DUBROWA:

MEMORIAL TO A SHTETL

by

MICHAEL A. NEVINS

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the late Philip Sidransky without whose gentle guidance it would not have been possible. Mr. Sidransky, born in Dubrowa in 1894, is pictured below with his pupils in the Dubrowa school c. 1917. Shortly afterward he immigrated to Canada. The picture at the right shows Mr. Sidransky at his home in Miami Beach, December 1980, about a year before his death.



The booklet also is dedicated to the future generation, my children Andrea, Danny and Teddy, who might benefit from it for, as an old Hebrew saying states, "Before you know who you are and where you are going, you must know from where you come."



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INTRODUCTION

In 1977, inspired by the popular television program about black history, *Roots,* it became fashionable for Jews to explore their own origins. My own quest began with the construction of a family tree with special attention being paid to those individuals who had immigrated to this country, and their predecessors. Information accumulated along all family branches but my major interest soon focused on my paternal grandparents and their Polish-Russian shtetl Dubrowa, from where they had emigrated in the 1890s.

My grandparents had died years before but a surviving relative, Philip Sidransky, proved to be a good source of material. Mr. Sidransky, living alone in Miami Beach, was in frail health but blessed with a scholarly and organized mind. Indeed, he seems to have been the only Dubrowa émigré to have made any effort to research the town's history. He helped me to fill out some of the twigs on the family tree, but whereas accumulating names from the past is the genealogist's delight, it tends to become a sterile exercise when the names are divorced from the history of their times. Therefore, I began to concentrate increasingly on the story of the town itself.

I began with the usual sources familiar to Jewish genealogists: encyclopedias, the Morman Church microfilm records, the YIVO library and archives, a classified ad in the Jewish genealogy journal, *Toledot.* However, Dubrowa was elusive and, at first, other than for several scant references, it seemed almost as if the town had never existed. It soon became apparent that Dubrowa had been too small and insignificant for any great events to have happened there nor did any famous historical personalities emerge from the town.

The Dubrowa *landsmanshaftn* society was contacted and provided the names to a few surviving immigrants but initial inquiries yielded few replies and little useful information.

After World War II hundreds of *landsmanshaftn,* first appreciating the magnitude of the catastrophe that had befallen the European Jewish community, wrote memorial books *(yiskor bikhers)* commemorating their holocaust martyrs and recounting their town's histories. Most of these books were multiauthored and described communities that had been located in Poland between the World Wars. In effect, this was the last great service of the *landsmanshaftn* organizations which themselves were declining because of aging membership and loss of purpose. If the intent was to pass on the tradition by preserving the memory of their former towns, the result sadly was unrealized since most were written in Yiddish, a language largely unfamiliar to the younger generations.

In the case of Dubrowa, except for a few abortive attempts, no town history had been written. This, then, became my self-appointed mission. My own modest effort at writing a yiskor book, although lacking in the authenticity of a document written by a native, at least would be written in English and therefore might be a useful contribution. After

more than a year of limited returns from my numerous inquiries and efforts, letters began to arrive from former Dubrowa immigrants. In time, sufficient contacts were made from which to construct a reasonably detailed account of the period between the World Wars. The project's culmination came on January 26, 1982, when during a trip to Israel I had the good fortune to interview the town's last two survivors of the Holocaust period.

Although this account is not proposed as a definitive historical document, sufficient material has accumulated to provide the essence of Dubrowa's past. Its very ordinariness makes Dubrowa's story that of the typical shtetl, a microcosm of the Jewish experience in Poland-Russia.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Spelling variations of place names often confound the unwary student of East European Jewish history and such is the case with Dubrowa. Its name and nationality changed frequently according to shifting political events, at various times the community being under Polish, Lithuanian, Prussian and Russian influence. Out of deference to our ancestors, the immigrants who came to this country early in this century, I have retained the Russian spelling rather than the contemporary Polish version *Dabrowa.* The Yiddish form, *Dombrowa,* comes closest to the phonetic pronunciation *dom-brava.*

Regardless of spelling, Dubrowa was a popular appellation and today there are well over one hundred Polish communities of this name. The name means "oak forest" and it is ironic that the author lives in a New Jersey suburban subdivision also known as Oak Forest! Most other Dubrowas are small villages although one, Dabrowa Gornicza, is a large city in the coal mining region near Cracow.

In the heyday of its Jewish period, Dubrowa was part of the Russian Pale of Settlement and in the political and cultural orbit of its nearest large city, Grodno, about 28 kilometers to the east. After World War I the area reverted to Polish control but the realignment after World War II shifted the Polish-Russian border to run directly between Dubrowa and Grodno. As a result Dabrowa now is located in the Polish province of Bialystock and is distinguished from the other Dabrowas by the combined designation Dabrowa Bialystocka.

EARLY GEOPOLITICAL HISTORY

The first mass exodus of Jews from western Europe to Poland occurred in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Princes of Poland and Lithuania had united forces in 1386 and eagerly sought immigrants to help rebuild their lands recently destroyed by the invading Mongols. In turn, the Jews were anxious to flee the hostile climate of Germany and the massacres of the Middle Ages. Rabbi Moses Isserles in the 16th century explained that it was preferable to live on dry bread and in peace in Poland than to remain in better conditions in more dangerous lands.

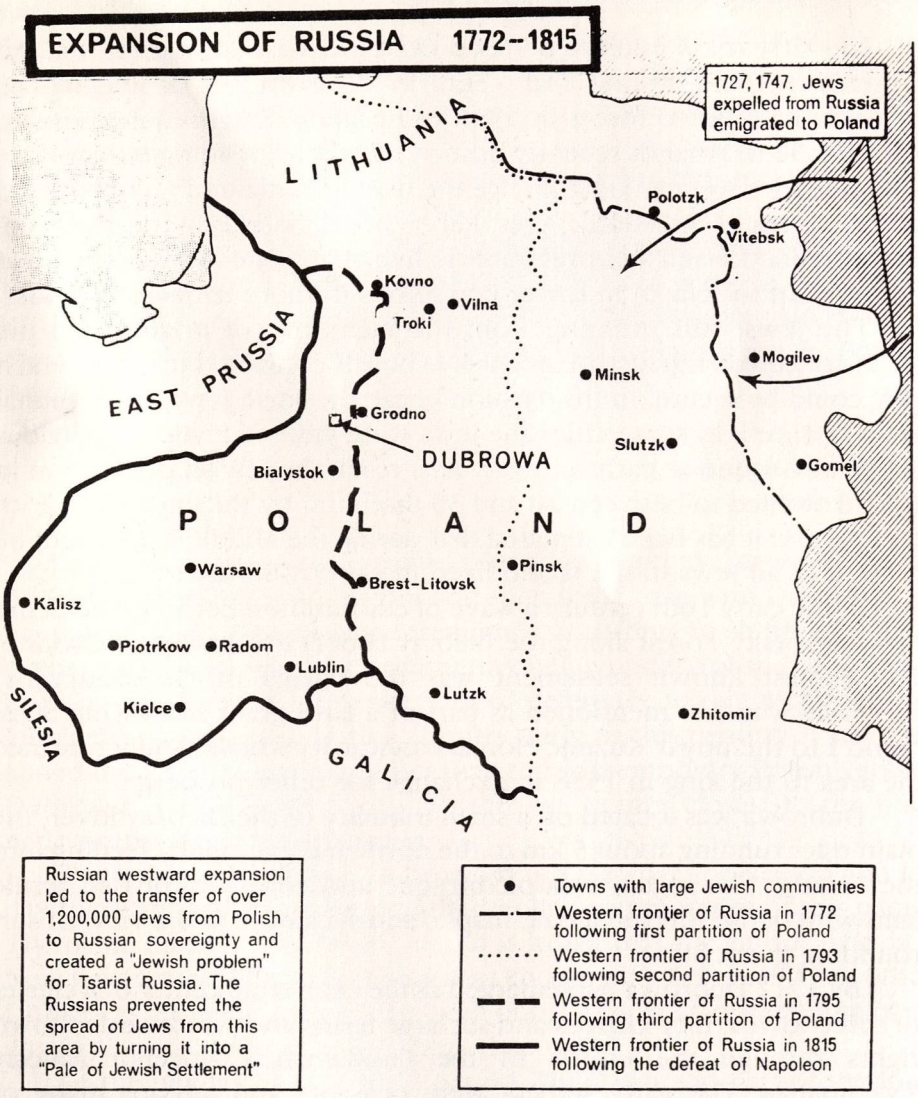
The Jews, still suffering from the memories of pogroms in the West, conceived the idea of an enclave or self-contained town in which they could be secure. In this fashion began the small Jewish communal town or shtetl. In some cities the Jews were granted civil and religious rights, in Grodno as early as 1339. As a result the Jewish population in Poland swelled to between 20 and 30 thousand by the end of the 15th century and it has been estimated that during the Middle Ages about 80 percent of all Jews in the world lived in eastern Europe.

In the early 16th century a wave of colonization began in the dense Nowodworsky Forest along the Biebrzy (Bobr) River west of Grodno. The earliest known settlement was the village of Grodziszczany. Dubrowa was first mentioned as part of a land grant from King Sigismund I to the boyar Kuzmic Horczakowiczowi whose family returned the area to the king in 1558 in exchange for other property.

Dubrowa was located on a small tributary of the Biebrzy River, the main river running about 5 km to the north and eventually feeding into the Vistula. The region was picturesque and consisted of rich fertile land with dense forests of oak, maple, and sycamore and a view of surrounding green hills.

