228-259.

\* [TN: This is an abbreviation of the original Yiddish name – "Komunale Opshporungs-Kasse".]

Some six weeks later, on 15<sup>th</sup> April, the *Judenrat* formed a requisition bureau, which was directed by the then leader of the Housing Bureau, Bernard Kohlenbrener, who took no sentiments into account. From just 15<sup>th</sup> April to 5<sup>th</sup> August 1940, and then over the course of September, this institution requisitioned, from Jews, 6,964 pieces of furniture and other household items<sup>17</sup>.

On 14<sup>th</sup> June 1940, the *Stadthauptmann* ordered the *Judenrat* to collect, from Jews, various metals, at a rate of three kilograms per family, or a kilogram and a half of tin from each family<sup>18</sup>. The *Judenrat* demanded of all the administrators to collect the required amount of metals from the tenants of the buildings, of which they were in charge, within forty-eight hours<sup>19</sup>. The Jews were not strongly motivated by this edict and, three times, the *Judenrat* lengthened the deadline for bringing forth metal. In the end, the *Judenrat* was forced to add a certain quantity of metal from stockpiles which were in their warehouses.

But all the ordinances listed above, and many others, led to poverty in the midst of the Jewish populace and made itself be felt ever increasingly. To this, we should add the remark, that the daily bread rations, distributed by the German and municipal authorities per capita, reached on average fifty grams<sup>20</sup>. Later, the bread rations were increased to 100 grams per person, but not regularly<sup>21</sup>. The situation became progressively more difficult and terrifying. Today was torture and one feared the tomorrow.

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Due to the fact that there were frequent relocations from dwellings, buildings and entire streets as well, the *Judenrat*, already back in the first time of its term of office, formed a housing office, in which eighteen officials were employed. Kohlenbrener, who with his elegance and fine German speech, found favour in the eyes of the Germans, and therefore took advantage of his influence for his personal needs, became director of this office. The Housing Bureau was practically no help at all to the poor and impoverished Jews, who were forced to seek a roof over their heads.

The refugees [from other localities] wallowed about in refugee points, in so-called “shelters”. These “shelters” were in:

- the study-hall at ul. Mirowska 9-11,
- *Hachnuses Orchim*\* at ul. Garncarska 65,
- the Crafts School at ul. Garncarska 86,
- a home at Old Market [Stary Rynek] 18,
- the house of prayer at ul. Berka Joselewicza 1,
- the former [religious] Beis Jakow girl’s school at ul Katedralna 10,
- ul. Piłsudskiego 17, in the former premises of the Bund and
- the former premises of the Zionist Organisation at Aleja Wolności 3-5.

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<sup>17</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. I, p.68.

<sup>18</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, p.250.

<sup>19</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, p.250.

<sup>20</sup> Written appeal from the *Judenrat* to the *Stadthauptmann*.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from the *Stadthauptmann* to the *Judenrat*.

\* [TN: Heb., “Hospitality for Guests/Wayfarers”; formerly a Jewish charitable institution in Częstochowa which provided poor Jews passing through town with a place to sleep and food.]

Sometime later, there were also “shelters” at First Aleja 12 in the former premises of the Craftsmen’s [Union] and in the premises of *Machzikei Ha’Das*\*\* at ul. Nadrzeczna<sup>22</sup>.

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In the Second World War, Częstochowa became an important point to which refugees arrived from various cities in Poland. The number of Jews, which before the War reached 28,486<sup>23</sup>, greatly increased over the course of the years 1940, 1941 and 1942. Exactly how many refugees were in Częstochowa is unknown. All we know is how many refugees arrived in the first ten months of the year 1940 because, until then, the *Judenrat* created no difficulties for refugees to register and settle in Częstochowa. However, considering that, all the time, more and more poor refugees were arriving, the *Judenrat*, in order to avoid an unwanted ballast, carried out a certain selection upon registering the newcomers<sup>24</sup>.

The Town Hall, basing itself upon an ordinance from the *Stadthauptmann*, also did not register newly-arrived Jews. The *Judenrat’s* Statistical Yearbook (*Rocznik Statystyczny*) of 1940, Vol. II, states,

“Only those inhabitants who are registered with Town Hall receive food rations.”