By 1712 Dubrowa had emerged as the economic center of a cluster of three towns, fifty villages and six large farms and was awarded town rights through the efforts of the Lithuanian Chancellor Antony Tyzenhauza. The early settlers were peasants and artisans many of whom collected honey from the forests. Houses were built according to a uniform plan and the inhabitants were given small parcels of land to encourage them to become involved in crafts and commerce. In 1873 Dubrowa was designated as the county seat of the Grodziensky District.

In the last part of the 18th century Poland was divided and then abolished by its enemies Prussia, Austria and Russia. With the third and last partition in 1795 Dubrowa briefly came under Prussian control. This arrangement was short-lived for in 1807 Napolean and Czar Alexander signed the Treaty of Tilsit while on a barge in the middle of the Nieman River. This eliminated the Prussian presence and created the Duchy of Warsaw under Russian domination but with certain concessions made to the historic Polish entity. Dubrowa was located in this Duchy but after Napolean's defeat, the Congress of Vienna in 1815 again altered the political map. The Duchy became the Kingdom of



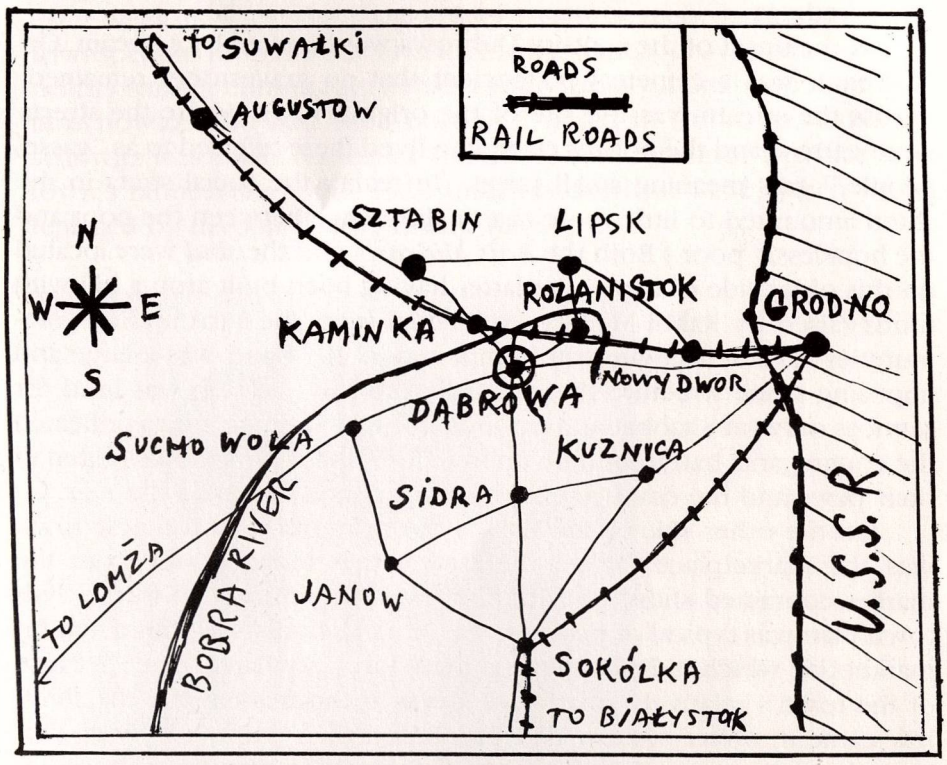
Expansion of Russia, 1772–1815.

Poland ("Congress Poland") but the Bialystock region which included Dubrowa, officially fell under Russian control. With the Russian administrative system of gubernis "Dubrowa" became part of the Sokolka district of Grodziensky (later Grodno) Guberni, the most northwestern of that guberni's four districts.

During this tumultuous period Dubrowa's population grew slowly; in 1799 the town numbered 732 inhabitants and 123 homes, and by 1830 1438 people resided in 207 homes.

It is not my intent to recount in detail the familiar story of the Jews in 19th century Russia. Russia's one million Jews had hailed Alexander I as a liberator when he ascended the throne in 1801. By the time Alexander II was assassinated eighty years later, Jewish fortunes had evolved through several cycles of alternate hope and anguish. Nearly five

million Jews were herded into a restricted territory, the Pale of Settlement, whose size was gradually diminished even as the population swelled. They were banned from professional life, had their educational opportunities restricted, were banished both from the cities and the land, and were conscripted into the army at an early age for twenty-five-year tours of duty. The net result of this disastrous period was that most Jews lived on the edge of poverty, starvation and despair. When Alexander III initiated a policy of one-third conversion, one-third emigration and one-third starvation to deal with "the Jewish question," the great wave of Jewish exodus out of Russia began in earnest.



The vicinity of Dubrowa (drawn by Abraham K. Gusewich in 1982).

JEWISH LIFE IN DUBROWA

When the first Jews settled in Dubrowa is unknown but the 1766 census recorded 406 Jews living in the town. In 1847 a post office and railroad were built and two schools were established, one for Jews and one for Russian ethnics. By 1899 the Jewish population had swelled to 1,499 or 74 percent of the town's total population. Afterwards, although the community apparently was unscathed by pogroms or violence, with western emigration the size of the Jewish population slowly began to decline.

The following account is an amalgam of the memories of several former residents of the town, recorded about sixty years after they had emigrated.

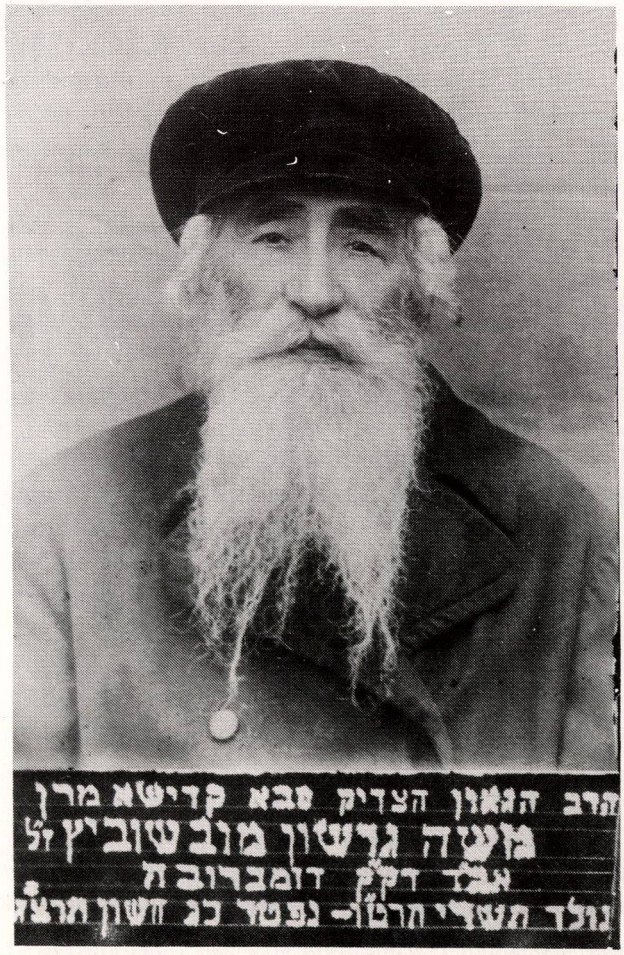
At the onset of the century Dubrowa was bisected by a stream. On one bank was a cemetery so ancient that no gravestones remained. Across the stream was the site of the original town where the streets were narrow and the poorer class who lived there referred to as "gassel people," gass meaning small street. (In reality the social strata in the shtetl amounted to little more than a difference between the poor and the hopelessly poor.) Both the *Bais Midrash* and the *shul* were located on this older side of town, the latter having been built atop a hill with funds raised by Rabbi Menachem Mendel from the surrounding communities. The synagogue was completed in 1874 and was a large and imposing stone structure that according to the tradition was used for services only on Shabbat and on high holy days. Since it was unheated the congregants had to bundle up in winter, the townspeople seated in their pews and the country visitors around large tables in the rear.

On the other side of the stream the focal point of the new town was the marketplace. There the streets that radiated out from the market contained shops and the homes of the more well to do. This town plan was typical of most shtetla. Most business was transacted on market day which in Dubrowa was held only "now and then" because of the town's relatively small size. It was at the market that the *shtetl* Jew came in direct contact with the non-Jewish world of the *goyim*. Here there was an underlying sense of potential danger no matter how friendly and neighborly the interaction might be.

As in all shtetla, life oscillated between shul, home and market. *Yiddishkeit* (Jewishness) and *mentshlikeit* (humaneness) were the two major values of the community. Emigrants from the 1920s recall that the townspeople were "united" and that the older generation were people of character with a stronger commitment to Jewish observance. Before 1900 the *Bais Midrash* (house of study) had been regularly filled, but was progressively less so as the new century began. Still the people retained much of their piety, respected the Shabbat and it was unthinkable for a man to be caught not wearing his *tzitzis*.

Little is known of the Jewish community's early history but certainly its most prominent religious leader was Rabbi Menachem Mendel who lived until about 1895. Rabbi Mendel was considered a *tzaddick*,

perhaps one of the *lamed vav* or thirty-six secret saints thought to be alive in every generation. Although tzaddikism is a term most often associated with hassidism and the name Menachem Mendel was the same as that of several famous early hassidic rabbis, Dubrowa's Rabbi Mendel was traditionally orthodox, the town being under Lithuanian antihassidic (mitnaggedim) influence. It was recorded that in 1858 Rabbi Mendel was involved in work to improve health care along with rabbis from Kovno, Grodno, Lublin and Rotnitza. He was buried in a mausoleum; Jews and gentiles alike visited the site to pray for his blessing. Menachem Mendel was succeeded by a Rabbi BenYamin and then a Rabbi Pomerantz. The latter had a falling out with the kosher butchers and was forced to leave town. Then followed a competition where each week new candidates for Rabbi were screened. Finally, several townspeople took matters into their own hands, drove a wagon to the nearby smaller community of Sidra and virtually kidnapped their Rabbi Moschowitz who had been born and raised in Dubrowa. Rabbi Moschowitz was a well respected individual who remained in office as the town's rabbi from about 1910 until his death in 1932, when he was replaced by his son-in-law, Chaim Katz.



Rabbi Moshe Gershon Movshowitz, Father of the Court (Rabbi of the town) of the Holy Community, Dubrowa. Born: Tishri 5615 (1854), died: Cheshvan 5693 (1932) at the age of 78.

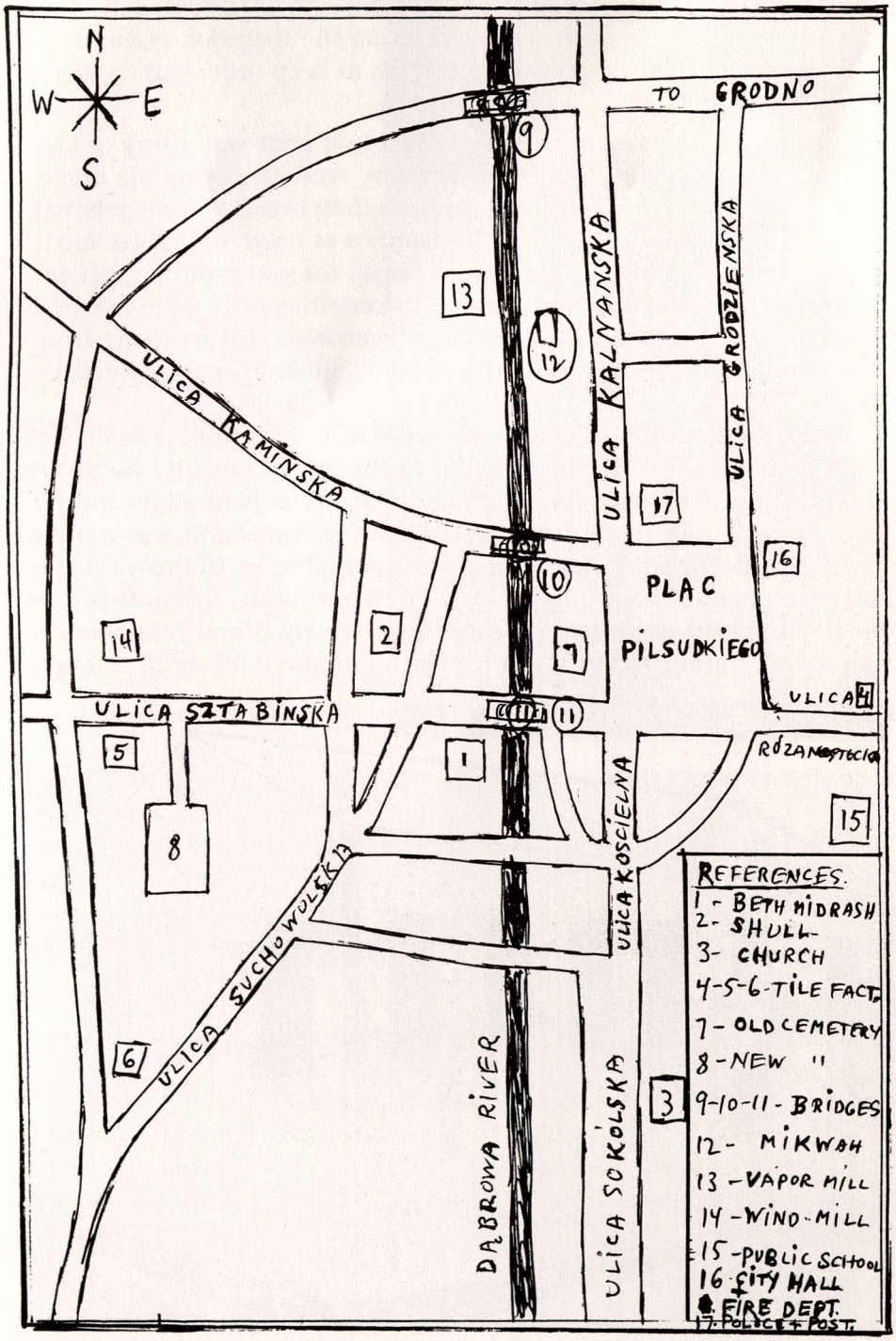
Most of the houses were for one family and consisted of two rooms, a large one in front used as a shop and dining room by day and bedroom at night, and a second smaller room which served as bedroom and kitchen. These were partitioned by a combination baker's oven and cooking/house-warming stove forming a wall nearly to the ceiling. Most families also had a cow shed or stable and managed to acquire a cow for dairy food and a few chickens. They had little land but often an arrangement could be made with a landowning farmer whereby a Jew would provide cow manure and the farmer would prepare the land and apportion a small area for the Jew to plant potatoes and a few other meager crops. Indeed, the Grodno district was famed throughout Russia for its potatoes.

The few wealthier people had larger homes and helped the poor by donating food or clothing. Food was generally adequate and consisted of three meals daily. A cereal-like kashe soup was served for breakfast while lunch might consist of bread, borscht and potatoes. At dinner there was more soup made mostly with beans and grains. An occasional lunch provided herring, and bread and meat was served about three times a week with the soup. For Shabbat almost every Jewish household had, or was provided with, chicken, fish and challah for the traditional meal.

Jewish tradition requires bringing strangers home to share the Shabbat meal and on Friday nights the townspeople would volunteer in turn. Once when there were too many homeless Jews, one boldly asked a congregant who already had invited a guest home to permit him to come also stating that, after all, his stomach "only was the size of a seven-year-old." His reluctant hosts were appalled to find, however, that their extra guest had a voracious appetite. When questioned about this he replied that he had said that it was his stomach that literally was the size of a seven-year-old, not his appetite! Bands of itinerant Jewish beggars were common in the 1920s and well-cared for by the townspeople. The town poor also were provided a Talmud-Torah for their children.

On occasion a travelling troop of actors would visit; once a group from Bialystok performing King Lear in Yiddish had to put on an extra performance in order to meet the popular demand. Dubrowa's townspeople were comparatively well-educated but opportunities for higher education were limited. The nearest Yeshiva was in Sucholka, the county seat, 30 km away. In the early part of this century girls did not receive formal education but learned the prayers and may have taken Hebrew or Russian lessons from private tutors. In the early 1920s, when the public school was established the girls attended too. Public school was compulsory until the age of 14 from 8:00 to 1:00 with the children studying in the afternoon at the Cheder or Talmud Torah. A few good students went on to yeshivot in Grodno or Suchovola. As Anti-Semitism took hold in the schools, the Jewish community established a Tarbut Jewish Day School that was privately financed and certified by the Polish Board of Education.

Graduate education was officially limited by a quota system and for professional training a Jew would have to leave the country to study in Germany, Switzerland or other European countries. As a result the town did not have a Jewish doctor until a Dr. Rosenthal in the 1920s.



Map of Dubrowa (drawn by Abraham K. Gusewich).

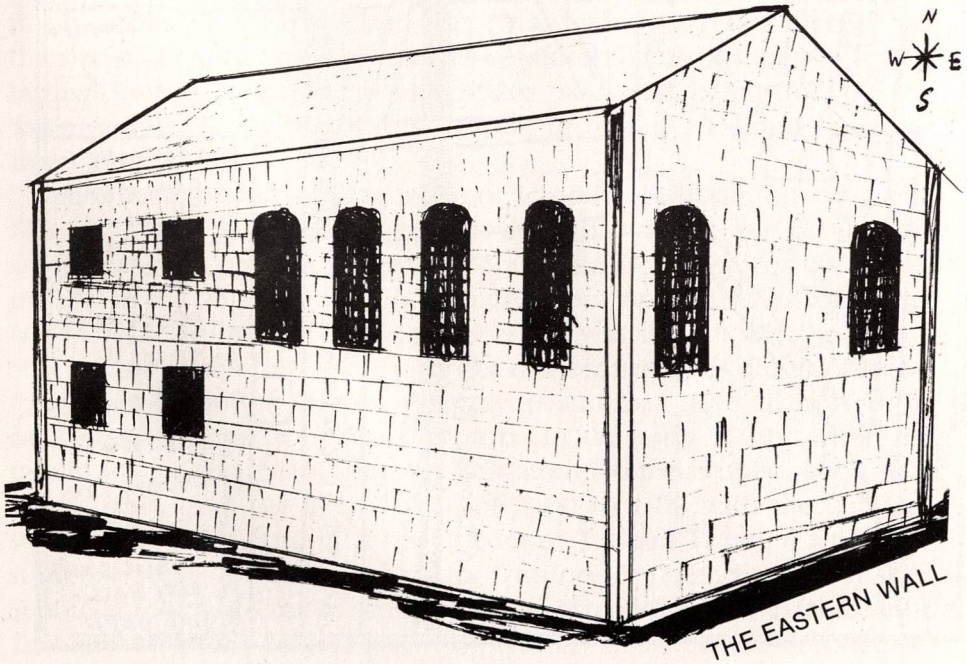
The town lacked a hospital until World War I when the Germans, responding to an epidemic of typhus, converted the Jewish-Russian school for this purpose. Very sick patients usually were sent to Grodno or Warsaw.