According to what the *Judenrat’s* Statistics Bureau reported, in 1940, 3,252 refugees arrived in Częstochowa. Among these refugees were 1,791 men and 1,461 women. Of these, 676 were children under fourteen, and the elderly, over sixty-six – 154<sup>25</sup>. The larger part of these refugees came from Łódź - 1,116 people; from Kraków - 771; from Warsaw - 106; from Radomsko - 283; and the rest came from other towns in Poland, such as Gdańsk, Lublin, Kielce, Radom, from *shtetls* and villages around Częstochowa, and from various other cities and *shtetls* in Poland.

Not all the refugees originated from the locations from which they arrived. Many of them had already, during wartime, changed their locations several times<sup>26</sup>. Former permanent citizens, who had left Częstochowa at the start of the War, also came to Częstochowa. Just between 1<sup>st</sup> January and 31<sup>st</sup> December 1940, 3,000 former citizens returned<sup>27</sup>. Such as who had relatives or good acquaintances here, with whom they reckoned they would receive temporary refuge, also came. Many Jews, who had nobody here, but yet still chose Częstochowa as a City of Refuge\* also smuggled their way in.

A great many refugees arrived in Częstochowa over the course of 1940 and 1941, which may also be inferred from the following facts:

On 20<sup>th</sup> January [1940], the Częstochowa *Stadthauptmann* was asked, by the internal management of the district in Radom, regarding the possibility of Częstochowa taking in

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\*\* [TN: Heb., “Upholders of Religion”; an ultraorthodox institution in Częstochowa which included free schooling for poor children.]

<sup>22</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. III, pp.406-412.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the municipal management’s Evidence Department № A-891/I/47.

<sup>24</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, p.163.

<sup>25</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, pp.163-165.

<sup>26</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, pp.167-168.

<sup>27</sup> Statistics Book of the *Judenrat*, Vol. II, p.135.

\* [TN: In Heb. in the original; ref. to the six Levitical cities in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah mentioned in Scripture in which the perpetrators of accidental manslaughter could claim the right of asylum (Numbers 35:11-15).]

people relocated from the territory of the Reich. On 8<sup>th</sup> March 1940, Wendler replied that Częstochowa had already taken in 5,173 forced evacuees and that, besides these, there were already some 16,000 refugees from earlier. On 14<sup>th</sup> May, a notification arrived to the effect that, in the near future, the Radom district would have to take in a further 20,000 Poles and Jews and 500 gypsies.

On 18<sup>th</sup> July, the General Governor demanded a report, from the *Stadthauptmann*, on the number of people relocated to Częstochowa. On 25<sup>th</sup> July, Wendler sent a reply that the city was overpopulated because, until then, there were already 14,035 reported migrants, of whom 6,224 were Poles and 7,811 Jews. Besides, Wendler informed, there were unreported migrants, which could be estimated at between four and five thousand Poles and twelve to fifteen thousand Jews.

In memos from Wendler, during a "*Dienstbesprechung*" [staff meeting], it was noted that they had discussed there that, from 1<sup>st</sup> February 1941 to 30<sup>th</sup> April of that same year, 28,000 people would be evacuated from the areas incorporated to the Reich and from other parts of the Reich's territory, among whom would be 10,000 Jews from Vienna<sup>28</sup>. It is unknown exactly how many refugees actually arrived from all those places in Częstochowa and how many of them were Jews. However, what was known to every Częstochowa resident at the time was that, throughout the duration of the entire time of occupation, both illegal and relocated Jewish refugees, whom the Germans sent in from towns and *shtetls* that had been made "*judenrein*", arrived continuously in Częstochowa. In the months February and March of 1941, 2,330 Jews from Płock and Bodzanów were relocated to Częstochowa. At the end of February 1941, 780 Jews from Płock were being held on the railway line between Koniecpol and Złoty Potok, from which they escaped and came to Częstochowa. The Germans brought 1,200 Jews from Bodzanów and 500 Jews from Płock to Częstochowa, held them on the [railway] platform over the course of 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> March and, finally, let them into the city only once the *Stadthauptmann* had given his consent to it<sup>29</sup>.

But, as the number of Jews became larger and larger, the Germans made the Jewish living quarters in the city smaller and smaller. Already at the beginning of 1940, the Jews, who before the War had lived in almost all of the city's 400 streets, were crammed into just eighty-six streets. Over the course of the first half of 1941, the Jews were already pressed into just twenty-eight streets, which were designated as a ghetto for the Jews in Częstochowa.

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<sup>28</sup> Report of the *Stadthauptmann*.

<sup>29</sup> The *Stadthauptmann's* daily report from 24<sup>th</sup> March 1941, № 17/41.