There was one policeman and a sergeant and on occasion the county prefect from Sucholka would ride through the district in his carriage equipped with a bell. In 1906, during the Bialystok pogroms, a troop of soldiers was stationed in the town to keep order and to watch for socialist uprisings.

The Russian government was corrupt and graft was a way of life. This included smuggling tea from Germany without paying the excise tax or, more importantly, bribing the local draft board. If an unmarried son failed to appear for the draft, his family was fined 300 rubles and if unable to pay, their possessions were put up for sale at public auction.

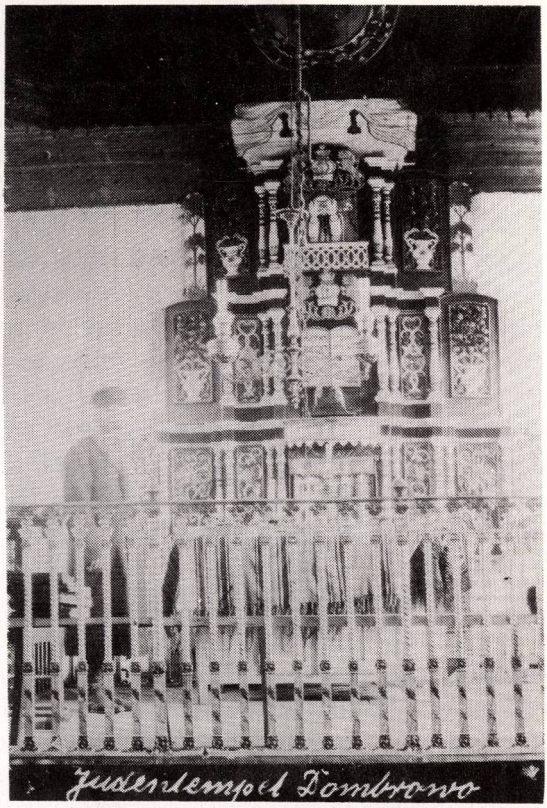
During the late 18th and early 19th centuries Jews were not permitted to work for the local government even in menial positions. Ironically though, all of the local government buildings were owned by Jews.

Until the twentieth century no railroad connections existed between Dubrowa and Grodno 30 km. to the east. Travel by horsecart was slow and uncomfortable and necessitated frequent stops at inns. Grodno had a tobacco industry and textile factories and was a place where girls could find employment not available in Dubrowa. Later when the railroad was built, there were two stations, Rozanistok and Kaminka, located in outlying villages respectively 3 and 5 kilometers from town. During World War I a garrison of about 15 or 20 German



The Synagogue of Dubrowa (drawn by Abraham K. Gusewich)

soldiers was stationed in Dubrowa. One of their priorities was to keep the railroad operational and many Jewish men were pressed into labor to maintain the tracks, walking several kilometers out of town each morning and working twelve-hour shifts.



Ark of the Dubrowa Synagogue.



Farming in Dubrowa, 1916. Town church is in background.

BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

The serene shtetl life had been relatively unaffected by World War I. In fact, some Jews welcomed the Germans as liberators from tsarist tyranny. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 took Russia out of the war and the next few years were confusing times as prisoners from both the east and the west travelled through town and the political situation was unstable. When the Germans withdrew from Poland they were first replaced by the Russians who, in turn, were pushed back eastward during the Russo-Polish War of 1920-21. During this period the border fluctuated, but by 1921 Dubrowa, for the first time in 120 years, again lay clearly within Polish territory. Soon afterwards the marketplace was named to honor modern Poland's first President, Joseph Pilsudsky.

The emergence of the new Poland was celebrated by pogroms in 130 places and the Jews now found themselves in the midst of conflicts between the Poles and respectively the Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Bolsheviks. This period was marked by antisemitism, looting and rioting and an intensive drive to oust Jews from industry and commerce. Although antisemitism was a historic feature of Polish life, it was not official government policy. Nonetheless, policy clearly favored ethnic Poles at the expense of Jewish interests.

The smaller communities were relatively insulated so that traditional interactions between Jews and peasants were still operative; a symbiotic relationship existed based on mutual need rather than affection. Yet, many Dubrowa youth left at this time fearing conscription into the Polish army as well as the possibility of pogroms. The 1921 census recorded 1218 Jews in Dubrowa out of a total of 3014 with about 300 Jewish families. In the town itself Jews constituted about 90% of the population, the census figure including the gentiles of the surrounding villages as well. Passage of America's first immigration laws in 1921 ef-



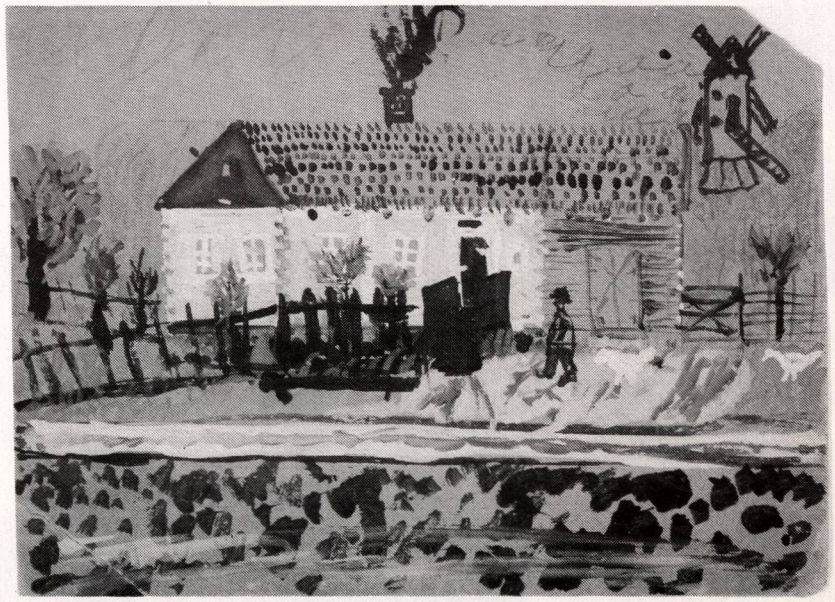
The weekly Dubrowa Horse Fair, c. 1920s.

fectively closed "the golden door" and, as a result, emigration during the 1920s and 1930s was much reduced and became oriented toward South America, Cuba and Palestine with only about 10% of Polish Jews now going to the United States.

The social fabric did not begin to unravel substantially until the mid-1930s. At this time there were close to 1500 Jews out of the municipality's total population of 3550. The town contained 82 artisan's shops, 76 other stores, and three tile factories as well as several brick factories in the vicinity.

Abraham Gusewich, born in 1915, found it relatively easy to emigrate in February 1937 since he was a yeshiva student in Grodno who could apply for further study abroad. He recalls the following:

> "In the early 1930s emigration stopped and the population remained fairly stable. It was a period of relative prosperity for Dubrowa and the city underwent a series of improvements. Most of the streets were paved and framed by sidewalks; the main streets were lined by rows of trees. A daily bus service and a delivery truck service were established to Grodno, Sokolka, Augustow, and to Warsaw through Lomza. The municipality built a river embankment to contain floods. There was also an expansion of business activity. Two banks were established, one commercial and the other a savings and loan. The regional market started to meet twice a week, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and a cattle market was instituted on the outskirts of town. Medical and dental care improved with two physicians and a dentist serving the community. Cultural facilities also expanded. A public library opened with books in Yiddish, Hebrew and Polish. Various Jewish youth organizations developed local chapters such as the Young Pioneers (Ahalutz Atzair) and the Betar. These were zionist groups



Painting, c. 1922, by Meyer Cooper made shortly after he immigrated to the United States. The family house is depicted with stable attached to one side, and chickens and windmill.



A cheder group in Dubrowa, including teachers, rabbis and students, c. 1930s.

but took no extreme positions either religious or socialist (Bund). This zionist presence was reinforced by the Moshava, a regional branch of the Poaleh Zion, which ran a two-year school to train immigrants to Palestine. It had 25–30 young adults, mainly out-of-towners, from the surrounding areas."



A Dubrowa windmill.

Another émigré, Mrs. Rena Schlachter Holstein, born Dubrowa 1915, recalls that the German invasion of Poland broke out as she was sailing to the United States. As a teenager she was active in various zionist youth organizations so that her morale was relatively good despite the worsening conditions throughout Poland. She witnessed several relatively minor pogroms in 1938 and in February 1939. These were not spontaneous demonstrations but were officially inspired, attested to by the fact that the next day business in the market resumed as usual between the town's Jewish and gentile populations. The pogroms were conducted primarily by drunken farmhands from the surrounding countryside who hurled rocks, broke windows, scattered feathers from pillows, tossed furniture around, and terrorized the people but without causing major damage or killing. Many gentiles expressed sympathy and a few helped by hiding Jewish children during these violent times.



Mausoleum of Rabbi Menachem Mendel in the Dubrowa Cemetery.

TWO SURVIVORS RECALL THE HOLOCAUST

On January 26, 1982 I had the good fortune to meet two of the last survivors of the Holocaust period in Dubrowa. Four others had escaped just before the final German invasion and had lived as partisans in the forests or in Russia. Sonia Grabinsky Lefkowitz was the only survivor of the few who had remained in Dubrowa during the German occupation of 1941–1942 and miraculously escaped the Treblinka death camp. Eliezer Kuszes was taken out of Dubrowa by the Russians as they evacuated during the Blitzkrieg of June 21, 1941.

The Grabinsky and Kuszes families were affluent merchants before the war. In 1941 Sonia was nineteen and lived with her parents and sister, already having studied for 4 years in Grodno. Eliezer was forty and worked in his family's business which exported wheat and grain and imported sugar, vodka, and textiles. After the war they each worked their way by circuitous routes to Israel where they now live within a mile of each other near Tel Aviv. In 1980 Sonia was brought to the United States to serve as a witness against a former Ukrainian guard at Treblinka known as "Ivan the Terrible" who was on trial in Cleveland. In 1982 she will retire after 27 years working at a branch of Yad Vashem.



Hava Lametowsky, a relative of Sonia Grabinsky, at the family cemetery plot in Dubrowa, c. 1932.

The following is their account of the events of 1939–1944 extracted from interviews in which my Israeli cousins translated from Hebrew:

The war broke out on September 1, 1939. Initially, about 10 German soldiers occupied the town but within two weeks the area was turned over to their then allies, the Russians. At first no Russian troops

were stationed in Dubrowa and two pogroms by the Polish villagers were narrowly averted. When it was learned that a mob was approaching the town with sacks and knives, Eliezer, his brother Yisrael (who participated later in the Bialystok ghetto revolt) and a few town youths, who had served in the Polish army and had pistols, organized themselves. Eliezer knew some of the hoodlums and called to them by name. He told them that they had been good neighbors and should be helping the Jews and not robbing them. The villagers were convinced and left the town, but the next day another group approached and this time were dissuaded by Dubrowa's priest who had been appealed to by Rabbi Katz and the town elders. Realizing their peril, a group of communist youths rode their bicycles 30 kilometers to the east and implored the Russian Commissar for help. He dispatched a few tanks to the town to maintain order.

The Russian occupation lasted about two years during which major changes were imposed on the economic, social and political life of the Jews although without violence. The Zionist-oriented Tarbut school was closed but the older Jews were permitted to pray as before. Merchandise from the local stores was expropriated and food distribution centers established. The local communist organization was assigned responsibility for the town's economic life but most of these men were uneducated. As a result, the party members who knew Eliezer Kuszes to have been friendly in previous trade relations, told him "you're not one of us but we need you to manage the stores. If not, we'll send you to Siberia." Eliezer consented and apparently the Russians were satisfied with his management. In his new capacity Eliezer was able to intervene and save many Jews from the secret police.

On June 21, 1941, while at work Eliezer heard what sounded like an approaching storm. He went outside and on discovering that the town was being shelled, took shelter in the basement. This was the start of the German Blitzkrieg but the Russians were instructed not to return the fire. They had provided Eliezer with a truck and now in panic insisted that he accompany them as they fled to Bialystok. Eliezer was unable to contact his family and was never to see them again. With the invasion underway there was chaos on the roads. Many Jews were running to the west but were advised by the Russians to turn around. When they arrived in Bialystok it too was being bombed and was filled with smoke. The Russians were instructed to withdraw to Minsk still under orders not to fire upon the approaching enemy.

A few days before the German invasion, the Grabinskys and another Jewish family, the Skibelskys, along with several gentile families were deported by train to Siberia, accused of being capitalists (the Grabinskys were in the lumber business). The train was stopped by heavy German bombing near the border at Stolpze. A German pincer movement quickly captured the area and after several days the party was permitted to return to Dubrowa, the two Jewish families on foot. Sonia went ahead, anxious to see what had befallen the town and her grandparents. Alone, she walked about 300 kilometers, sleeping in

fields and taking refuge in farm houses. She arrived back in Dubrowa about a week after the Germans had left. Apparently when the German army reached Dubrowa they had found the body of a slain German officer. Their revenge was swift, burning down the entire town. Only two small stone houses on the edge of town and a partially destroyed church were still standing. In the next days a few of the former residents began to return. Sonia's grandparents had gone to Suchovola but there the Jews were herded into the city square surrounded by German soldiers, some were thrown into the river to drown, and the others divested of all their belongings before being permitted to return to Dubrowa. About 300 Jews lived under desperate conditions in Dubrowa until May, 1942. They found refuge wherever they could in huts or in storage basements but were starving, frozen and forced to do hard labor by the town's five German policemen and civil guard. In May 1942 it was announced that the older Jews must go to the Suchovola ghetto leaving about 200 of the younger ones behind in Dubrowa. These were placed in a single building which had been built by the Russians and remained there until November 1942. The Germans provided some food prepared in large cauldrons but although the Jewish population was forced to continue heavy labor, there still was no extreme cruelty in Dubrowa during this period.

All this ended however, in November 1942 with the beginning of the "Final Solution" initiated by the SS. The Jewish population was forced to run most of the 28 kilometers to Grodno where they were placed in the Kelbashin camp previously used for Russian prisoners of war. The Jews knew that they were being taken to their death but were unable to escape, any who stopped being immediately shot. The Bialystok district contained over 400,000 Jews who were concentrated in 5 such assembly camps. The Jews of Dubrowa remained there for nearly 6 weeks before the final trip to Treblinka. Treblinka was one of the camps specially designed by the Nazi "death technicians" for mass extermination. The train ride was a nightmare with between 5,000 and 6,000 people packed into cattle cars, hundreds dying every day of the transit. On arrival at Treblinka there was calculated tumult and confusion and families were separated. The people were prepared immediately for extermination and were told to remove their clothes. Suddenly, for an unknown reason, Sonia and one other girl were instructed by a German officer to follow him, were given new clothes and separated from the others who were taken directly to the gas chambers. She had been selected to work in the laundry provided for Treblinka's several hundred Ukrainian guards. Twenty-five girls lived in one small barracks room for the next nine months.

Then, on August 2nd, 1943, a courageous group of prisoners turned on their executioners, killed them and burned the camp with about 600 escaping into the surrounding forest. Most were soon recaptured but Sonia was among the few who ran out of the camp and was able to hide and evade the German search parties for one year until the camp

was liberated by the Russian army on August 9th, 1944. She often was surrounded and almost discovered, but would lie on the earth covered with leaves, her heart pounding so loud that she thought it would be heard. After the war it was estimated that only about 40 people survived out of over 800,000 brought to Treblinka.

Just after the liberation, Sonia returned to Treblinka where she was interviewed by Russian journalists. Her story and photograph were published in the "Red Star," the official Soviet army newspaper. Soon afterwards Sonia was found freezing and in rags by a Russian soldier and brought to headquarters because she looked "suspicious." There she was interrogated by a high officer who happened to be Jewish. He recognized her name from the shocking newspaper story and arranged to have her returned to Dubrowa by train. When Sonia asked "How can I thank you?," he replied, "Just be a good citizen of Russia."

On returning to Dubrowa Sonia found that a Polish man was building a house on the site of her family's prior residence. She was taken in by a friendly Polish family and stayed for the winter of 1944. The other Polish families, however, were not sympathetic and did not return items that had been given them for safekeeping by her parents. In the spring Sonia made her way to the west and eventually arrived in Israel in 1946.

Eliezer Kuszes remained in Russia throughout the war and was unable to return to Dubrowa until 1946. When he arrived he found that everything had been burned, the cemetery destroyed and plowed over, and that virtually no stone was left on another. A Christian neighbor advised him that if he wanted to survive he should flee immediately since a 23-year-old Jewish youth, David Weinstein, who had survived the war as a partisan was killed by the Polish natives when he had returned to town. Eliezer remained only a few hours in Dubrowa. Later he was able to escape along with two of his sister's small children who now also are living in Israel.

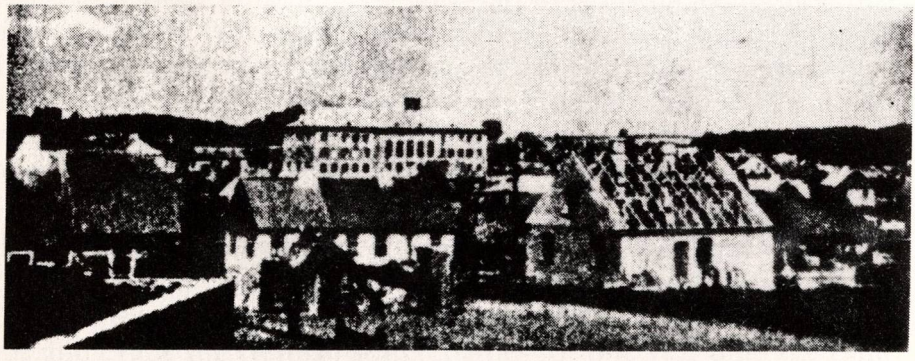
AFTERMATH

The precise number of Jews killed in Dubrowa is uncertain. One postwar catalog of destroyed Jewish communities estimated (based on the last prewar census) that 1,500 Jews from Dubrowa were killed during the Holocaust. Later, the survivors in Israel recalled the names of 232 families but acknowledged that their memory was imperfect. These names were registered at Yad Vashem. Polish sources estimated that only 500 Poles from Dubrowa survived the war. A Nazi source listed over 43,000 Jews from the Grodno district, half from the neighboring towns, who were sent to the death camps.

It has been estimated that over 90 percent of Poland's prewar population of 3 million Jews were liquidated. Although the postwar population temporarily was swelled by an influx of repatriated Russian Jews, soon officially sanctioned pogroms made it clear that there was no future for the Jews in Poland. In 1980 only about 5,000 Jews remained in the country, mostly located in Warsaw. The city of Bialystok, which had numbered about 47,000 Jews in 1895 and 20,000 just before World War II, by the end of the war had only about 1,000 left in its entire province. Personal accounts of Jewish visitors indicated that this number dwindled to 15 elderly survivors in 1970 and none in 1975.

A former resident visited Dubrowa in 1960 and found few surviving relics except the telephone poles. The synagogue had been leveled and the remains of the *Bais Midrash* converted to a gasoline station. The town had lost its city rights in 1950 but the community of Poles began to clear its ruins and to rebuild so that city rights were restored in 1964. In 1956 governmental reorganization created the county of Dabrowa Bialystocka with Dabrowa as the county seat. The region slowly revived as an agricultural center, the town's population in 1961 being listed as 1,600 in a county of 37,000. A new railroad line was built in 1964 and the town center rebuilt with a park surrounded by new government buildings. A number of social, health and cultural institutions also had been developed.

An article in a communist magazine published in 1967 extolled the wisdom and benevolence of the agricultural trade cooperatives in



General view of postwar Dubrowa, c. 1960 (now Dabrowa Bialystocka).

Dabrowa. It darkly noted, however, that the town had its "detractors" and that the horse fairs which for many years had been held each Tuesday and were the source of the town's local reputation now were declining in popularity. The country's youth were no longer interested in the kind of commercial exchange that traditionally had been provided at the fairs that were in danger of being discontinued. Events of the next decade were to prove that Poland's agriculture shared in the catastrophic general economic decline.

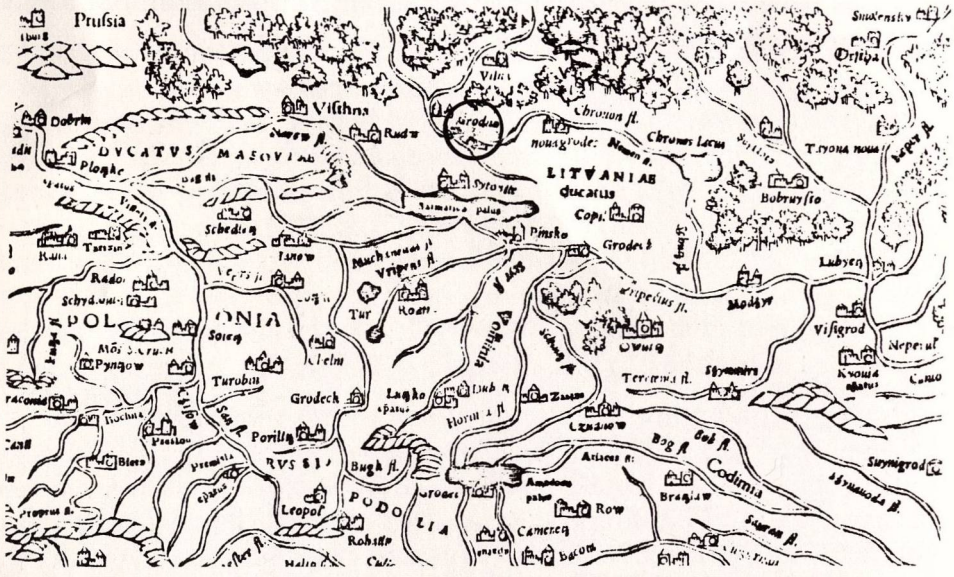
Today, roads no longer cross the Russian border and the town is cut off from Grodno, its former neighbor. Inquiries to various Polish agencies have failed to elicit any more specific information, but it is a foregone conclusion that no Jews still live in the area.



1980 map of Poland shows no roads crossing the Russian border to Grodno.

GRODNO

Grodno, Dubrowa's nearest large city, was the second oldest Jewish community in Lithuania, then loosely united with Poland. In 1389 the Jews were granted a charter giving them certain civil and religious rights including a synagogue and cemetery. Although one of the five principal Lithuanian Jewish communities, Grodno always was a poor region with little industry or commerce. However, it was a religious and cultural center, the site of the first Hebrew publishing house in Lithuania (1789) and the home of several prominent Hassidic rabbis.



An early woodcut (1561) by the German cartographer Sebastian Munster shows Grodno situated on the Neman River. This map was derived from an earlier version made in 1526.

In 1805 a German tourist who visited the Grodno area found it to be impoverished and remarked on the influx of Jews into the area in the wake of the recent Polish partition. He made numerous anti-Semitic remarks, but acknowledged that "among all the beauties of Poland, those (women) among the Jews bear away the palm; some of whom might have animated the pencil of an Appeles, a Venus of Medicis, or a Guido for a Madonna." He also found that the Jews had "a greater degree of cultivation than the Polish middle classes" and that although the towns were still desolated from the recent wars, the Poles were well satisfied with their new Russian masters.

Seven years later in 1812, the southern flank of Napolean's army, headed by Napolean's inept brother Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia and Saxony, swept northeast from Bialystok to Grodno. No important battles were fought in this area but some of these Prussian troops later settled in the towns, helped to establish the textile industry in Bialystok, and may have brought the first breath of the Enlightenment to the region.

TRAVELS

FROM

ST. PETERSBURGH

THROUGH

MOSCOW, GRODNO, WARSAW, BRESLAW, &c.

TO

GERMANY;

IN THE YEAR 1805:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY G. REINBECK.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

On the other hand, in the Moscow districts, the accommodations for travellers are still more wretched, and equally so in the newly acquired provinces of Minsk and Grodno, which retain altogether their Polish aspect.

This country may, in truth, be denominated the land of Jews, whose number is here incalculable. Every town, as it is called, every village, every public house and mill, is inhabited by Jews, who are, as it is said, daily repairing with their families to this part. They carry on a most abominable system of usury, and meet with a powerful protection from the officers of the crown, with whom they share the plunder. The country groans under the weight of this oppression. Every means of living are engrossed by people of this nation, whose only object is the bare accumulation of money, without extending its circulation. The Jews are here masters. the Russians and Poles their slaves.

Title page and part of text from G. Reinbeck's *Travels from St. Petersburgh to Germany in the Year 1805.*

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

The Jewish immigrants to the United States formed *landsmanshaftn* or lodges made up of persons coming from the same town or district. These organizations served many purposes; as mutual aid or benevolent societies they enabled the immigrants to adapt to the new way of life and offered security, friendship, sickness and death benefits and financial aid. By 1914, New York had over five hundred *landsmanshaftn* and the number continued to grow until the 1930s when the first generation of immigrants began to move away or to die off.

The Chevra Bnei Rabbi Menachem Mendel Anshei Dubrowa was formed on March 25, 1892) the first President being Harry Bloom. The Society was named after the community's tzaddik and the membership grew throughout the early years of the century. The original immigrants had worked twelve hours a day or more, seven days a week, and lived in walk-ups on the lower East Side. A synagogue was purchased on Georgia Avenue in Brooklyn in 1920. The vitality of the organization declined after World War II. In 1955 there were about 200 family members, but by the 1980s membership had fallen to about 85, mostly widows. Because of a deteriorating neighborhood the synagogue was sold in 1968. Society members and their families are buried in three cemeteries, Mount Judah and Washington in Brooklyn and Beth David in Elmont, Queens.

Chevra Bnei Rabbi Menachem Mendel Anshei Dubrowa Inc.
Congregation Sons of Menachem Mendel
חברה בני ר' מנחם מענדיל אנשי דוברוווע

Organized March 25, 1892



Community cemetery plot for Chevra Bnei Menachem Mendel Anshei Dubrowa in Elmont, Queens, New York.

Banquet & Dance

given by

Chevra B'nai Menachem Mendel

Anshei Dubrowa

on Sunday Afternoon March 18, 1934

4 P.M. at the

Temple Auditorium

251 Rochester Avenue cor. Lincoln Place, Brooklyn

Dinner to be served at 6 P.M. sharp

$3.50 per couple — Entertainment

Third Annual Dance

Tendered By

Chevra Bnei Rab Menachem Mendel Anshei Dubrowa

Ladies Auxiliary Ubikur Cholim

and Young Folks League

Proceeds for Passover Relief Fund

Sunday Evening, February 23, 1936, at 6 P. M.

at Premier Palace

505 Sutter Avenue — Brooklyn, N. Y.

Subscription 49c

חברה בני ר׳ מנחם מענדיל אנשי דובראָווע

PHILIP SIDRANSKY, Pres. — **Samuel Sidransky, Rec. Sec'y**

ווערטהע שווועסטער און ברידער:

זונטאָג, דעם 19טען מאי, 1968, 2:00 נ.מ., וועלען מיר האָבען דעם לעצטען מיטינג אין אונזער שוהל. אויפן טאגעס אָרדנונג וועט פאָרקומען.

1. א דיסקוסיע פון דער חברה׳ס צוקונפט. 2. די פייערונג פון צדיק׳ס יארצייט. 3. דער לעצטער מיטינג פון סעזאָן. מיר בעטען אייך דרינגענד, מאכט אן אָנשטרייַנגנוג און קומט, העלפט אונז שליכטען די אומאנגענעמע לאגע.

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

SUNDAY, MAY 19th, 1968, at 2:00 P.M., we will meet for the last time at our Synagogue. The agenda will include:

1. A discoussion of the Society's future. 2. The celebration of the Tzadik's Yarzeit. 3. The last meeting of the season. We urge you, pelase make every effort to come, to help us resolve our present difficult situation.

Dance and meeting notices of the Chevra Bnei Rabbi Menachem Anshel Dubrowa.



Testimonial banquet to Mr. Harry Rosen at the 45th Anniversary of Chevra Bnei Menachem Mendel Anshei Dubrowa, March 1934.


JAXEY
AND HIS
MUSIC
21
Capitol Studios,
372 Sutter Avenue,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

IRGUN JOTZEI DOMBROWA N/GRODNO

On January 12, 1957 twenty-eight former Dubrowa residents in Israel led by Eliezer Kuszes and Sonia Grabinsky Lefkowitz organized the society "Irgun Jotzei Dombrowa n/Grodno." They memorialized the town's martyrs by planting 5000 trees in the Jerusalem Forest and for many years met annually to say *yiskor* for their lost community. In 1982 seventeen of the original group were still living.

ארגון יוצאי דומברובה ע"י גרודנה

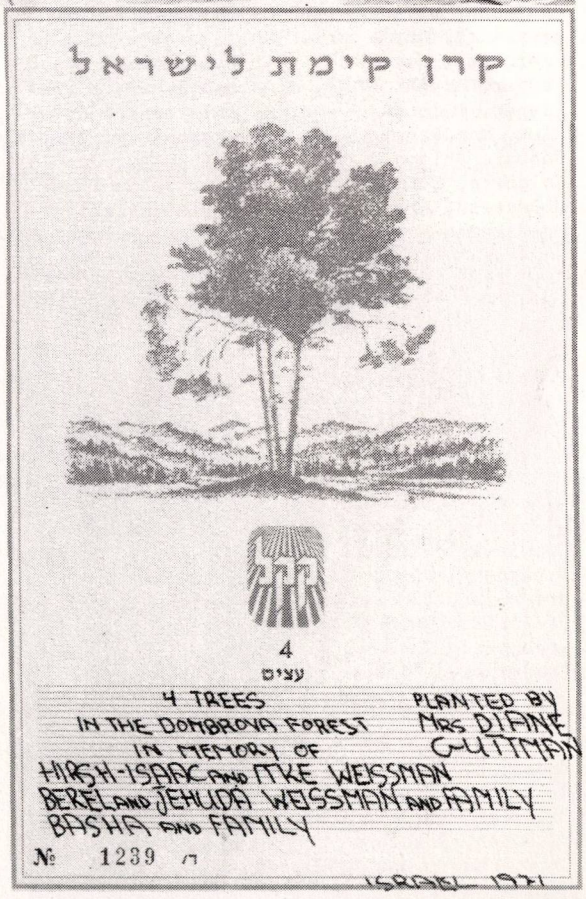
Irgun Jotzei Dombrowa n/Grodno

Letterhead of the Irgun Jotzei Dombrowa n/Grodno.



Mr. and Mrs. Eliezer Kuszes are shown at the Martyrs' Forest, 1967.

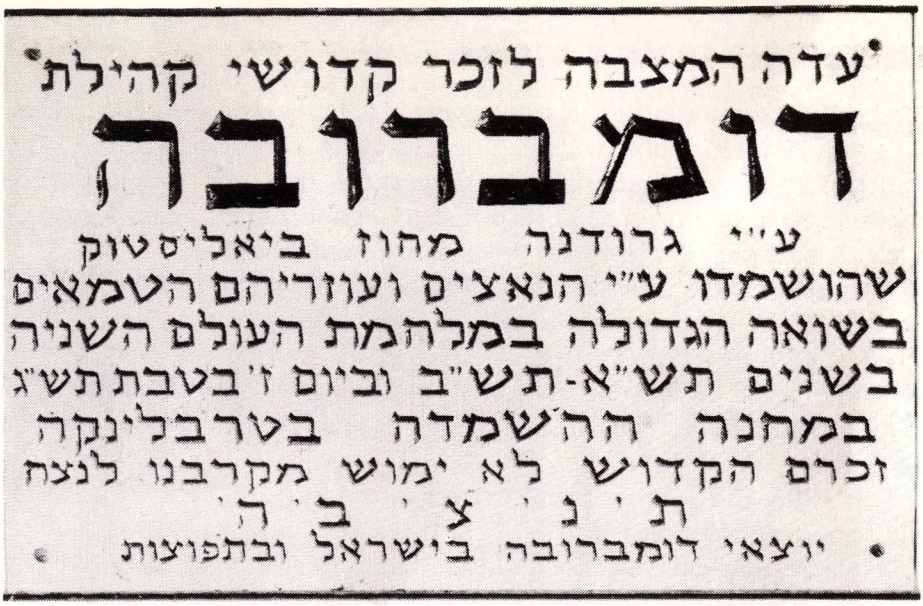




Entrance to Martyrs Forest Shrine (top) and Certificate for purchase of memorial trees (bottom).

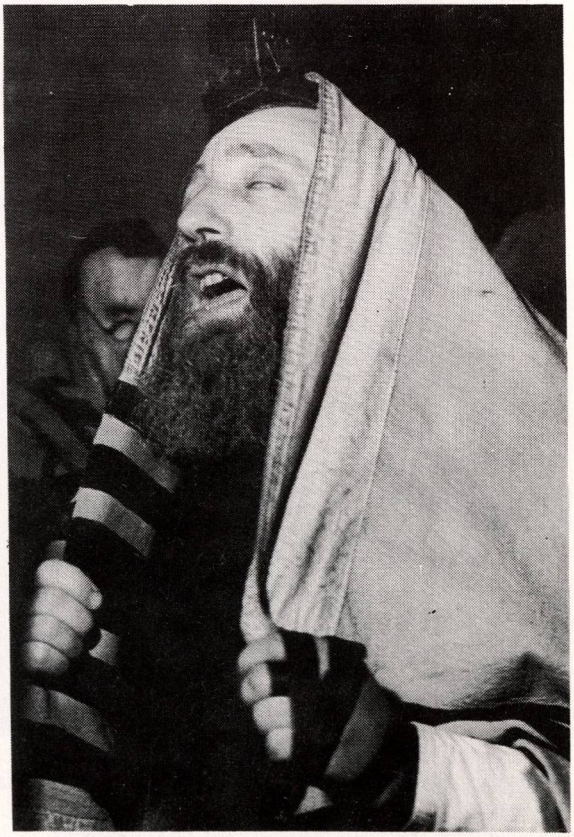
This list of Dubrowa's holocaust victims includes the heads of families as well as widows and unmarried people. The list is incomplete since it was compiled from memory by survivors in Israel years after the war. These names are registered at Yad Vashem.

Baknovinsky, Krish
Bialy, Moshe
Blumenthal, Moshe
Borack, Nissan
Bornstein, Meyer
Braun, Yakov
Chapnik, David
Charlap, Yakov
Chasin, Shoshka
Chinsky, ?
Dombrowsky, Aryeh
Dombrowsky, Yehudah
Dombrowsky, Zeide
Drucker, Avraham
Drucker, Yakov
Drucker, Zev
Effron, Avraham
Eleengorn, Sonia
Epelbaum, David
Ezerowitz, Aryeh
Ezerowitz, Meyer
Farber, Aryeh
Farber, Eliezer
Fluk, Mordechai
Gabbai, Shlomo
Goldberg, Eliezer
Goldstein, Aryeh
Goldstein, Eliahu
Goldstein, Yosef
Gornitzky, Dov
Gozlocheny, Feigel
Grabinsky, Avraham
Grabinsky, Benjamin
Grabinsky, David
Grabinsky, Dov
Grabinsky, Grenem
Grabinsky, Itzhak
Grabinsky, Lazer
Grabinsky, Mendel
Grabinsky, Shimon
Grabinsky, Shmuel
Greenberg, David
Greenblat, Eliezer
Greenblat, Yoshua
Greenblat, Kalman
Grodzinsky, Sander
Grodzinsky, Avraham
Grossman, Mendel
Grossman, Meyer Zvi
Grossman, Mordechai
Grossman, Moshe
Gusewich, Aaron
Gusewich, Mordechai
Katz, Chayim David (Rabbi)
Kaplan, Hayeh
Kaplan, Yacov
Kaplan, Yosef
Kaplan, Leah
Kaplan, Moshe
Kaplan, Yehezkel
Kaplan, Zev
Kaplinsky, Moshe
Kapulsky, Avraham
Kapulsky, Yosef
Kapulsky, Yikotiel
Kawer, Avraham
Kramer, ?
Kreer, Shmuel
Kruglansky, Ezra
Kruglinsky, Mordechai
Krupinsky, Chaya
Krupinsky, Gedalia
Krupinsky, Moshe Aaron
Krupinsky, Moshe Haskel
Krupinsky, Reuven
Krupinsky, Zalman
Kurlandsky, Bezalel
Kurlandsky, Fanny
Kuszes, Avraham
Kuszes, Mordechai
Kuszes, Ezriel
Kuszner, Eliahu
Labezowsky, Michael
Labezowsky, Noach
Lamtowsky, Miriam
Lazarowitz, Aryeh
Lazrovitch, Yisrael
Leipunsky, Dov
Lev, Yechiel
Levine, Ariel
Levine, Avraham Ezra
Levine, Altar
Levine, Chayrash
Levine, Dov
Levine, Yisrael
Levine, Yoel
Levine, Moshe
Levine, Sarah
Leyzshka, ?
Machechowsky, Shimon
Machechowsky, Shlomo
Mali, Moshe
Mali, Zev
Matlovsky, Alter
Matlovsky, Chayim
Matlovsky, Zev
Mazur, Chaya
Mazur, Lazar
Mazur, Mendel
Mazur, Riva
Melachowitz, Moshe
Melachowitz, Rachel
Mendel, Olyan
Midnitzky, ?
Perla, Chaya
Piser, Sodek
Pozniak, Aaron
Pozniak, Moshe
Pragmonick, Daniel
Ribach, Chayim
Ribach, Moshe
Ribach, Rifka
Rosenthal, Chaim
Rosenthal, David Meyer
Rosenthal, Yisrael
Rosenthal, Yakov
Rosenthal, Menashe
Rosenthal, Nahum
Rothenberg, Dov
Rozidransky, Yisrael
Rozidransky, Shraga
Saltzman, Ziska
Salvi, Yakov
Shlachter, Aaron Shmuel
Shtabinsky, Leah
Skibelsky, Avraham
Skolnitzky, ?
Sulak, Shmuel
Sulak, Zvi
Sulkin, Aryah
Sulkin, Chayim
Sunshine, Zaydl
Tarlovsky, Gershon
Tarlovsky, Yacov
Tarlovsky, Zvi
Tomashinsky, Menachem
Toper, Shimon
Toper, Zvi
Torn, Aryah
Vayuditz, Bat Sheva
Weissman, Benjamin
Weissman, Itzak
Weissman, Yehudah
Weissman Zvi Isaac
Weinstein, Avraham
Weinstein, Yisrael
Weinstein, Shraga
Weinstein, Yekotiel
Wilenski, Leah
Wilenski, Moshe
Wilenski, Zeev
Wolkow, Avraham
Wolkow, Chaim Itzak
Wolkow, Ephraim
Wolkow, Frieda
Wolkow, Nahma
Wolkow, Pessia
Yadlin, Moshe
Yalin, Marim
Yanowsky, Avraham
Yaroshevsky, Eli
Yaroshevsky, Enoch
Yaroshevsky, Shimon
Yaroshevsky, Shlomo
Yaroshevsky, Zev
Yitram, Itzak
Yitram, Reuven
Zaban, Benjamin
Zaban, Chayim
Zaban, Reuben
Zilberblat, Yisrael
Zilberblat Yosef
Zilberblat, Shimon Mendel
Others: The Chazzan
Itzak the Shammash
Yosef the Butcher
Michael the Driver
Mirsky the Schochet
Yakov the Sofer



From a plaque at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. The inscription reads:

"This memorial is for the martyrs of the community of Dombrowa who were exterminated by the Nazis and their helpers in the Holocaust of World War II and the extermination camp in Treblinka. Their sacred memory will not depart from us forever. The people of Dombrowa in Israel and the Diaspora."



Photograph by Roman Vishniac (1947). A man says *Kaddish* for his dead wife and seven children killed in the Holocaust.

THE NEVINS FAMILY STORY

The author's grandfather, Hyman Nevins (Chatzkel Joseph Neviadomsky) was born in Dubrowa on June 19, 1878. Neviadomsky, roughly translated, means "unknown" suggesting that an unimaginative ancestor became flustered in response to a government agent's inquiry when it became necessary for Jews to take family names.

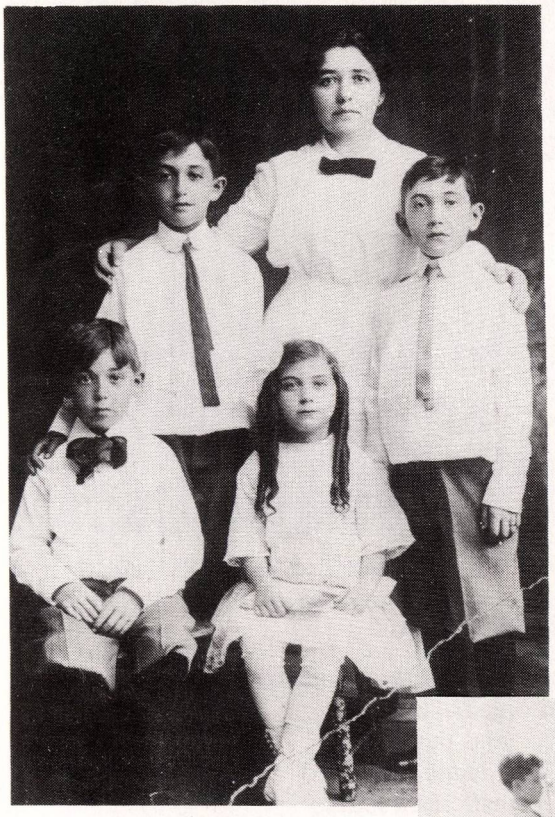
Hyman's father, Nissan, was a peddler who died when his son was twelve. When Hyman went to *shul* to say *kaddish*, he met Celia Zaban who was three months younger and also saying *kaddish* for her mother, Freda. Celia's father, Moishe Aaron, and her paternal grandfather, Joshua, were custom tailors and Hyman became apprenticed to the former.

In 1896, in order to avoid being drafted into the Czar's army, the eighteen-year-old tailor fled across the border and made his way to America, settling on New York's lower East Side. Celia did not get along with her stepmother and moved to Grodno where she worked temporarily as a cook for a gentile physician. When Hyman had accumulated some money, he wrote to her and proposed marriage. She arrived in 1899 on the same day that Admiral George Dewey, the hero of Manila, was given a tumultuous welcome in New York harbor.



Moishe Aaron Zaban, the author's great-grandfather, with his second wife, Bashe. Dubrowa, 1914.

After many years of struggle and poverty, Hyman purchased a men's clothing store on Third Avenue and 84th Street under the El. The family grew with Nathan's being born in 1902, Irving in 1903, Samuel in 1905 and Mary in 1907. In later years Hyman and Celia moved to the Bronx, where Hyman died on January 5, 1962. Celia lived on until February 27, 1966.



Celia Nevins with children. From left: Samuel, Nat, Mary and Irving.



Celia and Hyman Nevins, with grandsons Michael and David (in background), at Jones Beach, 1941.



DUBROWA

The town of Grandpa's birth and growing
Was not marked on smaller maps,
But on the largest atlas page
Where every village name is printed
Was Dubrowa in small black letters.
When its thousand Jews were slaughtered,
It should have disappeared in shame,
But there it was—Dubrowa—
Where Avram-Yankel netted fish
And Channah baked her rolls and challah,
People fish there still—and bake
And greet each other in the street.
They pass their days without the Jews;
I wonder, though,
About their nights.

Adapted from a Poem *Telechany* by Shirley Blumberg,
The Jewish Spectator, Spring 1981

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SOURCES

Dubrowa was too small to have been the subject of articles in standard Jewish encyclopedias or even to appear in the extensive materials contained in the library and archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York or Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

I am indebted to Dubrowa's former residents who served both as an inspiration and as a source of primary material about life in the town during the early part of this century. I had the good fortune to meet with former leaders of the Dubrowa organizations both in the United States and Israel, Philip Sidransky and Eliezer Kuszes. Each of these men provided invaluable information as well as photographs. Locating and interviewing the town's only survivor of the German occupation, Sonia Lefkowitz, was an extraordinary and moving experience.

Other émigrés, in addition to recalling their community, made drawings and maps and contributed photographs, some of which have been included. Among these were Meyer Cooper, Abraham Gusewich, Isaac Gurwitz and Rena Schlachter Holstein.

Many other individuals helped by translating materials or by providing encouragement in various forms. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my father, Samuel, my wife, Phyllis, and my Israeli cousins, Elie and Rina Chaki, as well as the following: Sara Glasser, Julius Cooper, Sara Cooper, Helen Goldstein, Sophie Gritz, Sylvia Mirsky, Ruth Katz, Louis Levine, Paul Wolkoff, Herman Mazer, Harry Moskowitz, David Lieberman, Ann Pfeiffer, George Kovalick.

The best sources for Dubrowa's early and modern Polish history were the Library of Congress in Washington, and the Public Library of Warsaw. Additional references were culled from the collections of the New York Public Library's Jewish, Slavonic and Map Divisions.

ADDITIONAL READINGS OF INTEREST

For those exploring their own family roots, there is a vast literature available, including several excellent introductory books. The following are cited because they either are not widely known, or because they are of unusual interest:

Toledot, the journal of Jewish genealogy, devoted its Fall 1979/ Winter 1980 issue to a bibliography of Memorial books. The Spring 1978 issue cited those Polish-Jewish records available on microfilm from the Genealogical Society of Utah.

The flavor of life in Russia can be appreciated by reading *Life in My Father's Court* by I.B. Singer, or I.J. Singer's *The Brothers Ashkenazi.* Vivid descriptions of the Byelo-Russian towns of Swislocz and Bobruysk may be found in Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg's book *Voices from the Yiddish*, and in *Memoirs of a Grandmother*, which appears in Lucy Davidowicz's *The Golden Tradition.*

An extraordinary account of one man's story, translated from his diaries by his granddaughter, is Carol Lipkin's *The Travels of David Torbeck.* Post-World War II Bialystok is depicted by N. Shulman in *Completing the Circle* in the March 1979 issue of *Reconstructionist*, and in Samuel Pisar's autobiography *Of Blood and Hope.* Finally, Arthur Kurzweil's poignant description of his visit to his grandfather's hometown in Poland may be found in the Spring 1981 issue of *Present Tense*.

Many books depict the horrors of the Holocaust, but two that are specially recommended are J.F. Steiner's *Treblinka* and Leon Wells' *The Death Brigade.*

M.N.